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FACULTY OF THEOLOGY  
The Institute of Biblical Studies

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## Articles




## La simbolica dello straniero nel Salterio

The Symbolology of the Foreigner in the Psalter

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**ABSTRACT:** Who is a foreigner in the Hebrew Psalter? The article answers this question in two sections. First, seven terms referring to “foreigner” are examined to determine their individual characteristics in the Psalms and their correspondence to biblical texts outside the Psalter. Second, other literary motifs are analyzed in a cursory reading of Psalms 105, 106 and 137. The Psalter outlines a partial picture of the foreigner, which is subordinated to theological and symbolic issues. The Psalms primarily recall the adventures of Israel, which had to frequently change its place of residence for various reasons. As a foreigner, deprived of land and permanent residence, he experienced the ups and downs of migrant life and ultimately strove to integrate into a new socio-cultural environment. Defending one’s identity and maintaining national and religious integrity is portrayed as a difficult process, at risk. Another type of foreigner in the Psalms is the non-Jew, individually or communally, who enjoys the social and legal protection to which the poor are entitled. Either he is a well-integrated member of society, or he remains unassimilated. In the latter case, his false words, harmful actions and physical hostility toward Israel come to the fore. Finally, in the Book of Psalms, terms associated with “foreigner” are part of figurative language. The vocabulary sometimes either evokes non-literal associations with foreign countries, nations and foreign gods, or denotes an emotional state of suffering and isolation. Moreover, key lexemes symbolize the transitory human condition, emphasizing the marginalization and even segregation of the petitioner from the household.

**KEYWORDS:** foreigner, Hebrew Psalter, lexicography, Psalms 105, 106, 137

**PAROLE CHIAVE:** straniero, Salterio ebraico, lessicografia, Salmi 105, 106, 137

La storia di Israele è indissolubilmente legata sin dalle sue origini alla simbolica dello straniero: forestieri furono i patriarchi in Canaan (Gn 23,4) e il popolo d’Israele in Egitto (Gn 15,13; Es 2,22); entrando e soggiornando nella terra promessa, Israele vive un rapporto di incontro e di scontro con i popoli che la abitano, subisce il fascino della loro religione e della loro cultura e spesso vi cede (pensiamo al pericolo delle donne straniere). 2Cr 2,16 immagina che al tempo del re Salomone risiedessero in Israele ben 153.600 forestieri soggetti ai lavori forzati per conto del re, poiché gli israeliti non potevano essere schiavi<sup>1</sup>. Fra le tante piste di ricerca che queste attestazioni sulla presenza dello straniero

<sup>1</sup> H.G.M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (NCB Commentary; Grand Rapids, MI – London: Eerdmans – Marshall, Morgan & Scott 1982) 202, afferma che il Cronista usa עַבְדֵי־יָוָן alludendo a Lv 25,39–55, cioè al fatto che gli israeliti possano prendere come schiavi gli stranieri che abitano fra di loro.

nella Bibbia suggeriscono<sup>2</sup> e che altri relatori hanno analizzato nei diversi aspetti biblici ed extrabiblici, mi è parso opportuno sceglierne una poco battuta: lo straniero nel Salterio ebraico.

Questo argomento ha avuto fino ad ora una scarsa attenzione<sup>3</sup>, perché nei salmi il lessico specifico è quantitativamente limitato e i ricercatori hanno scelto di analizzare quei testi capaci di offrire una rappresentazione storica e culturale più completa.

Questo contributo, che si propone di essere un'appendice alla corrente di studi sopra menzionata, si articola in due parti. In primo luogo, passerò in rassegna la terminologia salmica e la confronterò con altre attestazioni. Successivamente, completerò l'indagine lessicale attraverso lo studio di alcuni salmi scelti che, con le loro informazioni, permettono di fornire un profilo dello straniero.

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- 2 Per una concisa presentazione della ricerca sullo straniero nell'Antico Testamento e sui temi affini (indagini lessicali e sociologiche, etnicità, «identità» d'Israele, Israele e i popoli), si vedano, ad es.: M. Häusl, «Zugänge zum Fremden. Einblicke in die alttestamentliche Forschung», *Zugänge zum Fremden. Methodisch-hermeneutische Perspektiven zu einem biblischen Thema* (a cura di G. Baumann et al.) (Linzer Philosophisch-Theologische Beiträge 25; Frankfurt am Main: Lang 2012) 13–29; C. van Houten, *The Alien in Israelite Law. A Study of the Changing Legal Status of Strangers in Ancient Israel* (JSOTSup 107; Sheffield: Sheffield University Press 1991) 11–22.
- 3 Ad esempio, il volume 27 (1993) della rivista *Parola, Spirito e Vita*, dedicato al tema «L'altro, il diverso, lo straniero», non affronta affatto i salmi. Allo stesso modo, nelle opere collettive curate da J. Riaud (a cura di), *L'étranger dans la Bible et ses lectures* (LD 213; Paris: Cerf 2007); M.G. Seijas de los Ríos-Zarzosa (a cura di), «Sal de tu tierra». *Estudios sobre el extranjero en el Antiguo Testamento* (Asociación Bíblica Española Monografías Bíblicas 76; Estella: Verbo Divino 2020) e in M.W. Hamilton, *Jesus, King of Strangers. What the Bible Really Says about Immigration* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2019), si cercheranno inutilmente riferimenti ai salmi. I. Cardellini, «Stranieri ed «emigrati-residenti» in una sintesi di teologia storico-biblica», *RivB* 40 (1992) 129–181; J. Schreiner – R. Kampling, *Der Nächste – der Fremde – der Feind* (NEchtB – Themen 3; Würzburg: Echter 2000) = *Il prossimo, lo straniero, il nemico* (Collana Biblica. I Temi della Bibbia 3; Bologna: EDB 2001) e G. Bruscolotti, *Lo straniero ci soccorre. Per un'adeguata lettura del pensiero ebraico-cristiano in merito alle relazioni con gli «stranieri»* (Teologia. Saggi; Assisi: Cittadella 2015), citano in maniera cursoria i salmi sullo sfondo di altri testi. Malgrado il paragrafo intitolato «La relazione con gli stranieri nei Profeti e nei Salmi», C. Langner, «“Lo straniero in mezzo a te”. Le tante facce degli stranieri nella Bibbia ebraica come impulso per una relazione con gli stranieri nell'oggi», *Il diverso e lo straniero nella Bibbia ebraico-cristiana. Uno studio esegetico-teologico in chiave interculturale* (a cura di M. Grilli – J. Maleparampil) (Epifania della Parola ns 6; Bologna: EDB 2013) 101, dedica ai salmi solo alcune righe. Soltanto sette righe bastano a E. Noffke, «Lo straniero nella Bibbia», *Protest* 66 (2011) 156–157, per riassumere l'interpretazione del Sal 39,13. Rispetto a questi contributi A. Rolla, «Lo straniero nella letteratura biblica del postesilio», *RSIB* 8/1–2 (1996) 160–161, è assai più generoso, dedicando quattro capoversi allo straniero nei salmi. Nello studio, che include una sintesi della vita sociale nella Bibbia, si trovano alcune pagine dedicate a גַּר e תּוֹשָׁב, elaborate da A.R. Sikora, «Kategorie wolnych obywateli Izraela», *Życie społeczne w Biblii* (a cura di G. Witaszek) (Lublin: RW KUL 1997) 260–263, che, tuttavia, non riportano citazioni dei salmi.

## 1. Lessico

Nel Salterio si riscontrano sette termini collegati allo straniero (אָהר, תּוֹשֵׁב, זָר, גֵּר, נָכַר, נָכְרִי, גּוֹר/גֵּר), che saranno presentati secondo l'ordine di importanza qualitativa e quantitativa, così come appare all'interno della Bibbia ebraica<sup>4</sup>. In particolare, i lemmi saranno classificati secondo il loro uso e, se necessario, se ne discuteranno le ricorrenze difficili e/o dubbie. Inoltre, i termini saranno collocati sullo sfondo biblico più ampio, per comprenderne la peculiarità nei salmi<sup>5</sup>. Infine, si deve osservare che ogni traduzione usuale di questi termini si imbatte in un limite: da un lato infatti va tenuto presente che in italiano ci sono varie parole e vari modi per circoscrivere uno straniero e, dall'altro, bisogna considerare che le diverse sfumature di significato espresse dai termini ebraici si possono rendere appena a sufficienza.

### 1.1. La radice גּוֹר

La radice גּוֹר, la più diffusamente associata allo straniero nell'AT, è attestata nella sua derivazione nominale di גֵּר («forestiero», «straniero», «pellegrino», «emigrante», «ospite»)<sup>6</sup> e in quella verbale di גּוֹר («risiedere», «abitare», «alloggiare», «essere ospite, forestiero, migrante»).

In confronto con le 92 ricorrenze complessive, 68 delle quali presenti nel Pentateuco<sup>7</sup>, le quattro presenze di גֵּר nel Salterio costituiscono soltanto un piccolo campione statistico. In due occasioni il sostantivo assume un significato metaforico (39,13; 119,19)<sup>8</sup> e in altre due ricorrenze quello proprio (94,6; 146,9).

Nel Sal 39,13 l'orante colpito dalla sofferenza dà sfogo alla propria condizione di emarginato, che gode però di una certa protezione di Yhwh (גֵּר עֲמִידָה), per supplicare umilmente l'aiuto di Dio, affidandosi alla sua protezione e assistenza (cf. 1Cr 29,15)<sup>9</sup>. Allo stesso modo

4 Hanno attirato l'attenzione dei ricercatori in particolare i termini גֵּר, נָכְרִי, זָר. All'elenco di studi riportato da Häusl, «Zugänge», 14 e n. 4, si potrebbero aggiungere, ad es.: M.A. Awabdy, *Immigrants and Innovative Law. Deuteronomy's Theological and Social Vision for the גֵּר* (FAT II/67; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2014); R. Ebach, *Das Fremde und das Eigene. Die Fremddarstellungen des Deuteronomiums im Kontext israelitischer Identitätskonstruktionen* (BZAW 471; Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter 2014); M.R. Glanville, *Adopting the Stranger as Kindred in Deuteronomy* (AIL 33; Atlanta, GA: SBL Press 2018).

5 Questa operazione non è stata mai fatta nelle varie voci dei dizionari (*ThWAT*, *THAT*, ecc.), nei quali si cerca invano uno spazio dedicato alle ricorrenze salmiche dei lessemi studiati.

6 Il termine גֵּר, conosciuto prima dell'esilio, viene adoperato più frequentemente nei testi postesilici; cf. R. Martin-Achard, «גֵּר gūr als Fremdling weilen», *THAT* I, 410 = *DTAT* I, 355.

7 Dt 22x, Lv 21x, Nm 12x, Es 11x e Gn 2x; cf. Even-Shoshan, 242–243.

8 Sulla relazione tra questi salmi si veda, ad es. S.J.L. Croft, *The Identity of the Individual in the Psalms* (JSOTSup 44; Sheffield: JSOT Press 1987) 169, 176.

9 R. Achenbach, «gēr – nākhri – tōshav – zār. Legal and Sacral Distinctions Regarding Foreigners in the Pentateuch», *The Foreigner and the Law. Perspectives from the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East* (a cura di R. Achenbach et al.) (BZABR 16; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2011) 48. Della «estraneità esistenziale» parla M.P. Zehnder, *Umgang mit Fremden in Israel und Assyrien. Ein Beitrag zur Anthropologie des »Fremden« im Licht antiker Quellen* (BWANT 168; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 2005) 302. Per un commento a questo versetto, si vedano F. Asensio, «Sugerencias del salmista "peregrino y extranjero" (Salm. 39, 13)», *Greg* 34 (1953) 421–426; W.A.M. Beuken, «Psalm 39. Some Aspects of the Old Testament Understanding of Prayer», *HeyJ*

l'orante del Sal 119,19, sentendosi forestiero sulla terra<sup>10</sup>, invoca Yhwh perché gli mostri il suo favore con i suoi comandi<sup>11</sup>.

Il nome גַּר è usato in senso proprio nel Sal 94,6 in cui lo straniero, associato alle categorie sociali più deboli<sup>12</sup>, rischia di perdere la vita, poiché nel paese di arrivo questo emigrante è esposto a prepotenze proibite dalla legge (cf. Es 22,20; 23,9; Lv 19,33; Dt 24,14.17) e dai profeti (cf. Zc 7,10; Ml 3,5). Il Sal 146,9 esprime, invece, la convinzione teologica che Dio veglia sugli stranieri (שֹׁמֵר; cf. הֵייה עֵד קָ, «essere testimone contro», Ml 3,5)<sup>13</sup>, che hanno particolare bisogno di protezione<sup>14</sup>.

Il גַּר nei salmi e altrove è impiegato soprattutto in senso proprio. Il significato metaforico è, invece, marginale e applicato all'uomo soltanto nei Sal 39,13 e 119,19, mentre in Ger 14,8 Yhwh è paragonato ad uno straniero (גַּרְגָּר) e un viandante (בְּאֶרְצָה), per mettere in risalto la sua presenza effimera, ma tanto attesa.

Il גַּר è equiparato alle categorie più povere della società. Il Salterio (94,6) afferma che il גַּר è oggetto di angherie, mentre gli altri brani anticotestamentari, che legiferano sulla sua protezione, le presuppongono implicitamente. Soltanto al di fuori dei salmi si può incontrare la protezione legale del גַּר (cf. Es 20,10; 22,20; 23,9; Lv 19,33; Dt 24,14.17; 26,12; 27,19; ecc.) e il suo status viene messo sullo stesso piano di quello del nativo (cf. Es 12,19; Lv 16,29; 17,12; 18,26; 20,2<sup>15</sup>; Dt 5,14; ecc.). Ad esempio, il libro del Levitico presenta il גַּר come un naturalizzato che è obbligato ad agire allo stesso modo degli israeliti<sup>16</sup> e costoro lo

19 (1978) 7–10; J.E. Ramírez Kidd, *Alterity and Identity in Israel. The גַּר in the Old Testament* (BZAW 283; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 1999) 102–108.

10 Probabilmente, l'orante si riferisce al fatto di essere mortale; cf. T. Hanelt, «Pojęcie „przybysza” (ger) w Starym Testamencie», *Studia Gnesnensia* 3 (1977) 47–48; K.A. Reynolds, *Torah as Teacher. The Exemplary Torah Student in Psalm 119* (VTSup 137; Leiden – Boston: Brill 2010) 193. Invece, H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen*, 6a ed. (BKAT 15/1–2; Neukirchener-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag 1989) 1001, ritiene che il v.19 affondi le proprie radici nel diritto di ospitalità e che spiritualizzando il termine גַּר il salmista parli della vita dinanzi a Dio.

11 Secondo Cardellini, «Stranieri», 150, lo sradicamento totale da ogni sicurezza sarebbe per il גַּר una circostanza favorevole per aprirsi a Dio. Al contrario, Erich Zenger ritiene che il chiamarsi גַּר da parte dell'orante sia funzionale alla sua richiesta di ottenere il privilegio dell'ospitalità e la doverosa protezione del «padrone» del paese ospitante; cf. F.-L. Hossfeld – E. Zenger, *Psalmen 51–100* (HTHKAT; Freiburg – Basel – Wien: Herder 2000) 364.

12 Per il גַּר con l'orfano (יָתוּם) e la vedova (אַלְמָנָה), si vedano Dt 10,18; 14,29: essi beneficiano della decima dei prodotti della terra; 16,11.14; 24,17.19–21: del diritto di spigolatura esteso alla vendemmia e alla bacchiatura degli ulivi; cf. inoltre 26,12.13; 27,19; Ger 7,6; 22,3; Ez 22,7; Zc 7,10; Ml 3,5; con i «poveri» (עָנִי), cf. Lv 23,22; Dt 24,14; Ez 22,29.

13 G. Castellino, *Libro dei Salmi* (LSB; Torino – Roma: Marietti 1955) 525, identifica i גַּרִים con «gli „apolidi” dei nostri giorni». Secondo Hanelt, «Pojęcie „przybysza”», 48, nel Sal 146,9 il גַּר si riferisce a tutti i forestieri.

14 Nel Sal 12,8, Dio custodisce (תִּשְׁמְרֵם) i miseri (עָנִיִּים) e i poveri (אֲבִיּוֹנִים); cf. v.6).

15 Il גַּר è sottoposto alla stessa punizione dell'israelita in caso di idolatria.

16 Lv 16,29; 17,8.10.12.13.15; 18,26; 19,34; 20,2; 22,18; 24,16.22; 25,35.47; cf. Es 12,19.49; 20,10; Nm 9,14; 15,14.15.16.26.29.30; 19,10; 35,15; ecc. G. Deiana, *Levitico* (I Libri Biblici. Primo Testamento 3; Milano: Paoline 2005) 268, definisce lo straniero nel libro del Levitico nel modo seguente: «una persona che, per nascita, non appartiene al popolo ebraico, ma per motivi contingenti si trova a risiedere nel territorio israelitico [...]

devono trattare in modo benevolo e soccorrerlo nelle difficoltà (cf. אָהַב, «amare», Lv 19,34; Dt 10,19). Secondo il decalogo (Es 20,10; Dt 5,14) e il «codice dell'alleanza» (Es 23,12) per il אָרֶץ vige il comandamento del sabato<sup>17</sup>. Se circonciso, egli aveva diritto a celebrare la Pasqua (cf. Es 12,48–49), partecipare alla festa delle Settimane (cf. Dt 16,11) e delle Capanne (cf. Dt 16,14). Il אָרֶץ poteva offrire i sacrifici seguendo le prescrizioni vigenti in Israele (cf. Lv 17,8–10; 22,18–20; Nm 15,14–16). Nello Yom Kippur, aveva il dovere di astenersi dal lavoro (cf. Lv 16,29).

Secondo Dt 1,16 i giudici d'Israele erano tenuti a giudicare con giustizia le vertenze dei propri connazionali e dei forestieri (בְּיַד אִישׁ וּבְיַד אֶחָיו וּבְיַד גֵּר). Lv 25,47 afferma, poi, che un אָרֶץ (e תּוֹשֵׁב) diventato ricco era in grado di fare prestiti all'israelita il quale poteva essere acquistato da lui come schiavo per insolvenza. Sempre al di fuori del Salterio, si menzionano alcuni mestieri esercitati dal אָרֶץ: scalpellino, tagliapietre (cf. 1Cr 22,2; 2Cr 2,16–17), spaccalegna, acquaiolo (cf. Dt 29,10), portatore di pesi, sorvegliante (cf. 2Cr 2,17). Infine, soltanto nel Salterio si dice che Dio è il custode (שָׁמַר) del אָרֶץ. Si ha l'impressione che i Sal 94,6 e 146,9, che usano il אָרֶץ in senso proprio, siano riflessi o eco dei testi legislativi<sup>18</sup> e la sua accezione si avvicini a quella di «immigrato misero».

A quattro ricorrenze nominali vanno aggiunte sei forme verbali della radice אָרַר I (Sal 5,5; 15,1; 61,5; 105,12.23; 120,5)<sup>19</sup>, che è attestata 81 volte con una maggiore concentrazione in Ger (13x) e Lv (11x), seguiti da Gn (9x), Nm (7x) e Is (7x)<sup>20</sup>.

Nei Sal 5,5 e 120,5 questo verbo è usato metaforicamente. Il primo brano manifesta l'incompatibilità tra Dio e la malvagità, tra la sua santità e il peccato<sup>21</sup>. La menzione di due luoghi distanti, Mesec (Anatolia centrale?) e Kedar (parte settentrionale della penisola arabica)<sup>22</sup>, nel Sal 120,5 mette in evidenza la condizione (psicologica) di angoscia di chi si sente costretto ad abitare come emigrante in un ambiente ostile<sup>23</sup>.

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il *gēr* fa parte di una categoria sociale alla quale è assicurata una certa protezione in cambio di una sua, almeno parziale, accettazione della cultura ebraica».

- 17 In virtù della motivazione di Es 23,12 («affinché prenda fiato, וּפָנֵי נִי, il figlio della tua serva e il אָרֶץ»), Hanelt, «Pojęcie „przybysza”», 33, ritiene che si tratti di un privilegio piuttosto che di un obbligo religioso.
- 18 Cf. il Sal 94,6 e Es 22,21; Dt 10,18; 24,17.19. Il Sal 146,9 e Dt 10,18.19; Es 20,20.21; Lv 19,34.
- 19 Il Salterio ospita anche la radice אָרַר II, «essere in agguato», «assediare» (56,7; 59,4; 140,3) e אָרַר III, «temere», «spaventarsi», «avere paura» (22,24; 33,8).
- 20 Cf. Even-Shoshan, 231.
- 21 Cf. S. Bazylński, *Il giusto affronta l'ingiustizia. Studio di un tema salmico* (AnBib.St 1; Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press 2013) 243–244.
- 22 Questi riferimenti geografici (Mesec: Gn 10,2; Ez 38,2.3; 1Cr 1,5.17; Kedar: Is 21,16–17; 42,11; 60,7; Ger 2,10; 49,28; Ez 27,21; Ct 1,5) dimostrano indirettamente che il verbo אָרַר nel Sal 120,5 è stato usato con ogni probabilità in senso generico e figurato, senza un reale riferimento dell'orante a fatti concreti della propria vita. Su Mesec e Kedar, si vedano, ad es., L.C. Allen, *Psalms 101–150*, ed. rivista (WBC 21; Nashville, TN: Nelson 2002) 202; J.-L. Vesco, *Le psautier de David* (LD 211; Paris: Cerf 2006) II, 1173–1174; Hossfeld – Zenger, *Psalmen 51–100*, 419–421.
- 23 Cf. L. Alonso Schökel – C. Carniti, *Salmos. II. Traducción, introducciones y comentario (Salmos 73–150)* (Nueva Biblia Española; Estella: Verbo Divino 1993) 1471; T. Lorenzin, *I Salmi. Nuova versione, introduzione e commento* (I Libri Biblici. Primo Testamento 14; Milano: Paoline 2000) 478.

Il verbo גור è associato alla visita al tempio nei Sal 15,1 e 61,5, in cui il santuario diventa poeticamente la dimora stabile del pellegrino<sup>24</sup>.

Infine, nel Sal 105 il verbo גור denota la condizione di Israele come forestiero (ptc. גְּרִיִּים) nella terra di Canaan (v.12<sup>25</sup> || 1Cr 16,19; cf. Es 6,4) e si riferisce al suo soggiorno da straniero (*qatal* גַּר) in Egitto (v.23; cf. Gn 12,10; 47,4; Lv 19,34; Dt 26,5; Is 52,4; Ger 42,15.17.22; 43,2; 44,8.12.14.28). Il popolo di Israele senza terra o senza fissa dimora (cf. Lam 4,15) peregrina da un paese all'altro.

L'uso proprio del verbo גור è ben documentato in tutta la Bibbia e tra le attestazioni vanno annoverate, inoltre, ben 22 ricorrenze della costruzione גור גַּר in cui il גַּר è soggetto<sup>26</sup>. Il verbo גור descrive il soggiorno di Israele in Egitto e in Canaan. La presenza di Israele nella diaspora è affermata anche da Esd 1,4. Infine, Is 16,4 informa che la guerra è uno dei motivi della dispersione e del soggiorno in altri paesi<sup>27</sup>, mentre 2Sam 4,3 (cf. vv.1–2) allude a disordini sociali quale causa della migrazione<sup>28</sup>.

Per quanto riguarda l'uso figurato del verbo גור, nel Salterio e altrove vi è inclusa l'idea della transitorietà. Soltanto i salmi (15,1; 61,5<sup>29</sup>) presentano il santuario/tenda come spazio protetto e sicuro in cui dimora il pellegrino. Nel Salterio si attesta, inoltre, che il verbo indica l'incompatibilità del giusto (?) orante con il male (5,5), mentre Is 11,6 prospetta una metafora della convivenza pacifica tra gli animali domestici e selvaggi.

24 Cf. Bazyliński, *Il giusto*, 269.

25 Invece, F.A. Spina, «Israelites as gērīm, “Sojourners,” in Social and Historical Context», *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth. Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday* (a cura di C.L. Meyers – M. O'Connor) (ASOR Special Volume Series 1; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 1983) 321, preferisce riferire i vv.8–11 ad Abramo, Isacco e Giacobbe come גְּרִיִּים.

26 Es 12,48.49; Lv 16,29; 17,8.10.12.13; 18,26; 19,33.34; 20,2; Nm 9,14; 15,14.15.16.26.29; 19,10; Gs 20,9; Ez 14,7; 47,22.23.

27 Così H. Wildberger, *Jesaja (13–27)* (BKAT 10/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag 1978) 601. La persecuzione secondo L. Alonso Schökel – J.L. Sicre Díaz, *Profetas. I. Isaías – Jeremías*, 2a ed. (Nueva Biblia Española; Madrid: Cristiandad 1987) 183. In alternativa si può pensare ai conflitti sociali. Senza spiegare le cause di questa migrazione, J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AYB 19; New Haven, CT – London: Doubleday 2008) 299, ipotizza che «[t]he passage seems to be describing a Moabite mission to Jerusalem requesting asylum for refugees».

28 P.K. McCarter Jr., *II Samuel. A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (AB 9; New York: Doubleday 1984) 127, nota che il motivo della fuga dei bereotiti non è specificato. A.G. Auld, *I & II Samuel. A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox 2011) 389, si pronuncia in favore delle «tensions within the portion of postexilic Yehud north of Jerusalem». Invece, W. Dietrich, *Samuel (1Sam 27 – 2Sam 8)* (BKAT 8/3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2019) 431, attribuisce alle «misure anticanaanai-che di Saul» la ragione della migrazione.

29 Alonso Schökel – Carniti, *Salmos*, II, 819, ipotizza che l'espressione אָגוּרָה בְּאֵקֶלֶךְ (61,5) fosse mutuata da יְגוּר בְּאֵקֶלֶךְ (15,1).



## 1.2. L'aggettivo נְכָרִי

L'importante aggettivo נְכָרִי («straniero», «estraneo», «strano», «inaudito», «forestiero», «avventizio»)<sup>30</sup>, che spesso compare nella Bibbia in coppia con גֵר, «forestiero» (Dt 14,21; cf. Es 2,22; 18,3) e נָר, «estraneo» (Is 28,21; Abd 11; Gb 19,15; Pro 2,16; 5,10.20; 7,5; 20,16; 27,2.13; Lam 5,2), è attestato nel Salterio una volta soltanto su un totale di 45 ricorrenze bibliche<sup>31</sup>.

Il Sal 69,9 registra un adattamento del significato di נְכָרִי. Infatti, l'orante adopera questo lessema non per indicare il suo status di straniero, ma per definire se stesso come un individuo che si sente socialmente isolato, escluso persino dai propri parenti (Gb 19,15; cf. Ger 12,6)<sup>32</sup>.

Vista l'assenza nei salmi dell'uso proprio del נְכָרִי in riferimento ad un individuo (cf. Es 21,8; Dt 14,21; 15,3; 17,15; 23,21; 29,21; 2Sam 15,19; 1Re 8,41.43; Is 2,6; Abd 11; Pro 20,16; Lam 5,2; 2Cr 6,32.33; ecc.), a un popolo straniero (עַם נְכָרִי, Es 21,8) e a una terra straniera (אֶרֶץ נְכָרִיָה, Es 2,22; 18,3), il Salterio non contribuisce a definire questa figura dal punto di vista socioculturale. Tale impiego è riscontrabile, ad esempio, in Dt 15,3, in cui il נְכָרִי non gode degli stessi privilegi del nativo nell'anno sabbatico, cosicché si può esigere da lui la restituzione dei prestiti contratti, oppure in Dt 23,21, che permette di esigere da lui gli interessi. Questo trattamento di sfavore riservato al נְכָרִי dimostra il suo status inferiore rispetto al גֵר; si confronti, inoltre, Es 22,30 (che vieta agli israeliti di mangiare la carne sbranata) con Dt 14,21 (gli israeliti hanno la facoltà di dare la carne di una bestia morta di morte naturale al גֵר e di venderla al נְכָרִי)<sup>33</sup>, per non parlare, poi, del trono di Israele, abbondantemente al di fuori anche delle sue aspirazioni più temerarie (cf. Dt 17,15).

Pochi testi dimostrano benevolenza nei suoi confronti. In 1Re 8,43 (|| 2Cr 6,33), il re Salomone chiede al Signore di esaudire le richieste del נְכָרִי, che si recherà a pregare nel tempio. In 2Sam 15, suo padre Davide lascia libero Ittài di Gat (נְכָרִי, v.19) di compiere delle scelte personali che si rifletteranno sulla sua vita (vv.20–23).

Il fatto che il termine נְכָרִי non indichi mai le divinità straniere, a differenza di נָכַר (*infra*, § 1.3.), accomuna il Salterio ad altri brani anticotestamentari.

30 Il נְכָרִי deriverebbe dal sostantivo נְכָר non attestato nella Bibbia – BL, 501, § 61xθ – e dal נָכַר – Ges18, 820 – seguito dal suffisso -i, che indica l'appartenenza in senso generico a un gruppo, un popolo o una stirpe straniera.

31 Cf. Even-Shoshan, 762–763; Lisowsky, 931. Il maggior numero delle attestazioni si trova in Pro (8x), seguito da Ez (7x), Dt (5x), 1Re (4x).

32 L'interpretazione di Bernhard Lang, secondo cui l'orante sarebbe isolato a causa dalla sua malattia, non si taglia bene al v.10 che spiega (כִּי) il suo stato sulla scorta dello zelo religioso; cf. B. Lang – H. Ringgren, «נְכָרִי nkr», *ThWATV*, 456 = *GLATV*, 868.

33 Secondo Lang il גֵר sarebbe lo straniero privilegiato, mentre il נְכָרִי lo straniero discriminato; cf. Lang – Ringgren, «נְכָר», 457–458 = *GLATV*, 870.

### 1.3. Il nome נָכַר

Imparentato con נָכַרִי e affine a יָר (*infra*, § 1.4.)<sup>34</sup>, il termine נָכַר («estraneo», «straniero», «sconosciuto», «forestiero») è considerato nome astratto della classe *qital*<sup>35</sup>. Esso denota la condizione di straniero e di forestiero<sup>37</sup>. Sei attestazioni in quattro salmi (18,45.46; 81,10; 137,4; 144,7.11) sulle 36<sup>38</sup> complessive del nome fanno del Salterio il libro che ne fa più uso, seguito da Is (5x) e Gn (4x). Nei salmi, il termine נָכַר è usato sempre allo stato assoluto all'interno di una catena costruita (cf. אֶל נָכַר 1x, אֶדְמַת נָכַר 1x, בְּנֵי־נָכַר 4x, נָכַרִי 1x).

A differenza del נָכַר, la frase בְּנֵי־נָכַר (11x) denota spesso gli stranieri che non sono inseriti nella società ebraica (cf. 2Sam 22,45.46; Is 60,10; 61,5; 62,8; Ez 44,7.8; Ne 9,2; con בְּנוֹ [7x], cf. Gn 17,12.27; Es 12,43; Lv 22,25; Is 56,3; Ez 44,9bis; solo נָכַר, Ne 13,30)<sup>39</sup>, anche se, eccezionalmente, Is 56,6 predice l'accoglienza dei בְּנֵי הַנָּכַר nel culto. L'espressione בְּנֵי־נָכַר compare in due salmi regali (18,45.46 e 144,7.11) nel contesto della vittoria (18) e in quello della minaccia (144).

Nel Sal 18 (|| 2Sam 22) il re vittorioso gode dei frutti del proprio trionfo militare. I popoli diventano obbedienti (יִשְׁמְעוּ לִי *Ni*) e gli stranieri<sup>40</sup> devono riconoscerlo sottomettendogli (יִכְתְּשׁוּ־לִי *Pi*, lett. «adulare [servilmente per interesse]», «cercare il favore», «fingere obbedienza», v.45<sup>41</sup>; 66,3; 81,16).

34 יָר || נָכַר, cf. Is 61,5; Ger 5,19; Sal 81,10.

35 Come il נָכַרִי così anche il נָכַר, benché attestati nei testi preesilici, acquistano una maggiore rilevanza nel periodo postesilico, quando la questione del rapporto tra Israele e gli stranieri divenne più pressante; cf. R. Martin-Achard, «נָכַר nekār Fremde», *THAT* II, 67 = *DTAT* II, 62.

36 BL, 467, § 61<sup>e</sup>; GK § 93gg; JM § 96Bc; R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik*, 3a ed. (Sammlung Göschen 764/764a/764b; Berlin: De Gruyter 1969) II, 26, § 35,5.

37 Cf. JM § 30g: «the foreignness [estraneità] (abstract)»; JM § 96Bc: «stranger (in an abstract sense)»; GK § 93gg: «Fremde»; reso da GKC § 93gg: «strangeness» [estraneità]. Si vedano anche le rese dei vocabolari, BDB, 648: «that which is foreign, foreignness»; König, *Wörterbuch*, 278: «Fremdheit»; Zorell, 518: «peregrinitas [condizione di straniero, forestiero], indoles, natura, origo a propri populi origine aliena»; *DCHV*, 694: «foreignness, strangeness, i.e. belonging to another clan, tribe or nation»; Gesenius *Thes.*, 887: «ignotum, inde peregrinum (das Fremde, die Fremde)»; *HALAT*, 661 e Ges18, 819: «Fremde, Ausland», «straniero, paese straniero».

38 Cf. Even-Shoshan, 762.

39 Cf. Deiana, *Levitico*, 231.

40 L'identificazione esatta dei נָכַר בְּנֵי נָכַר nei vv.45.46 è problematica. Si potrebbe trattare di un'affermazione che riassume tutte le traversie di Davide: allusione al conflitto con Saul? (vv.18.41); nemici stranieri o personali? (vv.38–39); stranieri (v.41); ribellione di Israele (v.44). Se si tiene conto del testo parallelo di 2Sam 22,1–51, gli stranieri potrebbero essere i filistei menzionati in 2Sam 21,15–21.

41 La Siriaca (Syr) ܠܐܘܫܘܪܝܐܝܢܐ, «saranno ossequiosi verso di me», nel senso di obbedire. Invece, i LXX ἐνεύσωστέ μοι, «mi hanno ingannato»; la VL e la Vg *mentiti sunt mihi*; il salterio *iuxta Hebraeos* (Hier) *mentientur mihi*; il Tg כְּדָבוּן קִדְמָיִי תֵג, «mentivano davanti a me»; F. Delitzsch, *Biblischer Kommentar über die Psalmen*, 5a ed. (Biblischer Kommentar über das Alte Testament 4/1; Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke 1894) 171: «verstellten sich mir», «fingevano con me»; Castellino, *Salmi*, 378: «strisciare ai piedi di uno, lusingare»; L. Alonso Schökel – C. Carniti, *Salmos. I. Traducción, introducciones y comentario (Salmos 1–72)* (Nueva Biblia Española; Estella: Verbo Divino 1992) 337: «lo lisonjean por interés»; D. Böhler, *Psalmen 1–50* (HThKAT; Freiburg – Basel – Wien: Herder 2021) 332: «Jemandem etwas vorheucheln», «fingere/far credere a qualcuno». Invece, Kraus, *Psalmen*, 282, tralascia la traduzione del v.45b.

Dal punto di vista filologico è particolarmente oscuro il v.46, in cui gli stranieri compiono due azioni<sup>42</sup>. La prima יָבִילוּ da נָבַל, «appassire», «avvizzire», «marcire», potrebbe indicare la perdita delle energie fisiche o spirituali, quasi una sorta di infiacchimento. Usando il sinonimo «diventare vecchi», i LXX ἐπαλαιώθησαν, la Vetus Latina (VL) *inveteraverunt* e la Vg *inveterati sunt* si muovono in una direzione leggermente diversa<sup>43</sup>. Queste versioni leggono probabilmente יָבִילוּ da בָּלָה, «guastarsi», «invecchiare» e pongono l'accento sull'estremo logoramento<sup>44</sup> degli stranieri, cioè la loro morte<sup>45</sup>.

La seconda azione è descritta con una frase ellittica מִמְקִיָּוֹתֵיהֶם יִתְרַגְּגוּ, in cui l'*hapax* חָרַג, «tremare di/per lo spavento»<sup>46</sup>, è seguito dalla preposizione di moto da luogo מִן, «da» e dal nome מְקִיָּוֹת (pl.), «luogo chiuso». Aquila (Aq) traduce abbastanza letteralmente: καὶ ὑποσταλήσονται ἐκ τῶν συγκλεισμένων αὐτῶν, «e fuggirono per paura [uscirono spaventati] dai loro luoghi chiusi/rifugi»<sup>47</sup>. La resa del Tg וַיִּטְלֹחוּ מִבְּרִיחֵיהֶוּן, «saranno spostati/trasferiti dalle loro fortezze»<sup>48</sup>, si avvicina parzialmente all'originale ebraico. Ne distano, invece, notevolmente le altre versioni antiche<sup>49</sup>. Viste le difficoltà, i lessicografi propongono per il discusso termine מְקִיָּוֹת il significato di: a) «palazzo», «forteza», «bastione» (cf. סָגַר,

42 Si veda, ad esempio, la recente analisi dettagliata di L. Castangia, «Psalm 18 in the Peshitta. Is there a Relationship with the Septuagint?», *EstBib* 80 (2022) 41–46.

43 Simmaco (Sym) segue una strada autonoma, proponendo ἀτιμωθήσονται, «saranno disonorati» (ind. fut. pass. da ἀτιμώω) oppure ἀτιμωσθήσονται, «saranno oltraggiati, disonorati» (ind. fut. pass. da ἀτιμᾶω).

44 I LXX, che usano l'aoristo di παλαιόω, presentano come compiuta l'azione che nel TM deve ancora avvenire (yiqtol/יָבִילוּ).

45 Cf. G. Dorival *et al.* (a cura di), *Le Psaumes. Livre 1. Psaumes 1–40 (41 TM)* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 20; Paris: Cerf 2021) 334. Si vedano anche Hier *defluent*, «scompariranno»; Septima *πεσοῦνται*, «cadranno»; il Tg יִסְפִּי, «periranno».

46 Cf. Gesenius *Thes.*, 517; BDB, 353; König, *Wörterbuch*, 124; HALAT, 336; Ges 18, 393; DBHE, 278; DCHR III, 392, che propone anche l'emendazione מִסְקִיָּוֹתֵיהֶם יִתְרַגְּגוּ *their hearts* [מְקִיָּוֹת III] *are seized* [with anguish] » (*ibidem*, 393). Invece, Zorell, 266, «probabilmente avanzò». La lezione è attestata dalla seconda colonna degli Esapla (οὐσίρησος); cf. I. Mercati (a cura di), *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae. Prima pars. Codex rescriptus Bibliothecae Ambrosianae O 39 Sup. phototypice expressus et transcriptus* (Codices ex Ecclesiasticis Italiae Bybliothechis delecti phototypice expressi 8; In Civitate Vaticana: in Bybliothecha Vaticana 1958) *ad locum*.

47 Così F. Field (a cura di), *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, sive, Veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta* (Oxonii: e typographico Clarendoniano 1875) II, 113. Invece, Mercati, *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae, ad locum*, riporta un'altra variante di Aq (καὶ) *συστάλησονται ἀπὸ ἐπιτελε[ε]τισμ(ῶν) αὐτ(ῶν)*, «(e) umiliati [uscirono] dai loro luoghi chiusi» e la lezione di Sym (καὶ) *ἐντρ<a>πήσονται ἀπὸ πε(ρι)φραγμ(ῶν) αὐτ(ῶν)*, «(e) confusi [uscivano] dai loro recinti/ripari», che è assente in Field.

48 Da טַלְטַל *Palpel*, «muovere da un luogo all'altro», «trasferire» e בְּרִיחַ *brīḥ*, «forteza/roccaforte», «castello», «palazzo»; L. Díez Merino (a cura di), *Targum de Salmos. Edición Príncipe del Ms. Villa-Amil n. 5 de Alfonso de Zamora* (Bibliotheca Hispana Biblica 6; Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas 1982) 206: *et transmigrabunt de palatijs eorum*; D.M. Stec (a cura di), *The Targum of Psalms* (ArBib 16; London – New York: Clark 2004) 53: «the will come trembling from their fortresses».

49 I LXX ἐχώλασαν ἀπὸ τῶν τριβῶν αὐτῶν, «hanno zoppicato fuori dai loro sentieri»; la Syr ܥܘܠܘܢ ܥܘܠܘܢܐܢܐܢ, «e diventeranno/usciranno zoppi dai loro sentieri»; la VL e la Vg *et claudicaverunt a semitis suis* leggono forse יִחַגְּרוּ (inversione delle consonanti? Cf. G. Schmuttermayr, *Psalm 18 und 2 Samuel 22. Studien zu einem Doppeltext* [SANT 25; München: Kösel 1971] 177) e מִמְקִיָּוֹתֵיהֶם e מִמְקִיָּוֹתֵיהֶם, che è una lezione problematica dal punto di vista paleografico. Si veda, inoltre, la resa di Hier *contrabentur in angustiis suis*, «saranno oppressi, stretti nelle loro angustie».

«chiudere», «bloccare», «serrare»)<sup>50</sup> o b) «prigione»<sup>51</sup>. Quest'ultima accezione è appoggiata, ad esempio, da Hermann Gunkel sulla scorta della possibile identificazione di מִסְגֵּרַת con מִסְגֵּר (cf. Is 24,22; 42,7; Sal 142,8)<sup>52</sup> oppure sulla scorta dell'aramaico antico מִסְגֵּרַת, «carcere», «prigione»<sup>53</sup>. I lessici che citano Mic 7,17<sup>54</sup> per corroborare questa resa tengono poco conto del contesto. Infatti, mantenendo la metafora dei rettili che escono fuori dai loro nascondigli, per il brano di Michea si potrebbe adottare l'accezione di «tane», «rifugi», «nascondigli» (cf. i LXX ἐν συγκαλεισμῶ ἀνθρώπων, lett. «nel loro nascondiglio»).

A prescindere dall'esito di questa discussione, il Sal 18,46, traducibile in maniera neutra «e tremarono [uscivano] = e tremanti uscivano dai loro luoghi nascosti»<sup>55</sup>, potrebbe indicare, in conformità con i vv.45–46 (obbedire, sottomettersi, perder forze), una specie di resa da parte degli stranieri<sup>56</sup>.

Affine al Sal 18 è il Sal 144, che include altre due ricorrenze di בְּנִי-נָכַר. Esse fanno parte di una supplica, in cui l'orante Davide chiede a Dio di liberarlo (פָּצְנֵנִי, «liberami»)<sup>57</sup> dal potere dei nemici stranieri (vv.7.11), coi quali si scontra nel paese<sup>58</sup>. Il v.11 li connoterà con l'attributo della falsità. Essi sanno nascondere, infatti, le proprie cattive intenzioni, ricorrendo a parole che non dicono il vero («proferire parole vane», v.11; cf. v.8) e a un agire intrinsecamente falso («destra di menzogna», v.11; cf. v.8). Si potrebbe pensare, ad esempio, agli accordi internazionali che non vengono rispettati<sup>59</sup>, oppure al male che si presenta nella sua totalità, intendendo «bocca (falsa)» e «destra (menzognera)» come un merismo (cf. «bocca» e «mano» in Pro 12,14; 26,9)<sup>60</sup>.

Per completezza riportiamo le due rimanenti attestazioni, in cui נָכַר non ha accezione politica o sociale di «straniero».

50 Gesenius Thes., 938: «*claustra*, poet. de urbibus munitis»; BDB, 353, 689; König, *Wörterbuch*, 231–232: «verschlossener Raum: Schloß»; Zorell, 451: «*claustrum, locus abditus ubi se qs includit*»; DBHE, 438: «*Baluarte*». Il Tg מִבְּרִיבְתָהוֹן מִבְּרִיבְתָהוֹן, «they will come trembling from their fortresses», Stec, *The Targum*, 53.

51 HALAT, 571; Ges18, 701; DCHR III, 392: «*dungeon*», mentre DCHV, 360: «stronghold, prison» [מִסְגֵּרַת II]; cf. DCHR III, 393, che inoltre propone «*heart*» [מִסְגֵּרַת III].

52 Cf. H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, 4a ed., 6a ed. (HKAT 2/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht 1926, 1986) 73; Kraus, *Psalmen*, 282, 294; Castangia, «Psalm 18», 43.

53 Cf. l'iscrizione dell'VIII sec. a.C. sulla statua di Panammuwa I.4: ויתרח מת מלא מסגרת, «und mit seinem Rest hat er die Gefängnisse gefüllt»; cf. KAI I, n° 215 e KAI II, 223.

54 Probabilmente in virtù di una costruzione analoga di Mic 7,17 (יְרִגְזוּ מִמִּסְגֵּרוֹתֵיהֶם) e del Sal 18,46 (יְרִיחוּגוּ מִמִּסְגֵּרוֹתֵיהֶם). Castellino, *Salmi*, 378, pensa alle forttezze.

56 J.K. Kuntz, «Psalm 18. A Rhetorical-Critical Analysis», *JSOT* 26 (1983) 24: «those who “cringe”, “cower”, and “stagger forth”, they present no threat on the battlefield».

57 Il verbo פָּצַח è un prestito aramaico; cf. M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentarischen Hebräisch* (BZAW 96; Berlin: Töpelmann 1966) 94 (n° 231).

58 Cf. F.-L. Hossfeld – E. Zenger, *Psalmen 101–150* (HThKAT; Freiburg – Basel – Wien: Herder 2008) 782 (Zenger). Invece, Kraus, *Psalmen*, 1124, avvicinando il v.7 al Sal 2,2–3, ipotizza una rottura del trattato (*Vertragsbruch*).

59 Cf. Alonso Schökel – Carniti, *Salms*, II, 1631; Alonso Schökel pensa, inoltre, che la presenza della frase תָּרַב רָעָה, «spada iniqua» (v.10), così come la mano degli stranieri e la simbologia delle acque (v.7; cf. Is 8,7–8), rimandino alla guerra come sfondo di questo brano.

60 Cf. S. Bazyliński, *I Salmi 20–21 nel contesto delle preghiere regali* (Roma: Miscellanea Francescana 1999) 316 e n. 135.

D'accordo con altri testi biblici, il Sal 81,10 vieta espressamente agli israeliti il culto (לא תשתחווה) «non prostrarti») delle divinità straniere (אֵל נֶכֶר; cf. Dt 32,12; Mt 2,11)<sup>61</sup>.

Quanto al נֶכֶר del Sal 137,4, rappresenta un'espressione geografica, אֶרֶץ נֶכֶר, «territorio, terra straniera» (cf. נֶכֶר הָאָרֶץ, «terra straniera, sconosciuta», Dt 31,16) e si riferisce ai deportati di Giuda in Babilonia, che si rifiutano, infatti, di cantare le lodi di Sion (*infra*, § 2.3.).

Il Salterio ha in comune con i testi rimanenti le costruzioni אֵל נֶכֶר, בְּנֵי(-)נֶכֶר o i loro sinonimi. Il Trito-Isaia registra tre mestieri che gli stranieri svolgeranno per conto degli ebrei: operai edili (60,10), contadini/aratori e vignaioli (61,5). Sebbene Is 56,6 prospetti la possibilità che i בְּנֵי הַנֶּכֶר adorino il Dio di Israele, altri testi sembrano molto più perplessi, se non ostili di fronte a questa ipotesi: Ez 44,9 vieta al בְּנֵי נֶכֶר incirconciso di accedere al santuario. Inoltre, gli stranieri sono in genere esclusi dalla celebrazione della Pasqua (Es 12,43) e dello Yom Kippur (Ne 9,2). Infine, Lv 22,25 mette in guardia i fedeli ebrei dal comprare dagli stranieri animali da sacrificare, non essendo possibile controllarne la conformità alle leggi sacrificali<sup>62</sup>.

Ad eccezione del Sal 144, in cui i בְּנֵי נֶכֶר potrebbero costituire una minaccia per Israele, altri testi non confermano questo stato di cose e contribuiscono a privare la frase di connotati militari e/o aggressivi.

#### 1.4. Il participio זָר

Il termine זָר compare nel Salterio quattro volte (*ex equo* con Lv e Os) su un totale di 70 attestazioni, concentrate in ordine decrescente in Pro (14x/15x), Is (9x), Nm (8x), Ger ed Ez (7x)<sup>63</sup>. Dal punto di vista morfologico, si tratta di un participio *Qal* di זָר II («separarsi», «allontanarsi», «deviare»)<sup>64</sup>, che in qualità di aggettivo significa «straniero», «forestiero», «estero» (44,21; 81,10) e in quello di nome «il non israelita», «lo straniero», «l'estraneo» (lett. «colui che si allontana/prende le distanze») (54,5; 109,11)<sup>65</sup>.

61 Con אֱלֹהִים, si vedano Gn 35,2,4; Dt 31,16; Gs 24,20,23; Gdc 10,16; 1Sam 7,3; Ger 5,19; 2Cr 33,15; con אֱלֹהֵי, Dn 11,39; cf. הַבְּלֵי נֶכֶר, Ger 8,19. In 2Cr 14,2, il re Asa rimuove gli altari degli stranieri/pagani (מִזְבְּחוֹת הַנֶּכֶר).

62 Commentando questo passo del Levitico, Deiana, *Levitico*, 231, si spinge ad ipotizzare che nel tempio si potessero offrire vittime per conto degli stranieri. Questi testi tradiscono, in ogni caso, la difformità di posizioni che nella Gerusalemme del V e IV sec. a.C. doveva esistere sul ruolo degli stranieri e sulla loro posizione in relazione ai sacrifici.

63 Cf. Lisowsky, 436, che esclude Pro 21,8 (זָר); cf. Gesenius Thes., 399; König, *Wörterbuch*, 85; Zorell, 202; HALAT, 249; Ges18, 290; DBHE, 214. Al contrario, Solomon Mandelkern ed Abraham Even-Shoshan lasciano aperta la questione, includendo Pro 21,8 fra le ricorrenze di זָר (Mandelkern, 352; Even-Shoshan, 338) e creando la voce זָרִים (Mandelkern, 335; Even-Shoshan, 317); cf. DCHR II, 734, che propende per זָרִים, senza abbandonare completamente l'opzione זָר II.

64 I lessicografi individuano, inoltre, la radice זָר I, «scuotere», «scrollare», «spremere» e זָר III, «ripugnare», «risultare fetido», «puzzare» (Gb 19,17); cf. König, *Wörterbuch*, 88; Zorell, 205–206; HALAT, 256; DBHE, 218 (cf. L.A. Snijders, «זָר/זָר זָר/zār», *TbWAT* II, 557 = *GLAT* II, 593; R. Martin-Achard, «זָר זָר fremd», *THAT* I, 520 = *DTAT* I, 451). Ges18, 298, conosce soltanto זָר I e זָר II, ascrivendo Gb 19,17 a quest'ultima radice. Invertono, invece, la classificazione DCHR III, 63, che chiama זָר I con זָר II e BDB, 266, זָר II = זָר I, זָר III = זָר II, זָר I = זָר I.

65 Cf. BL, 465, § 61e<sup>m</sup>; Gesenius Thes., 412; BDB, 266; HALAT, 268; Ges18, 310; DCHR III, 63. Invece König, *Wörterbuch*, 93 e DBHE, 225, classificano questa forma come aggettivo.

Nei Sal 44,21 e 81,10 יָרֵם è attribuito di אֱלֹהִים, «dio [straniero]», denotando una divinità caratteristica dei popoli stranieri, che non è venerata da Israele (cf. Dt 32,16; Is 43,12; Ger 5,19; ecc.).

Di contro, i participi pl. m. יָרֵם, «gli stranieri», sono usati per indicare un soggetto che compie azioni negative/cattive. L'accezione particolare di queste forme nominali deriva dal contesto. Nel Sal 54,5, che mette in risalto il loro rapporto conflittuale con l'orante, diversi manoscritti leggono יָרֵם, «insolenti», «arroganti» (cf. il Tg יִדְוִנִין, «orgogliosi»)⁶⁶. La lettura è probabilmente influenzata dal Sal 86,14, che adopera un lessico simile al Sal 54,5⁶⁷. La correzione יָרֵם rappresenta probabilmente una *lectio facilior*⁶⁸. Infatti, 4QPs<sup>a</sup> [4Q83] frag. 12 riporta זָרִים e questa lezione è confermata dai LXX ἀλλότριους e dalla VL, dalla Vg e da Hier *alieni*. Inoltre, come nel Sal 54,5 il plurale יָרֵם sta in parallelo con l'aggettivo עָרִיצִים in Is 25,5 e 29,5. Sia la *lectio facilior* sia la *lectio difficilior* afferiscono all'ambito dei nemici dell'orante. La variante יָרֵם (app. BHK) indica direttamente il nemico come pericolo, mentre זָרִים (|| עָרִיצִים, «violenti», «feroci»)⁶⁹ include l'aspetto avverso (cf. קוֹם עַל) di non israelita e di nemico⁷⁰.

Nel Sal 109,11 il termine יָרֵם si riferisce a chi è sconosciuto, «estraneo» nel senso di non imparentato (cf. Dt 25,5; 1Re 3,18; Ez 16,32; Gb 15,19; 19,15.27; Pro 5,10.17; 6,1; 11,15; 14,10; 20,16; 27,2.13)⁷¹, piuttosto che alle persone provenienti da altri paesi o nazioni. Su questi malvagi accusatori (cf. vv.2.6) e avversari, il giusto invoca «la ricompensa» o la giusta retribuzione (vv.6–15), che si realizza anche attraverso la privazione (sequestro) dei beni (v.11).

Infine, andrebbe menzionato l'*hapax* מוֹזֵר (participio *Ho* da זָר II), «essere (considerato come) un estraneo» (i LXX ἀπηλλοτριωμένος, «alieno»; Hier *alienus*; la VL *exter*, «straniero»; la Vg *extraneus*) usato come soggetto nel Sal 69,9a. Sulla scorta di questa forma nominale, viene descritta la condizione dell'orante (sacerdote?, cf. vv.8.10) che è stato falsamente accusato di furto (cf. vv.2–5). Egli è emarginato e allontanato dalla propria famiglia (|| נִכְרִי).

66 Per esempio, una decina di manoscritti di B. Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus* (Oxonii: e typographeo Clarendoniano 1780) II, 351 e una ventina di J.B. de Rossi, *Variae lectiones Veteris Testamenti* (Parmae: ex Regio typographeo 1788) IV, 38. Lettura preferita, ad es., da Kraus, *Psalmen*, 555, 557.

67 Sal 86,14: לִנְגָדָם לְנֶגְדָם וְעַד עָרִיצִים בְּקִשׁוֹ נִכְשִׁי וְלֹא שָׁמוּדָה לְנֶגְדָם;

Sal 54,5: כִּי יָרֵם קָמוּ עָלַי וְעָרִיצִים בְּקִשׁוֹ נִכְשִׁי לֹא שָׁמוּ אֱלֹהִים לְנֶגְדָם.

68 Pace con Castellino, *Salmi*, 142, 143.

69 J.-L. Vesco, *Le psautier de David* (LD 210; Paris: Cerf 2006) I, 493, pensa alla violenza in piena azione.

70 Per gli stranieri come avversari e/o nemici, si vedano Is 1,7; 25,2.5; 29,5; Ger 5,19; 30,8; 51,2.51; Ez 7,21; 11,9; 28,7.10; 30,12; 31,12; Os 7,9; 8,7; Gl 4,17; Lam 5,2. Cf. Gesenius Thes., 412: «Adeo de *adversariis* in codum populo degentibus, *inimicis*».

71 Zorell, 215: «*ad alcs domum, familiam, classem non pertinens, extraneus*»; Zenger si domanda se essi siano stranieri che prestano denaro («ausländische Geldverleiher?»); cf. Hossfeld – Zenger, *Psalmen 101–150*, 187.

Va notato, dunque, che הַי nella Bibbia ebraica è usato nella maggioranza dei casi con il proprio significato<sup>72</sup>, benché il confronto fra i passi dei salmi e gli altri libri faccia emergere somiglianze e differenze.

Il participio הַי, che nei Sal 44,21 e 81,10 qualifica una divinità straniera da evitare, corrisponde al suo impiego in Is 43,12; Ger 5,19 (cf. Dt 32,16; Is 17,10; Ger 2,25; 3,13; Ez 16,32). I Sal 54,5 e 109,11 (cf. 69,9), poi, hanno in comune con altri brani l'aspetto di avversario e il fatto che non adoperano questo termine nel senso giuridico di «immigrato».

Le ricorrenze salmiche che rimandano al mondo personale (54,5) e familiare (69,9; 109,11) si riferiscono agli israeliti (109,11; orante in 69,9) e probabilmente ai non israeliti (54,5)<sup>73</sup>. Qui si mette in rilievo la dimensione psicologica di solitudine, di isolamento, di «quarantena», se mi è lecito utilizzare questo termine, che gli stranieri provocano. Alla luce delle poche attestazioni nel Salterio e della loro relativa abbondanza in altri corpora, si ha l'impressione che l'avversità che tocca in sorte a un individuo sia ripresa dall'uso dello הַי nel campo pubblico, politico e militare. Di regola, in questi ambiti l'avversario è un non israelita che agisce da nemico, aggressore e/o occupante (Is 1,7; 25,2.5; 29,5; Ger 30,8; 51,51; Ez 28,7.10; Lam 5,2; cf. Gl 4,17); si appropria dei beni altrui (Ez 7,21; Abd 11; cf. Os 7,9); è strumento di castigo e di punizione (Ez 11,9; 30,12; 31,12; Os 8,7) e serve Israele (Is 61,5)<sup>74</sup>. Verso lo הַי, quindi, si adottava un atteggiamento di diffidenza.

Anche se i Sal 44,21 (וַנִּפְרֵשׁ כַּפֵּינוּ לְאֵל הַי) e 81,10 (תִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה) sono riferibili al campo culturale, soltanto il Pentateuco impiega il termine הַי nel senso di un laico («estraneo»,

72 Per l'uso metaforico, si vedano, ad es., Is 28,21 (opera straordinaria/inaudita); Ger 2,25; 3,13 (amanti); Gb 19,15 («sconosciuto»).

73 Si noti che il participio הַי ricorre assieme ad una serie di oppositori dell'orante: עֲרִיצִים, «violenti» (v.4), caratterizzati come persone che non pongono Dio davanti a loro (v.4), שָׂרֵרֵי, «miei avversari» (v.7) e אֹיְבֵי, «miei nemici» (v.8); cf. H. Birkeland, *The Evildoers in the Book of Psalms* (Avhandlingler utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo. Historisk-filosofisk klasse 2; Oslo: Dybwad 1955) 12: «gentiles»; M. Goulder, *The Prayers of David (Psalms 51–72). Studies in the Psalter, II* (JSOTSup 102; Sheffield: Academic Press 1990) 94: «foreigners»; così pure C.A. Briggs – E.G. Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms* (ICC; Edinburgh: Clark 1907) II, 17; Gunkel, *Psalmen*, 235 e Lorenzin, *I Salmi*, 226, sono in favore del significato di «nemici stranieri» (non israeliti), pur ritenendo che in origine il Sal 54,5 riportasse הַי. Altri autori propongono spiegazioni alternative. Ad esempio, Johannes P.M. van der Ploeg (*Psalmen* [De boeken van het Oude Testament 7B; Roermond: Romen 1971] 330, 331) e Frank-Lothar Hossfeld lasciano aperta la questione se si tratti di nemici interni o esterni (Hossfeld – Zenger, *Psalmen 51–100*, 87). Per Alonso Schökel – Carniti, *Salmos*, II, 745, si tratta di nemici generici. Invece, P.J. Botha, «Psalm 54: The Power of Positive Patterning», *SK* 21 (2000) 512, ritiene che: «the references to justice (“vindicate” and “requite”) indicate that the enemies were indeed members of the same society»; cf. D.G. Firth, «A Note on the Meaning of שׂוֹרֵר in the Psalms», *OTE* 11 (1998) 45: «probably not foreigners». Ispirandosi al titolo del salmo (v.2; cf. 1Sam 23,19–21; 26,1), S. Gillmayr-Bucher, «Spuren Sauls in den Psalmen», *PzB* 11 (2002) 39, è del parere che הַי siano gli abitanti di Zif, mentre הַי designino Saul e il suo esercito. P. Humbert, *Opuscules d'un hébraïsant* (Mémoires de l'Université de Neuchâtel 26; Neuchâtel: Secrétariat de l'Université 1958) 112, afferma che: «l'adjectif [הַי] revêt [...] la nuance figurée “barbare”, car le grief articulé au v. 5 ne pourrait guère concerne des “étrangers” proprement dits». Infine, secondo Vesco, *Le psautier*, I, 493, il termine הַי sarebbe usato in senso peggiorativo (Sal 109,11).

74 Nonostante il riconoscimento della pericolosità e inimicizia di הַי, ci sembra riduttiva l'opinione secondo cui הַי sarebbe usato in senso più o meno neutro; cf. H.-G. Wüch, «The Stranger in God's Land – Foreigner, Stranger, Guest. What Can We Learn from Israel's Attitude towards Strangers?», *OTE* 27 (2014) 1129, 1134, 1138–1139, 1142.

«profano»), che cioè non è né sacerdote, né levita, né membro di una famiglia sacerdotale (cf. Es 29,33; 30,33; Lv 22,10.13; Nm 1,51; 3,10.38; 17,5; 18,4.7).

### 1.5. Il nome תושב

Il termine תושב («ospite temporaneo», «forestiero», «servo», «domestico») è attestato nella Bibbia 14 volte<sup>75</sup>, di cui otto in Lv (22,10; 25,6.23.35.40.45.47bis). Le rimanenti sei ricorrenze sono distribuite, una per ogni libro, in Gn, Es, Nm, 1Re, 1Cr e nel Salterio, dove il vocabolo ricorre insieme con גר, «forestiero» (cf. Gn 23,4; Lv 25,23.35.47; Nm 35,15; 1Cr 29,15; con גרים, Lv 25,6.45).

Nel Sal 39, l'orante non è propriamente un forestiero, nonostante si autodefinisca תושב (e גר, v.13). Con questa qualifica, egli allude alla transitorietà della sua condizione (cf. 1Cr 29,15)<sup>76</sup> e presenta, supplice, la propria precaria condizione di abbandono davanti a Dio perché lo soccorra esaudendo la sua preghiera. L'uso metaforico di תושב (Sal 39,13) è riscontrabile altrove due volte. Lv 25,23 stabilisce il principio per cui la terra non può essere venduta per sempre. Di conseguenza gli ebrei si devono considerare come תושבים, «ospiti temporanei» e גרים, «emigrati». In 1Cr 29,15, Davide, a nome del popolo, definisce Israele תושבים e גרים, privi di speranza di fronte a Dio.

Fuori dal Salterio il lessema è usato in senso proprio. Anche se al תושב (e al שקיר)<sup>77</sup> è vietato di partecipare alla Pasqua con gli israeliti (cf. Es 12,45)<sup>78</sup> ed essere nutrito con le offerte sacre, mentre è ospite del sacerdote (come anche lo זר, cf. Lv 22,10)<sup>79</sup>, egli rimane tuttavia oggetto di tutela ordinaria (cf. Lv 25,35.40). Lv 25,6 menziona anche il sostegno che si deve al תושב durante l'anno sabbatico. Giustapponendogli il שקיר e il גר, questo brano potrebbe contribuire a indentificare il תושב con colui che riceve il cibo dal datore di lavoro e abita nella sua proprietà (cf. Lv 22,10), a differenza del שקיר che riceve il salario per le sue prestazioni, e del גר che gode di maggiori diritti<sup>80</sup>. L'assistenza del תושב include anche il caso dell'omicidio involontario. Alla pari di un israelita e di un גר, egli può cercare asilo nelle città di rifugio (cf. Nm 35,15). I suoi figli (e del גר) possono essere acquisiti come schiavi di un ebreo (Lv 25,45). Viceversa, un תושב (e un גר) facoltoso può comprare un ebreo come suo schiavo (Lv 25,47).

75 Cf. Even-Shoshan, 1226.

76 Cf. Spina, «Israelites», 332, n. 3; Ramírez Kidd, *Alterity*, 108. Asensio, «Sugerencias», 424, mette in risalto la condizione di fragilità.

77 Si vedano, inoltre, Lv 22,10; 25,6.40 in cui il שקיר, «mercenario», «salariato», «bracciante», è appaiato al תושב.

78 Es 12,48.49 lo permette, invece, al גר, cosicché il תושב ha meno diritti nei confronti del גר.

79 Invece, D. Kellermann, «גרים», *ThWAT* I, 990 = *GLAT* I, 2021, accoglie l'opinione di K. Elliger, *Leviticus* (HAT 1/4; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck] 1966) 293–294, che indentifica il גר con il תושב.

80 Cf. J.-F. Lefebvre, *Le jubilé biblique. Lv 25 – exégèse et théologie* (OBO 194; Fribourg – Göttingen: Éditions Universitaires – Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2003) 54–71; Deiana, *Levitico*, 268 e n. 8.



## 1.6. L'aggettivo אָהַר

L'aggettivo אָהַר («altro», «altrui, estraneo, straniero», «diverso, nuovo», «successivo») è attestato 166 volte nella Bibbia ebraica<sup>81</sup> e ricorre cinque volte nel Salterio, riferendosi una volta a un dio (אָהַר, 16,4; cf. אֵל || יְרֵאֵל, 81,10)<sup>82</sup> e quattro volte agli esseri umani (49,11; 109,8.13; 105,13)<sup>83</sup>. In questi salmi e anche altrove non compare mai in coppia con נִכְרִי, גֵּר, זָר, נֶכֶד, וְתוֹשֵׁב.

All'aggettivo אָהַר è attribuibile il valore generico di «altro», che va acquistando sfumature più precise a seconda del contesto e dei correlati. Nei Sal 49,11 e 109,8 assume l'accezione di «altro», nel senso di «differente» da quanto ci si aspetta<sup>84</sup>, mentre nel Sal 109,13 quella di «seguente», «successivo». Nel Sal 105,13 || 1Cr 16,20 indica probabilmente una nazione straniera (עַם אָהַר; cf. Dt 28,32)<sup>85</sup> presso la quale soggiornava Israele<sup>86</sup>.

Nel Salterio אָהַר non assume, invece, il significato specifico di un individuo proveniente da un paese straniero, come gli invasori di Ger 6,12 e 8,10 (אֲחֵרִים)<sup>87</sup>, né il significato metaforico di lingua straniera con cui Yhwh parla al popolo (בְּלִשׁוֹן אֲחֵרֶת, Is 28,11). Infine, in Ger 22,26 la frase הָאָרֶץ אֲחֵרֶת indica la terra straniera (Babilonia), il paese in cui soggiornano i deportati (Conia, figlio del re Ioiakim) fino alla morte.

## 1.7. L'hapax לֵעֹז

Terminiamo la presentazione lessicografica con l'hapax לֵעֹז (*Qal* ptc. att. m. sg. di לעֹז) del Sal 114,1. Commemorando l'esodo dall'Egitto (cf. יצֵא *Qal*, Es 12,41; 13,3.4.8; 14,8; Sal 81,6; 105,38; ecc.), il salmista ricorda che la casa di Giacobbe ha lasciato definitivamente questo luogo di residenza, chiamato appunto מִצְרַיִם e il popolo egizio che parlava un'altra lingua, inintelligibile a Israele (עַם לֵעֹז)<sup>88</sup>. L'interpretazione tradizionale del Sal 81,6 ricorda

81 Cf. Even-Shoshan, 39–40. Lisowsky, 49–50, non include erroneamente 1Re 3,22.

82 Per אָהַר, sg., dio straniero, estraneo, altrui, si vedano Is 42,8; 48,11 (cf. אֵל אָהַר, Es 34,14). Molto più frequente (63x) è l'espressione אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים, attestata soprattutto in Ger (18x) e Dt (17x); cf. Even-Shoshan, 40; S. Erlandsson, «אָהַר», *ThWAT* I, 218 = *GLATI*, 425; E. Jenni, «אָהַר 'hr danach», *THAT* I, 113–114 = *DTAT* I, 98–99.

83 Circa 44x altrove nella Bibbia, di cui forse quattro in riferimento allo straniero (Dt 28,32; Ger 6,12; 8,10; 1Cr 16,20).

84 Cf. Is 65,22; Ger 6,12; Sal 109,8; Pro 5,9; Qo 7,22; Dn 11,4; 12,5. Si veda anche אָהַר con אִישׁ (cf. Gn 29,19; Dt 20,5.6.7; 24,2; 28,30; 1Sam 10,6; 2Sam 18,26; 1Re 20,37; Ger 3,1) e con אִשָּׁה (cf. Gdc 11,2; 1Re 3,22; 1Cr 2,26).

85 Cf. anche אֲחֵרֶת אֲרֵץ (Dt 29,27; Ger 22,26) e מְקוֹם אָהַר (Ez 12,3).

86 Piuttosto che una donna straniera, l'espressione אִשָּׁה אֲחֵרֶת di Gdc 11,2 denota וְזוֹנָה del v.1.

87 Meno sicuri sono Gn 29,19 (לְאִישׁ אֲחֵרֶת), che potrebbe indicare un altro uomo, e Dn 11,4 (לְאֲחֵרִים), che potrebbe riferirsi ad altri successori.

88 Su questo concordano sia le versioni antiche (i LXX ἐκ λαοῦ βαρβάρου, la VL, la Vg e Hier *de populo barbaro*; Aq ἀπὸ λαοῦ ἑτερογλώσσου; Sym ἐκ λαοῦ ἀλλοφώνου; la Syr ܠܥܘܙ ܠܥܘܙ, «dal popolo di lingua straniera»; il Tg מְעַמֵי כְּרִיבָא, «dal popolo barbaro», cioè che parla una lingua straniera), che i lessici moderni (Gesenius *Thes.*, 758; BDB, 541; Zorell, 400; *HALAT*, 506; Ges18, 613; *DCH* IV, 555; *DBHE*, 394). Per le varie etimologie, si possono vedere: Wagner, *Aramaismen*, 71 (n° 148); F.E. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew. A Study of the Phenomenon and Its Treatment since Antiquity with Special Reference to Verbal Forms* (SBLDS 74; Chico, CA: Scholars Press 1984) 87, 132; W.H. Propp, *Water in the Wilderness. A Biblical Motif and Its Mythological Background* (HSM 40; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press 1987) 24. Stimolante per un'ulteriore ricerca sulle possibili connotazioni di לֵעֹז è lo studio di S.A. Geller, «The Language of Imagery in

questo fatto con le parole לֹא־יִדְעָתִי אֲשֶׁר־מַעַץ, «una voce che non capisco io sento». Anche se sono state addotte varie proposte alternative<sup>89</sup>, il Sal 81 può gettare però luce sul tono di sollievo e di festa riscontrabile nel Sal 114. Infatti, l'uscita d'Israele pone termine ai lavori forzati e al tempo del tormento (cf. Sal 81,7–8). Infine, il Sal 114 suggerisce che il soggiorno in un paese straniero comporti inevitabilmente la difficoltà di relazionarsi con i nativi per via di una lingua nuova e/o sconosciuta<sup>90</sup>.

## 2. Altri motivi

Benché l'analisi svolta fino ad ora sia propedeutica a qualsiasi esame successivo, essa non esaurisce il tema trattato, dal momento che alcune caratteristiche dello straniero nel Salterio sono delineabili, infatti, soltanto a partire dal contesto.

Crediamo, quindi, opportuno integrare l'indagine lessicale attraverso la presentazione selettiva e succinta di alcuni salmi e addurre altri motivi e argomenti letterari. A causa della presenza più consistente di argomenti inerenti alla nostra trattazione, la scelta è caduta su tre salmi: i Sal 105 e 106<sup>91</sup> rivisitano selettivamente la storia di Israele («salmi storici»;

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Psalm 114», *Lingering over Words. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran* (a cura di T. Abusch *et al.*) (HSS 37; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press 1990) 179–194, spec. 191–194.

<sup>89</sup> Ad es., Castellino, *Salmi*, 683, ha difficoltà nell'intendere הַפֶּשֶׁשׁ come lingua d'Egitto e preferisce l'accezione di «parole», «discorso» (cf. Pro 17,4.7). K.W. Weyde, «Psalm 81 and Chronicles», *Fromme und Frevler. Studien zu Psalmen und Weisheit. Festschrift für Hermann Spieckermann zum 70. Geburtstag* (a cura di C. Körtling – R. Kratz) (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2020) 129, ha avanzato l'ipotesi che הַפֶּשֶׁשׁ sia la «voce» divina che si rivela al locutore. Questa proposta si adatterebbe meglio come introduzione all'*oratio directa* dei vv.7–17.

<sup>90</sup> Y. Zakovitch, «The Exodus – The Biblical Big Bang. Reading Psalm 114», *Der immer neue Exodus. Aneignungen und Transformationen des Exodusmotivs* (a cura di C. Neuber) (SBS 242; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk 2018) 90: «The characterization of the Egyptians as *l'z* people, thus, portrays a threat to Israel – a feeling of powerlessness in the presence of the mighty rulers whose language and intention cannot be understood. The difference between ruler and ruled – the inferiority of the dominated people – demonstrates the extreme importance of the separation, the placement of a barrier and a border between the dissimilar peoples». Si vedano anche H. Bosman, «Psalm 114 as Reinterpretation of the Exodus during and after the Exile», *OTE* 26 (2013) 578; G. Glaßner, «Aufbruch als Heimat. Zur Theologie des 114. Psalms», *ZKT* 116 (1994) 473.

<sup>91</sup> La denominazione di «salmi gemelli» è stata proposta da Walther Zimmerli, «Zwillingspsalmen», *Wort, Lied und Gottespruch. Beiträge zu Psalmen und Propheten. Festschrift für Joseph Ziegler* (a cura di J. Schreiner) (FB 2; Würzburg: Echter – Katholisches Bibelwerk 1972) 109–111, il quale precisa che i Sal 105–106 «entstammen nach Sprache und Einzelaufriß verschiedenen Händen» (111). Invece, Briggs – Briggs, *Psalms*, II, 342, afferma che «Ps. 105–106 were originally one Ps.». Il loro abbinamento è stato favorevolmente accolto dagli esegeti che adottano l'approccio canonico nell'analisi dei salmi, ad es., D. Scaiola, «Una cosa ha detto Dio, due ne ho udite». *Fenomeni di composizione appaiata nel Salterio Masoretico* (Studia 47; Città del Vaticano: Urbaniana University Press 2002) 408–411; F.-L. Hossfeld, «Eine poetische Universalgeschichte. Ps 105 im Kontext der Psalmentrias 104–106», *Das Manna fällt auch heute noch. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theologie des Alten, Ersten Testaments. Festschrift für Erich Zenger* (a cura di F.-L. Hossfeld – L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger) (Herders biblische Studien 44; Freiburg: Herder 2004) 306–308; S. Gillingham, «Psalms 105 and 106 and the Participation in History through Liturgy», *HBAI* 4 (2015) 462, afferma che i Sal 105 e 106 «have been composed (and in my view, brought together) to serve a liturgical purpose».

cf. Sal 78, 135, 136)<sup>92</sup>, offrendone una lettura teologica, mentre il Sal 137 tratteggia la situazione dei giudei nella terra dei due fiumi. A differenza dei contributi che ne discutono gli aspetti teologici e antropologici<sup>93</sup>, vorremmo enucleare quelli che contribuiscono a presentare Israele come straniero.

## 2.1. Salmo 105

Il Sal 105 illustra il ruolo inappellabile di Dio che agisce nella storia di Israele<sup>94</sup>. L'indole teocentrica del testo e l'interesse teologico del salmista fanno sì che il Sal 105 apporti un contributo indiretto al tema dello straniero dal punto di vista sociologico e culturale.

Israele è anzitutto un immigrato cui è promessa in eredità la terra (v.11), come affermano varie tradizioni inglobate nei vv.12–45. Nella tradizione dedicata ai patriarchi (vv.12–15; cf. Gn 12–36), Israele è un גַּר trascurabile che risiede in Canaan (v.12)<sup>95</sup>. In quanto nomade deve migrare a più riprese, soggiornando tra popoli e regni diversi (v.13) e vivere sotto la minaccia dell'oppressione (v.14). La carestia (רָעָב) in Canaan lo costringe alla migrazione (v.16; cf. Gn 12,10; 26,1.3; 47,4; 1Re 17,7.20; 2Re 8,1–2; Rt 1,1)<sup>96</sup>, dal momento che dalla penuria di cibo (כָּל־מַטֵּה־לֶחֶם שָׁבַר)<sup>97</sup> deriva la mancanza di lavoro e, quindi, la scarsità dei mezzi sufficienti per sostenere la famiglia dei pastori (cf. Gn 46,32; 47,3–4).

Alla ricerca di migliori condizioni di vita, Israele scende in Egitto e diventa גַּר (v.23). Le vicissitudini di Giuseppe, che ne costituiscono il preludio facendone una sorta di straniero esemplare, rispecchiano, infatti, la vita di un forestiero esposto

92 Cf. F.C. Fensham, «Neh. 9 and Pss. 105, 106, 135 and 136. Post-Exilic Historical Traditions in Poetic Form», *JNSL* 9 (1981) 35–51; J. Gärtner, *Die Geschichtspsalmen. Eine Studie zu den Psalmen 78, 105, 106, 135 und 136 als hermeneutische Schlüsseltexte im Psalter* (FAT 84; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2012); A. Klein, *Geschichte und Gebet. Die Rezeption der biblischen Geschichte in den Psalmen des Alten Testaments* (FAT 94; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2014); J. Gärtner, «The Historical Psalms. A Study of Psalms 78; 105; 106; 135, and 136 as Key Hermeneutical Texts in the Psalter», *HBAI* 4 (2015) 373–399; ecc.

93 Per i Sal 105, 106, cf. M.G. McKelvey, *Moses, David, and the High Kingship of Yahweh. A Canonical Study of Book IV of the Psalter* (Gorgias Dissertations in Biblical Studies 55; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias 2010) 221–252. Per il Sal 137, si veda A. Wénin, *Salmi censurati. Quando la preghiera assume toni violenti* (Studi Biblici 83; Bologna: EDB 2017) 95–101; D. Simango, «A Comprehensive Reading of Psalm 137», *OTE* 31 (2018) 217–242.

94 In virtù della citazione del Sal 105 in 1Cr 16,18ss, M. Dahood, *Psalms III* (AB 17A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1970) 51, propende per «a pre-Exilic date of composition». Secondo R.J. Clifford, «Style and Purpose in Psalm 105», *Bib* 60 (1979) 427, il salmo sarebbe del VI sec. N. Füglistler, «Psalm 105 und die Väterverheißung», *Die Väter Israels. Beiträge zur Theologie der Patriarchenüberlieferungen im Alten Testament* (a cura di M. Görg) (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk 1989) 46: «exilische (bzw. nachexilische) Milieu», precisando che «Der “terminus ad quem” unseres Psalms ist jedenfalls ungefähr um 300 v. Chr. anzusetzen»; Fensham, «Neh. 9», 35, tra l'esilio e il Cronista (idem per il Sal 106). Postesilico secondo S. Gillingham, «The Exodus Tradition and Israelite Psalmody», *SJT* 52 (1999) 40; Vesco, *Le psautier*, II, 990; ecc. Dello stesso parere è Kraus, *Psalmen*, 892, secondo il quale il Sal 105 presuppone l'esistenza del Pentateuco e del Sal 78.

95 Cf. אָרְצוֹן מִגְרִיָּה, Gn 17,8; אָרְצוֹן מִגְרִיָּהם אֲשֶׁר־גָּרוּ בָּהּ, Es 6,4.

96 M.A. Stinson, «Turning Tables in Israel's History. Food Language and Reversals in Psalms 105 and 106», *CBQ* 83 (2021) 593–595, rileva che la fame provoca il rovesciamento della situazione d'Israele.

97 Per שָׁבַר מַטֵּה־לֶחֶם, lett. «rompere il bastone di pane» («togliere il sostegno del pane»), si vedano Lv 26,26; Ez 4,16; 5,16; 14,13. Per l'interpretazione di questa espressione, si vedano, ad es., Kraus, *Psalmen*, 894; Dahood, *Psalms III*, 56.

all'alternarsi di gioie e sofferenze nella terra di accoglienza (vv.16–22<sup>98</sup>; cf. Gn 37–50). Anche se il salmista tace i dettagli del conflitto con i fratelli, tuttavia egli rammenta che la ragione del soggiorno di Giuseppe risiede nel fatto di essere stato reso schiavo (לְעֶבֶד נִמְכַר, v.17)<sup>99</sup>. Alla riduzione in schiavitù segue la prigionia (v.18) che, grazie alla nascosta azione provvidenziale di Dio, gli permette di entrare in relazione con chi governa il paese (v.20). Giuseppe è nominato amministratore della casa del faraone (מִשְׁלַל מִצְרַיִם, v.21) e diventa sapiente maestro degli anziani egizi (v.22)<sup>100</sup>, cioè degli alti dignitari e consiglieri del faraone (cf. Is 19,11)<sup>101</sup>.

Nella sezione dedicata ai figli di Giacobbe in Egitto (vv.23–38; cf. Es 1–15<sup>102</sup>), Israele, emigrato (בָּרַח, v.23) sulle sponde del Nilo, gode dello stesso status di בָּרַח di cui beneficiavano i patriarchi in Canaan (בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם, v.12). Nella terra di Cam (vv.23,27; 106,22; cf. 78,51)<sup>103</sup> diventa fecondo e forte (v.24) ed è sentito come una minaccia incontrollabile per il paese che lo ospita. Di conseguenza, la sua libertà viene limitata ed è trattato in modo inumano (con oppressione, odio, inganno, v.25; cf. Es 1,8–14; 5,4–19; Sal 81,7–8; Sap 19,14.16; ecc.). L'abbandono definitivo del paese inospitale si presenta come l'unica opzione per Israele בָּרַח (v.38)<sup>104</sup>. La nuova migrazione si realizza attraverso la precaria permanenza nel deserto (cf. Es 15,22–Dt) in cui Israele va in cerca della propria patria (vv.39–41), riceve da Dio le terre dei popoli di Canaan<sup>105</sup> ed eredita il loro ricco patrimonio aumentato con fatica (v.44)<sup>106</sup>.

98 A.R. Ceresko, «A Poetic Analysis of Ps 105, with Attention to Its Use of Irony», *Bib* 64 (1983) 33–36, studia l'ironia di questi versetti.

99 La scelta della forma *Niphal* נִמְכַר, «fu venduto», lascia aperta la questione del complemento d'agente: potrebbero essere i suoi fratelli (Gn 37,28; 45,4.5; cf. At 7,9; Alonso Schökel – Carniti, *Salmos*, II, 1322) oppure i medianiti (Gn 37,36) o ancora gli ismaeliti (39,1).

100 Questo dettaglio è assente nella storia di Giuseppe, anche se potrebbe essere incluso implicitamente in Gn 41,40, dove il popolo deve eseguire gli ordini di Giuseppe; cf. P. McMillion, «Psalm 105. History with a Purpose», *ResQ* 52 (2010) 175.

101 Cf. Kraus, *Psalmen*, 894; Vesco, *Le psautier*, II, 982.

102 Gillingham, «The Exodus», 40, registra nel Sal 105,23–36 un ordine diverso rispetto a quello presente in Esodo e l'omissione della quinta (la morte del bestiame) e della sesta piaga (le ulcere). Su questo ultimo argomento, si vedano B. Margulis, «Plagues Tradition in Ps 105», *Bib* 50 (1969) 491–496; S.E. Loewenstamm, «Number of Plagues in Psalm 105», *Bib* 52 (1971) 34–38; A.C.C. Lee, «Genesis i and the Plagues Tradition in Psalm cv», *VT* 40 (1990) 257–263; Hossfeld, «Universalgeschichte», 300–302; McMillion, «Psalm 105», 175; W.D. Tucker Jr., «Revisiting the Plagues in Psalm cv», *VT* 55 (2005) 401–411; M. Klusková, «Prawda o Bogu i Jego planie dla Izraela w Ps 105 i 106», *BibAn* 7 (2017) 220–222; ecc.

103 Si tratta verosimilmente dell'uso tardivo di מִצְרַיִם per Egitto; cf. Kraus, *Psalmen*, 894.

104 Klusková, «Prawda», 210, nota che il Sal 105 presenta l'uscita dall'Egitto alla luce del nuovo esodo da Babilonia (cf. v.37b e Is 63,7–64,11, in particolare 63,13; v.43 e Is 51,11).

105 אֶרֶצוֹת גֹּיִם (v.44a) si può identificare con מְדִינֵי כְּנָעַן del v.11; cf. Ceresko, «A Poetic Analysis», 27, 39; Füglistner, «Psalm 105», 55; Stinson, «Turning Tables», 592; ecc.

106 In questa maniera viene di solito interpretato il nome עֵינָן; cf. Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, 653; Briggs – Briggs, *Psalms*, II, 348; Clifford, «Style», 427; Füglistner, «Psalm 105», 54–55; Klusková, «Prawda», 217; Lorenzin, *I Salmi*, 409; Hossfeld – Zenger, *Psalmen 101–150*, 108; ecc.

## 2.2. Salmo 106

La peccaminosità di Israele e la fedeltà di Dio sono fra i temi del Sal 106, che inizia parlando dell'Egitto (cf. Sal 78), invece che dei patriarchi (cf. Sal 105).

Senza far ricorso ai termini analizzati nel primo paragrafo, il Sal 106<sup>107</sup> contiene però alcuni motivi che aiutano a delineare la figura dello straniero. Questi elementi coincidono in parte con ciò che è emerso dall'analisi precedente e vengono di regola tralasciati dai commentatori concentrati sulla lettura teologica della storia<sup>108</sup>. Anche se un quadro sociologico dello straniero *tout-court* è difficilmente ricostruibile, emergono in ogni caso alcuni punti importanti.

In questa «confessione generale»<sup>109</sup> la storia di Israele è riletta dalla prospettiva dell'esilio<sup>110</sup> con modulazioni sostanzialmente negative.

Alla confessione dei peccati (v.6; cf. Is 64,4b-6; Ger 3,25; Dn 9,5-6; Esd 9,6-15; Ne 1,7; 9,32-34; Ba 1,15-3,8; ecc.)<sup>111</sup> seguono gli avvenimenti che vanno dall'esodo all'esi-

107 In base alla menzione del vitello d'oro (v.19), N.H. Richardson, «Psalm 106. Yahweh's Succoring Love Saves from the Death of a Broken Covenant», *Love & Death in the Ancient Near East. Essays in Honor of Marvin H. Pope* (a cura di J.H. Marks – R.M. Good) (Guilford, CT: Four Quarters 1987) 197, propende per una datazione verso la fine del regno del nord, dopo la caduta di Samaria. La sua proposta ha suscitato la forte critica di G. Kugler, «The Dual Role of Historiography in Psalm 106. Justifying the Present Distress and Demonstrating the Individual's Potential Contribution», *ZAW* 126 (2014) 546-549, che, in virtù dei contatti letterari con Ez 20, opta per il periodo successivo all'esilio di Ioiachin. W. Beyerlin, «Der nervus rerum in Psalm 106», *ZAW* 86 (1974) 58: «eine spätere Phase der Zeit des babylonischen Exils». Invece, sulla scorta dei richiami tratti dal Pentateuco e da 1Cr 16, V. Pröbstl, *Nehemia 9, Psalm 106 und Psalm 136 und die Rezeption des Pentateuchs* (Göttingen: Cuvillier 1997) 178, propone una datazione postesilica «zwischen dem Abschluß des Pentateuchs und dem des chr. Werkes». Ugualmente, Gillingham, «The Exodus», 40, si schiera in favore dell'origine postesilica, precisando che dal punto di vista cronologico il Sal 106 potrebbe essere anteriore al Sal 105 (41). Di parere simile è Klein, *Geschichte*, 215, il quale ritiene che la supplica conclusiva «radunaci dalle genti» (v.47) suggerisca la provenienza postesilica del Sal 106; cf. Kraus, *Psalmen*, 900, dopo la chiusura del Pentateuco; Gärtner, *Die Geschichtspsalmen*, 243: «eine spätnachexilische Datierung». Infine, G.J. Brooke, «Psalms 105 and 106 at Qumran», *RevQ* 14 (1989) 291, alla luce di possibili allusioni al Sal 106 in Ben Sira, Giubilei e Documento di Damasco afferma «the beginning of the second century BCE or slightly earlier».

108 Nella sua dissertazione di dottorato, Pröbstl, *Nehemia 9*, 165-169, offre uno sguardo sintetico di questa rilettura, indicando convenientemente i riferimenti biblici.

109 L'espressione è stata coniata da Gunkel, *Psalmen*, 464, che definisce il Sal 106 «“Generalbeichte” Israels»; cf. M. Mannati – É. de Solms, *Les Psaumes* (Cahiers de la Pierre-qui-Vire; Paris: Desclée de Brouwer 1967) III, 294; Alonso Schökel – Carniti, *Salmos*, II, 1330; Lorenzin, *I Salmi*, 409: «una confessione generale di peccati storici (sette commessi durante l'esodo e uno continuato nella terra promessa)»; Vesco, *Le psautier*, II, 1000; ecc.

110 Cf. Gärtner, *Die Geschichtspsalmen*, 241: «In Ps 106 blicken die Beter aus der Perspektive des Exils auf ihre Geschichte zurück».

111 J. Gärtner, «The Torah in Psalm 106. Interpretation of JHWH's Saving Act at the Red Sea», *The Composition of the Book of Psalms* (a cura di E. Zenger) (BETL 238; Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA: Peeters 2010) 479, nota giustamente che il v.6 offre una chiave di lettura delle vicende di Israele, che ruota intorno alla storia di colpa. Nella sua *Habilitationsschrift*, l'autrice precisa che nel v.6 «[es] geht [...] nicht um die Schuld der gegenwärtigen Generation, sondern um eine generationenübergreifende Schuld» («una colpa che si estende alle generazioni»; corsivo del testo); cf. Pröbstl, *Nehemia 9*, 165: «Der Geschichtsrückblick steht unter der Überschrift des Sündenbekenntnisses v.6»; Gärtner, *Die Geschichtspsalmen*, 197.

lio (vv.7–42). Richiamando la storia dell'esodo (vv.7–12), si accenna anche all'abbandono del rapporto con Dio da parte degli antenati che vivevano in Egitto (v.7)<sup>112</sup>. Odiati dagli abitanti locali che li trattavano da nemici (v.10; cf. Sal 105,25; Es 1,8–10), i padri hanno sperimentato gravi difficoltà<sup>113</sup>.

La descrizione delle tappe nel deserto fino all'Oreb (vv.13–23) presuppone la condizione di Israele come migrante senza terra (v.14; cf. Nm 11,4; Sal 107,4) privo di cibo (v.15; cf. 107,5), ribelle contro le proprie guide (vv.16–18; cf. Nm 16,1–35) e incline all'idolatria, tanto da negare l'esclusività di Yhwh (vv.19–20; cf. Es 31,18–32,35).

Nell'interpretazione degli eventi, la dispersione degli israeliti (discendenti dei padri) tra le genti (v.27)<sup>114</sup> è considerata una conseguenza del loro comportamento religiosamente riprovevole (vv.24–33; Nm 25,1–8; cf. Es 17,1–7; Nm 20,5–13).

Nella panoramica sul tempo trascorso nella terra promessa (vv.34–42)<sup>115</sup>, Israele convive con i popoli di Canaan (v.34), contrae matrimoni misti (ערב II *Hitp*, «mescolarsi», «unirsi», «accompagnarsi», «associarsi», «imparentarsi», v.35; cf. Esd 9,2)<sup>116</sup>, apprende le loro opere (מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם, v.35), fa proprie le usanze dell'ambiente circostante e le forme estreme dell'idolatria (vv.36–39; cf. Dt 34,1–36,1)<sup>117</sup>. Così facendo finisce per cadere in una sorta di sincretismo. Ne deriva la perdita dell'identità nazionale e dell'autonomia politica visto che le popolazioni straniere dominano Israele e lo disprezzano (v.41). Israele conosce l'oppressione della schiavitù asfissiante (v.42) e, alla mercé dei babilonesi che lo hanno

112 Non hanno capito (שָׁכַח *Hi*) le meraviglie di Dio, non hanno pensato/ricordato (זָכַר) il suo amore fedele (חֶסֶד) e si sono ribellati (מָרָד *Hi*).

113 Cf. Pröbstl, *Nehemia* 9, 137.

114 I vv.27.46.47 presuppongono la deportazione e la dispersione nei paesi dei pagani, cf. Beyerlin, «Der nervus», 58. Basandosi su Ez 20,18–26, Gärtner, *Die Geschichtsbücher*, 218, ritiene che il Sal 106,26–27 superi la prospettiva della generazione del deserto e prospetti la punizione dell'esilio. La guerra potrebbe essere la causa della migrazione forzata. Il verbo זָרַח denota la dispersione delle persone tra altri popoli e/o in altre terre (cf. 1Re 14,15; Ez 6,8; 29,12; 30,23.26) e anche quella di Israele in Babilonia (cf. Lv 26,33; Ger 31,10; Ez 12,15; Zc 2,2.4; Sal 44,12; ecc.). Per rendere quest'idea ancora più forte, la lezione וַיִּזְרַח del v.27 è stata emendata in וַיִּקְרַח, propendendo per un errore scribale (influenzato da וַיִּקְרַח del v.26?); cf. F. Baethgen, *Die Psalmen* (HKAT 2/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1892) 326; F. Delitzsch, *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament* (Berlin – Leipzig: De Gruyter 1920) § 99b. L'ipotesi poggia sul parallelismo di וַיִּקְרַח con וַיִּזְרַח, su Ez 20,23 וַיִּזְרַח אֶתְּמֵן וַיִּזְרַח אֶתְּמֵן וַיִּזְרַח אֶתְּמֵן וַיִּזְרַח אֶתְּמֵן; cf. Ez 12,15; 22,15; 29,12; 30,23.26; 36,19), che include letteralmente il Sal 106,27, sulla Syr ܘܢܘܫܝܗܘܢ, «e disperdere» e sul Tg וַיִּזְרַח, «ed esiliare». Essa è stata accolta da HALAT, 671; Ges 18, 832; Castellino, *Salmi*, 712, 895; Kraus, *Psalmen*, 897, 899; Allen, *Psalms*, 63, 65; ecc. Invece, DCHV, 721, lascia aperte tutte e due le possibilità: «place among nations (Ps 106,27 [or em.; see Subj.]) [...] (or em. וַיִּזְרַח and to scatter, i.e. פיץ hi.)». Si deve notare che il testo ebraico del v.27 non presenta varianti significative; esso trova il sostegno dei LXX και τοῦ καταβαλεῖν, della VL, della Vg e di Hier *et ut deceret*, ed è seguito da BDB, 658: «bring to destruction»; DBHE, 503: «dar muerte a N»; Dahood, *Psalms III*, 65; Lorenzin, *I Salmi*, 395; Vesco, *Le psautier*, II, 995; Hossfeld – Zenger, *Psalmen 101–150*, 118; ecc.

115 Secondo Pröbstl, *Nehemia* 9, 164–165, i vv.34–43 sono un riassunto dei libri storici.

116 Cf. Castellino, *Salmi*, 715.

117 Si tratta forse del tentativo di integrarsi, interpretato dal salmista come una specie di «secolarizzazione», ossia di abbandono delle tradizioni per adottare la cultura dell'ambiente circostante. Questa scelta è condannata anche dalla corrente esclusivista (cf. Esd 9,1–10,17; Ne 13,15–30).

deportato (שׁוֹבֵי־הָאָרֶץ, v.46; cf. שׁוֹבֵי־נוֹ, Sal 137,3; Dt 30,3)<sup>118</sup>, vive nella speranza di un possibile rimpatrio (v.47; cf. Ger 31,10).

### 2.3. Salmo 137

Riprendendo retrospettivamente (cf. זָכַר, vv.1.6) la situazione degli esiliati<sup>119</sup>, il Sal 137<sup>120</sup> descrive in maniera tipica i sentimenti dello straniero<sup>121</sup>. Si tratta di una caratteristica che non trova altro riscontro nel Salterio ed è rara altrove (cf. Ez 3,15; Ne 1,4; Ba 1,5)<sup>122</sup>. Va detto però che la rappresentazione poetica<sup>123</sup> del salmista è teologico-antropologica e diverge dalla realtà socioeconomica vissuta dagli esiliati in Babilonia<sup>124</sup>. Dalla documentazione che ci è pervenuta<sup>125</sup>, risulta che i giudei godevano di una relativa libertà e agiatezza. Gio-

- 118 K. Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus. Untersuchungen zur doppelten Begründung der Ursprünge Israels innerhalb der Geschichtsbücher des Alten Testaments* (WMANT 81; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag 1999) 313: «Für diese Situation [Israels in der Diaspora] ist Ps 106 eine plausible Ursprungsgeschichte», seguito da Gärtner, *Die Geschichtspsalmen*, 234; cf. A. Lauha, *Die Geschichtsmotive in den alttestamentlichen Psalmen* (AASF 56/1; Helsinki: Der Finnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1945) 124; Pröbstl, *Nebemia* 9, 147; F.-L. Hossfeld, «Ps 106 und die priesterliche Überlieferung des Pentateuch», *Textarbeit. Studien zu Texten und ihrer Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament und der Umwelt Israels. Festschrift für Peter Weimar zur Vollendung seines 60. Lebensjahres* (a cura di K. Kiesow – T. Meurer) (AOAT 294; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag 2003) 264.
- 119 Secondo A. Klein, «Sehnsucht nach Zion und Wunsch nach Vergeltung. Theologien des Exils in Psalm 137», *Fromme und Frevler. Studien zu Psalmen und Weisheit. Festschrift für Hermann Spieckermann zum 70. Geburtstag* (a cura di C. Körting – R. Kratz) (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2020) 166, lo sfondo storico del Sal 137 sarebbe l'esilio storico in Babilonia e la dispersione d'Israele nella diaspora.
- 120 Per il quadro generale della datazione, del *Sitz im Leben*, del genere letterario del salmo e della sua strutturazione, si vedano J. Ahn, «Psalm 137. Complex Communal Laments», *JBL* 127 (2008) 270–274; K. Liess, «Centre and Periphery in Psalm 137», *Centres and Peripheries in the Early Second Temple Period* (a cura di E. Ben Zvi – C. Levin) (FAT 108; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2016) 376–379; Simango, «Psalm 137», 229–234.
- 121 Cf. Lauha, *Die Geschichtsmotive*, 124; S. Bar-Efrat, «Love of Zion. A Literary Interpretation of Psalm 137», *Tehillah le-Moshe. Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Moshe Greenberg* (a cura di M. Cogan – B.L. Eichler – J.H. Tigay) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 1997) 11.
- 122 Questi sentimenti d'Israele straniero in Babilonia sono paragonabili a quelli di chi è rimasto in Giudea soffrendo dello stress post-traumatico (PTSD), come è descritto, ad es., in Lam 1,1–5.11.16–17.21; 2,5.10–13.18–19.21; 3,48–49.54; 4,4; 5,15; ecc.; cf. X. Li, «Post-traumatic Growth, Belief in a Just World, and Psalm 137:9», *BTB* 51 (2021) 177. Sulla situazione della Giudea sotto il dominio babilonese, si veda la tesi di dottorato di O. Lipschits, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem. Judah under Babylonian Rule* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2005).
- 123 Cf. A. Brenner, «“On the Rivers of Babylon” (Psalm 137), or between Victim and Perpetrator», *Sanctified Aggression. Legacies of Biblical and Post Biblical Vocabularies of Violence* (a cura di J. Bekkenkamp – Y. Sherwood) (JSOTSup 400; London – New York: Clark 2003) 76.
- 124 Cf. T. Krüger, «“An den Strömen von Babel...” Erwägungen zu Zeitbezug und Sachverhalt in Psalm 137», *Sachverhalt und Zeitbezug. Semitische und alttestamentliche Studien Adolf Denz zum 65. Geburtstag* (a cura di R. Bartelmus – N. Nebes) (Jenaer Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 4; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2001) 79: «die Sachverhalte, von denen in ihm [Ps 137] die Rede ist, nicht einfach abbildet oder widerspiegelt, sondern aus einem bestimmten Blickwinkel re-konstruiert»; T. Alstola, *Judeans in Babylonia. A Study of Deportees in the Sixth and Fifth Centuries BCE* (CHANE 109; Leiden – Boston: Brill 2020) 36: «one must be careful not to claim that the psalm [137] represents the experience of every Judean in Babylonia».
- 125 Per la documentazione relativa ai giudei in Babilonia, si vedano M.W. Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire. The Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia* (Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 54; Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te

vanni Pettinato conclude, ad esempio: «Seppur con un pizzico di ironia, si deve convenire che la sorte degli esiliati in Babilonia non è quella che emerge dal Salmo 137, bensì quella del racconto della casta Susanna»<sup>126</sup> di Dn 13.

La presenza dei giudei in Babilonia è spiegata in base a ragioni politiche (vv.1–4). A differenza del Sal 105,16, in cui la carestia in Canaan ha spinto il clan di Giacobbe a migrare in Egitto, l'orizzonte del Sal 137 è la sconfitta militare (cf. Is 16,4), che genera il trasferimento forzato della popolazione, come era già accaduto al regno del nord nel 722 a.C. e a tante popolazioni orientali. I giudei, costretti a vivere da stranieri nella parte meridionale e centrale della Mesopotamia, confessano di essere uniti adesso dalla medesima sorte (1a pl.)<sup>127</sup>.

Essi vivono, poi, un'ambiguità esistenziale, poiché la situazione attuale di catastrofe nazionale provoca preoccupazioni e angosce e contrasta chiaramente con il ricordo di Sion (זכר, v.1). Sradicati dalla propria terra, subiscono il peso dell'esilio e la nostalgia della propria terra d'origine, quella che diventerà la patria bella, lontana e perduta<sup>128</sup> di ogni esiliato (vv.1–2; cf. Ba 1,5)<sup>129</sup>. La deprimente condizione di impotenza è evidenziata anche dall'immagine degli strumenti musicali appesi sugli alberi<sup>130</sup>.

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Istanbul 1985); L.E. Pearce – C. Wunsch, *Documents of Judean Exiles and West Semites in Babylonia in the Collection of David Sofer* (CUSAS 28; Bethesda, MD: CDL Press 2014); L.E. Pearce, «Continuity and Normality in Sources Relating to the Judean Exile», *HBAI* 3 (2014) 163–184; M. Cogan (a cura di), *Bound for Exile. Israelites and Judeans under Imperial Yoke. Documents from Assyria and Babylonia* (A Carta Handbook; Jerusalem: Carta 2013); C. Wunsch, *Judeans by the Waters of Babylon. New Historical Evidence in Cuneiform Sources from Rural Babylonia Primarily from the Schoyen Collection* (Babylonische Archive 6; Dresden: ISLET 2022). Per ulteriore bibliografia, si può consultare il sito: <https://www.cjconroy.net/bib/judeans-bab.htm> [accesso: 14.03.2023]. Sullo straniero in Babilonia, si veda, ad es., R. Zadok, «The Representation of Foreigners in Neo- and Late-Babylonian Legal Documents (Eighth through Second Centuries B.C.E.)», *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period* (a cura di O. Lipschits – J. Blenkinsopp) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2003) 471–589.

126 G. Pettinato, *Babilonia. Centro dell'universo* (Milano: Rusconi 1988) 193–196, qui: 196. C. Saporetto, «Stranieri a Babilonia», *RStB* 8/1–2 (1996) 72: «Parlo di "esilio" e non di "cattività" perché il soggiorno in terra babilonese fu per gli ebrei tutt'altro che squallida prigionia». Nella stessa direzione si muove P. Merlo, *Storia di Israele e Giuda nell'antichità* (Cinisello Balsamo: San Paolo 2022) 133–137; «i Babilonesi pare abbiano trasferito le popolazioni in modo omogeneo (Ez 3,15; Esd 2,59), permettendo loro di insediarsi in determinate località dell'impero e lasciando loro la possibilità di creare piccole enclaves e di mantenere una discreta compattezza etnica» (134). Si veda, inoltre, Alstola, *Judeans in Babylonia*, 58–250; R. Albertz, *Israel in Exile. The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E.* (SBLStBL 3; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature 2003) = *Israele in esilio. Storia e letteratura nel VI secolo a.C.* (Introduzione allo Studio della Bibbia. Supplementi 42; Brescia: Paideia 2009); C. Simonetti, «Gli ebrei sotto i persiani. "Lungo i fiumi di Babilonia"», *RStB* 35/1 (2023) 13–20, spec. 16–20.

127 Cf. B. Becking, «Exilische identiteit als post-exilische ideologie. Psalm 137 opnieuw gelezen», *NedTT* 64 (2010) 276; Ahn, «Psalm 137», 277: «established "ethnic enclaves"».

128 Cf. il coro «Va Pensiero, Oh mia Patria sì bella e perduta!» del *Nabucco* di Giuseppe Verdi.

129 G. Savran, «"How Can We Sing a Song of the Lord?": The Strategy of Lament in Psalm 137», *ZAW* 112 (2000) 45, interpreta גַּם־יָבִינִי יְשׁוּבֵנוּ come espressione di lutto (cf. Ne 1,4) per Sion.

130 Cf. Ahn, «Psalm 137», 280; M. Emmendorffer, *Der ferne Gott. Eine Untersuchung der alttestamentlichen Volksklagelieder vor dem Hintergrund der mesopotamischen Literatur* (FAT 21; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1998) 188; Hossfeld – Zenger, *Psalmen 101–150*, 690 (Zenger); Liess, «Centre», 357–358. Per la cetra (כִּנּוֹר) come strumento di gioia, cf. Gn 31,27; Is 24,8.



Il triste destino dei deportati è aggravato dall'abuso verbale dei sorveglianti<sup>131</sup> che li tormentano<sup>132</sup> beffardamente, chiedendo loro con insistenza (cf. l'allitterazione: שָׁמַם שְׁאוֹלוֹנוּ שׁוֹבְרֵינוּ) di essere intrattenuti con canzoni allegre<sup>133</sup> (v.3; cf. Gdc 16,25)<sup>134</sup>. Gli esiliati rattristati, attraverso una domanda retorica (אֵיךְ, «come?»), ritengono che non sia possibile cantare le lodi di Yhwh in territorio straniero (v.4)<sup>135</sup>, mentre Sion e Gerusalemme sono distrutti. In

- 131 *L'hapax* שׁוֹבְרֵינוּ ptc. *Qal* di שָׁבַח, «imprigionare», «incarcerare», con il suff. 1a pl. qualifica l'esilio come prigionia, detenzione; cf. Gesenius Thes., 1351: «captivum tenent»; BDB, 985: «take captive»; König, *Wörterbuch*, 477: «Gefangene machen od. wegführen»; Zorell, 814: «captivum fecit, captivum abduxit»; HALAT, 1286: «(kriegs-)gefangen fortführen», «condurre via prigionieri (di guerra)»; Ges18, 1312: «gefangen wegführen, deportieren»; DCH VIII, 224: «take captive», «carry away»; ptc. «captor» (225); Emmendorffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 183, 188: «Häscher», «sbirri».
- 132 *L'hapax* תּוֹלְלֵינוּ è discusso: a) la forma causativa da לָלַל, «ululare», «urlare», «strillare», quindi «oppressori», «tormentatori»; cf. Hier *et qui adfligebant nos*; b) «beffatori», «schernitori», da הלל III «vantarsi» (presuntuoso, arrogante); nel Sal 102,9 *Psalm* «infuriarsi contro», «uscire dai gangheri» || הָרַף, «insultare»; cf. Sym και οι καταλαλόντες υμῶν ἐθροσύνθη, «e coloro che ci svilivano malignamente / i nostri schernitori, beffeggiatori»; c) «carcerieri», come sinonimo di שָׁבַח ptc., «chi cattura», «chi fa prigioniero»; cf. i LXX και οι ἀπαγωγόντες ἡμῶν, la Syr אֲרַבְסֵי, «e coloro che ci hanno portato via», la VL e la Vg *et qui abduxerant nos*; cf. A. Guillaume, «The Meaning of תּוֹלְלֵינוּ in Psalm 137 3», *JBL* 75 (1956) 144: «slave-drivers who drove the prisoners», «aguzzini/sorveglianti di schiavi che condussero i prigionieri». Le rese potrebbero comunque indicare il trattamento inumano delle guardie babilonesi. Queste e altre posizioni sono incluse in HALAT, 1567; DCH VIII, 605; cf. U. Kellermann, «Psalm 137», *ZAW* 90 (1978) 45; Ahn, «Psalm 137», 280, n. 56.
- 133 Secondo D.N. Freedman, «The Structure of Psalm 137», *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (a cura di H. Goedicke) (Baltimore, MD – London: Johns Hopkins Press 1971) 192, si tratta di canti allegri per le occasioni di festa. Invece, W.H. Bellinger Jr., «Psalm 137. Memory and Poetry», *HBT* 27/2 (2005) 10, li identifica con i canti usati nel servizio liturgico del tempio (si veda שִׁיר צִיּוֹן v.3 שִׁיר יְרוּשָׁה v.4; cf. תְּהִלָּה אֶל־הוָיִם בְּצִיּוֹן, Sal 65,2); cf. Castellino, *Salmi*, 642; Allen, *Psalms*, 307; A. Berlin, «Psalms and the Literature of Exile. Psalms 137, 44, 69, and 78», *The Book of Psalms. Composition and Reception* (a cura di P.D. Miller – P.W. Flint) (VTSup 99; Leiden – Boston: Brill 2005) 68; Simango, «Psalm 137», 228. H. Lenowitz, «The Mock-šimhà of Psalm 137», *Directions in Biblical Hebrew Poetry* (a cura di E.R. Follis) (JSOTSup 40; Sheffield: JSOT Press 1987) 155–156, pensa al canto di vittoria associato al culto nazionale, che sarebbe incluso nei vv.7–9. Si discosta da questa ipotesi Bar-Efrat, «Love of Zion», 6, ritenendo che i babilonesi chiedano piuttosto canti per divertirsi («songs of amusement»); cf. Dahood, *Psalms III*, 269. Per Savran, «How Can We», 47, l'aggiunta di שְׂמֵחָה rende più deliberata la crudele richiesta delle guardie, senza badare se si tratti di un canto allegro o di un canto previsto per la celebrazione della vittoria. Wénin, *Salmi censurati*, 97: «questa richiesta somiglia a una provocazione piena di arroganza e di derisione e non fa che girare il coltello nella piaga. Che cosa sono infatti quei canti, se non i salmi che celebrano l'invulnerabilità di Sion» (cf. 46,6; 48,3b–6.9); cf. Vesco, *Le psautier*, II, 1280.
- 134 Un rilievo dell'epoca neo-assira (tra il 700 e il 692 a.C.), conservato nel British Museum (n° 124947), presenta tre prigionieri verosimilmente provenienti dalla Giudea, costretti (?) (cf. Castellino, *Salmi*, 642) da un soldato assiro, che li conduce, a suonare le lire; cf. [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W\\_1856-0909-8](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1856-0909-8) [accesso: 14.03.2023]; C.G. Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria. The Surviving Remains of Assyrian Sculpture: Their Recovery and Their Original Positions* (London: Chatto and Windus 1936) 176.
- 135 Ahn, «Psalm 137», 283, ritiene che l'uso di אֲדָמָה, «suolo», «gleba», anziché אֶרֶץ, «terra», «paese», suggerisca il contesto dell'irrigazione (cf. v.1) e i lavori forzati eseguiti dagli esiliati. Ci pare che questa affermazione vada al di là delle premesse. Infatti, le espressioni יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲדָמָה (Ez 7,2; 11,17; 12,19.22; 13,9; 18,2; 20,38.42; 21,7.8; 25,3.6; 33,2.4; 36,6; 37,12; 38,18.19) e אֲדָמָה יְהוּדָה (Is 19,17; cf. אֲדָמָה מִצְרַיִם, Gn 47,20.26) denotano il territorio come tale, meno invece la presenza dei canali. Conformemente andrebbe scartata l'ipotesi di Lang, secondo cui אֲדָמָה נֶכֶד del Sal 137,4 connoterebbe la terra dell'esilio come «terra di dèi stranieri»; Lang – Ringgren, «נכר», 461 = GLAT V, 874; cf. Vesco, *Le psautier*, II, 1280; Hossfeld – Zenger, *Psalmen 101–150*, 691.

altre parole, presentando Babilonia come terra straniera, essi si sentono *déracinés e aliénés* (cf. אֲדֹמַת נֹכַר, v.4; שָׁם, vv.1.3)<sup>136</sup>. La sollecitazione mortificante che li invita a cantare un inno di Sion suona alle loro orecchie come una richiesta di tradire la propria identità. Di conseguenza, il loro diniego si spiegherebbe con la volontà di rimanere fedeli alle proprie radici<sup>137</sup>. I vv.5–6 riecheggiano la lealtà a Sion e il salmista ribadisce attraverso un voto autoimprecatorio l'impossibilità di dimenticare Sion<sup>138</sup>, cancellandone il vivo ricordo e sopprimendo il desiderio di ritornarvi. La difesa dell'identità delle proprie origini nel paese straniero si realizza evitando ogni sorta di sincretismo con gli antagonisti babilonesi<sup>139</sup>.

Gli esiliati nutrono, inoltre, sentimenti di odio, rabbia e vendetta e desiderano che l'ingiustizia sia riparata. Chiedono, quindi, che la retribuzione divina colpisca i loro nemici storici, specialmente gli idumei (vv.7–9)<sup>140</sup>. In particolare, cercano la rivincita su costoro che da spettatori spietati aizzavano alla distruzione di Gerusalemme e, perciò, meritano una giusta punizione (v.7; cf. Is 13,16; Ez 25,12–14; 35,5–7; Abd 10–15; Lam 4,21; 1Esd 4,45)<sup>141</sup>. Essi vorrebbero che anche sugli invasori babilonesi, causa della sciagura presente, ricadesse la stessa distruzione (vv.8–9; cf. Ger 51,6).

136 Cf. Berlin, «Psalms», 67.

137 Cf. Emmendorffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 189: «Es wäre ein Sakrileg, auf fremdem Boden (אֲדֹמַת נֹכַר) diese Lieder anzustimmen. [...] Auf fremder – lebensfeindlicher – Erde (אֲרֵץ אֲדֹמָה) nicht (אֲרֵץ) wird Jhwh nicht besungen».

138 D.W. Stowe, «Babylon Revisited. Psalm 137 as American Protest Song», *Black Music Research Journal* 32 (2012) 97, commenta i vv.5–6: «The danger of forgetting Jerusalem seems to be real; otherwise, why the threat of harsh sanctions?».

139 L'ipotesi è stata avanzata da Becking, «Exilische identiteit», 269, 274, 275, 281. L'idea di mantenere l'identità religiosa caratterizza il periodo postesilico (277), in cui sono emerse le correnti che promuovevano l'esclusivismo religioso (282). Cf. Ahn, «Psalm 137», 281.

140 In questa maniera, i vv.7–9 mitigano l'immagine della Babilonia trionfante dei vv.1–4. Sulla storia dell'interpretazione e sul significato di questi versetti, oltre ai commenti, si vedano Kellermann, «Psalm 137», 46–48; S. Sessa, «Sal 137: il ruggito della fede. Per una riconsiderazione del genere letterario imprecatorio come chiave di lettura fondamentale», *RivB* 53 (2005) 129–172, spec. 152–166, che intravede nell'imprecazione la causa e il rimedio all'ingiustizia; S. Risse, «Wohl dem, der deine kleinen Kinder packt und sie am Felsen zerschmettert». Zur Auslegungsgeschichte von Ps 137,9», *BiblInt* 14 (2006) 364–384; Simango, «Psalm 137», 238–239; R. Park, «Blessed Are the Killers of Infants». Understanding the Imprecation of Psalm 137 in Light of the Canonical Contexts of the Major Prophets», *JSem* 29/2 (2020) 1–11; N. Mórica, *Wie die Verwundeten - derer du nicht mehr gedenkst. Zur Phänomenologie des Traumas in den Psalmen 22, 88, 107 und 137* (FRLANT 282; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2021) 274–279; Li, «Post-traumatic Growth», 180–182; ecc.

141 Cf. J.R. Bartlett, «Edom and the Fall of Jerusalem, 587 B.C.», *PEQ* 114 (1982) 13–24. B. Dicou, *Edom, Israel's Brother and Antagonist. The Role of Edom in Biblical Prophecy and Story* (JSOTSup 169; Sheffield: Academic Press 1994) 182–197; J.M. Tebes, «The Edomite Involvement in the Destruction of the First Temple. A Case of Stab-in-the-Back Tradition?», *JSOT* 36 (2011) 219–255; ecc.

## Conclusion

Raccogliendo i dati della nostra ricerca sull'identità dello straniero nel Salterio, abbiamo tenuto presente sia gli elementi statistici che altri motivi.

Lo studio lessicale ha accertato alcune peculiarità dei termini גֵר/גור, נָכַר, נְכָר, תּוֹשָׁב, che connotano lo straniero nel Salterio. Su 22 ricorrenze, disseminate in 17 salmi, i lessemi sono usati in senso proprio 10 volte (גֵר 2x, גור ptc. 2x, נְכָר[נְכָרִי] 4x, תּוֹשָׁב 2x). Il confronto tra questo dato nei salmi e in altri corpora ha rilevato la marginalità del tema nel Salterio e la sua subordinazione a scopi teologici e simbolici, senza che sia così creata un'immagine storica (pur frammentaria) dello straniero.

Nei Sal 94,6 e 146,9 il גֵר è un non ebreo in condizione economica d'indigenza, accostato all'orfano e alla vedova e perciò soggetto da proteggere. Anche se manca una descrizione della condizione giuridica dello straniero, l'accoglienza offerta al גֵר avvicina tuttavia questi brani<sup>142</sup> alla legislazione soprattutto deuteronomica, concernente la tutela dei poveri (Dt 10,18; 14,29; 24,17.19.20.21; 26,12; 27,19; cf. Es 22,20–22). Il Sal 146,9 sposta poi su Dio l'attenzione per la cura dello straniero, mentre il Sal 105 (cf. v.12 e v.14) estende quest'impronta teologica della tutela divina del debole all'Israele straniero (גְרִים) in Canaan<sup>143</sup>.

I referenti della frase בְּנֵי-נֹכַר sono, invece, i nemici interni/esterni (18,45.46) e gli stranieri (144,7.11), chiamati anche תּוֹרִים nel Sal 54,5<sup>144</sup>. Più che di forestieri da escludere, si tratta di chi provoca contese, cosicché da questi antagonisti ci si deve difendere.

Sebbene i salmi consentano di ricostruire soltanto degli squarci sulla realtà dello straniero, essi hanno ben chiare alcune cause delle migrazioni. Il Sal 105 evoca la carestia, da cui deriva una crisi economica e la ricerca di migliori condizioni di vita; il testo delinea, inoltre, la riduzione in schiavitù, definibile in termini moderni come la tratta (commercio) degli schiavi, e accenna, infine, alle condizioni di vita insopportabili. Nel Sal 137, la sconfitta militare sta alla base di un forzato movimento migratorio<sup>145</sup>.

Durante la sedentarizzazione in Canaan, Israele subisce il fascino della civiltà cananea<sup>146</sup>, integrandosi con la popolazione locale, cosicché diventa religiosamente sincretico e adoratore dei suoi idoli. Questo processo, menzionato nel Salterio unicamente nel Sal 106, è valutato negativamente (vv.34–42), poiché contempla la possibilità di controllo, da

142 Fuori dal Salterio il modello di accoglienza e/o di separazione è documentato da Cardellini, «Stranieri», 141–154, soprattutto per il VII–VI sec. a.C.

143 Nel Sal 105,23 il verbo גָּר mette in evidenza la permanenza di Israele emigrato in Egitto, senza aggiungere altre particolarità.

144 Gli תּוֹרִים nel Sal 109,11 sono presumibilmente identificabili con le persone sconosciute e/o non imparentate, avversari sia interni che esterni. Alonso Schökel – Carniti, *Salmos*, II, 1362: «gente extraña, no de la familia».

145 Fuori dal Salterio si potrebbero individuare, come causa dell'emigrazione: uno sfortunato evento personale (cf. Gdc 17,7–9; 19,1.16); un reato di sangue (cf. Nm 13,15; Gs 20,9); disordini sociali (cf. 2Sam 4,3 e i vv.1–2); omicidi (cf. Es 2,22 e il v.14); gli emigrati dal regno del nord che si sono stabiliti nel regno di Giuda come rifugiati (cf. 2Cr 15,9).

146 Cf. Castellino, *Salmi*, 715.

parte degli abitanti nativi, su Israele e il conseguente pericolo della perdita della sua identità nazionale<sup>147</sup>. Della salvaguardia di essa si interessa il commovente Sal 137 attraverso le immagini dello sradicamento dalla terra natia, della depressione, dell'opposizione agli oppressori e dei sentimenti negativi ed ostili verso i nemici.

Ad eccezione del Sal 105, che attribuisce a Giuseppe la posizione di amministratore (v.21) e di maestro (v.22), che gode di uno status economico elevato, e del Sal 81,7, in cui Israele è costretto al gravoso lavoro di «facchino» (portatore di pesi), il Salterio dimostra poco interesse per i mestieri esercitati dallo straniero<sup>148</sup>.

Ad attirare l'attenzione è invece il fatto che i lessemi relativi allo straniero sono frequentemente usati nel Salterio in senso figurato oppure in riferimento alle divinità e ad altri oggetti. Infatti, su 22 attestazioni si possono contare ben 12 ricorrenze (גַּר 2x, גּוֹר 4x, נְכָרִי 1x, נְכָר 2x, רֵךְ 2x, תּוֹשָׁב 1x), alle quali se ne potrebbero aggiungere altre quattro (אֲחֵר 2x<sup>149</sup>, מוֹזֵר 1x, לֵעֵז 1x).

Alcuni termini circoscrivono come «straniera» la terra o la nazione in cui soggiorna Israele (אֶדְמַת נְכָר, 137,4 Babilonia; עַם אֲחֵר, 105,13 diaspora?; עַם לֵעֵז, 114,1 Egitto). Altri lessemi sono impiegati al fine di mantenere l'identità religiosa, opponendosi alle divinità straniere (אֲחֵר, 16,4), evitando la loro venerazione (אֵל יָר, 44,21) e vietandone il culto (אֵל יָר, 81,10).

In altri salmi si registra un trasferimento degli appellativi dello straniero alla descrizione dello stato emozionale dell'orante. I termini sono, quindi, applicati al suo isolamento sociale (נְכָרִי, מוֹזֵר, 69,9) e all'angoscia (גֵּרִי, 120,5). Il sentirsi straniero dalla vita precaria, che non gode di alcun diritto (cf. Gn 23,4)<sup>150</sup>, è citato come metafora del rapporto con Dio, per invocare il suo aiuto (גַּר, 39,13; 119,19; תּוֹשָׁב, 39,13)<sup>151</sup> e per esprimere il desiderio di soggiornare (spiritualmente) nel suo santuario (אֶגְוֹרָה, 61,5; cf. יְגוּר, 15,1). Da questa dimora è escluso, comunque, chi opera il male (לֹא יִגְרֶדֶ רָע, 5,5).

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147 Secondo Gärtner, «The Historical Psalms», 375, i Sal 105–106 sono orientati a preservare l'identità collettiva per il futuro, interpretando il presente alla luce del passato.

148 La storia immaginaria del Sal 107 (cf. Klein, *Geschichte*, 288: «geschichtlichen Fiktion») implica che Israele lavori i campi e le vigne (v.37) ed allevi il bestiame (v.38).

149 Nelle rimanenti tre ricorrenze l'aggettivo אֲחֵר assume il valore neutro di «altro» o «differente» (49,11; 109,8.13).

150 Cf. Castellino, *Salmi*, 125.

151 Cf. Zehnder, *Umgang*, 302; Noffke, «Lo straniero», 156–157.

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## The Seductive Argumentation of the Adulterous Woman in Prov 7:16–17: Invitation to Love or Preparation for Death?

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**ABSTRACT:** The Book of Proverbs abounds in characteristic and often very ambivalent vocabulary. Ambiguity of symbolism can also be found in smaller thematic units, a particular example being the passage of Prov 7:16–17, in which a strange, adulterous woman encourages a young man to engage in fornication. The terms used in the text for the bed and its decoration also referred to funerary practices. Myrrh was known as an aphrodisiac, but was also associated with funeral rites. When mixed with aloe and cinnamon, it made an ointment used to anoint the bodies of the dead, among other things. Cinnamon, the third ingredient in the perfume in Prov 7:17, was used to eliminate the odour of bodies at burial. The term used to refer to the bed was also used in the description of a burial site. A young man, tempted by a harlot woman to commit adultery, is actually being prepared for death (Prov 7:22–23, 26–27).

**KEYWORDS:** Prov 7, אִשָּׁה זָרָה (“adulterous woman”), מְרַבְדִים (“covers”), עֶרֶשׂ (“bed”), חֲטֻבוֹת (“embroidered fabric”), אֲטוּן (“linen”), מִשְׁקָב (“bedding”), מֵר (“myrrh”), אֶהֱלִים (“aloe”), קִנְמוֹן (“cinnamon”)

The Book of Proverbs is one of the wisdom books, which, in order to describe the paths leading to the “fear of God,” which is the “crown of wisdom” (Sir 1:18), or to warn against sin – lack of wisdom and destructive “foolishness” (Prov 14:1, 8, 9) – often made use of specific stylistic and artistic devices such as allegory, metaphor or hyperbole. Some of the phrases in the wisdom books therefore cover a wider range of content and topics than would appear from a cursory reading of the biblical text.

Of particular note are the statements about women present in the Book of Proverbs. Their judgement in the book is ambivalent. On the one hand, the author warns against women whose behaviour is morally reprehensible (Prov 2:16–19; 5:1–14, 20; 6:24–35; 7:1–27; 9:13–18; 21:9, 19; 22:14; 23:27), while on the other, he presents an image of Wisdom, whose symbol is precisely a woman (Prov 8:1–9:12). The admonition to the husband to remain with “the wife of his youth” (5:18–19) is extremely significant, and the so-called *Poem on the Woman of Worth* (31:10–31), whose most beautiful adornment is piety (31:30), is among the masterpieces of biblical poetry praising women.

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Particularly noteworthy are the metaphors related to “women” present in the collection of Prov 1–9, which in the common view of exegetes constitutes an introduction to the seven collections of proverbs. The author of the Book of Proverbs uses this symbolism to describe the right or wrong way of man. Thus, there is Wisdom (personified as a woman), who “walks in the paths of righteousness, in the paths of justice” (8:20), but right next to it there are paths disastrous for man, “evil paths,” into which leads the “adulterous woman,” whose paths lead to “the gate of death” (7:27; cf. 9:18). Four teachings (2:16–19; 5:1–14, 20; 6:24–35; 7:1–27),<sup>1</sup> belonging to the collection of Prov 1–9,<sup>2</sup> describe her conduct.

The ambivalent symbolism of some images is also found in the smaller thematic units of the book, a particular example being the passage of Prov 7:16–17, in which a “strange,” harlot woman encourages a young man to commit adultery. In doing so, she uses very sophisticated vocabulary implying the preparation of the marital alcove: מַרְבְּדִים (“covers”), עֲרֹשׁ (“bed”), קַטְבּוֹת (“embroidered fabric”), אֶטוּן (“linen”), מְשֻׁכָּב (“bedding”), and scented aphrodisiacs such as: מֵר (“myrrh”), אֶלֶיִם (“aloe”), קַנְמֹן (“cinnamon”). A careful examination of the further context of the words used,<sup>3</sup> both in the Masoretic Text (MT)<sup>4</sup> and in the Septuagint (LXX),<sup>5</sup> however, makes one consider quite the opposite meaning of the attributes mentioned here, used in other circumstances.<sup>6</sup> The subject of this paper will be an exegetical and comparative analysis of the meaning of the words used in both language versions (MT and LXX) of Prov 7:16–17.

Prov 7 is the fourth and final climactic argument of the sage-father, intended to protect the young son from אִשָּׁה זָרָה (cf. Prov 2:16–19; 5:1–23; 6:20–33). In comparison, Prov 5 essentially addresses the financial and social losses resulting from adultery and recommends marriage as the natural way to satisfy the human sexual drive. The passage of Prov 6:20–35, while showing the dangers of adultery, focuses at the end on the revenge of the betrayed spouse. The speech in Prov 7, however, is intended to expose the seductive argumentation of the unfaithful wife. It also creates an inclusion with the first speech (Prov 2:16–19) through verbal similarities of both introduction (cf. 2:16 and 7:5) and conclusion (cf. 2:18–19 and 7:26–27). The description of the lamentable consequences of adultery in the fourth speech

1 Cf. also in this context, Prov 9:13–18, where, however, the term “strange/adulterous woman” [אִשָּׁה זָרָה] does not appear and “Woman of Foolishness” [אִשָּׁה כֹּסִילוּת] appears instead.

2 M. Chrostowski, “Ostrzeżenie przed *iššā zārā* w Prz 7,” *Crux ave spes unica. Księga Jubileuszowa dedykowana Księdzu Biskupowi dr. Janowi Tyrawie z okazji 70 rocznicy urodzin oraz 30 rocznicy sakry biskupiej* (ed. G. Barth) (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Pejzaż 2018) 981–982.

3 G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum Hebräischen Alten Testament* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 1993).

4 K. Elliger – W. Rudolph (eds.), *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, 5 ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 1997).

5 A. Rahlfs (ed.), *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).

6 The ambivalent meaning of the speech of the harlot woman in Prov 7:16–17 has been pointed out by: S. Potocki, *Księga Przysłów: Wstęp, przekład z oryginału, komentarz, eskursy* (PŚST 8/1; Poznań: Pallottinum 2008) 94; R.J. Clifford, *Proverbs. A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox 1999) 89.



(7:22–23, 26–27) has parallels in the second (5:4–6, 9–14) and third (6:32–35) speeches.<sup>7</sup> Passage 7:16–17, however, has no parallels in the other descriptions and warnings. On the one hand, the entire speech of אִשָּׁה זָרָה in 7:14–20 is her only statement in Prov 1–9 (omitting the speech of the Woman of Foolishness in Prov 9:16–17); on the other hand, it is in these verses that the ambivalence of the woman’s speech reaches its peak. Extremely rare expressions that reveal their meaning also in extra-biblical and later literature, i.e. in the LXX and in the New Testament (NT), appear there.

But who is this אִשָּׁה זָרָה against whom the sage’s statements are directed? It is worth choosing a translation variant of this phrase, which will be crucial for further analysis.

### 1. Who Is the Woman Described as אִשָּׁה זָרָה in the Context of her Argumentation?

The initiator of the actions in Prov 7:5 (and also in Prov 2:16) is the woman referred to as אִשָּׁה זָרָה, which is translated in many ways and depending on the context as “another man’s wife” (MB),<sup>8</sup> or “forbidden/harlot/strange woman.”<sup>9</sup> Although the semantic fields of the quoted translations seem to overlap – after all, “another man’s wife” encouraging adultery is both “forbidden” and a “harlot” – it is necessary to choose the most accurate expression possible.

The further context of the adjective זָרָה, which acts as an adjectival attribute in 7:5, suggests a meaning related to “strangeness,” “otherness,” something “forbidden” or “prohibited,” with the context to be taken into account in each case.<sup>10</sup>

7 B.K. Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs. Chapters 1–15* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2004) 365.

8 Some translations will be quoted from the Millennium Bible (= MB): A. Jankowski et al. (eds.), *Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu w przekładzie z języków oryginalnych*, 5 ed. (Poznań: Pallottinum 2008).

9 Barbara Strzalkowska (*Księga Przysłów 1–9 w Septuagincie. Analiza „dodatków” i „braków” w zestawieniu z Tekstem Masoreckim w świetle starożytnych świadectw tekstualnych* [RSB 48; Warszawa: Vocatio 2017] 120, 70, 208) translates the term אִשָּׁה זָרָה as follows: Prov 2:16 – “zakazana kobieta” (forbidden woman); 5:3, 20 – “obca [kobieta]” (strange [woman]); 7:5 – “nierządna kobieta” (harlot woman). In 5:3, 20, the noun אִשָּׁה is the implied subject. It is translated differently by Stanisław Potocki: Prov 2:16 – “cudza żona” (another man’s wife); 5:3, 20 – “obca/cudza” (stranger/another’s); 7:5 – “obca kobieta” (strange woman); 22:14 (רִיזוֹת) – “cudze żony” (other men’s wives). Potocki (*Księga Przysłów*, 70, 83, 85, 92, 174) seems to show a lack of consistency between his translation of the text and his commentary. For example, in 2:16 he translates the expression as “another man’s wife,” while in the commentary he refers to her as “a strange woman”; in 7:5 he translates it as “a strange woman,” while in the commentary he refers to her as “another man’s woman”; in 22:14, he translates the expression as “other men’s wives,” while in the commentary he refers to them as “strange women.” However, he correctly describes the proper understanding of these terms.

10 The adjective זָרָה appears 70 times in the MT, the most (14 times) in Prov, slightly less in Isa (9) and Num (8): Exod 29:33; 30:9, 33; Lev 10:1; 22:10, 12–13; Num 1:51; 3:4, 10, 38; 17:5; 18:4, 7; 26:61; Deut 25:5; 32:16; 1 Kgs 3:18; 2 Kgs 19:24; Isa 1:7; 17:10; 25:2, 5; 28:21; 29:5; 43:12; 61:5; Jer 2:25; 3:13; 5:19; 18:14; 30:8; 51:2, 51; Ezek 7:21; 11:9; 16:32; 28:7, 10; 30:12; 31:12; Hos 5:7; 7:9; 8:7, 12; Joel 4:17; Obad 1:11; Ps 44:21; 54:5; 81:10; 109:11; Job 15:19; 19:15, 27; Prov 2:16; 5:3, 10, 17, 20; 6:1; 7:5; 11:15; 14:10; 20:16; 22:14; 23:33; 27:2, 13; Lam 5:2; HALOT I, 279.

This adjective was used in the Old Testament to refer to “strange fire,” the use and offering of which in the Tabernacle was forbidden (cf. Exod 30:9; especially Lev 10:1; Num 3:4; 26:61, where the penalty for offering “strange fire” was death). In relation to a human being, it means a person who is a “stranger,” that is, someone from another country, family, lineage or clan (Lev 22:12; Num 17:5; Deut 25:5; Ps 44:21; 81:10).<sup>11</sup>

In the Book of Proverbs alone, the warning against something “strange” (נָרְ), which was to be avoided, appears 14 times: 7 times in collection 1–9 (2:16; 5:3, 10, 17, 20; 6:1; 7:5) and 7 times in the other chapters of the book (11:15; 14:10; 20:16; 22:14; 23:33; 27:2, 13).

The phrase אִשָּׁה נָרְ itself can be generally translated as: “foreign/strange/unknown/forbidden woman/wife.” This expression appears 5 times in the Book of Proverbs (Prov 2:16; 5:3, 20; 7:5; 22:14<sup>12</sup>) and suggests a meaning related to a woman’s “strangeness” in the sense of her belonging to another (“strange/foreign”) country or husband. This is particularly clear in two places (Prov 2:16; 7:5), where the phrase אִשָּׁה נָרְ (“strange woman”) is followed by נְכַרְיָהּ (“foreigner”).<sup>13</sup> The context of the situations described there is marital infidelity, which should be avoided. The reference to “smooth words” found in Prov 2:16; 7:5 (cf. also Prov 5:3; 7:21), suggests a hidden intention to commit adultery by a woman married to another man.<sup>14</sup>

Moreover, the woman herself emphasises her marital status by ensuring that her husband will be away for some time and is expected to return at the full moon (7:19–20). This argumentation is intended to reassure the young man and encourage him to indulge in carnal pleasures all night long, since her husband will not find out about anything (cf. *a contrario* Prov 6:32–35). The time of his return has been precisely determined, so the young man has nothing to fear.<sup>15</sup>

Therefore, the closer context of the Book of Proverbs, especially the collection of Prov 1–9 (cf. especially: 2:16; 5:20; 7:19–20) suggests the translation “adulterous woman.”<sup>16</sup> The translation “strange woman” is literal; “adulterous woman” is the meaning inferred from the context of Prov 1–9 and the pericope of Prov 7. Thus, in this article, terms related to the context will be used, i.e. those describing the woman as adulterous and therefore “strange” to the young man she is trying to seduce.<sup>17</sup> The phrase “harlot/seductress” is not so much a translation as a descriptive term for this character.

11 Potocki, *Księga Przysłów*, 70.

12 In Prov 22:14, only the adjectival attribute נָרְ appears in the plural, without the subject אִשָּׁה, which is implied.

13 The terms נְכַרְיָהּ and נָרְ have similar meanings (“strange,” “other”), although the adjective נְכַרְיָהּ is more likely to express the idea of “strangeness” in the sense of coming from another country so “foreignness”; *DCHV*, 695.

14 R.E. Murphy, *Proverbs* (WBC 22; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 1998) 13–14.

15 Murphy, *Proverbs*, 43.

16 Strzałkowska, *Księga Przysłów*, 184–185.

17 Analyses of the words “strange” and “someone else’s” and their contexts in Proverbs, support the view that these terms refer to an Israelite woman. A “strange” and “someone else’s” woman, being the wife of another man and committing marital infidelity, resides in an atmosphere of death and leads to it all those who give in to her seductive persuasions; Potocki, *Księga Przysłów*, 70.

In terms of this “strangeness/foreignness,” it is worth considering the idea that the adulterous woman is a foreigner, or the wife of a foreign merchant, persuading the young man to participate in idolatrous cults. This is the interpretation proposed by Gustav Boström,<sup>18</sup> referring to Prov 7:6 from the LXX. The main difference between LXX Prov 7:6 and MT is the subject; it is not the sage but the woman who leans out and looks through the window at the street. Such behaviour was meant to allude to fertility cults and worship of Astarte, the goddess of love in the Canaanite fertility cult, and Ishtar, her counterpart in the Babylonian cult. This goddess, like the “strange/foreign woman,” leans out of the window, wanting to combine intercourse (Prov 7:16–18) with murder (7:22–23);<sup>19</sup> after all, the bed of the harlot woman will soon become the grave of the reckless young man.<sup>20</sup>

Astarte (Ishtar) was even referred to as “the one leaning out of the window” and “she who stands in the window of the house.” Part of her worship was leaning out of the window of one’s house to ensure good fortune. Both the dress of the “strange woman” and her behaviour were a part of a specific pagan liturgy, which included sacred prostitution.<sup>21</sup> These claims have not been accepted by most exegetes,<sup>22</sup> although some have looked into them and developed them when describing the phenomenon of sacred prostitution in Israel.<sup>23</sup>

In light of the cultic argumentation employed by the harlot woman (Prov 7:14–15), it is difficult to see her as a foreigner or a woman of another nationality worshipping her deities. Rather, she uses religious camouflage in case the young man has qualms about giving in to her immoral tempting. In the light of Lev 7:11–18, it would also not be easy to link intercourse, making a person ritually unclean, with the feast offering to which the woman refers.<sup>24</sup> Her aim is to persuade an unwitting young man to engage in harlotry with ambiguous and

18 G. Boström, *Proverbia Studien. Die Weisheit und das Fremde Weib in Sprüche 1–9* (LUA 1/30/3; Lund: CWK Gleerup 1935) 103–155.

19 Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs*, 362, n. 6.

20 Noel Robertson (“The Ritual Background of the Dying God in Cyprus and Syro-Palestine,” *HTR* 75 [1982] 324) suggests that Adonis, the lover of Astarte, was to be wrapped in linen cloth and sprinkled with aromatic oils after his death.

21 Boström, *Proverbia Studien*, 104–105.

22 Stanisław Potocki (“Układ literacki Prz 1–9,” *RTK* 18/1 [1971] 80; “Proces formacji mądrościowej w ujęciu Prz 1–9,” *RTK* 35/1 [1988] 52–53), analysing the above-mentioned views, claims that the woman from Prov 7 is not so much a sacred prostitute, but an adulterous Israelite woman, wishing to seduce a young man and committing marital infidelity.

23 Karel van der Toorn (“Female Prostitution in the Payment of Vows in Ancient Israel,” *JBL* 108 [1989] 193–205) argues that Israeli women (especially the poor), in order to fulfil their solemn religious vows or obligations of sacrifice, were often forced into “sacred prostitution,” to which he gives a new meaning. Namely, the author believes that “sacred” prostitution functioned among Israelite women as a form of fundraising for religious sacrifice, which was to be a source of income for the Jerusalem Temple. However, he himself admits that this remains unproven. This author’s views have been criticised by Duane A. Garrett (“Critical Notes, Votive Prostitution Again: A Comparison of Proverbs 7:13–14 and 21:28–29,” *JBL* 109 [1990] 682), who, comparing Prov 7:13–14 with 21:28–29, considered these proposals premature and hasty.

24 Murphy, *Proverbs*, 44.

seductive words, also referring to Israelite worship,<sup>25</sup> hence she can also be generally referred to as “seductress” and “harlot,” but this is not an accurate translation of the term אִשֶּׁה זָרָה.

Prov 7 is peculiar for at least three reasons. First, only in this chapter does the warning against אִשֶּׁה זָרָה appear, including her speech, which is not recorded in the other chapters of Proverbs that mention this character. Second, only in this chapter does the woman give a sacrificial and cultic motivation for adultery: “I was to offer a feast sacrifice; today I have fulfilled my vows” (7:14), which is lacking in other chapters of the book. Third, it is in this chapter, specifically in 7:16–17, that an argument appealing to the listener’s imagination appears, composed of very rare vocabulary that has an ambivalent meaning. This is because the adulterous woman spared no expense in preparing the luxurious decor of the bedroom, which later became a place of harlotry. Of particular note is the description of the bed covered with imported covers and perfumed with costly aromas of myrrh, aloes and cinnamon. Similar vocabulary appears in Song 4:14, where it is the colour of carnal union.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, it is reasonable to deal with this topic separately, especially in the context of the woman’s specific vocabulary.

In Prov 7:16–17, her argumentation and persuasion to engage in adultery appears in more detail:<sup>27</sup>

7:16	מְרַבְדִים רְבֹדְתִי עֲרָשִׁי הַטְּבוֹת אֶטוֹן מִצְרַיִם	I covered my bed with patterned fabrics of Egyptian linen.
7:17	נִפְתִּי מִשְׁכָּבִי מֵר אֶהְלִים וְקַנְמוֹן	I sprinkled my bedding with myrrh, aloes and cinnamon.

The strange, adulterous woman has thus prepared her home both in terms of furnishings (7:16–17a) and scents (7:17) tempting to indulge in amorous activity. The two aspects will be examined separately in terms of exegetical analysis in order to arrive at theological conclusions at the end.

25 The feast offering of the woman in Prov 7 was a thanksgiving feast offering, for it resulted (at least according to her argumentation) from the vows she had made. In such a case, the meat of the sacrificial victim was eaten on the same day, although some of it could be eaten the next day (Lev 7:16). By offering the sacrifice, the woman “fulfilled her vows” (Prov 7:14), so she could celebrate and invite someone to the feast. Her argumentation was intended to convince the young man that he would be participating in a religious celebration that was seemingly innocent. In fact, the woman’s words were intended to lull the young man’s sensibilities, for her further proposals become increasingly immoral (Prov 7:18); cf. M.V. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 18A; New Haven, CT – London: Yale University Press 2000) 245.

26 Murphy, *Proverbs*, 44.

27 Own translation. Similarly: Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 238; Strzałkowska, *Księga Przysłów*, 212–213.

## 2. The Decor of the Woman's House (7:16–17a)

Prov 7:16 is extremely interesting both in terms of the vocabulary and syntax. Most of the terms that appear in that verse are non-specific words (מְרַבְּדִים) or *hapax legomena* (הַטְּבוֹת, אֶטְוֹן). Verse 7:17, containing rare vocabulary (אֶהְלִים, קַנְמִוִן), is similar. A comparative analysis of individual terms in the MT and LXX provides the opportunity to find new translation variants. For this reason, it is useful to first analyse the most important words and how they relate to each other.

### 2.1. מְרַבְּדִים (“covers”), רָבַד (“to cover”): Their Associations with the Carnal Union, the Restfulness of the Night and the Preparation for Death

The first term used to describe the decoration of the house of the harlot woman is מְרַבְּדִים, meaning “covers.” Apart from this place the noun appears only in Prov 31:22, in the plural form, where it also denotes the splendid covers made by the *woman of worth* from the hymn Prov 31:10–31. The noun appears by itself only in the plural form (the singular form is unconfirmed in the Hebrew Bible [HB]), it occurs rarely and denotes a peculiar material, precious and uncommon. In the opening words of the woman's speech, where the noun appears with a verb following it: מְרַבְּדִים רָבַדְתִּי, i.e. “with covers I have covered” or “with coverings I have covered,”<sup>28</sup> it is a syntactic phenomenon of *accusativus cognatus* (cognate accusative). There are two types of this accusative: effective (*effectivus*) and internal (*internus*). This is somewhat similar to the syntactic use of *infinitivus absolutus*, the purpose of which was to express a command or to strengthen the final verb.<sup>29</sup> Both Hebrew terms are very rare, but their roots are confirmed by Ugaritic sources from the 14th/18th centuries BC, and appear in the *mrbd* (UT 2050, 9)<sup>30</sup> or *mrbdt* spelling (UT 1111, 11), indicating its much longer use in West Semitic than in Hebrew.<sup>31</sup>

“Spreading out” the bed was intended to provide more softness and thus more comfort for the person lying down (cf. Prov 31:22).<sup>32</sup> The insinuations of carnal union thus become evident, although their deceptiveness remains unclear to the young man.<sup>33</sup> It is already

28 A. Kuśmirek (ed.), *Hebrajsko-polski Stary Testament-Pisma. Przekład interlinearny z kodami gramatycznymi, transliteracją i indeksem słów hebrajskich i aramejskich* (PSB 32; Warszawa: Vocatio 2009) 370.

29 G. Deiana – A. Spreafico, *Guida allo studio dell'ebraico biblico I: Parte teorica*, 4 ed. (Strumenti. Biblica 76.1; Torino: Claudiana 2018, 2019) 60.

30 C.H. Gordon (ed.), *Ugaritic Textbook* (AnOr 38; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute 1965; Revised Reprint 1998) the numeral refers to the number and line of the text.

31 K.A. Kitchen, “Of Bedspreads and Hibernation: From Rio de Janeiro to the Middle Euphrates,” *Ascribe to the Lord: Biblical and Other Studies in Memory of Peter C. Craigie* (eds. L. Eslinger – G. Taylor) (JSOTSup 67; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1988) 26–27. There, the author gives details about the attribution of the quoted texts according to *KTU*: UT 2050, 9 = *KTU* 4.385.9 and UT 1111, 11 = *KTU* 4.270.11; *KTU* is an abbreviation used for: M. Dietrich – O. Loretz – J. Sanmartín, *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places*, 2 Enlarged ed. (ALASP 8; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag 1995).

32 Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs*, 378.

33 Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 247.

hidden in the verb רָבַד, referring to the preparation of a bedding or bed for rest.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, the root רבד is a by-form of the root רפד, found in Song 3:10 or Job 17:13; in the second case, it forms the root of the verb רָפַדְתִּי (“to spread out”), which describes Job wishing to “spread out” his bed (רָצוּעַ) in the darkness, since Sheol had become his home.<sup>35</sup> It can thus be seen that the verb רָבַד evokes both the associations with the restfulness of the night and the pleasure derived from the softness of the covered bed, as well as the uncertainty of Job preparing the bed for his death.

It is significant in this context to refer to the testimony of the LXX, which translates the noun מְרַבְדִּים as κειρία, which in both the Greek Bible and the NT appears only 1 time. Precisely, κειρία means a band or bandage for wrapping infants or the bodies of the dead. In the NT, it refers exclusively to the dead body of Lazarus (John 11:44).<sup>36</sup> Therefore, it can be seen that the Greek Bible here contains vocabulary related to burial and funeral,<sup>37</sup> and thus to death. The analysed word מְרַבְדִּים can therefore be understood as “covers” that were used for the greater comfort of the lying person, but in the LXX and NT it takes on a meaning associated with funeral and burial.

## 2.2. עָרֶשׁ (“bed”): Impression of Splendor as an Important Element of the Seductive Argumentation of the Adulterous Woman

Syntagma עָרֶשִׁי (עָרֶשׁ + suffix 1 pers. singular) means “my bed” (or “my couch”) and comes from the noun עָרֶשׁ (“bed”), appearing 8 times in Hebrew poetry (Amos 3:12; 6:4; Ps 6:7; 41:4; 132:3; Job 7:13; Prov 7:16; Song 1:16), 1 time in prose (Deut 3:11) and 3 times in parallel with the noun מְטָה, which has a similar meaning: “bedding” (Ps 6:7; Amos 3:12; 6:4). Such a bed was used for nightly rest (Ps 132:3), for lying down during meals (Amos 6:4)<sup>38</sup> and as a bed intended for the sick (Ps 41:4). It was a place of carnal intercourse (Prov 7:16) and became a symbol of just such activity (Song 1:16).<sup>39</sup> The term עָרֶשׁ can therefore in a broader sense mean the alcove, or marital bedroom. In the ancient times to which the Proverbs text refers, only a few people had a bed so richly decorated.<sup>40</sup> The couch used for resting or sleeping was found in the homes of wealthy people, for in an ordinary house,

34 Some are of the opinion that the verb also appears in 1 Sam 9:25 and Amos 3:12, but in both cases this would be the result of emendation and a different reading of the two verses; *DCH* VII, 395.

35 Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 247.

36 *CWSD-NT*, 885.

37 Bandages, referred to by the noun κειρία, were used as binding material to prepare bodies for burial; *BDAG*, 538.

38 This conclusion is reached by B.K. Waltke (*The Book of Proverbs*, 378), who argues that it is difficult to point out the exact difference in meaning between מְטָה and עָרֶשׁ in Amos 3:12; 6:4. He gives the example of a large relief from Assyria in which King Ashurbanipal rests on a cushioned dining couch and raises a bowl of wine to his lips. Michael V. Fox (*Proverbs 1–9*, 247), who suggests a semantic difference between עָרֶשׁ and מְטָה, is of a different opinion: he translates עָרֶשׁ as “couch” and מְטָה as “bed,” used for example for meals eaten in a reclining position. The bridegroom and bride in the Song of Songs use the term עָרֶשׁ to describe their “bed” of greenery (Song 1:16).

39 W.C. Williams, “עָרֶשׁ,” *NIDOTTE* III, 542.

40 L. Alonso Schökel – J. Vilchez Lіндеz, *I Proverbi* (Commenti Biblici; Roma: Borla 1988) 265.

the place of rest was a mat lying on the floor.<sup>41</sup> Thus, one of the elements of the adulterous woman's seductive argumentation was to evoke in the listener the impression of splendor and affluence of her house, which was to result in persuading the young man to stay there longer in order to indulge in the pleasures of an amorous union.

The Greek Bible translates the noun שָׁרָץ as κλίνη, which also appears in reference to the bed on which the sick and dying rested (e.g. Gen 48:2; 49:33; 2 Sam 4:7; 1 Kgs 17:19). It has a similar meaning in the NT, where the noun κλίνη is in the vast majority of cases<sup>42</sup> used to refer to the “bed of sickness” for people in pain (Mark 7:30; Rev 2:22), or a bed on which they were carried (Matt 9:2, 6; Luke 5:18; Acts 5:15), which rather implies that the translation should be “a stretcher” e.g. for paralytics.<sup>43</sup> A more appropriate Greek term to describe the bed on which the amorous union of two lovers was to take place, would certainly be the noun κοίτη, which appears in the LXX more times than κλίνη (73 times against 45 instances) and is more closely associated with a bed intended for sleep and rest or a marital bed.<sup>44</sup>

### 2.3. תְּבֹרֶת (“embroidered fabric”): Its Egyptian Provenance Gives an Oriental Color to the Seductive Argumentation

In the next stich (Prov 7:16b), the adulterous woman's argumentation continues: from the description of the bed she moves on to talk about its aesthetic qualities. The following nouns appear: תְּבֹרֶת, meaning “embroidery,” or “embroidered fabric,”<sup>45</sup> and אֶזְרוֹן, meaning “linen,” probably dyed red or purple.<sup>46</sup> The following adverbial of place, מִצְרַיִם, refers to Egypt, from where the noun אֶזְרוֹן may have been borrowed. The two Hebrew terms, תְּבֹרֶת and אֶזְרוֹן, appear exclusively in this place in the HB, constituting *hapax legomena*, which led Michael V. Fox to argue that such fabrics were rare in Israel.<sup>47</sup> A different opinion is held

41 W.D. Reyburn – E.McG. Fry, *A Handbook on Proverbs* (UBS Handbook Series; New York: United Bible Societies 2000) 167.

42 In total, the noun appears 9 times in the NT: 3 times in reference to the bed of the paralytic (Matt 9:2, 6; Luke 5:18); 1 time in the description of the bed of the child from whom the evil spirit came out (Mark 7:30); 1 time when explaining the “bedding” on which two people will rest on the day of the Son of Man (Luke 17:34); 1 time to describe the “bed of sickness” on which Jezebel was thrown (Rev 2:22). Of the remaining instances, 2 times the noun κλίνη appears in the description of a bed under which no light is hidden (Mark 4:21; Luke 8:16) and 1 time to describe a bed which was to be washed by the Pharisees and Jews in general (Mark 7:4), but this last instance is uncertain, for it does not appear in important manuscripts. Most appearances of the noun therefore refer to the bed of the sick, the suffering and the afflicted.

43 *CWSD-NT*, 870.

44 In the NT, the term means a place of rest, a bed (Luke 11:7), a marital bed, or metaphorically even marriage itself (Heb 13:4). It also refers to cohabitation, whether or not it is in accordance with the Law (Rom 13:13, and in the LXX: Lev 18:22; Num 31:17; 18:35). It also means the seed necessary for conception (Rom 9:10, and in the LXX: Lev 15:16, 32; 18:20, 23; 22:4; Num 5:20); *CWSD-NT*, 873.

45 *HALOT I*, 306.

46 “אֶזְרוֹן,” J.R. Kohlenberger III – W.D. Mounce, *Kohlenberger/Mounce Concise Hebrew-Aramaic Dictionary of the Old Testament* (Accordance Bible Software: *KM Hebrew Dictionary*, version 3.3, 2012). In Egyptian it is referred to as *idmy*, which literally means “red linen”; *HALOT I*, 37.

47 Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 247.

by Bruce K. Waltke, who supports the Egyptian provenance of both terms, which explains the low frequency of their occurrence; for they are borrowings from the Egyptian language,<sup>48</sup> which is more likely.

The noun *הַטְּבוֹת* is a *hapax legomenon*; moreover, it appears only in the plural form, being the *plurale tantum*. It means “multicoloured embroidered fabric” and constitutes a parallel to the noun *מְרַבְּדִים* (“covers”), which appears at the beginning of Prov 7:16.<sup>49</sup> The noun *הַטְּבוֹת* LXX translates as *ἀμφιτάποις*, which apart from this verse appears only in LXX 2 Sam 17:28 and means “bed cover,” which in the Greek Bible is probably a neologism.<sup>50</sup>

#### 2.4. *אַטוֹן* (“linen”): An Atmosphere of Comfort and Wealth Invites the Young Man to Enjoy the Delightful Benefits of Housing of the Adulterous Woman

Immediately after *הַטְּבוֹת* appears the noun *אַטוֹן*, forming a logical continuity with the previous word:<sup>51</sup> *הַטְּבוֹת אַטוֹן*, which means “multicoloured fabrics (made of) linen,”<sup>52</sup> originating, as seen further on in the text, from Egypt. This locative is very important for the interpretation of the whole phrase. On the one hand, because of the Egyptian provenance of the noun *אַטוֹן* (“linen”), and on the other hand, because Egypt was the main exporter of the luxurious red linen, known there as “royal linen.”<sup>53</sup> Similar material appears in Prov 31:22 (*אֶרְגָּמֶן*) and in Prov 31:13 (*פְּשֵׁת*). Douglas R. Edwards aptly observes that both the colour and quality of clothing were often signs of social status, hence dyeing was an important industry, as evidenced by the large number of institutions engaged in this craft in ancient Israel. The purple dye industry was particularly significant.<sup>54</sup> The woman thus creates both an atmosphere of comfort (a soft bed with spread out covers) and wealth (fabrics from Egypt), painting before the young man a picture inviting him to enjoy the delightful benefits of her home.

The LXX does not translate the noun *אַטוֹן*, using in its place the verb *ἔστρωκα*, derived from the verb *στρωώνω/στρώννυμι*, i.e. “to spread out/stretch,” which only adds to the peculiarity and rarity of the Hebrew term *אַטוֹן*. John P. Brown argues that it is a borrowing

48 Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs*, 364, 379.

49 HALOT I, 306.

50 Strzałkowska, *Księga Przysłów*, 212, n. LXXV.

51 There are, however, contrary opinions: B.K. Waltke (*The Book of Proverbs*, 364, n. 18), referring to the fact that in the noun *הַטְּבוֹת אַטוֹן* a Masoretic disjunctive accent appears, argues for a separation of the meanings and translations of the two words, translating them not so much as: “patterned fabrics of Egyptian linen,” but disjunctively: “patterned fabrics, linen from Egypt.” In the noun *הַטְּבוֹת אַטוֹן* there is indeed a disjunctive accent *R<sup>c</sup>bhî<sup>c</sup> mu-grāš*, i.e. *R<sup>c</sup>bhî<sup>c</sup>* with *Gēreš* in the same word, but this does not imply the necessity of separating the meanings in the case of Prov 7:16. On accents more broadly: W. Gesenius, *Gesenius–Kautzsch’s Hebrew Grammar*, 2 ed. (New York: Oxford University Press 1910) 61, § 15h. It addresses accents present in the books referred to as *תְּהִלִּים*, a word derived from combining the first vowels of the Books of Psalms (*תְּהִלִּים*), Proverbs (*מִזְשֵׁלִי*) and Job (*אִיּוֹב*); *ibidem*, 58, § 15d.

52 DCH III, 201.

53 Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs*, 379; F.C. Fensham, “linen,” *New Bible Dictionary* 3 ed. (ed. D.R.W. Wood) (Leicester – Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity 1996) 702; R.H. O’Connell, “Proverbs VII 16–17: A Case of Fatal Deception in a ‘Woman and the Window’ Type-Scene,” *VT* 41/2 (1991) 239.

54 D.R. Edwards, “Dress and Ornamentation,” *ABD* II, 235.



from Egyptian vocabulary and the most fitting Greek equivalent here would be the noun ὀθόνη.<sup>55</sup> This noun in the feminine gender (ὀθόνη) is not found in the LXX, but appears twice in the NT (Acts 10:11; 11:5) to denote the cloth that Peter saw in a vision during prayer. The more accurate translation of the Hebrew original, however, is the same noun in the neuter gender, ὀθόνιον, which is, moreover, the diminutive of ὀθόνη<sup>56</sup>: in the LXX it appears twice, only in Hos (2:7, 11) to denote “linen,” while in the NT, where it appears four times (Luke 24:12; John 19:40; 20:5, 6, 7), it always means the cloth in which the dead body of Jesus was wrapped for burial. The noun ὀθόνιον, being a derivative of the Greek ὀθόνη, fits into a funeral context.<sup>57</sup> In both parts of the Bible, both in the LXX and in the NT, the noun ὀθόνιον appears only in the plural form, so it is *plurale tantum*.

The broader context of the translation and interpretation of the Hebrew term מִטָּה makes it necessary to take into account the funerary aspect of it evident in the Greek translation, which clearly appears later in the NT. One can speak at this point of a reinterpretation of the MT by the LXX and the NT. However, these are later meanings.

## 2.5. מִטָּה (“bedding”) and the Play on Words between “bedding” and “copulation”

The next element in the decor of the bedroom of the harlot woman (Prov 7:17a) is again “bedding,” but this time referred to with the term מִטָּה, which in LXX Prov 7:17a, as noted earlier, is translated using the noun κοίτη, which suits the atmosphere of carnal union between the two lovers more. This atmosphere is even more evident in the original language, where there is a play on words between the noun מִטָּה (“bedding”) used here and the term תַּכְבֵּשׁ (“copulation”). Both terms are derived from the verb כָּבַשׁ (appearing usually in the Qal conjugation in the HB), which means both “to lie down” (for intercourse) and “to rest” (in the sense: “to die”).<sup>58</sup> Whenever forms derived from כָּבַשׁ are used in the context of sexual relations, they denote forbidden or improper intercourse (Gen 30:15, 16; 2 Sam 11:11), sinful, forbidden by the Law or resulting directly in the death penalty.<sup>59</sup> This

<sup>55</sup> J.P. Brown, “Literary Contexts of the Common Hebrew-Greek Vocabulary,” *JSS* 13 (1968) 171; as cited in Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs*, 364, n. 19.

<sup>56</sup> *CWSD-NT*, 870. The author of the dictionary, in his analysis of the Greek word ὀθόνιον, claims that in the LXX this noun appears in LXX Judg 14:13, however, the word that can be found there is σινδών, which is its synonym.

<sup>57</sup> A. Rambiert-Kwaśniewska, *Tekstylija w Nowym Testamencie* (Bibliotheca Biblica; Wrocław: Papieski Wydział Teologiczny 2022) 91–93.

<sup>58</sup> V.P. Hamilton, “כָּבַשׁ,” *TWOT* II, 921.

<sup>59</sup> Similar references and meanings of the verb כָּבַשׁ are found in legal texts, for example in Exod 22:15, where carnal intercourse with a virgin who is not betrothed is forbidden. Deut 22:22 recommends the death penalty for those caught committing adultery. Lev 18:22; 20:13 uses the word כָּבַשׁ in a statement prohibiting homosexual relations. Finally, Deut 27:21 uses this verb to denote intercourse with animals, strictly forbidden by the Law. The death penalty was usually prescribed for these sexual aberrations. In addition to legal texts, כָּבַשׁ appears in narrative sections describing instances of sexual misconduct. An example is the transgression of Lot’s daughters, who got their father drunk and then “lay down” beside him (Gen 19:32 ff.). One of Abimelech’s subjects almost committed adultery with Rebecca (Gen 26:10). The verb כָּבַשׁ is used to describe the rape of Dinah, Jacob’s daughter, by Shechem (Gen 34:2, 7). Ruben “united” with Bilhah, the concubine of his father Jacob, during his absence (Gen 35:22). The sons of Eli “lay” with the women serving at the entrance to the Tent

raises the question of why Scripture is so extremely against inappropriate sexual relations? One answer is suggested by Victor P. Hamilton, who notes that in cultures neighbouring Israel such practices were the norm, both on a “human” and “divine” level, since intercourse was part of non-Israelite sacred worships. One of the most degrading features of pagan beliefs was the way in which religious and sexual expression were realised in the same way. However, this was not a sacralisation of sexual relations, but rather a realisation of the Canaanite myth of *hieros gamos* and an imitation of Canaanite deities.<sup>60</sup>

The term מִשְׁכָּב is used in the HB to denote both a place of sleep (2 Sam 17:28; Job 33:15) and healing after injury (Exod 21:18), but also a bed intended for intercourse, usually forbidden (Isa 57:7–8; Prov 7:17; Gen 49:4; the first two mentions in the context of fornication, the last in the context of incest), or the place of burial (Isa 57:2; Ezek 32:25; 2 Chr 16:14).<sup>61</sup> Verse 2 Chr 16:14 not only refers to the bedding (מִשְׁכָּב) as “bier,”<sup>62</sup> i.e., the resting place of the dead body of King Asa, but also gives an interesting description of his burial; namely, he was laid (וַיִּשְׁכְּבֵהוּ) on the bier (בַּמִּשְׁכָּב), which was covered with fragrances (בְּשִׂמִים); fragrant herbs (מְרִקְחִים) were prepared according to the art of herbalism (בַּמְרִקְחֵת מִעֵשָׂה) and a great fire was lit for him (וַיִּשְׂרְפוּ-לוֹ שָׁרְפָה).<sup>63</sup> Therefore, sophisticated aromas accompanied kings, rulers and wealthy people both during life and after death. This brings to mind the refined aromas described in more detail later in Prov 7:17.

The term מִשְׁכָּב, used to describe a burial site, is also present in non-biblical texts, for example, the Phoenician inscription located on the sarcophagus of the Sidonian king Tabnit I dating back to the 5th century BC, which is reported in *KAI* 13 in line 8.<sup>64</sup> The word כּוּמִיכּוּב appears there to denote a “resting place,” i.e. the place of death.<sup>65</sup>

The description of the temptation of a young man by a deceptive woman in the Book of Proverbs (2:16–19; 5; 6:20–35; 7; cf. also 9:13–18) may be a transposition of a typical

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of Meeting (1 Sam 2:22). Amnon raped his half-sister Tamar (2 Sam 13:11, 14), in a way imitating his father’s adultery with Bathsheba (2 Sam 11:4). In contrast to acts forbidden by the Law and improper sexual relations, referred to with the verb שָׁכַב, when the Bible refers to healthy sexual relations within the bounds of God’s will, it usually uses the expression “to know” (יָדַע), used for example in Gen 4:1, 17, when Adam “got to know” his wife and she conceived, or בָּוֵא (“to come near/enter into”) which refers to Abraham and Hagar in Gen 16:4. The latter phrase is used even in Gen 38:18 in reference to Judah and Tamar, i.e. the father-in-law who “came near” his daughter-in-law; Hamilton, “שָׁכַב,” *TWOT* II, 921–922.

60 Hamilton, “שָׁכַב,” *TWOT* II, 921.

61 BDB, 1012; Hamilton, “שָׁכַב,” *TWOT* II, 922.

62 For this reason, it will be more reasonable to translate the noun מִשְׁכָּב as “bedding,” as opposed to שָׁכַב, meaning “bed.” Although the ranges of meaning of the two nouns overlap and both can be successfully translated as “bed,” as most translations and commentaries do, for the sake of clarity in this discourse the second one will be translated as “bedding” (“posłanie” in Polish). It is much easier to say that the deceased was laid or buried on a “bedding” than on a “bed.”

63 Own translation based on: Kuśmirek, *Hebrajsko-polski Stary Testament*, 893.

64 H. Donner – W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, 5 ed. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2002) I, 3.

65 The hypothetical vocalisation of the *KAI* 13 text in line 8 is: *wemiškob 'ét rapa'im*, which can be translated as “neither resting place with shadows”; J.-C. Haelewyck, “L’inscription phénicienne de Tabnit (*KAI* 13). Essai de vocalization,” *Res Antiquae* 8 (2011) 4; justification for selecting such a translation: *ibidem*, 10.

scene in ancient epics, in which a goddess uses seductive words to offer the protagonist (usually a young man) love or marriage, but it results in death, a downfall or a radical transformation of the man's life defeated by the woman's anger or revenge. Examples of such deceptive women and their victims are Ishtar and Gilgamesh in the Babylonian *Epic of Gilgamesh* (VI 1–79),<sup>66</sup> Anat and Aqhat in the Ugaritic *Epic of Aqhat* (KTU 1.17 VI 2–15),<sup>67</sup> as well as Calypso, Circe and Odysseus in *the Odyssey* (V 202–213, X 469–574).<sup>68</sup> The descriptions included in the ancient sources are sufficiently similar to the quoted passages from the Book of Proverbs that they can be called typographical scenes.<sup>69</sup>

In this context, the situation described on plate VI of the Gilgamesh story is emblematic.<sup>70</sup> The initial scene takes place in a bathhouse where Gilgamesh went to perform a ritual bath and change his worn-out clothes into festive ones. During this process, he is watched by goddess Ishtar who longs for intimate intercourse with the man. She wishes to taste the sweet “fruit” that Gilgamesh's love could give her, which is why she proposes to him (l. 7–9). Ishtar's deceptive words represent a reversed traditional marriage formula spoken by the man. As in Prov 7:16–17, the seductress attempts to win his heart with promises of gifts and a description of the decor of the house in which the lovers will experience carnal pleasures. Ishtar invites Gilgamesh to a magnificent palace that smells of cedar (l. 13; cf. Song 8:9). This detail also brings to mind the old Sumerian songs in which the bride sprinkles fragrant oils on the floor of the family home to welcome the groom.<sup>71</sup> However, Gilgamesh refuses, being aware that marriage to Ishtar would not be a true one (l. 24–28). What follows is a highly critical assessment of the goddess, who is famous for her unsteadiness, deceit and vindictiveness (l. 33–41). There is a distant reference to Prov 7:25–27, which contains a warning that the crossing of the paths of the adulterous woman ends in death. Admittedly, these words in Prov are not uttered by a young man, but rather by

66 A.R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2003) I–II; Polish trans. A. Tronina: *Epos o Gilgameszu. Wersja standardowa z Niniwy (ša naqba imuru). Wprowadzenie, przekład i komentarz* (Teksty Starożytnej Palestyny, Syrii i Mezopotamii 2; Kraków – Mogilany: Enigma Press 2017). The Roman figure VI indicates the number of the tablet, while the Arabic figures 1–79 refer to the lines of text.

67 Dietrich – Loretz – Sanmartín, *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places*. Polish trans. A. Tronina: “Eposy ugaryckie o Kerecie i Aqhacie”, *Ewangelia o Królestwie* (ed. A. Paciorek) (Scripturae Lumen 1; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2009) 571–621. The KTU numbers 1.17 VI 2–15 indicate the following parts of the text: 1 – text type (1 being myths and legends, i.e. religious texts); 17 – plate number (in category 1); VI – column number on the plate; 2–15 – lines (not verses) in the column.

68 Greek text with an English translation A.T. Murray: Homer, *The Odyssey*. I. *Books 1–12*. II. *Books 13–24* (LCL 104–105; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press – London: Heinemann 1919, 1945); a critical analysis of the Greek text of *Books V–VIII*: B. Perrin, *Homer's Odyssey Books V–VIII* (Boston, MA – London: Ginn & Company 1894); Polish trans. R.R. Chodkowski, *Odyseja* (Źródła i Monografie; Lublin: TN KUL 2020); the Roman figure denotes the number of the book (in the Polish translation: *pieśni* [songs]), while the Arabic figure denotes the line of the text. The references cited refer to the Polish translation of *Book V* and *X*.

69 Clifford, *Proverbs. A Commentary*, 27.

70 Tronina, *Epos o Gilgameszu*, 154–155.

71 Y. Sefati, *Love Songs in Sumerian Literature. Critical Edition of the Dumuzi-Inanna Songs* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press 1998) 193; as cited: Tronina, *Epos o Gilgameszu*, 155.

the sage-narrator watching the whole scene, yet the sober and simultaneously harsh judgement of the seducing woman constitutes a link between the two stories.

A thematically similar story can be seen in the *Epic of Aqhat*.<sup>72</sup> The narrative begins with the description of a miraculous conception of Aqhat, born as a result extraordinary intervention of his father, Danel, with the god El through the special intercession of Baal. When Aqhat grows up, he is given a miraculous bow, regarded as a unique weapon. However, it arouses the jealousy of goddess Anath, who spares no effort to deprive Aqhat of his bow. The woman resorts to various verbal tricks, including a promise of eternal life, but the young man refuses. Angered Anath orders the execution of Aqhat, but soon after that happens, she regrets her decision. Although the following section of the text is damaged, it is clear from the context that the precious bow is lost, while the goddess mourns the young man's death. The ambiguous argumentation of Anath resembles the seductive words of the adulteress in Prov 7:14–20, while the sad end of Aqhat, who admittedly did not succumb to the deceptive persuasion like the young man in Prov 7:21–23, resembles the death of a biblical hero (Prov 7:22–23, 26–27).

A similar meaning is found in the scene described in *Book V* (202–213) of *the Odyssey*, which is the last, out of three, and decisive speech of the goddess Calypso (l. 149–227 f.).<sup>73</sup> By using ambiguous words, she wants to seduce Odysseus into not returning to his homeland but staying with her forever. She resorts to two arguments to convince the man. Firstly, she assures him that if he leaves, sorrow will await him, whereas if he stays with her, he will become immortal (l. 206–210). Secondly, she claims her divine beauty surpasses that of his mortal wife (l. 211–213). Her most convincing bargaining chip is the immortality she offers Odysseus. Although the introduction to the dialogue is neutral and describes the ordinary beginning of a conversation, Calypso's speech later becomes extremely emotional. In his refusal (l. 215–224), Odysseus addresses Calypso's arguments in reverse order. Initially, he diplomatically acknowledges the reasoning regarding her greater beauty, but he emphasises his desire to travel to his homeland, tactfully treating "Penelope" as his "home" and also the destination of his return journey (l. 215–220), regardless of dangers he may encounter on his way (l. 221–224). In other words, Odysseus rejects immortality and embraces mortality, allowing his true inner transformation to take place.

The theme of mortality and voyage to the land of the dead under the command of a goddess is taken up in *Book X* (l. 469–574), where Circe is the female protagonist.<sup>74</sup> The adventures of Circe and Calypso are also linked thematically and sometimes interpreted as duplicates.<sup>75</sup> The travel companions urge Odysseus to think about returning home (l. 471–475), which he announces to goddess Circe (l. 482–486). At first, she agrees to this scenario, but immediately afterwards announces that the protagonist must descend into

72 Tronina, "Eposy ugaryckie o Kerecie i Aqhacie," 594.

73 I.J.F. de Jong, *A Narratological Commentary on the Odyssey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004) 136.

74 de Jong, *A Narratological Commentary on the Odyssey*, 267–268.

75 D. Roessel, "The Stag on Circe's Island: An Exegesis of a Homeric Digression," *TAPA* 119 (1989) 35.

the Underworld (l. 487–495). This shows how ambiguous their conversations are. What is interesting in this context is the scene when Odysseus waits to talk to Circe until sunset, that is, until all his companions have gone to bed. In fact, Odysseus aims to meet the goddess in private (l. 475–495). This also means that he is the only one who initially hears the news of his obligatory visit to the Underworld, which he then gradually relays to his companions (cf. l. 469–574 f.). The separation of Odysseus and his beloved Circe reminds her of her earlier promise to send him home, which is why she must allow the protagonist to return to his homeland. Even though the situation described in *Book X* does not end as tragically as in Prov 7:26–27, the atmosphere of the night meeting, full of mystery and hiding from the eyes of strangers, is similar to the situation described in Prov 7:16–18.

### 3. Aromas in the House of the Adulterous Woman (7:17)

Equally ambivalent in their meaning and significance are terms used to describe the aromas found in the house of the harlot woman and described in the second part of Prov 7:17. These include: מֵרֵךְ אֶהְלִים וְקַנְמָן (7:17), that is: “myrrh, aloe and cinnamon” with which the seductress “sprinkled” (נָרַף) her bed, the pronunciation of which is described above. In Greek, the term διαρραίνω is used to denote “sprinkling/perfuming” (נָרַף), which constitutes a *hapax legomenon* and is referred to as a neologism.<sup>76</sup> The purpose of preparing a fragrant decoration of the dwelling, or rather the bed, was to encourage people to stay there longer and to unite in love. At the beginning of this paragraph, a general description of these scents will be outlined, then each one will be analysed in more detail.

All aromas listed here were imported from outside Israel, usually from Arabia<sup>77</sup> due to their sensory stimulating properties. Myrrh, cinnamon and amomum<sup>78</sup> were mixed together to create a strong-smelling ointment or oil, known for its beautiful aroma and high price, which is why it was used by wealthy people and associated with wealth.<sup>79</sup> A mixture of cinnamon, myrrh and frankincense was used to produce spices used in the temple (Exod 30:34). The Romans burned them in honour of gods and used them in large quantities during

76 J. Lust – E. Eynikel – K. Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 3 ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2015) 144.

77 “Arabia” is the name given to a vast region in what is now south-west Asia. On the west, it borders the Isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea, on the south the Indian Ocean, and on the east the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates. It extends far to the north, stretching into the Syrian desert; “Arabia,” M.G. Easton, *Illustrated Bible Dictionary* (Accordance Bible Software: *Easton’s Bible Dictionary*, 3 ed., version 3.5, 1897).

78 The name of this spice appears only in Rev 18:13 and is a *hapax legomenon*.

79 One Roman inscription describes wealthy people reclining on comfortable couches, applying perfume and wearing lavish clothes, as illustrated by the quote: “wash, anoint yourself with perfume, live in comfort and enjoy yourself, spend what you can – for whom are you keeping it?”; G.H.R. Horsley – S.R. Llewelyn (eds.), *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* (North Ryde: Ancient History Documentary Research Centre 1981) IV, 130–131; as cit. C.R. Koester, *Revelation. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 38A; New Haven, CT – London: Yale University Press 2014) 704.

funerals,<sup>80</sup> eliminating the unpleasant smell of a dead body, both before burial and during cremation,<sup>81</sup> yet this is much later in relation to the composition of Prov 7.

The use of spices for funeral purposes, already mentioned in 2 Chr 16:14, is also described in the NT. During the burial of Jesus, his body was covered with spices (ἀρωμάτων) and wrapped in linen (ὀθονίσις) according to the Jewish method of burial (John 19:40). After the Sabbath, the women purchased or prepared “spices” (ἀρώματα; Mark 16:1; Luke 24:1) or “spices and oils” (ἀρώματα καὶ ὑἄρα; Luke 23:56) to anoint the body.<sup>82</sup>

Fragrant oils, myrrh and aloe are royal aromas (Ps 45:8–9), the description of which evokes the sensation of luxury,<sup>83</sup> while in the argumentation of the adulterous woman (Prov 7:16–17), this impression is intensified by the atmosphere of joy and cheerfulness.<sup>84</sup>

The very initial analysis of the meaning of scents described by the harlot woman (and the aromas created by mixing various ingredients) provides a sense of richness, sensuality, sacrality and mystery. The woman appeals to the sensual (“olfactory”<sup>85</sup>) imagination of the listener in order to stimulate it in a flirtatious and seductive manner. Aromatic spices constitute an important motif concerning bridal union in Song (1:13; 3:6; 4:6, 11, 14–16; 5:5, 13), which is also present in Egyptian love songs<sup>86</sup> that evoke the pleasures of the carnal union. The three spices referred to by the stranger belong to the fragrances of the “garden,” which is a metaphor for the body of the bride in Song 4:14. Myrrh, aloe and cinnamon were imported from Arabia and, therefore, very expensive. Due to their value, such spices were kept in the royal treasury (2 Kgs 20:13) and distributed in small quantities on the royal bed. A literal sprinkling of spices on the bed, as described by the harlot woman, would therefore be an act of extraordinary extravagance, a sophisticated exaggeration, or an outright lie.<sup>87</sup> However, an attentive reader will perceive not only the seductive but also the ambiguous nature of the woman’s statement. The use of spices for funeral purposes, both during and after the burial, attracts attention also to the dimension and meaning of symbols and references evoked there. By preparing spices and a bed for an amorous union (Prov 7:17), the harlot woman is, in fact, preparing a place of death for the young man (Prov 7:22–23).

However, it is necessary to take a closer look at each of the spices mentioned in order to read their meaning.

80 Gaius Plinius Secundus, *Hist. Nat.*, 12.51–63 (Łukaszewicz, IV, 445–463).

81 M. Erasmo, *Reading Death in Ancient Rome* (Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press 2008) 90.

82 In the NT, the Greek term ἄρωμα is always used in the plural form (*plurale tantum*) and each time associated with the burial of Jesus (Mark 16:1; Luke 23:56; 24:1; John 19:40); K.A. Burton, “Spices,” *EDB*, 1247.

83 S.J. Floor, “Poetic Fronting in a Wisdom Poetry Text: The Information Structures of Proverbs 7,” *JNSL* 31/1 (2005), 46.

84 This meaning of the aromas is present even in Song 3:6; 4:14 and Ps 45:8, where the expression יַיִשׁוּבֵי יְהוָה, i.e. “oil of joy” occurs; Alonso Schökel – Vilchez Líndez, *I Proverbi*, 265.

85 Such a term is used by M.V. Fox (*Proverbs 1–9*, 247).

86 M.V. Fox, *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press 1985) no. 8, 9, 20F; as cited: Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 247.

87 Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 247–248.

## 3.1. מֵר (‘‘myrrh’’): The Aroma of a Loving Union and a Funeral

Myrrh (מֵר/מִוֵר), or fragrant resin, was associated with the aroma of love, which is particularly evident in Song, where it occurs most frequently (1:13; 3:6; 4:6, 14; 5:1, 5, 13).<sup>88</sup> Sometimes it was used together with frankincense (Song 3:6) or kept in a pouch and worn around the neck as a fragrance (Song 1:13) or mixed with oil and used as a perfume for clothing (Ps 45:9), bedding (Prov 7:17) or for anointing and beauty treatments (Esth 2:12).<sup>89</sup> Myrrh was extracted from trees found in southern Arabia and Somalia, as well as imported into Israel not only as a perfume ingredient but also as a component of medicines, frankincense and various balms (Exod 30:23–25; LXX Ezek 27:17).<sup>90</sup>

The translator of the LXX has translated the term under analysis as κρόκος, which outside this place occurs only in Song 4:14, where it indicates the term ‘‘saffron.’’ Interestingly, myrrh also appears in this verse of the Song, but expressed by the Greek word σμύρνα, which is more commonly used in the LXX to translate the Hebrew term for myrrh (מֵר).<sup>91</sup> It was a fragrant gum extracted from trees, in particular from *Balsamodendron myrrha*. Furthermore, myrrh was one of the components of the sacred ‘‘anointing oil’’ (Exod 30:23–25), which was made from the most precious ingredients. Myrrh (Song 4:14; 5:5; cf. also 4:16) was an aroma valued by merchants both within and outside Israel.<sup>92</sup> Due to its fragrant qualities, it was used within cults. The holy oil must have been used abundantly since, during Aaron’s consecration, it flowed from his beard to the edge of his robe (cf. Ps 133:2).<sup>93</sup> It is worth emphasising that the holy oil could not be used for ‘‘secular’’ purposes, i.e. not related to worship, under the threat of exclusion from the community of Israel (Exod 30:25–33). Anointing with holy oil constituted the act of consecrating a person or an object to sacred functions or for sacred use.<sup>94</sup>

The Greek term σμύρνα, used to denote myrrh, appears twice in the NT – the first time in reference to the Wise Men from the East who gave myrrh to the newborn Jesus (Matt 2:11) and the second time to indicate myrrh with which Jesus’ body was anointed after his death (John 19:39). Myrrh was therefore also used to embalm dead bodies.<sup>95</sup> In the latter sense, the NT more commonly applies the noun μύρον, which translates as

88 Out of 52 appearances of this noun, 8 take place in Song, 6 in Isa and Num, 4 in Job, Prov and Ezek, and successively less in subsequent books.

89 DCHV, 473.

90 Koester, *Revelation*, 704. In Ezek 27:17 from the LXX, the word μύρον is used to refer to perfume.

91 In the LXX, it occurs 10 times, most of which (6 times) in Song, where it generally translates the Hebrew term מֵר/מִוֵר.

92 M. Carasik (trans.), *The Commentators’ Bible – The JPS Miqra’ot Gedolot: Exodus* (Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society 2005) (Accordance Bible Software: CB-Exodus, version 1.4): a commentary on Exod 20:23.

93 G. Ashby, *Go Out and Meet God. A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (ITC; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1998) 127.

94 S. Łach, *Księga Wjścia. Wstęp, przekład z oryginału, komentarz* (PŚST 1/2; Poznań: Pallottinum 1964) 269.

95 W.E. Shewell-Cooper, ‘‘myrrh,’’ *The Zondervan Encyclopedia of the Bible* (eds. M.C. Tenney – M. Silva) (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 2009) IV, 358.

“fragrance” or “oil” with which Jesus was anointed while still alive as an anticipation of his burial (Matt 26:7, 12).<sup>96</sup>

### 3.2. יִלְהָנֹחַ (“aloe”): A Stunning Fragrance as a Way to Seduce

The argumentation of the adulterous woman also includes the word יִלְהָנֹחַ, or aloe. In this spelling, indicating the plural form of the masculine gender, the noun occurs twice in the Hebrew Bible,<sup>97</sup> and is, therefore, *plurale tantum* and a very rare term. The word is of foreign origin and refers to an aloe tree exuding a beautiful fragrance.<sup>98</sup> The Hebrew term יִלְהָנֹחַ has no equivalent in LXX Prov. Perhaps the translator was unfamiliar with some of the Hebrew names of fragrant herbs and omitted the word, leaving only the commonly known cinnamon.<sup>99</sup>

The Greek equivalent of the Hebrew term יִלְהָנֹחַ (or its feminine form: תִּלְהָנֹחַ) is ἀλώθ, which is a *hapax legomenon* and appears exclusively in Song 4:14, where it translates the term תִּלְהָנֹחַ. In the NT, it appears as ἀλόη and constitutes an exception in New Testament Greek, since the only verse that contains it is the aforementioned John 19:39, which cites the description of the anointment of Jesus’ body with myrrh (σμύρνα) and aloe (ἀλόη).<sup>100</sup> The aloe vera (*Aloe succotrina*) was used primarily by the Egyptians. It was usually mixed with myrrh (Ps 45:9; Prov 7:17; Song 4:14; John 19:39) and spread on the body during the anointment, either to perfume it or to embalm it after death in order to remove the unpleasant smell of the corpse. Since aloe vera was imported, the purchase of one hundred pounds of this mixture used by Nicodemus to embalm Jesus’ body was a considerable expense. Due to the hot climate, large quantities of strongly scented spices were used to embalm bodies in countries such as Israel, since they decomposed quickly.<sup>101</sup> The noun יִלְהָנֹחַ occurring in Prov 7:17 has an ambivalent pronunciation, encompassing both an element of love play and an allusion to death. The latter is evident in later times. Therefore, it is possible to see the evolution of the meaning of this term, which was addressed in the LXX and NT.

<sup>96</sup> In the NT, the noun μύρον occurs 14 times, generally to denote the oil used to anoint Jesus in various circumstances. In Rev 18:13, it is mentioned among other spices to describe the wealth of the fallen Babylon; W.D. Mounce – R.D. Bennett Jr., *Mounce Concise Greek-English Dictionary of the New Testament* (Accordance Bible Software: *Mounce Greek Dictionary*, version 4.5, 2011).

<sup>97</sup> Apart from Prov 7:17, it also appears in Num 24:6. In the feminine gender, i.e. תִּלְהָנֹחַ, the noun appears twice (Ps 45:9; Song 4:14), also in the plural form and, as in Prov 7:17, in connection with myrrh. T. Gilbrant – G.A. Lint (eds.), *The Complete Biblical Library. The Old Testament Hebrew-English Dictionary* (Accordance Bible Software: *CBL Hebrew Dictionary*, version 1.1, 1998) states, rather imprecisely, that the noun יִלְהָנֹחַ is the plural form of תִּלְהָנֹחַ and occurs only once, in Prov 7:17.

<sup>98</sup> J. Strong (ed.), *Strong’s Hebrew and Chaldee Dictionary of the Old Testament* (Accordance Bible Software: *Hebrew Strong’s Dictionary*, version 3.2).

<sup>99</sup> Strzałkowska, *Księga Przysłów*, 213.

<sup>100</sup> When describing the use of myrrh and aloe in burial practices, apart from John 19:39, Richard J. Clifford (*Proverbs. A Commentary*, 89) also refers to Mark 16:1, but in the case of the latter, the word μύρον is used to denote “spices.” However, even though the spices were made from myrrh and aloe, neither the term σμύρνα nor ἀλόη occurs in this verse.

<sup>101</sup> W.E. Shewell-Cooper, “aloes,” *The Zondervan Encyclopedia of the Bible* (eds. M.C. Tenney – M. Silva) (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 2009) I, 128.



The funereal and mournful significance of aloe was also highlighted in early Christian times. Ambrose of Milan (c. 333–397) in his commentary on Gen 43:11 writes that frankincense is a sign of prayer (Ps 141:2), while cassia and aloe are signs of burial, as taught by the psalmist David: “all thy garments smell of myrrh, and aloes, and cassia.”<sup>102</sup>

### 3.3. קִנְמֹן (“cinnamon”): One of the Most Expensive Perfumes That Facilitate a Loving Union

The third ingredient of perfume with which the bed of the foreign woman was sprinkled is cinnamon (קִנְמֹן), which appears 3 times in the Hebrew Bible (Prov 7:17; Song 4:14; Exod 30:23), thus very rarely. The cinnamon (*Cinnamomum zeylanicum*) mentioned, extracted from the inner bark of small trees grown in Ceylon and India, was highly valued in biblical times primarily for its unique fragrance. It is mentioned as an ingredient of the “anointing oil” (Exod 30:23) and is included in the list of expensive perfumes listed by the groom in his loving speech to the bride (Song 4:14).<sup>103</sup> Sometimes the Hebrew word קִנְמֹן, which is also very rare (Exod 30:24; Ezek 27:19) and indicates “cassia,” a variety of cinnamon, is translated as “cinnamon.” Both cassia and cinnamon appear together with myrrh and aloe in the description of elaborate perfumes and as ingredients of anointing oil, not only the holy one (Exod 30:24; Ezek 27:19; Ps 45:9).<sup>104</sup>

The LXX translates קִנְמֹן as κιννάμωμον, which, in addition to the above verses, appears in Sir 24:15 and LXX Jer 6:20, where it denotes a descriptive expression: קִנְמֹן הַטּוֹב מֵאַרְץ קִנְמֹן, meaning “a delicious reed root from a distant land.” In the NT, the term κιννάμωμον is a *hapax legomenon* and occurs only in Rev 18:13 as a part of the wealth of “Great Babylon” whose fall is described.

Cinnamon, similarly to cassia wood, which comes from the same plant, was sold for its fragrant properties (Exod 30:23–24; Ezek 27:19). The Romans believed that it came from Arabia, North-East Africa or India since they purchased it from Arab and Indian merchants. Both cinnamon and an aroma called amomum, which is mentioned in Rev 18:13, were abundantly used by the Romans at funerals<sup>105</sup> as a spice to offset the odour of dead bodies.

## Conclusions

The analysis of the statement of the adulterous woman (הַאִשָּׁה הַזֵּהָרָה) in Prov 7:16–17 demonstrates the wide-ranging ambiguity of metaphors used in the text, which refer to the decor of her dwelling, both ornaments of the marriage bed and aromas used on it. The ambivalence

<sup>102</sup> Ambrosius, *De Joseph*, 9.46 (CSEL 32/2, 105). Ambrose provides the numbering of the psalms after the LXX (Ps 44:9). In the Hebrew Bible, these scents are mentioned in Ps 45:9.

<sup>103</sup> M.G. Abegg Jr., “קִנְמֹן,” *NIDOTTE* III, 940.

<sup>104</sup> M.H. Pope, *Job. Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 15; New Haven, CT – London: Yale University Press 1974) 353.

<sup>105</sup> Koester, *Revelation*, 704.

of the symbolism on the one hand consists in evoking pleasure of the lovers' amorous union in the imagination, while on the other, certain phrases present there are associated with funerary practices, which an attentive reader may notice. Both verses of the Book of Proverbs are rich in very rare and unique vocabulary, often of foreign origin, usually Egyptian.<sup>106</sup> The *hapax legomena* present in that passage appear both in the original Hebrew language (MT) and Greek translation (LXX). The comparative analysis of the words used in the Hebrew and Greek versions revealed a deepening of this ambivalence.

The phrases, words and expressions used in the text, including the noun מַרְבְּדִים ("covers"), verb רָבַד ("to cover"), noun עֶרֶשׁ ("bed"), noun אֶטוֹן ("linen"), noun מִשְׁכָּב ("bedding"), and the aromas described in Prov 7:17: מֵר אֶהָלִים וְקַנְמֹן, i.e.: "myrrh, aloe and cinnamon" involve connotations with love, death and funeral alike. The latter aspect is brought into focus with particular force in the NT.

The young and reckless man, who is tempted by the adulterous woman describing the qualities of her bed, is virtually led to death (Prov 7:22–23, 26–27), and the place of short rest is to become a site of his eternal rest (Prov 7:27). The words of the harlot woman resemble a snare into which the ignorant and naive young man falls (Prov 7:22–23). The tragic finale of this carelessness can be seen only when it is too late to escape from the fatal consequences of the wrong choice (Prov 7:26–27)<sup>107</sup> since in the seductive argumentation of the adulterous woman, the deceptive words have an ambivalent meaning of love and death at the same time.

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106 On Egyptian influences in Prov 1–9: M. Chrostowski, "Prov 1–9 in the Light of Extra-Biblical Wisdom Texts," *PJBR* 18/1–2 (2019) 39–54.

107 Clifford, *Proverbs. A Commentary*, 89.

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## Enoch's Vision of the Heavenly Temple (*1 En.* 14:8–25) Reconsidered

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**ABSTRACT:** The paper focuses on a reexamination and reassessment of the textual evidence of Enoch's Vision of the Heavenly Temple and of its classical interpretation as a heavenly temple complex. In line with the common scholarly opinion, *1 En.* 14:8–25 has so far been interpreted in the sense of a bipartite or even tripartite temple which resembles the earthly temple in Jerusalem not only in structure but also in appearance. In contrast, this paper claims that this passage of the *Book of the Watchers* provides a twofold vision of two different temples, namely the inferior earthly temple and the ideal heavenly sanctuary. In this way, it articulates one of the most radical temple critiques of ancient Judaism. This interpretation is based on a careful textual analysis and a meticulous discussion of the individual elements of, in particular, the first house, taking into account other ancient Jewish sources such as *Ezekiel*, *Haggai* and the *Animal Apocalypse* which partially have been ignored so far but provide a helpful and illuminating background for the interpretation of Enoch's Heavenly Vision.

**KEYWORDS:** *1 Enoch* 14, *Book of the Watchers*, heavenly sanctuary/temple, temple critique

Where does God dwell? In ancient Judaism, there were very different answers to this question through the ages. According to the classical Zion theology, which can be mainly found in the older psalms and in the Book of Isaiah, God dwells on Mount Zion in his sanctuary.<sup>1</sup> Zion is the place where heaven and earth meet and where God is enthroned as king. The mythical idea of the mountain of God is accompanied by the belief that the divine presence in the earthly temple ensures the salvation and well-being of the city and makes this place holy. But with the destruction of the Temple of Solomon in 587/586 BC, this belief partly unravels, as the question in Jer 8:19 illustrates: “Is not the Lord in Zion? Or is

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1 Cf., for example, Ps 46; 48; 76; 84; 87; Isa 8:18.

not her King in her?” The loss of the First Temple partly initiates a completely new way of thinking about the possibilities and limits of the earthly presence of God.<sup>2</sup> Some compositions still adhere to the Zion theology,<sup>3</sup> while others perceive the presence of God in the earthly temple as conditional or relativise it, for example with the help of name-theology and glory-theology.<sup>4</sup> Finally, however, some positions completely reject the idea of an earthly abode—God is so transcendent that he can only dwell in heaven.<sup>5</sup>

As a result of this new thinking, the Second Temple, which now stands on Mount Zion in place of the Temple of Solomon, is perceived and assessed in very different ways, too. The earthly temple is now understood as a house of prayer<sup>6</sup> or as a meeting place of the people,<sup>7</sup> provoking disappointment or disillusionment in comparison to the previous building,<sup>8</sup> but it can also be heavily criticised. Either its deficiency and inadequacy compared to the Solomonic or heavenly temple is criticised<sup>9</sup> or it is complained that it is defiled by the current priesthood or the people.<sup>10</sup> In this latter case, it is not the institution itself that is called into question, but only the way in which the cult is carried out.<sup>11</sup> As different as these exilic and postexilic temple concepts with their points of criticism of the earthly sanctuary may be, the majority of them try to adhere to the principal idea of an earthly temple.<sup>12</sup>

2 Cf., for this and the following, for example, V. Gäckle, *Allgemeines Priestertum. Zur Metaphorisierung des Priestertitels im Frühjudentum und Neuen Testament* (WUNT 331; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2014) 142–177, and Th.A. Rudnig, “»Ist denn Jahwe nicht auf dem Zion?« (Jer 8,19): Gottes Gegenwart im Heiligtum,” *ZThK* 104 (2007) 267–286.

3 Cf., for example, Exod 25:2; 29:45–46; Zech 8:3.

4 Cf., for example, 1 Kgs 6:12–13; Ezek 43:7b–9; Deut 12:11; Ezek 11:23–25; 43:1–9.

5 Cf., for example, 1 Kgs 8:30, 32, 34; Isa 66:1. Cf. Rudnig, “Jahwe,” 282–283.

6 Cf., for example, 1 Kgs 8:30, 33, 35; Isa 56:6–8; 64:10; 2 Chr 6:21.

7 Cf., for example, Luke 2:25, 37, 41; 24:53; Acts 2:5; 3:1–2.

8 Cf., for example, Ezra 3:10–13; Hag 2:3.

9 Cf., for example, 1 *En.* 89:72–73; 91:9; *Jub.* 1:10; 23:21; Tob 14, or in general the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (1 *En.* 93:1–10; 91:11–17). Cf. B. Bibberger, “Unbefriedigende Gegenwart und ideale Zukunft: Gesamtsraelitische Heilsperspektiven in den letzten Worten Tobits (Tob 14),” *BZ* 55 (2011) 272–275; D. Dimant, *From Enoch to Tobit. Collected Studies in Ancient Jewish Literature* (FAT 114; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2017) 124; Gäckle, *Allgemeines Priestertum*, 162–167; M.A. Knibb, “Temple and Cult in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphal Writings from Before the Common Era,” *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel. Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (ed. J. Day) (OTS 422; London: Clark 2005) 408; O.H. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum* (WMANT 23; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag 1967) 155–156; L.T., Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108* (CEJL; Berlin: de Gruyter 2007) 133, 137–139; D.W. Suter, “Temples and the Temple in the Early Enoch tradition: Memory, Vision, and Expectation,” *The Early Enoch Literature* (eds. G. Boccaccini – J.J. Collins) (JSJSup 121; Leiden: Brill 2007) 208–210; P.A. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (EJL 4; Atlanta, GA: Scholars 1993) 39, 340; J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, “Visions of the Temple in the Book of Jubilees,” *Gemeinde ohne Tempel / Community without Temple. Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühes Christentum* (eds. B. Ego – A. Lange – P. Pilhofer) (WUNT 118; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1999) 216–218.

10 Cf., for example, 1QS VIII, 4–10; IX, 3–6; XI, 8, or in general the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.

11 Cf. G.J. Brooke, “The Ten Temples in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel* (ed. J. Day) (JSOTSup 422; London: Clark 2005) 424, 428–429; Gäckle, *Allgemeines Priestertum*, 172, 175–177.

12 Cf. Rudnig, “Jahwe,” 284.



The final presence of God on earth is then often expected for the eschatological time of salvation, despite all the original reservations.<sup>13</sup>

According to the common interpretation,<sup>14</sup> Enoch's vision of the Heavenly Temple in the *Book of the Watchers* (1 En. 14:8–25) can only be located with difficulty in this complex picture of different temple concepts. Despite its assumed location in heaven, the temple described in Enoch's vision is usually neither understood as a criticism of the earthly conditions nor as an indication that the true and ideal temple on earth could only be expected for the eschatological future.<sup>15</sup> Although the temple seems to be in heaven, it can be visited and discovered.<sup>16</sup> It also corresponds in its structure and appearance to the earthly temple, as it is described in other ancient Jewish works such as 1 Kgs 6 or Ezek 40–48, although not in detail.<sup>17</sup> According to Martha Himmelfarb, there seems to be a very simple reason for

13 Cf., for example, the Book of Tobit (especially Tob 13–14); the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (1 En. 93:1–10; 91:11–17); the *Animal Apocalypse* (1 En. 85–90) or the *Book of Jubilees* (especially Jub. 1:17, 27–28, 29). Cf. Gäckle, *Allgemeines Priestertum*, 172, and also Ezek 40–48; Joel 4; Mic 4; Zeph 3:16–17.

14 For previous interpretations of Enoch's vision in 1 En. 14:8–25 cf., for example, A. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch uebersetzt und erklärt* (Leipzig: Vogel 1853) 109; A. Lods, *Le livre d'Enoch. Fragments grecs découverts à Akhmim (Haute-Égypte). Publiés avec les variantes du texte éthiopien traduits et annotés* (Paris: Leroux 1892) 139–140; G. Beer, "Das Buch Henoch," *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*. II. *Die Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (ed. E. Kautzsch) (Tübingen: Mohr 1900) 245; R.H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch, or 1 Enoch. Translated from the Editor's Ethiopic Text, and Edited with the Introduction Notes and Indexes of the First Edition Wholly Recast Enlarged and Rewritten. Together with a Reprint from the Editor's Text of the Greek Fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon 1912) 33; J. Maier, "Das Gefährdungsmotiv bei der Himmelsreise in der jüdischen Apokalypitk und 'Gnosis.'" *Kairos* 5 (1963) 22–36; I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 2 revised ed. (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 90; Leiden: Brill 2014) 71–76; G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," *JBL* 100/4 (1981) 576–581; M. Dean-Otting, *Heavenly Journeys. A Study of the Motif in Hellenistic Jewish Literature* (Judentum und Umwelt 8; Frankfurt am Main: Lang 1984) 39–58; M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch. A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill 1985) 147–148; C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta, GA: Scholars 1985) 60; M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York: Oxford University Press 1993) 9–28; 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) 259–266; B. Ego, "Denkbilder für Gottes Einzigkeit, Herrlichkeit und Richtermacht – Himmelsvorstellungen im antiken Judentum," *Der Himmel* (eds. M. Ebner – P.D. Hanson) (JBTh 20; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag 2006) 160–168; B. Ego, "Henochs Reise vor den Thron Gottes (1 Hen 14,8–16,4): Zur Funktion des Motivs der Himmelsreise im 'Wächterbuch' (1 Hen 1–36)," *Apokalypitk und Qumran. Dritte Fachtagung zur Qumranforschung 2003 in der Katholischen Akademie Schwerte* (eds. M. Becker – J. Frey) (Einblicke 10; Paderborn: Bonifatius 2007) 105–121; Suter, "Temples and the Temple," 203; K. Coblenz Bantch, "The Heavenly Temple, the Prison in the Void and the Uninhabited Paradise: Otherworldly Sites in the Book of the Watchers," *Other Worlds and Their Relation to this World. Early Jewish and Ancient Christian Traditions* (ed. T. Nicklas) (JSJSup 143; Leiden: Brill 2010) 38–42; Ch.R.A. Morray-Jones, *A Transparent Illusion. The Dangerous Vision of Water in Hekhalot Mysticism. A Source-Critical and Tradition-Historical Inquiry* (JSJS 59; Leiden: Brill 2002) 107–109.

15 For a different, but rather isolated opinion cf., for example, P. Schäfer, *Origins of Jewish Mysticism* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2009) 66: "It does not postpone the true and perfect Temple to the eschatological future but rather move it into heaven, where it can be visited and observed, and compared with the deficient earthly Temple."

16 Cf. also Schäfer, *Origins of Jewish Mysticism*, 66, and the previous footnote, respectively.

17 Cf. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 15–16.

this: “[...] the loose correspondence of heavenly temple to earthly seems to reflect the belief that the heavenly temple so transcends the earthly that the correspondence cannot be exact.”<sup>18</sup> Consequently, *1 En.* 14:8–25, in her opinion, does not express any dissatisfaction with the Second Temple in Jerusalem, but rather stresses the glory of God’s heavenly sanctuary.<sup>19</sup>—But is that really the case?

In the following, the author would like to take a closer look at Enoch’s vision in *1 En.* 14:8–25 and consider the question of where exactly God dwells here. What is the function of the detailed description of the architecture that Enoch sees, especially against the background of ancient Jewish temple concepts? For a mere authorisation and call of the patriarch, as it is usually understood, it seems much too detailed and almost superfluous in the context of the *Book of the Watchers*.<sup>20</sup> And how can it be adequately appreciated that *two* different houses are described in a *twofold* vision,<sup>21</sup> with the second house also being greater than the first?

By comparison with other temple traditions, the author would like to demonstrate that Enoch’s twofold vision does not describe one single heavenly temple complex but rather two contradictory temple concepts. This juxtaposition, and therefore the author’s suggestion, would imply a criticism of the Second Temple in Jerusalem so that the heavenly sanctuary appears as the only possible dwelling place of God as the transcendent universal ruler. Read in this way, Enoch’s twofold vision fits very well into the picture that is emerging in other ancient Jewish texts: the Second Temple is deficient because it is neither able to keep up with the glory of the true temple nor is it able to contain God.

## 1. The Place of Enoch’s Twofold Vision in the *Book of the Watchers*

In the final version of the *Book of the Watchers*, Enoch’s twofold vision is part of his dream report to the Watchers in *1 En.* 14–16. After their descent to earth, their intermingling with human women and the begetting of giant sons, the watchers are no longer allowed to return to heaven because of their sin; so, they ask Enoch to write a petition for them and to take the petition up to God (*1 En.* 13:1–6). Enoch’s dream report can be seen as God’s final reaction to the Watchers’ petition. In the chronological order of the narrative, the dream already occurred in *1 En.* 13:7–8, after Enoch fell asleep while reading the petition of the Watchers. But it is only reported when the patriarch goes to the Watchers to rebuke them in God’s name (*1 En.* 13:9–10).

18 Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 16.

19 Cf. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 16.

20 Cf. E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old & The Day of the End. Zechariah, the Book of Watchers & Apocalyptic* (OtSt 35; Leiden: Brill 1996) 184.

21 For a detailed analysis of the twofold structure of *1 En.* 14:8–25, see below.

All in all, Enoch's dream report consists of three different parts:<sup>22</sup> 1) The title and the introduction of the dream report anticipate God's negative judgment (1 En. 14:1–7).<sup>23</sup> God rejects the Watchers' petition notwithstanding Enoch's intervention. Enoch has to proclaim the eternal judgment to them again, which includes the prohibition of their return to heaven and announces the destruction of their offspring. 2) In 1 En. 14:8, the dream report takes an unexpected thematic turn. The focus is no longer on the watchers, their misdeeds and the judgment against them. Now it is about Enoch's twofold vision of his translation to heaven and the two houses that he sees: the so-called Vision of the Heavenly Temple (1 En. 14:8–25). 3) Finally, the visual experience of the throne room is followed by an auditory experience: God addresses Enoch directly and asks him to deliver God's message to the watchers (1 En. 15:1–16:4). The watchers are criticised for acting against their nature and the divine order. They behaved like human beings and procreated. Moreover, they are accused of revealing heavenly secrets to human beings. With the pronouncement of the judgment, Enoch's dream report ends and with it the story of the Watchers – from 1 En. 17, the stories of Enoch's journeys through the entire cosmos are told.

## 2. Previous Interpretations of Enoch's Twofold Vision

Since the first commentaries on the *Book of the Watchers*, the two houses that Enoch sees in his twofold vision have been interpreted as different parts of one and the same heavenly temple complex whose structure is similar to the earthly temple in Jerusalem.<sup>24</sup> According

22 Cf. also Newsom, "The Development of 1 Enoch 6–19: Cosmology and Judgment," *CBQ* 42 (1980) 318; Co-blentz Bautch, "The Heavenly Temple," 38–42. For a different outline of Enoch's dream report see for example Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 251–275 (cf. also Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 109; Ego, "Denkbilder für Gottes Einzigkeit," 163). According to Nickelsburg (*ibidem*), the second part of Enoch's dream report ends with 1 En. 14:23; the third part, "the Oracle," begins in 1 En. 14:24, with 1 En. 14:24–15:1 functioning as transitional verses between the vision and the part of speech. The transitional and preparatory function of 1 En. 14:24–25 cannot be denied with regard to the part of speech in 1 En. 15:1–16:4, but in the present author's opinion, it is still formally part of the protagonist's vision experience. As in Dan 10:7–10 or Ezek 1:28b–2:2, the behaviour of the protagonist in 1 En. 14:24–25 represents a reaction to what has happened and experienced in the vision and thus brings the description of the vision, the second part of the dream report, to a clear conclusion. This becomes clear especially by comparison of Enoch's dream report with other prophetic visions and by considering the linguistic structuring features specific to this genre, as they were described, for example, by Achim Behrens in his monograph *Prophetische Visionsschilderungen im Alten Testament. Sprachliche Eigenarten, Funktion und Geschichte einer Gattung* (AOAT 292; Münster: Ugarit 2002) especially 32–75.

23 Cf. V. Bachmann, *Die Welt im Ausnahmezustand. Eine Untersuchung zu Aussagegehalt und Theologie des Wächterbuches (1 Hen 1–36)* (BZAW 409; Berlin: de Gruyter 2009) 75.

24 For references see n. 14. Philip Esler recently put forward a completely new approach (cf. Ph.F. Esler, *God's Court and Courtiers in the Book of the Watchers. Re-interpreting Heaven in 1 Enoch 1–36* [Eugen, OR: Cascade Books 2017] especially 136–152). He understands the *Book of the Watchers* less as a "religious" witness and more as a "political" one. In contrast to all previous interpretations of 1 En. 14 as a heavenly temple complex, he understands the structure described in Enoch's vision as a royal palace, for whose description the palaces of the Achaemenid and Hellenistic kings very likely served as a model. His interpretation is problematic for several reasons, foremost, because he is ignoring how much the *Book of the Watchers* is rooted in the intellectual

to most scholars, this heavenly temple complex has a twofold structure with the second house somehow located inside the first one: the first house is sometimes interpreted as אולם “forecourt” of the temple (cf. 1 Kgs 6:3; Ezek 40:48),<sup>25</sup> but more often as היכל “main room” or “outer sanctum” of the temple (cf. 1 Kgs 6:17; Ezek 41:1).<sup>26</sup> In line with this, the second house is understood as דביר “inner sanctum” of the temple (cf. 1 Kgs 6:5) or as קדש הקדשים “the holy of holies” (cf. 1 Kgs 6:16; Ezek 41:4).<sup>27</sup> Robert Charles and Matthew Black are the only authors to interpret the second house as “the palace of God,” which is in line with their identification of the first house as the forecourt.<sup>28</sup> According to the description of Solomon’s temple in 1 Kgs 6, the forecourt is not an integral feature of הַבַּיִת “the house” which is understood as the temple or palace of God as such. Nonetheless, common to all previous interpretations is that the term בַּיִת “house” is understood as a designation of a specific part of the building and not as the building itself.<sup>29</sup>

Whereas George Nickelsburg noted that, in contrast to the threefold structure of Solomon’s temple (forecourt, main room and holy of holies), there is only a twofold structure described in Enoch’s account of the heavenly temple (main room and holy of holies) and thus no אולם exists,<sup>30</sup> Johann Maier and Himmelfarb claim a tripartite architecture with regard to *1 En.* 14:8–25, too.<sup>31</sup> They agree with Nickelsburg and others<sup>32</sup> in interpreting the two houses as היכל and דביר, but ascribe an independent function to the outer wall. According to Maier, this wall simply separates the forecourt,<sup>33</sup> though Himmelfarb, using the Greek version of *1 En.* 14:9 as a point of departure, considers this wall as an actual third-mentioned structure: “In the Ethiopic, it is simply a wall. In the Greek text, however, Enoch passes through a *building* of hailstones and fire. The Greek, then, provides a heavenly structure that matches a three-chambered temple quite nicely.”<sup>34</sup> Thus, according to

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and scriptural environment of ancient Judaism and adopted to well-known Jewish traditions and compositions that are more likely able to explain Enoch’s vision. Therefore, his approach is not discussed in more detail below. See also n. 59.

25 Cf. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 109; Beer, “Das Buch Henoch,” 245; Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 33, and Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 147.

26 Cf. Maier, “Gefährdungsmotiv,” 23; Nickelsburg, “Enoch, Levi, and Peter,” 580; Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 60; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 14; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 263; and Coblenz Batach, “The Heavenly Temple,” 39. Cf. also Ego, “Denkbilder für Gottes Einzigkeit,” 165, and Ego, “Henochs Reise,” 115. Ego does not explicitly use the term היכל but interprets the first house based on 1 Kgs 6:2–5; Isa 6:4 passim as “Hauptraum.”

27 Cf. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 109; Beer, “Das Buch Henoch,” 245; Maier, “Gefährdungsmotiv,” 23; Nickelsburg, “Enoch, Levi, and Peter,” 580; Dean-Otting, *Heavenly Journeys*, 49; Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 60; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 14; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 263; Ego, “Denkbilder für Gottes Einzigkeit,” 160–168; Ego, “Henochs Reise,” 105–121; Coblenz Batach, “The Heavenly Temple,” 39.

28 Cf. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 34; and Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 147–148.

29 With regard to Charles and Black, at least in the first case (*1 En.* 14:10).

30 Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 263.

31 Cf. Maier, “Gefährdungsmotiv,” 23; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 14.

32 See nn. 25 and 26, respectively.

33 Cf. Maier, “Gefährdungsmotiv,” 23. Cf. also Dean-Otting, *Heavenly Journeys*, 49.

34 Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 14 (italics in original). She further writes (*ibidem*, 119–120, n. 29): “The fact that the Greek uses *oikodomē*, building, for the first structure but *oikos*, house, for the other two, could point to

Maier and Himmelfarb, the heavenly temple complex that Enoch visits in his vision also contains a forecourt and is built analogously to its earthly counterpart.

The question of how the two houses are related to each other or how to understand the fact that the second house is greater than the first has received little attention so far. Sometimes, it is assumed that the second house is somehow inside the first, and Enoch, still down on his face, is looking through the open door into the second house.<sup>35</sup> Often the combination of the two houses is simply defined as something inexplicable, transcendent, or beyond human imagination, though the size of the second house is hardly thematised or explained in detail. Nickelsburg writes rather generally about the heavenly vision: “The author’s imagery stresses the otherness of this realm. Here fire and snow can coexist. Things are larger than life. God dwells in a house greater than the great one to which it is annexed.”<sup>36</sup> Suter argues similarly. In his opinion, magnitude is an index of holiness: “[...] in making the *devir*, the throne room of the temple, larger and more magnificent than the *hekhal*, where the opposite ratio was the case in the various earthly temples.”<sup>37</sup> Thus, one could say this fact is simply unexplainable. Another rationale is supposed by Ego: This statement could perhaps have its roots in the fact that the holy of holies was located geographically above the main room.<sup>38</sup> However, she immediately concedes: “[...] vielleicht sollte man die Analogie zum irdischen Tempel aber auch nicht überstrapazieren.”<sup>39</sup> As a consequence, one could say that scholars have to date failed to illuminate this passage of Enoch’s twofold vision.

In contrast to the relationship between the two houses, the materials from which the walls and the first house are built are widely discussed. The coexistence of fire and snow is almost unique in the context of ancient Jewish temple descriptions. It is considered as something that is only possible in heaven<sup>40</sup> and that expresses the purest and most transcendent reality.<sup>41</sup> This coexistence is often explained with a dependence on Ezekiel’s vision of the glory of God (Ezek 1)<sup>42</sup> or by comparing it with the appearance of the snow-capped peak of Mount Hermon<sup>43</sup> or Josephus’ account of the Herodian Temple in Jerusalem

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the difference between the two inner chambers, where cultic activity takes place, and the vestibule, which serves to separate the sanctuary proper from the area outside and which is not the scene of such activity.”

35 Cf. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 73; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 263–264, especially n. 18; Coblenz Bautch, “The Heavenly Temple,” 40.

36 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 260.

37 Suter, “Temples and the Temple,” 216.

38 Ego, “Denkbilder für Gottes Einzigkeit,” 165; Ego, “Henochs Reise,” 116.

39 Ego, “Denkbilder für Gottes Einzigkeit,” 165; Ego, “Henochs Reise,” 116.

40 Cf., for example, Nickelsburg, “Enoch, Levi, and Peter,” 582; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 15; and Coblenz Bautch, “The Heavenly Temple,” 40.

41 Cf. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 109; and Lods, *Le Livre d’Hénoch*, 139. Cf. also Ego, “Denkbilder für Gottes Einzigkeit,” 165; Ego, “Henochs Reise,” 115.

42 Cf., for example, Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 72; Nickelsburg, “Enoch, Levi, and Peter,” 582; H.S. Kvanvig, “Henoch und der Menschensohn. Das Verhältnis von Hen 14 zu Dan 7,” *ST 38* (1984) 113; Morray-Jones, *A Transparent Illusion*, 107–109.

43 Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 261; D.W. Suter, “Why Galilee? Galilean Regionalism in the Interpretation of 1 Enoch 6–16,” *Hen 25* (2003) 206–207; Suter, “Temples and the Temple,” 204.

(*J.W.* 5).<sup>44</sup> Whereas Nickelsburg notices in *1 En.* 14 a general borrowing and systematising of the phenomena of lightning, fire and icy pavement of Ezekiel's vision,<sup>45</sup> Helge Kvanvig draws especially on the phrase הַקֶּרֶה הַנּוֹרָא in Ezek 1:22 to explain the Enochic polarity of fire and snow.<sup>46</sup> Normally, the word הַנּוֹרָא is explained as a participle Niph'al of יָרָא "to fear," but reading it with "Aramaic eyes" one could also interpret it as the Aramaic word for "fire" נּוֹרָא.<sup>47</sup> Accordingly, Kvanvig concludes:

So gelesen, wird das הַקֶּרֶה הַנּוֹרָא רָקִיעַ כְּעֵין הַקֶּרֶה zu 'ein Gewölbe wie brennendes Eis.' [...] Wir finden also, dass die Elemente der Polarität Eis – Feuer in Hen, auch in Ezech vorliegen: Die brennenden himmlischen Gestalten; das Gewölbe in Ezech als *qarah* 'Kristall' oder 'Eis' charakterisiert; und weiter als *nora*, das man aramäisch als 'das Feuer' lesen kann. Die Henochtradenten haben aus diesen Elementen eine neue, spekulative Konzeption gemacht.<sup>48</sup>

Another approach is taken by Maier, followed by Himmelfarb.<sup>49</sup> According to him, the description of the walls and of the first house is not about the physical quality of fire and snow, but about the visual impression of these materials.<sup>50</sup> In this line, Maier explains the paradoxical coexistence reduced on their visual quality by means of Josephus' account of the Herodian Temple in *J.W.* 5.222–224, which reads as follows:

The exterior of the building wanted nothing that could astound either mind or eye. For, being covered on all sides with massive plates of gold, the sun was no sooner up than it radiated so fiery a flash that persons straining to look at it were compelled to avert their eyes, as from the solar rays. To approaching strangers it appeared from a distance like a snow-clad mountain; for all that was not overlaid with gold was of purest white. From its summit protruded sharp golden spikes to prevent birds from settling upon and polluting the roof.<sup>51</sup>

Thus, according to Josephus' account, the temple was built of white stones and covered with gold everywhere—in the light of the sun or viewed from a distance, the temple could therefore quickly give the impression of a fiery or snow-covered place and exactly this could be reflected in Enoch's description of the temple in the *Book of the Watchers*.<sup>52</sup> However, it is problematic to explain *1 En.* 14 with a considerably younger source. Noticing this, Himmelfarb, therefore, tries to support Maier's assumption by noting: "Of course Josephus, who is here describing Herod's temple, wrote perhaps three centuries after the *Book of the Watchers*. But the cosmological symbolism of Josephus's account has ancient roots, and

44 Cf. Maier, "Gefährdungsmotiv," 35; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 15.

45 Cf. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 582.

46 Cf. Kvanvig, "Henoch und der Menschensohn," 106, 113. For the reference to 1 Ezek 1:22, cf. also Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 72.

47 Cf. Kvanvig, "Henoch und der Menschensohn," 113.

48 Kvanvig, "Henoch und der Menschensohn," 113.

49 Cf. Maier, "Gefährdungsmotiv," 34–35; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 15.

50 Cf. Maier, "Gefährdungsmotiv," 34.

51 Josephus Flavius, *J.W.* 5.222–224 (LCL, 66–68).

52 Cf. Maier, "Gefährdungsmotiv," 34–35.

it may be that this description draws on earlier praise of the temple.<sup>53</sup> Hence, both descriptions could be understood as snapshots of a common temple tradition and the heavenly temple would thus correspond to the earthly temple not only in its structure but also in its appearance.

Finally, drawing on one of Nickelsburg's assumptions,<sup>54</sup> Suter offers another attempt to explain Enoch's description of the houses. In his opinion, Mount Hermon is not only the place of origin of the Enochic traditions and thus of the *Book of the Watchers*; with its snow-covered peak and the surrounding meteorological phenomena, it also serves as a source of inspiration for the vision of the heavenly temple in *1 En. 14:8–25*.<sup>55</sup> In contrast to Himmelfarb, Suter explains the similarity that can be found between the description of the temple in the *Book of the Watchers* and Josephus' depiction of the Herodian temple, not so much with a common temple tradition, which is closely linked to cosmological symbolism, but rather with the close relationship between both works and Mount Hermon, which can be seen as the starting point of the temple description in both cases: "What the passage from Josephus has in common with the link to Mount Hermon is the association of temple and sacred mountain. For that matter, in comparing visual effect of the temple to a snow-capped mountain, Josephus can only have had Mount Hermon in mind from the standpoint of the region."<sup>56</sup> With this explanation, Suter reduces the fire, snow and hailstones that Enoch sees in his vision of the first house, not only to their visual aspect, as Maier and Himmelfarb ultimately did but also offers a framework for the tactile perception of these natural phenomena. But how has the absence of pleasure of life been interpreted so far?

The terrifying appearance and the absence of pleasure of life, which frighten Enoch in the first house, have been interpreted positively in previous research, as intense fear is finally understood as a reaction to the divine presence and glory: "To ascend to the heavenly temple is a cause of sheer terror rather than joy. This is no visit to the paradise of delight."<sup>57</sup> Enoch's falling down on his knees (*1 En. 14:14*) has to be taken as an act of prostration before God as in the case of Ezekiel, although Ezekiel's prostration is never connected with trembling and fear.<sup>58</sup> Rather, in contrast to the description of Ezekiel's behaviour, "[t]he Book of the Watchers [...] emphasizes the intensity of the visionary's reaction to the manifestation of the divine" and "[...] the glory of God's heavenly temple by making it, rather than the vision of God himself, the cause of Enoch's fear."<sup>59</sup> The terrifying and awesome appearance of the first house is the reason and cause of reverent trembling and is related to the divine presence in a certain positive way for it represents God's greatness and glory.

53 Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 15.

54 Cf. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 582; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 261–262.

55 Cf. Suter, "Why Galilee?," 206–207; Suter, "Temples and the Temple," 204. Cf. also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 261.

56 Suter, "Temples and the Temple," 205.

57 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 263. Cf. also Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 109; Lods, *Le Livre d'Hénoch*, 139; Maier, "Gefährdungsmotiv," 34; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 16.

58 Cf. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 16.

59 Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 16.

### 3. A New Reading of Enoch's Twofold Vision

The previous interpretations of Enoch's twofold vision in the sense of one heavenly temple complex are problematic for various reasons. Above all, there is the difficulty in interpreting the two houses as different parts of one temple building.<sup>60</sup> Strictly speaking, Enoch's vision consists of two separately introduced visions—*1 En.* 14:8–14a and *1 En.* 14:14b–25—in each of which one house is described. According to the common interpretation, the two mentioned houses are actually to be interpreted in two different ways, namely as two different parts of one building. This is linguistically untenable, however, as the same term is used in both cases and no explicit reference to a specific part of the temple is given. In Biblical and Qumran Hebrew and Aramaic, the word בית and בי, respectively, never denotes a part of a building or a temple if it is used in absolute or marked as definite; only in the construct state with a specifying genitive attribute בית or בי can denote a certain building as well as parts or rooms of a building.<sup>61</sup> In Hebrew, בית and היכל can be understood synonymously, as far as היכל is used in the sense of “palace” or “temple.”<sup>62</sup> But this is not the case in the description of the Solomonic Temple in 1 Kgs 6. Here, בית always denotes the temple in general (cf. 1 Kgs 6:1, 2, 14), whereas היכל only stands for the “main room” (cf. 1 Kgs 6:3, 5).<sup>63</sup> Likewise, there is no evidence that בית and דביר or קדש הקדשים can be used interchangeably. However, the common interpretation of Enoch's twofold vision presupposes that the two houses mentioned must be interpreted in two different ways, although the same term is used in both cases and no explicit reference is made to a specific part of the temple.

Moreover, it is remarkable about Enoch's vision as a whole, that the entire description has a twofold, almost parallel structure, though with notable differences:

60 Since Esler, even if he interprets *1 En.* 14:8–25 in contrast to the other researchers as a description of a royal palace and not of a heavenly temple, and understands the wall and the two houses like other scholars as part of one single larger building complex (cf. in particular Esler, *God's Court*, 136–152), the following criticism also applies to his interpretation, even if it is not further elaborated on with regard to the details of his arguments. Finally, it does not matter whether the entire complex is interpreted as a temple or a palace—the difficulty in interpreting the two houses as different parts of one building, which are architecturally correlated with one another, remains the same.

61 Cf. the Hebrew and Aramaic dictionary entries for בית and בי, for example in W. Gesenius – F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, Reprint of the 17 ed. [1915] (Berlin: Springer 1962) 95–98, 898; *HAL* I, 119–120; II, 1679–1680; E.M. Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2015) 33; R.G. Kratz – A. Steudel – I. Kottsieper (eds.), *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zu den Texten vom Toten Meer. Einschliesslich der Manuskripte aus der Kairoer Geniza*. I. ב – נ (Berlin: de Gruyter 2017) 269–273. For examples of its use in the sense of a particular building or part of it, see, for example, Jer 36:22; Amos 3:15; Esth 2:3; 7:8.

62 Cf. M. Ottosson, “היכל,” *TbWAT* II, 409–415.

63 Cf. Ottosson, “היכל,” 409–415.



The Structure and Content of Enoch's Twofold Vision

The first house (14:8–14a) <sup>64</sup>		The second house (14:14b–25)	
<i>opening formula:</i>		<i>opening formula:</i>	
14:8	“And it was shown to me in a vision as follows: Behold...” <b>translation to heaven</b>	14:14b	“And I saw in my vision: Behold...”
<i>description of the house:</i>		<i>description of the house:</i>	
14:9	<b>a wall<sup>65</sup> of hailstones burning in fire</b> <u>fear reaction</u>	14:15	a house greater than the former one <u>an open door<sup>67</sup></u>
14:10	a great house  <b>wall(s)<sup>66</sup> of hailstones</b>	14:16	<b>splendour and greatness of the house</b> <u>reaction of being impressed</u>
14:11	floor of snow <u>ceiling like stars and flashes</u> <u>amongst them are Cherubim</u> <b>heaven of water</b>	14:17	floor of fire <u>above (the floor) stars and flashes</u> <u>ceiling of fire</u>
14:12	<b>wall(s) burning in fire</b> <b>door(s) burning in fire</b>		
<i>inside the house:</i>		<i>inside the house:</i>	
14:13a	Enoch goes inside  <b>hot as fire + cold as snow</b>  <b>no pleasure of life<sup>68</sup></b>	14:18	<b>a lofty throne</b> <b>appearance like ice + surrounds like sun</b>
		14:19	<b>sound of Cherubim</b>
		14:20	<b>rivers of burning fire</b> <b>the Great Glory</b>
		14:21–23	<b>clothing brighter</b> than the sun and <b>whiter</b> than snow <u>angels/humans are <b>not</b> able to go inside</u> <b>fire and angels surround God</b>
<i>reaction of the protagonist:</i>		<i>reaction of the protagonist:</i>	
14:13b–14a	reaction of fear falling down	14:24–25	trembling prostration <b>God addresses Enoch</b>

64 In the following overview, those points that occur only in one of the two house descriptions are in bold, those points underlined occur in both parts but at different places and can also have varying meanings.

65 In the sense of a city or town wall (cf. GrPan τείχος and Aeth ἰῆϣῶ).

66 In the sense of a wall of a room or of a building (cf. GrPan τοίχος and Aeth ἡζῆῖῥ).

67 GrPan and Tana 9 differ in their order from the remaining Ethiopic witnesses (= above). According to GrPan and Tana 9, the description of the house begins with the open door, followed by a reference to the house: “And behold, another door, open before me, and the house was greater than the former one [...]”

68 The translation “no pleasure of life” follows Aeth I. In contrast, Aeth II reads “no pleasure and no life,” whereas Tana 9 has “nothing.” The reading of GrPan is ambiguous: The word, in roman-byzantine orthography written ΤΡΟΦΗ, can be interpreted as both τροφή “food” and τρυφή “abundance.” Accordingly, the translation of this phrase could be “no food for life” or “no abundance of life.”

Thus, both parts begin with an opening formula of a vision, then offer a detailed description of the house and its interior, and end with a reaction of the protagonist.<sup>69</sup> In the descriptions of both houses, the size, floor, ceiling, door and material of the individual components are depicted. Remarkably, the sequence of the elements shown is more or less identical. By use of the opening formula and the reaction of the protagonist, they each offer a clear beginning and end. Therefore, they can also be clearly distinguished from one another with regard to the content and give the impression of two similar buildings, but not correlating parts of one building.

In Enoch's twofold vision, the two houses are related to one another only once, namely in *1 En.* 14:15. While the first house is already referred to in *1 En.* 14:10 as בֵּיא רַב "a big house," the second house is qualified in *1 En.* 14:15 by comparing it to the first: it is בֵּיא אַחֲרָן "another house that is greater than this one."<sup>70</sup> Apart from the use of the term בֵּיא "house" in both cases and the comparison based on size, there is no other indication of how these two houses relate to one another or how this comparison should be understood. The designation of the second house as בֵּיא אַחֲרָן "another house" stresses that it is different from the first house (as far as the reconstruction of the Aramaic is correct). Moreover, connecting the temple and its size with the use of the comparative particle can be found only in two other theological statements about the temple. In *2 Chr* 2:4, it is stated that Solomon will build a temple:

והבית אשר־אני בונה גדול כִּי־גדול אלהינו מכל־האלהים:

And the house that I build is great, for our God is greater than all gods.

The earthly temple is not only related to God but also shares in God's greatness and superiority.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, as a work of human hands, the temple cannot fully contain God or reduce him to this place (cf. *2 Chr* 2:5).<sup>72</sup> In other words, the earthly temple may be great, but the divine one is greater and cannot be contained in it. In contrast, the prophet Haggai criticises the poor conditions of the temple. The temple is a ruin, like nothing, but,

<sup>69</sup> Cf. also Kvanvig, "Enoch und der Menschensohn," 102.

<sup>70</sup> At least according to the common reconstruction of the Aramaic based on the G<sup>a</sup>ʿaz version that reads ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ. Cf. for example J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumrān Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon 1976) 194; H. Drawnel, *Qumran Cave 4. The Aramaic Books of Enoch, 4Q201, 4Q202, 4Q204, 4Q205, 4Q206, 4Q207, 4Q212* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2019) 233. GrPan has a slightly different reading and omits the corresponding word to אַחֲרָן and ܩܕܝܫܐ respectively: καὶ ὁ οἶκος μείζων τούτου "and the house (was) greater than this one."

<sup>71</sup> Cf. M. Lynch, "Divine Supremacy and the Temple: 2 Chronicles 2 and the Fifth Book of Psalms," *Psalmen und Chronik* (eds. F. Hartenstein – Th. Willi) (FAT 2/107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2019) 330–331, 333.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. M. Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions in the Book of Chronicles. Temple, Priesthood, and Kingship in Post-Exilic Perspective* (FAT 2/64; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2014) 110–113; Lynch, "Divine Supremacy," 332–333.

at the same time, it is a sign of hope for the coming blessings. Thus, the prophet proclaims in Hag 2:9a:

גדול יהיה כבוד הבית הזה האחרון מן־הראשון אמר יהוה צבאות

The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, says the Lord of hosts.

In all three compositions, the keywords בית and גדול (or their Aramaic equivalents בַּי and רַב, respectively) as well as the preposition מִן are used to compare two entities in terms of their size. Like the temple and God in 2 Chronicles and the former destroyed temple and the future glorious one in Haggai, the two houses in the *Book of the Watchers* are related in terms of size. In all three cases, the second entity is the greater of the two because of its direct relation to God or to his glory. Hence, the second one is superior to the first and transcends it. According to this analogy, the two houses that Enoch sees in his twofold vision should be put in contrast rather than be correlated with each other. This would mean that they are not two different parts of the same temple, but rather represent two contradictory concepts. This impression is supported by further observations:

Besides the fact that Enoch's translation by means of natural forces is mentioned only once at the beginning of the description of the first house (1 En. 14:8); there are other important differences between the two houses and also regarding Enoch's behaviour. First of all, the materials of the houses are different. The first house is made of hailstones (1 En. 14:10). The wall that surrounds it, the walls of the building and its floor are also made of hailstones or snow (1 En. 14:9, 10); everything is surrounded by fire or burning in fire (1 En. 14:9, 12). Consequently, the door of the first house burns in fire, too (1 En. 14:12). That way, the first house produces a paradox and at the same time, a terrifying impression.<sup>73</sup> The second house, in contrast, is entirely and only of fire (1 En. 14:15, 17) and is characterised by glory, splendour and greatness (1 En. 14:16). Only the door does not burn in the fire, like the door of the first house, but is wide open (1 En. 14:15). Thus, it provides insight into the building without the need to enter it<sup>74</sup>—or, because it is even impossible for Enoch to enter the house as it is described in 1 En. 14:21 with regard to all the angels and fleshly beings.<sup>75</sup> If the door was not open, Enoch would not be able to see what is inside. Moreover, both the outer and inner walls play no explicit role in the description of the second house. Whereas the inner wall of the house seems to be replaced by flaming fire and angels surrounding the throne (1 En. 14:22), the outer wall seems not even to exist in the conception of the second house.

The previous interpretations of the coexistence of fire and snow or hailstones often focused primarily on the visual appearance of these elements. Accordingly, the whiteness of

<sup>73</sup> Cf. also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 262.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Lods, *Le Livre d'Hénoch*, 140; Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 34.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 34; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 148.

snow as an expression of purity<sup>76</sup> and fire as an integral part of a theophany,<sup>77</sup> as the source of warmth and light, which is a necessity of life,<sup>78</sup> or as the way, in which God consumes the sacrifice made to him,<sup>79</sup> have positive connotations. But both elements can also have negative meanings when the focus is on their substance or their effect,<sup>80</sup> as in the case of the first house. According to Job 38:22–23, snow and hail are reserved for the time of trouble, battle and war. A similar association is found in *I En.* 34; 76:1–14 and Sir 43:17: Snow and hail are a plague that brings harm and destruction like locusts.<sup>81</sup> Likewise, fire is not only part of theophanies but also a demonstration and instrument of God's wrath and judgment.<sup>82</sup> In texts, such as Lev 10:2; Num 11:1–3; 16:35 or Ps 18:9, consuming fire comes from God as an expression of his anger to punish or destroy the wicked.<sup>83</sup> From this, it follows that the walls of the first house that are made of snow or hail do not necessarily symbolise purity or fertility but can also express cold and remoteness from life. The flaming fire that surrounds everything in the first house would not be part of the theophany—for this, there is simply no reference to God, which is only given in the second house—but an expression of judgment and destruction.

The fact that the materials of the first house can have negative connotations does not necessarily mean that its similarity to the description of Josephus' temple or the general affinity to temple concepts must be disputed. Rather, the further differences between the two houses demonstrate that the description of the first house deliberately alludes to elements of the earthly temple—but with the aim of implicitly criticising it as such, that is to say as deficient.

Looking at the interior of the houses, for example, it is remarkable that the ceiling of the first house is *like* the path of the stars and flashes of lightning, and in between there are fiery cherubim (*I En.* 14:11).<sup>84</sup> Images of the firmament were widespread in ancient temples and found their counterparts in Mesopotamian and Egyptian temples, which were constructed to represent the cosmos.<sup>85</sup> According to Josephus, for example, the curtain

76 Cf., for example, Isa 1:18; Ps 51:9; Dan 7:9. However, this always concerns the comparison “white(r) as snow” (גֶּלֶם כְּשֶׁלֶג or גֶּלֶם שֶׁלֶג).

77 Cf., for example, Gen 15:17; Exod 3; 19:18; 24:17; Ezek 1; Zech 2:9; Dan 7:9–10.

78 Cf., for example, Isa 44:15; Sir 39:26.

79 Cf., for example, Lev 9:24; 1 Kgs 18:38; 2 Chr 7:1 (cf. 2 Chr 7:3).

80 Cf. for this and the following also M. Köckert, “Die Theophanie des Wettergottes Jahwe in Psalm 18,” *Kulturgeschichten. Altorientalische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. Th. Richter) (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druck und Verlag 2001) 209–226.

81 Cf. also Exod 9:13–35; Ps 18:14–16; 147:17.

82 Cf., for example, Isa 66:15–16; Dan 7:11; *I En.* 90:26.

83 Cf. also Gen 19:24; Exod 9:23; Isa 29:6; 30:27; Ezek 22:19–22.

84 Cf. GrPan: αἱ στέγαι ὡς διαδρομαὶ ἀστέρων καὶ ἀστραπαὶ and Aeth (reading follows EMM 7584):  
 𐩢𐩣𐩪𐩫: 𐩠𐩪𐩬: 𐩫𐩰𐩪𐩫: 𐩠𐩪𐩬: 𐩠𐩪𐩬: 𐩠𐩪𐩬: 𐩠𐩪𐩬: 𐩠𐩪𐩬: 𐩠𐩪𐩬: 𐩠𐩪𐩬:

85 Cf., for example, J. Assmann, *Ägypten – Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur* (Urban-Taschenbücher 366; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1984) 45; B. Janowski, “Der Himmel auf Erden: Zur kosmologischen Bedeutung des Tempels in der Umwelt Israels,” *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte* (eds. B. Janowski – B. Ego) (FAT 32; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1991) 229–260; Gäckle, *Allgemeines*

in the Herodian temple was supposed to be an “image of the universe”; on the fabric of the curtain the entire visible vault of heaven was embroidered (*J.W.* 5.212–214). The image of the firmament in ancient temples is, of course, thought of as reality, that is, the image represents the heavenly reality. This could also be the case here with the first house were it not for the particle “like.” This particle suggests that the usual equation of “image (is equal to) reality” has been abandoned in favour of the differentiation between image—“like” (in the first house) and reality (in the second house). With the characterisation of the ceiling as the image of the universe, the first house deviates from the description of the second house in so far as the ceiling of the second house actually consists of flaming fire, and the path of the stars and lightning is indeed between the floor and the ceiling (*1 En.* 14:17). Hence, the paths of the stars and lightning flashes are not depicted on the ceiling, but actually exist in this house. Or to put it another way: the second house is a living, real cosmos, whereas the first house is just its copy.

The two houses also differ with regard to their interiors. The description of the interior of the first house is extremely short: on the one hand, inside it is hot as fire and cold as ice; on the other hand, there is no pleasure of life in it (*1 En.* 14:13). The paradox of the simultaneity of heat and cold contradicts the actual intention of a house in the ancient Levant, which is supposed to offer people refuge from the heat of the day as well as from the cold at night<sup>86</sup>—the first house in Enoch’s vision instead exposes the visitor to consuming interactions of extreme temperature differences that are anything but life-friendly. Likewise, the statement of the absence of pleasure of life is very unusual with regard to other temple descriptions. In ancient thought, a temple is usually viewed as a source of life, fertility, and prosperity<sup>87</sup> and is usually filled with the glory of God,<sup>88</sup> his cloud,<sup>89</sup> or with God himself.<sup>90</sup> Ps 36:9–10, for example, states the following about the temple:

ירוין ממשן ביתך ונחל עדניך תשקם:  
כיעמך מקור חיים באורך נראה־אור:

They feast on the abundance of your house, and you give them drink from the river of your delights.  
For with you is the fountain of life; in your light we see light.

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*Priestertum*, 148; C. Ambos, *Mesopotamische Baurituale aus dem 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. Mit einem Beitrag von Aaron Schmitt* (Dresden: ISLET 2004) 47–50.

86 Cf. also Gen 31:40 and Jer 36:30. The large temperature differences have the consequence, for example, that the corpse of the king (Jer 36:30) will decompose faster.

87 Cf., for example, R.C. Van Leeuwen, “Cosmos, Temple, House: Building and Wisdom in Ancient Mesopotamia and Israel,” *From the Foundations to the Crenellations. Essays on Temple Building in the Ancient Near East and Hebrew Bible* (eds. M.J. Boda – J. Novotny) (AOAT 366; Münster: Ugarit 2010) 399–421; Ambos, *Mesopotamische Baurituale*, 47.

88 Cf., for example, Exod 40:34–35; 1 Kgs 8:11; Ezek 43:5.

89 Cf., for example, 1 Kgs 8:10; 2 Chr 5:13; Ezek 10:4.

90 Cf., for example, Ps 11:4; Hab 2:20.

That the statement of *1 En.* 14:13 contradicts this idea of the temple becomes particularly apparent in the Greek version of the Psalm (= Ps LXX 35:9–10):<sup>91</sup>

μεθυσθήσονται ἀπὸ πίότητος τοῦ οἴκου σου καὶ τὸν χειμάρρουν τῆς **τρυφῆς** σου ποτιεῖς αὐτούς ὅτι **παρὰ σοὶ**  
πηγὴ **ζωῆς** ἐν τῷ φωτί σου ὀψόμεθα φῶς.

In Ps LXX 35:9–10, the words τρυφή “delight, pleasure” and ζωή “life” are used to characterise the abundance of God’s dwelling place—according to the Greek version of Enoch’s twofold vision, both features are absent in the first house: τρυφή ζωῆς οὐκ ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ. The presence of the typical temple attributes is negated and, apart from the building structure, the house is described as completely empty. Thus, the statement about the first house in Enoch’s twofold vision clearly reverses the usual concept of the temple. This place must be therefore anything but the dwelling of God.

In contrast, the interior of the second house is described in detail (*1 En.* 14:18–23). Enoch sees a lofty throne with the Great Glory (*1 En.* 14:18.20), surrounded by flaming fire (*1 En.* 14:19) and angels (*1 En.* 14:21–23), and characterised by glory, splendour and greatness (cf. *1 En.* 14:16). The second house is the place and source of abundance, glory, and hence life. It is noticeable that negations and comparative particles are used several times to express the inaccessibility and indescribability of God and his place.<sup>92</sup> On the one hand, Enoch *cannot* describe the house and its glory, splendour and size in its entirety (*1 En.* 14:16), *nor* look at the throne (*1 En.* 14:19), *no* angel can enter *nor* look at God, just as *none* of the flesh can look at him (*1 En.* 14:21), and *none* of those who surround God, approaches or moves away from him (*1 En.* 14:22, 23). In the description of the first house, however, a negation was used only once: namely in Enoch’s observation that there is *no* pleasure of life inside the first house (*1 En.* 14:13). On the other hand, the appearance of the throne and the glory of God is only described indirectly or roughly with the help of comparison. The appearance of the throne is *like* ice, its wheel *like* the shining sun (*1 En.* 14:18), and the garment of great glory is brighter *than* the sun and whiter *than* all snow (*1 En.* 14:20).<sup>93</sup> It is remarkable that almost the same word field is used to describe the throne and the deity as for the interior of the first house but with the focus on a completely different aspect. While the description of fire and ice in the first house focused on the physical quality and their physical perception, where the effects of these two elements – heat and cold – are perceived as uncomfortable (*1 En.* 14:13), the comparisons in *1 En.* 14:18 and *1 En.* 14:20 concentrate on the visual impression, that is the appearance of ice, snow and the sun, and the resulting expression of purity. Thus, the negations and

91 The reference is to the Greek since the Aramaic version of *1 En.* 14:13 has not survived.

92 Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 260.

93 This comparative language recalls the description of the Glory in Ezekiel’s vision (Ezek 1:4–28): Here, too, there is a strikingly frequent use of comparisons to represent God’s transcendence. Cf. J.M. Hiebel, *Ezekiel’s Ezekiel’s Vision Accounts as Interrelated Narratives. A Redaction-Critical and Theological Study* (BZAW 475; Berlin: de Gruyter 2015) 80–81, 85–86.

comparative particles make the absolute conceivability of the second house impossible and finally preserve the transcendence of God.<sup>94</sup> In contrast, none of these stylistic devices can be found in the description of the first house, which therefore appears to be completely describable and accessible.

Finally, Enoch's behaviour and his different reactions to the two houses are remarkable. Enoch is very active with regard to the first house: he goes inside, first approaching the wall (1 En. 14:9), then the house (1 En. 14:10), and finally, he enters it (1 En. 14:13).<sup>95</sup> But apart from that, he is no longer the subject of a verb of movement. In the vision of the second house, Enoch is completely passive and almost fades into the background as a subject. Only in 1 En. 14:18, it is mentioned how he looks up and sees things. Related to the second house, there are no movements of the patriarch of his own.<sup>96</sup> Because of the open door, he does not even have to enter to gain a glimpse of the interior, or he is simply not able to enter, like the angels (1 En. 14:21). In any case, in contrast to the first house, a distance is created between the patriarch and the interior of the second house, the enthroned God,<sup>97</sup> which cannot be resolved by the patriarch himself. Enoch's passivity culminates in 1 En. 14:25: Here Enoch becomes the object of the action of an angel (GrPan) or God (Aeth) and is set up and brought to the door.

It is the same with his reactions to the houses. In the description of the first house, Enoch's reaction of fear represents both the frame and the culmination point. As soon as Enoch reaches the walls, he begins to be afraid (1 En. 14:9). After seeing the entire house, he is "covered by fear" and trembling (1 En. 14:13–14). In the final version of the *Book of the Watchers*, this type of reaction is clearly linked to the idea of judgment and punishment. The reactions of the Watchers to God's judgment (1 En. 1:5; 13:3) and the reaction of Enoch to the prison of the Watchers (1 En. 21:2, 7–9) are described with the same words.<sup>98</sup> Consequently, at least in the final version of the *Book of the Watchers*, this type of reaction of fear seems to be clearly associated with the idea of judgment and punishment. In line with this, Enoch's fall in 1 En. 14:14 is less a prostration than a falling down out of sheer horror.<sup>99</sup>

Corresponding to Enoch's passiveness, his reaction to the second house is also subordinate to the appearance of the place. His inability to describe anything is mentioned twice: he fails to describe the glory and splendour of the house (1 En. 14:16) and to look up to the throne (1 En. 14:19), and his final reaction, his prostration and trembling, culminates in his restoration by an angel or God to receive his commission (1 En. 14:24–25). But in the second house, he is spared from the enormous fear that he experienced with

94 Cf. also the previous footnote and Ego, "Henochs Reise," 120.

95 Cf. also Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 580; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 259.

96 Cf. also Kvanvig, "Enoch und der Menschensohn," 103.

97 Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 148.

98 In 1 En. 14:13–14 as well as in 1 En. 1:5 and 13:3, φόβος + τρόμος + λαμβάνω and 𐤆𐤇𐤆𐤇 + 𐤇𐤓𐤏 + 𐤕𐤍𐤏/𐤍𐤏𐤕, respectively, are used to describe the reaction of fear. The words predominantly used in 1 En. 21 are φοβερός (and derivatives) and δεινός or 𐤆𐤇𐤆𐤇, 𐤓𐤏𐤏 and 𐤏𐤓𐤏.

99 Cf. also 1 Sam 28:20, where it says that Saul falls with horror and terror.

regard to the first house. While his perception and reaction are very prominent in the vision of the latter, his character fades into the background in the description of the former. In this way, the focus shifts from the subjective experience and involvement of the protagonist, which are central to the description of the first house, to the objective and general portrayal of God's glory, splendour and inaccessibility, which characterise the account of the second house.

All in all, the problems and differences just described with regard to the two houses make it very unlikely that Enoch sees a bi- or even tripartite temple which corresponds to the structure and appearance of the earthly temple in Jerusalem. Rather, it can be assumed that his twofold vision offers two contradictory concepts of the temple. So, it turns out that the first house visually corresponds to God's dwelling, but its materials and interior are to be understood negatively due to their paradox and frightening character. Snow, ice and fire express in this case not purity and transcendence, but destruction and judgment. The simultaneity of heat and cold and the absence of pleasure of life make the first house a place of hostility to life and thus of remoteness of God. This is reflected in Enoch's extreme reaction of fear. In contrast, the second house appears as the true place of God's glory, which is exceptional in everything and superior to the first house which is just a mere broken image. Enoch can therefore only react with amazement and kneel down respectfully. Consequently, this juxtaposition of two temples in the *Book of the Watchers* can be understood as a criticism of any attempt to copy the house of God.

However, it seems to remain suspicious that the two houses are ostensibly viewed during the same heavenly journey and are in close proximity to each other. At least this is what *1 En.* 14:8 could suggest, according to which Enoch is lifted up by the winds and brought up to heaven. It should not be forgotten, though, that the two houses are part of a visionary transcendent reality. The two houses can only be determined indirectly as the earthly and heavenly realisation of a temple through their detailed descriptions and not through the initial translation of Enoch. This is also made clear by the term ὄρασις and ὄραβ “vision,” respectively, which appears three times in the first verse of the description of the vision (*1 En.* 14:8).<sup>100</sup> In the heading, this term initially characterises the entire ensuing event as an overall visionary experience.<sup>101</sup> Within the translation, described in the following, the term emphasises that what has now been experienced and seen is part of a realm removed from everyday reality, in which the boundaries between heaven and earth are blurred, if not

100 This is especially noteworthy because the terms ὄραβ, ὄνειρος resp. ἄδραβ “dream” and ὄραβ/ὄραβ, ὄρασις resp. ὄραβ “vision” are used within the *Book of the Watchers* apart from the book title (*1 En.* 1:2 “vision of the Holy One”) only in connection with the dream report (*1 En.* 13:8, 10; 14:1, 4, 8, 14). In contrast, according to *1 En.* 17–19, 21–36, the patriarch does not travel in a dream or vision, but actually moves around, only horizontally. Although Enoch visits all possible places in the world and the ends of the cosmos on his travels, *1 En.* 17–19, 21–36 does not describe a single journey to heaven. Cf. K. Coblenz Bantch, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19. “No One Has Seen What I Have Seen”* (JSJSup 81; Leiden: Brill 2003) 8–9. Thus, Enoch's cosmic travels cannot be regarded as visionary events or experiences.

101 Cf. also Ezek 1:1; 8:3; 11:24; 40:2; Dan 8:1–2.



abolished.<sup>102</sup> Enoch's translation into heaven is, therefore, above all, access to a visionary space. This can be compared with Ezekiel's visions of the temple (Ezek 8–11 and 40–48), which are inextricably linked and can be seen as negative and positive equivalents of each other.<sup>103</sup> In Ezek 8:3, when spirit/wind<sup>104</sup> lifts Ezekiel between heaven and earth and brings him to Jerusalem, the prophet gets insight into a different reality. In Ezek 40–48, Ezekiel is translated to the same place in the same manner, though in future. The divinely caused change of location explains in both cases (Enoch and Ezekiel) how the event of a vision is “technically” initiated. Thus, it is a matter of the content proclaimed in the vision itself.

This is supported by the way in which the translation of Enoch is described. The natural phenomena mentioned in 1 En. 14:8 can be seen as a cosmic reference to God and thus as an expression of divine action, which in this way becomes visible and tangible on earth.<sup>105</sup> Exactly the same terms will be used later in connection with the description of the glory of God (1 En. 14:15–23). The course of the stars and the lightning that urge Enoch to hurry in 1 En. 14:8 are a central component of the second house (1 En. 14:17) and introduce the description of the throne and the glory of God. The mention of the stars and the lightning in 1 En. 14:11 in the description of the first house can, however, be understood in the same way as a reference, since they are only depicted there and not actually present.<sup>106</sup> Accordingly, the natural phenomena in 1 En. 14:8 refer from the beginning to the glory of God in the second house as the actual goal of the twofold vision (1 En. 14:17).

Furthermore, the fact that Enoch is translated into heaven and sees the two houses, each in a transcendent space, does not necessarily mean that there is no relationship between the content of the vision and earthly reality. It is rather the case that what is seen in the vision is absolutely binding for the earthly reality and can anticipate earthly events or conditions in a visionary way or even address them directly.<sup>107</sup> The detailed description of the first house which frightens Enoch so much, offers numerous elements that are primarily

102 Cf. F. Förg, *Die Ursprünge der alttestamentlichen Apokalyptik* (ABG 45; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt 2013) 100–132, 331–406, who characterises the visions in the Book of Daniel and in the Book of Ezekiel in this way.

103 See below and, in detail, M.J. Bokhorst, *Enoch und der Tempel des Todes. 1 Henoch 14–16 zwischen Schriftauslegung und Traditionsverarbeitung* (BZAW 530; Berlin: de Gruyter 2021) 227–250. Cf. also Th.A. Rudnig, *Heilig und Profan. Redaktionskritische Studien zu Ez 40–48* (BZAW 287; Berlin: de Gruyter 2000) 57, 92, and Hiebel, *Ezekiel's Vision Accounts*, 230.

104 For the possibility of translating רוח in Ezek 8:3 as “wind” cf. M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20* (trans. M. Konkel) (HHTHKAT; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder 2001) 194, and his commentary on Ezek 3:12 *ibidem*, 98–99.

105 Cf., for example, Jer 10:13 par. 51:16, where a thunder and storm theophany is described with similar words, and Thomas Podella's comment on this (*Das Lichtkleid JHWHs. Untersuchungen zur Gestaltbarkeit Gottes im Alten Testament und seiner altorientalischen Umwelt* [FAT 15; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1996] 170): “Donner, Blitz, Wolken und Sturmwind bilden nach Jer 10,10.12–13 die erkennbare Außenseite Gottes. Nicht eine anthropomorphe Gestalt, sondern die Werkzeuge einer Wettergottheit zeigen das Handeln dieses Gottes weithin sichtbar an.” Cf. also Exod 19:16; 20:21; Ps 18:10; 135:7 and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 261, resp. Ps 104:2–4, 7 and Podella, *Das Lichtkleid JHWHs*, 232–240, 268–269.

106 See above resp. n. 84.

107 In this context one could refer, for example, to the visions in Dan 7, in which Daniel first sees four animals that rise from the sea and that can be interpreted as four earthly kings, then the Ancient of Days who sits down

used as indications of an earthly temple<sup>108</sup> and thus can be understood as pointing to the temple in Jerusalem, while the design of the second house, together with the enthroned glory, indicates the true temple, which is in heaven.<sup>109</sup> Therefore, the direct juxtaposition of the two houses in Enoch's twofold vision should not be disregarded, but taken seriously and become the basis for proper interpretation.

The interpretation of the two houses in the sense of a juxtaposition of two temple concepts is also confirmed by the immediate context. In the following divine speech in *1 En.* 15:1–16:4, the categorical juxtaposition of the two houses in the sense of a heavenly ideal and an earthly image is explicitly taken up by means of the keyword “house/dwelling,”<sup>110</sup> and transferred to the spirits of heaven and earth. As for God, there is only one ideal dwelling place for the spirits, which corresponds to the order of creation, namely in heaven (*1 En.* 15:7, 10).<sup>111</sup> These heavenly spirits and their heavenly dwelling are contrasted with the evil spirits who have emerged from the giants, the illegal descendants of the watchers, and who do mischief on earth: “The spirits of heaven: their dwelling shall be in heaven. And the spirits of earth who were born on earth: their dwelling is on earth” (*1 En.* 15:10; cf. *1 En.* 15:8). As a hostile principle that originated on earth and contradicts the order of creation, their existence and dwelling on earth represent the negative image to the heavenly spirits created by God and their dwelling in heaven. Within the entire dream report, the two houses in Enoch's vision (*1 En.* 14:8–25) thus become a paradigm and background for determining the relationship between that which corresponds to the divine order of creation and its perversion.

Moreover, the juxtaposition of two temple concepts, as formulated in Enoch's vision, is not really a new idea in tradition-historical terms. Forerunners of this notion can be found in other Jewish works, albeit with different orientations. Particularly, in comparison with Ezekiel's visions of the temple (Ezek 8–11; 40–48), remarkable parallels can be found.<sup>112</sup> These even go beyond the general temple theme and the comparison of a deficient and ideal sanctuary.

First, both works, the Book of Ezekiel and the *Book of the Watchers*, describe visions of the temple (cf. Ezek 8–11; 40–48, and *1 En.* 14:8–14a; 14:14b–25) and stand in a temporal connection with the Second Temple. It is therefore not only obvious but also necessary

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for judgment, and finally, the Son of Man who comes upon the clouds of heaven. The visions that follow one another actually play on different levels and yet are strictly related to the future fate of earthly history.

108 See here in particular the comparative language e.g. in *1 En.* 14:11, which implies that stars, lightning and cherubim are only depicted but not actually present—as is typically the case in ancient earthly temples (cf. the detailed discussion earlier).

109 See here, in particular, the real presence of stars, flashes of lightning and cherubim (e.g. *1 En.* 14:17).

110 *κατοίκησις* and *σπηλιε*, respectively (the Aramaic version of *1 En.* 15 has not survived).

111 For a similar categorical juxtaposition of the heavenly and earthly world see, for example, Ps 115:3, 16.

112 For the close relationship between the two visions of the temple in the book of Ezekiel and their interpretation as negative and positive equivalents, see, for example, Rudnig, *Heilig und Profan*, 57–58, 92, and Hiebel, *Ezekiel's Vision Accounts*, 230.



Thus, in both cases, the protagonist is lifted up by a divine force during a vision and brought to the place of his vision. In contrast to Ezek 8:3, however, in Enoch's translation not only one spirit/wind is involved, but ultimately a whole collective of natural forces that act as the visible outside of God.

In addition, in both works the juxtaposition of the two temples is determined by the question of the absence or presence of divine glory and the cultic appropriateness of the place.<sup>119</sup> In Ezek 8–11, the cultic defilement of the then-existing, earthly Jerusalem temple causes the departure of the glory of God<sup>120</sup> as well as the destruction of the sanctuary and the annihilation of the people;<sup>121</sup> the new temple in Ezek 40–48, on the other hand, is characterised by cultic purity and holiness and becomes a source of life and blessings through the presence of divine glory.<sup>122</sup> Likewise, the first house in Enoch's vision seems to be, due to its character and the hostile circumstances, a negative counterpart to the ideal sanctuary (the second house) and is in this respect similar to the temple described in Ezek 8–11. Against this, the divine glory as well as the healing temple rivers are present in the second house, as was also the case with the temple described in Ezek 40–48.

In this way, a loud criticism of cult is expressed in both works, although it is clearer and more explicit in Ezekiel, whereas it is more subtle in the *Book of the Watchers*. On the one hand, there is a certain rejection of human-made things with regard to the design of the interior and wall decoration. The sanctuary in Ezekiel's first vision of the temple (Ezek 8–11) is full of idols and portrayals on the walls with which the people of Israel defiled the house of God.<sup>123</sup> Likewise, the first house in Enoch's twofold vision demonstrates the shortcomings of images, since they only imitate what is actually present in God's true dwelling place. In contrast, the new temple in Ezek 40–48 and the second house in *1 En.* 14:14b–25 differ not only from these first two temple concepts but also from the descriptions of the Tabernacle (Exod 25–31; 35–40) and the Solomonic temple (1 Kgs 6–8; 2 Chr 3–7) with regard to the furnishings and design: In both cases, there is neither a rich interior design nor precious materials.<sup>124</sup> Rather, Ezekiel's new temple impresses with its emptiness and its focus on the return of the glory of God.<sup>125</sup> The second house in the *Book of the Watchers* appears as the living cosmos, in which the natural and heavenly phenomena function as the environment of God and thus as natural temple decorations.<sup>126</sup>

However, there is also a notable difference between these two temple conceptions. Despite everything, the *Book of Ezekiel* adheres to the idea of an earthly temple and, by

119 With regard to Ezekiel's visions of the temple, cf. Rudnig, *Heilig und Profan*, 57, 92, and Hiebel, *Ezekiel's Vision Accounts*, 230.

120 Cf. Ezek 9:3; 10:4, 18; 11:22–23.

121 Cf. Ezek 9:5–8; 11:7–11.

122 Cf. Hiebel, *Ezekiel's Vision Accounts*, 210.

123 Cf. Ezek 8:3, 5, 10, 11, 12, 14.

124 For this observation with regard to Ezek 40–48, cf. Hiebel, *Ezekiel's Vision Accounts*, 198–199; Podella, *Das Lichtkleid JHWHs*, 205; and Rudnig, *Heilig und Profan*, 38.

125 Cf. also Rudnig, *Heilig und Profan*, 132, and Hiebel, *Ezekiel's Vision Accounts*, 198–199.

126 For a similar notion see, for example, Ps 104:2.

means of the glory theology, challenges the idea that God is bound to his earthly sanctuary. The temple concept in the *Book of the Watchers* seems to go a significant step further and break completely with the idea of an earthly temple. Instead, God dwells in heaven, and only there.

## Conclusion

In consequence, it has been shown that Enoch's twofold vision may be interpreted as one of the most radical temple-critical texts of ancient Judaism. Contrary to previous research, which interpreted the two parts of the vision in the sense of a single temple complex, it has become clear that the first house, as a place of the remoteness of God and joylessness, stands in contrast to the second house and can possibly be read as a symbol for the deficient earthly sanctuary in Jerusalem. In contrast, only the second house proves to be the true cosmos and dwelling place of God and thus the ideal heavenly sanctuary. Such a perception and interpretation of this passage also explains the remarkable level of detail in the description of the houses compared to an ordinary throne room vision. In contrast to Isa 6 or Ezek 1–3, for example, Enoch's twofold vision is not only about the legitimation of the protagonist but also about the categorical juxtaposition of the heavenly and earthly worlds. This juxtaposition results in a "decoupling" of the potency of God from his visible presence on earth. The traditional idea of a direct correspondence between the ideal sanctuary and its earthly image seems consequently to be broken. Even if the description of the vision is linked to numerous traditional ideas of ancient Judaism, in this way it presents a very unique idea of the place where God dwells.

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## Paul's Heart as Spatial Metaphor in 2 Corinthians

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**ABSTRACT:** In 2 Cor 6:11–13, Paul states that his heart has been enlarged to welcome the Corinthians and urges them to reciprocate—although an insightful article by Christopher Land in ZNW has recently questioned this standard exegesis, which we will discuss. In 2 Cor 6:11–7:4, which functions as a *peroratio* of the preceding argumentation, Paul associates terms of body language (στόμα, καρδιά, σπλάγχνα) with verbs of spatial meaning (πλατύνω, στενοχωρέω, χωρέω). Paul's heart also appears in the letter as a spatial metaphor for his relationship with God (1:22; 3:2–3; 4:6). In our research, we will examine whether there could be a correlation between the horizontal dimension of the metaphor (Paul's heart as a welcoming space for the Corinthians) and the vertical one (Paul's heart as a place of encounter with God). Additionally, the heart serves Paul to establish the map of relationships in which his opponents are excluded because they boast ἐν προσώπῳ and not ἐν καρδίᾳ (5:12). In conclusion, drawing on the cognitive analysis of metaphors, we will try to highlight the semantic and pragmatic possibilities of Paul's heart as a spatial metaphor in 2 Corinthians.

**KEYWORDS:** 2 Corinthians, heart, Paul's ministry, cognitive metaphor, spatial metaphor

Not only the [Paul's] mouth, but also the dust of that heart I would wish to see, which one would not do wrong to call the heart of the world (καρδίαν τῆς οἰκουμένης), fountain of countless blessings, and source and element of our life. For the spirit of life was provided for all, and it was given to the members of Christ, not sent forth through an artery, but through freely chosen good deeds. This heart was so large (πλατεία), as to take in entire cities, peoples, and nations. *For my heart—he says—is enlarged* (πεπλατύνεται, 2 Cor 6:11). [...] The heart higher than the heavens, wider than the world (εὐρυτέραν τῆς οἰκουμένης), brighter than a sunbeam, hotter than fire, harder than steel, the heart which released rivers [... This heart] lived the new life, not this of ours, for *I live—he says—yet not I, but Christ lives in me* (Gal 2:20), so his [Christ's] heart was Paul's heart, a tablet of the Holy Spirit (2 Cor 3:3) and a book of grace.<sup>1</sup>

In his series on Romans, John Chrysostom's last sermon eloquently depicts the body of St Paul. The preacher would like to contemplate the dust falling from Paul's corpse, revived by his word, so that the eyes of his audience could again behold the apostle in action

<sup>1</sup> John Chrysostom, *Hom. Rom.* 32,3 (PG 60, 679–680). See the fragmentary translation and commentary by M.M. Mitchell, *The Heavenly Trumpet. John Chrysostom and the Art of Pauline Interpretation* (HUT 40; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2002) 126–128. See also John Chrysostom, *Hom. 2 Cor.* 13,1 (PG 61, 491).

and, in consequence, be encouraged to imitate him. Chrysostom devotes his paragraphs to the different parts of Paul's body: mouth, heart, hands, eyes, feet, and the rest of his limbs. Above, we quoted a specific paragraph on the encomiastic portrait of his heart. Here, the preacher develops different possibilities for the heart as a spatial metaphor. Paul's heart is the heart of the world (*καρδιαν τῆς οἰκουμένης*), the central organ of the circulatory system that pumps the Spirit of Life to all the members of the Church. Its wideness (*πλατεία*) is such that entire cities (*πόλεις ὀλοκλήρους*), peoples (*δῆμους*), and nations (*ἔθνη*) fit into it. With these expressions, John Chrysostom transfers the geography of Paul's travels to the apostle's inner self and imagines the cartography of a missionary heart in which all peoples and nations have room. Moreover, he enlarges the boundaries of Paul's heart so much that he describes it as "higher than the heavens" and "wider than the world." Finally, he concludes that the dimensions of Paul's heart are so broad because Christ lives in him, so that the two hearts—Paul's and Christ's—have, in fact, become one.

Chrysostom's homily is splendid, but the amplifying dynamic of his statements reaches limits that the apostle would never have accepted three hundred years earlier. The Archbishop of Constantinople, however, strived to continuously ground his discourse in the texts of the letters. Above all, he based the spatial metaphor of the apostle's heart on the hypotext of 2 Cor 6:11–13, a passage in which Paul had also made his heart a metaphorical place widened to give shelter to the Corinthians.

Although this passage has received limited attention from scholars,<sup>2</sup> it will serve as a starting point in our examination of the various occurrences of Paul's *καρδιά* as a spatial metaphor in 2 Corinthians, hence the topic of our essay. Before we start, we will establish certain methodological clarifications.

## 1. Preliminary Methodological Considerations

According to N.T. Wright, "There is a question still on the table about just how much the *καρδιά* in Paul is a metaphor and how much it is, in passages like this [2 Cor 4:6], intended as the concrete reality."<sup>3</sup> With our research, we will attempt to shed some light on this question.

2 Nonetheless, R. Bieringer, "Die Liebe des Paulus zur Gemeinde in Korinth. Eine Interpretation von 2 Korinther 6,11," *SNTU. Serie A 23* (1998) 193–213, has shown the relevance of 2 Cor 6:11–13 for elucidating the overall purpose of the letter. We must also cite C.D. Land, "The Benefits Outweigh the Costs: Divine Benefaction and Human Obedience in 2Cor 6,1–7,2," *ZNW* 112 (2021) 69–88, whose proposals we will discuss in the body of the essay. I am very grateful to the author for kindly sending me his article.

3 N.T. Wright, "Mind, Spirit, Soul, and Body: All for One and One for All — Reflections on Paul's Anthropology in His Complex Context," *Pauline Perspectives. Essays on Paul, 1978–2013* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2013) 468.

Scholars rightly point out that Paul conceives *καρδία* not only as one bodily organ among others but as the centre of personal life, the seat of understanding, emotions and decisions, and the place of encounter with God.<sup>4</sup> Although we might identify slightly differential nuances in the use of the Septuagint and the NT concerning other Greek authors of the time, Paul was writing to Greek-speaking communities who fully understood the meanings he assigned to *καρδία*.<sup>5</sup>

It is evident that the connotations of the heart in Paul's time were not the same as they are today. Therefore, care must be taken not to transpose the modern meanings of the heart to the Pauline use of *καρδία*. Likewise, we should be aware that we are dealing with ancient texts in which the modern dualism of mind/body has not yet been developed.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, we should avoid a clear separation between the literal-physiological sense of *καρδία* and its supposed figurative value in the Pauline texts. Indeed, some meanings of the heart that are metaphorical for us today may not have been so for the ancient authors.<sup>7</sup> As we

4 The sense of *καρδία* in the Septuagint and in the NT is a well-studied topic and the consensus on its meaning is well established. See F. Baumgärtel – J. Behm, “*καρδία*, κτλ.,” *TDNT* III, 605–614; A. Sand, “*καρδία*,” *EDNT* II, 249–251, etc. In the physiological sense, *καρδία* referred to the bodily organ that pumped blood to the rest of the organism. Due to this decisive function, the heart was also regarded as the “centre and source of the whole inner life, with its thinking, feeling, and volition” (BDAG, 508). While some texts opposed the heart to other organs or dimensions of the person (e.g. *πρόσωπον* vs *καρδία*, i.e. exteriority and appearance vs interiority and authenticity: LXX 1 Kgs 16:7; 2 Cor 5:12; 1 Thess 2:17), the heart had often been regarded as a metonymy for the whole person. Hence, R. Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms. A Study of Their Use in Conflict Settings* (AGJU 10; Leiden: Brill 1971) 313, concludes that “Paul seems to use the word to depict the whole person in such a way that his Hebraic assumption of a psycho-somatic unity of man in thinking, willing, emoting, acting and responding to God and fellowman is clearly evident.” Contrary to this consensus, Teun Tielmann (“Head and Heart: The Pauline Corpus Considered against the Medical and Philosophical Backdrop,” *R&T* 21 [2014] 86–106) has questioned the identification of the heart as the seat of intelligence and will at that time, since in some of Galen's texts, the brain was already considered to be the centre of perception and cognition. However, the Pauline texts reflect the common usage of the Septuagint. For example, in 2 Cor 3:14–15, *νοήματα* and *καρδία* are clear synonyms.

5 A comparison between the uses of *καρδία* in Greco-Roman literature, on the one hand, and the uses in the Septuagint and the NT, on the other, would require further consideration. We note only two phenomena relevant to our research. The biblical tradition and Christian literature have a predilection for the term *καρδία*. Thus, P. Artz-Grabner *et al.*, *1. Korinther* (PKNT 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2006) 126; and P. Artz-Grabner, *2. Korinther* (PKNT 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2014) 230, comments that almost all attestations of *καρδία* in papyri come from Christian texts. Moreover, although I do not have statistical data to confirm this, I note that *καρδία* in the Judeo-Christian tradition was often used metaphorically rather than merely being referred to as a physical organ, which was the more typical usage in the rest of Greek literature.

6 George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (*Philosophy in the Flesh. The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought* [New York: Basic Books 1999]) have challenged the dualism of mind/body in Western philosophy. Regarding Paul, see the commentaries on this topic in D.B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press 1995) 3–6.

7 See D.H. Aaron, *Biblical Ambiguities. Metaphor, Semantics and Divine Imagery* (Leiden: Brill 2002) 119–120. The phrase “the heart understands” was probably not a metaphor for 1st-century Jews. See M.S. Smith, “The Heart and Innards in Israelite Emotional Expressions: Notes from Anthropology and Psychobiology,” *JBL* 117 (1998) 427–436.

shall see, when Paul speaks of his heart as a place where God acts and where the Corinthians can find a large space, he not only creates a metaphor that embellishes his discourse but communicates an essential (and embodied) truth about his identity in relation to God and to the Corinthians.

Nevertheless, certain uses of *καρδία* in 2 Corinthians are undoubtedly conscious rhetorical elaborations. This is, for example, evident in 2 Cor 3:2–3, when Paul presents his ministerial heart as the material on which the imagined letter of the Corinthians is written. Even so, we will not examine the metaphor of Paul's heart only as a rhetorical figure of *ornatus* in the realm of the *ars rhetorica*, but we will also consider the findings of cognitive linguistics on metaphors in our research. According to this discipline, the human way of thinking is a metaphorical process itself. Conceptual metaphors, generated from everyday experiences, allow us to understand reality and construct it conceptually.<sup>8</sup> George Lakoff and Mark Johnson have argued that human beings produce knowledge schemas from their primary experiences in early childhood and, consequently, create constellations of metaphors that enable them to understand reality. In this sense, bodily experiences are crucial in the production of metaphors. In fact, primary metaphors always arise, despite temporal and cultural differences, from our embodied condition.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, the body—and the heart as its vital core—is not to be understood as a source domain of metaphors among other possible realms but rather has a primary and foundational character.<sup>10</sup> We will thus intend to grasp the depth of meaning within the relationship between Paul, the Corinthians, and God through the bodily metaphor of the heart.

Lakoff and Johnson have developed a helpful taxonomy of conceptual metaphors, which, of course, has been criticised but still may function as an useful heuristic tool. On the one hand, when Paul said that his heart was wide open to the Corinthians (2 Cor 6:11), his metaphorical statement could be classified as an “ontological metaphor.” In what sense? Lakoff and Johnson observe that one of our basic bodily experiences is that we experience ourselves as composed of inside and outside.<sup>11</sup> In this sense, the heart is imagined as a “container” where the Corinthians have a place. On the other hand, the opposition “wide” vs “narrow” is categorised as an “orientational metaphor” by Lakoff and Johnson, a type of conceptual metaphor that situates the persons in their respective

8 On the cognitive identity of metaphor, see the classic study by G. Lakoff – M. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press 1980; 2 ed. 2003), and the critiques by J. Stern, *Metaphor in Context* (Cambridge, MA: MIT 2000) 176–187. See also W. Croft – D.A. Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004) 193–221.

9 See Lakoff – Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh*, 45–59.

10 The body is the “Ursymbol” in the biblical literature, according to R. Bieringer, “Body and Bible: Biblical Revelation as a Symbolic Event,” *Provoked to Speech. Biblical Hermeneutics as Conversation* (eds. R. Bieringer et al.) (Leuven: Peeters 2014) 315–342.

11 See Lakoff – Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 29–32. Moreover, this Pauline statement functions metonymically as a synecdoche, the part (the heart) for the whole (Paul). See *ibidem*, 36–38.

environment and places them in relation to others.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, when Paul says that his heart is widened for the Corinthians, and he expects them to make room for him as well, he resorts to the metaphor of the heart to establish his system of relationships. Anyway, we prefer to use the simpler label of “spatial” to refer to these Pauline metaphors because it includes both categories (the “ontological” and the “orientational”). We will not consider all uses of *καρδία* in 2 Corinthians, but only those in which the term functions as a “spatial” metaphor.

## 2. Paul's Heart as a Space of Encounter between Him and the Corinthians (2 Cor 6:11–13; 7:2–3)

We will begin by examining 2 Cor 6:11–7:4 since this is the passage in which the use of the heart as a spatial metaphor is most evident.

Paul states in 2 Cor 6:11 that “our heart is wide open to you,” and he takes up the idea in 7:3 by recalling, “I said before that you are in our heart.” It is relevant to our research that 2 Cor 6:11–7:4 functions as the *peroratio* of the preceding argumentation.<sup>13</sup> The spatial metaphor of the heart is thus highlighted at the end of the argument and serves to recall the earlier occurrences of that metaphor throughout 2 Cor 1–7.

<sup>12</sup> See Lakoff – Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 18.

<sup>13</sup> Thus T. Schmeller, *Der Zweite Brief an die Korinther* (EKKNT 8/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn – Ostfildern: Neukirchener Theologie – Patmos 2010) 363. Several reasons show that this is a *peroratio*, which concludes 2:14–7:4 (or the entire first part of the letter). The opening formula (“our mouth has spoken freely to you,” 6:11a) refers to the preceding discourse, and the vocative (“O Corinthians”) arouses *pathos*. In addition, Paul takes up many motifs in 6:11–7:4 that have been appearing in the preceding argumentation: the frank speech (3:12; 6:11; 7:4), his boasting on their behalf (1:14; 5:12; 7:4), the polarity between tribulations and consolation (1:3–7; 2:7–8; 4:17; 6:4; 7:4). Even more important than the recurrence of motifs is Paul's vehement exhortation for reciprocity (6:12–13; 7:2), which recapitulates the *propositio* of 1:12–14, and flows through all the preceding argumentation about reconciliation between the apostle and the community. Additionally, we cannot enter into the debate about the epistolary integrity of 6:14–7:1. See R. Bieringer, “2 Korinther 6,14–7,1 im Kontext des 2. Korintherbriefes: Forschungsüberblick und Versuch eines eigenen Zugangs,” *Studies on 2 Corinthians* (eds. R. Bieringer – J. Lambrecht) (BETL 112; Leuven: Peeters 1994) 551–570; and E. Nathan, “Fragmented Theology in 2 Corinthians. The Unsolved Puzzle of 6:14–7:1,” *Theologizing in the Corinthian Conflict* (eds. R. Bieringer et al.) (BTS 16; Leuven: Peeters 2013) 211–228, among others. In my opinion, 2 Cor 6:16–7:2 belongs to the original redaction of the letter. These verses are somehow suitable for the *peroratio*; without them, the conclusion would lose consistency, that is, just as Paul insists on intimacy between himself and the Corinthians (6:11–13; 7:2–4), he also demands that they distance themselves from impure unbelievers (6:14–7:1), double entendre referring to his opponents. Thus, V. Rabens, “Paul's Rhetoric of Demarcation: Separation from ‘Unbelievers’ (2 Cor 6:14–7:1) in the Corinthian Conflict,” *Theologizing in the Corinthian Conflict* (eds. R. Bieringer et al.) (BTS 16; Leuven: Peeters 2013) 229–254. In fact, the *vituperatio* of the adversaries is another typical device of the *perorationes* (e.g. Gal 6:11–18).

In 6:11a, Paul tells the Corinthians wholeheartedly that his<sup>14</sup> mouth has been open to them. In other words, he has spoken earnestly to them throughout his discourse,<sup>15</sup> like a good friend or master trying to heal the wrongdoings of his friends or disciples.<sup>16</sup>

In 6:11b, Paul takes a step forward, moving from the mouth to the heart, from outward speech to inward affections and thoughts. Note the amplification; if his mouth has been open (*ἀνοιγω*) for them, his heart has been wide open (*πλατύνω*). The required correspondence between mouth and heart was proverbial at the time (Matt 12:34, “out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks”). The reference to the Corinthians (*πρὸς ὑμᾶς*) in the first part of the verse is implied in the second.<sup>17</sup> Considering the meaning of *καρδία* in the Septuagint and NT noted above, the image of Paul’s heart in relation to the Corinthians expressed not only emotional affection but also their presence in his thoughts.

Let us examine the meaning of *πλατύνω*. In the Septuagint, the post-classical coinage *πλατύνω* indicated the spatial widening of geographical boundaries (LXX Gen 28:14; Exod 28:18; 34:14; Deut 12:20; 19:8; Amos 1:13; 1 Macc 14:6; Josephus, *Ant.* 9.10.1, etc.), of constructions (the wall of Babylon, LXX Jer 51:58; the tent space, Isa 54:2), or of mere objects (such as the enlarged phylacteries, Matt 23:5). The term was also used figuratively in connection with *καρδία*, both positively and negatively. One worshipper gratefully acknowledged that God had widened his heart (*ἐπλατύννας τὴν καρδίαν μου*, LXX Ps 118:32). Another lamented that the anxieties of his heart had been dilated (*αἱ θλίψεις τῆς καρδίας μου ἐπλατύνθησαν*: LXX Ps 25:17).<sup>18</sup> This figurative use of the verb is not the odd outcome of the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible. In an honorific inscription in the agora of Mantinea, not far from Corinth, Euphrosynos Titous is praised as a man who “has broadened

14 It is disputed whether, in 2 Corinthians, Paul employs a literary plural (said “I” when it is written “we”) or a genuine “we” that included Timothy and his co-workers. See M.E. Thrall, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (ICC; Edinburgh: Clark 1994) I, 105–107, and S. Byrskog, “Co-Senders, Co-Authors and Paul’s Use of First Person Plural,” *ZNW* 87 (1996) 230–250. Some plurals in the letter are true plurals that include Timothy, co-sender of the letter (1:1), and the other members of the missionary team (1:19–20). However, others are clearly literary plurals (10:2; 11:6; 12, 21, etc.). In my opinion, considering that each plural must be discerned in its context, Paul writes the letter as the leader of an apostolic group; thereby, his words are always personal but also representative of his team. Hence, his mouth and heart are genuinely his own, but they also include those of his co-workers (see the plural “hearts” in 7:3).

15 According to Margaret E. Thrall (*2 Corinthians*, I, 468), the phrase of 6:11a summarises the discourse from 2:14. I prefer the position of Bieringer (“Die Liebe des Paulus zur Gemeinde,” 200–201), for whom the expression goes back to the moment when Paul began to write his letter, recapitulating what was written in it up to this point.

16 See Philodemus, *Lib.*, fr. 20, 36; Philo, *Her.* 21; Plutarchus, *Adul. amic* (*Mor.* 51c); and more quotations in M. D’Amore, “Parresia amicale in 2Cor 6,11–7,4,” *Bib* 103 (2022) 431–433. The expression “open mouth” perhaps also likens the apostle to the prophets: God opens the mouths of Moses and Aaron (LXX Exod 4:12, 15), of Ezekiel (LXX Ezek 3:27; 29:21; 33:22), of Daniel (LXX Dan 10:16) and even of Balaam’s prophetic donkey (LXX Num 22:28)!

17 This is an ellipsis *in praesentia*, according to D’Amore, “Parresia amicale,” 437.

18 “Widen the heart” has a clearly negative sense in LXX Deut 6:12 (Codex Alexandrinus; self-complacency) and Deut 11:16 (idolatry). Although, at first glance, this negative usage is contrary to the positive value of the Pauline expression, “widen the heart” in Deut 11:16 (i.e. making room for other gods), one again means making place in someone’s heart for someone else, even if they are the wrong “inhabitants.”

his soul” to become gentler than his outward appearance (τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν εὐγενεστέραν τῆς φύσεως πλατύννας).<sup>19</sup> In short, Paul elaborates a metaphorical statement by using a term with a spatial meaning (“to enlarge,” “to open wide”) to refer to the large dimensions of his heart in which the Corinthians can find a place. In this sense, Reimund Bieringer is correct when he qualifies the meaning of the metaphor and says that it does not express the image of openness (in connection with 6:11a) but rather of breadth (in connection with 6:12), as an illustration of Paul’s love for the community.<sup>20</sup>

In 6:12, Paul continues to use spatial vocabulary. If he has just spoken of the opening of the mouth and the enlargement of the heart, he now describes the constriction of the entrails, twice utilising the verb στενοχωρέω (“to confine or restrict to a narrow space”<sup>21</sup>). Like πλατύνω, this term also expresses a spatial meaning. For example, the sons of Joseph demanded more land from Joshua during its division. Joshua responded by suggesting that they clear the forest out themselves if the Ephraim mountain was narrow for them (στενοχωρεῖ, LXX Josh 17:15), or a crowd could block (lit. “make narrow”) the gates of a theatre (Chariton, *Call.* 5.3). In P.Petr. II 12 (1),13 (242 BC), a strategist realises the urgency of doing something about the lack of accommodation for officials in transit (ἐπεὶ στενοχωροῦμεν σταθμοῖς, “because we have no room in the barracks”).<sup>22</sup> The verb was also used to describe the distress (*angustus*, “narrow”) of a human being. Thus, Delilah had hemmed Samson in to reveal to him the secret of his strength (ἐστενοχώρησεν αὐτόν, LXX Judg 16:16); or, in LXX Isa 28:20, the distressed situation of the rulers of Zion was evoked. Paul used the term in this sense to refer to their ministerial troubles (ἐν παντὶ θλιβόμενοι ἀλλ’ οὐ στενοχωρούμενοι, 2 Cor 4:8).<sup>23</sup>

It is noteworthy for our research that the term στενοχωρέω was commonly used in treatises on medicine and physiology in antiquity. For example, it appears to explain the function of the breasts in the Hippocratic Corpus. In *De glandulis* 16, it is explained that women produce milk because the foetus “compresses” (στενοχωροῦμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμβρύου) the epiploon, which is a fold of the peritoneum. The text goes on to mention

19 *IG* V.2 268, lin. 11–12 (slightly after 27 a.C.). See D. Papanikolaou, “*IG* V.2 268 (= *SIG* 783) as a Monument of Hellenistic Prose,” *ZPE* 182 (2012) 137–156. See also τὰς ψυχὰς αὐξήσεις in Epictetus, *Fragment* 60 Sto-baeus (Schenkl, 491).

20 “Der Gedanke des Raum-Habens bzw. Raum-Gebens (der Weite des Herzens/des Ichs) ist ein Bild der Liebe, der Mangel an Raum (die Enge) ein Bild fehlender Liebe” (Bieringer, “Die Liebe des Paulus zur Gemeinde,” 208).

21 See BDAG, 942. According to Thomas of Aquinas, 2 Cor 6:12 is a *contrarium exemplum* of Paul’s openness. “Here it should be noted that to be straightened (*angustiari*) is the same as to be enclosed in something (*includi in aliquo*), from which no exit appears.” (Thomas of Aquinas, *Com. 2 Cor.* § 231; trans. F.R. Larcher).

22 See Artz-Grabner, 2. *Korinther*, 304, who comments that this verb has a stronger meaning than θλιβῶ (2 Cor 4:8), for it expresses a situation that can no longer be endured.

23 According to J.T. Fitzgerald, *Cracks in an Earthen Vessel. An Examination of the Catalogues of Hardships in the Corinthian Correspondence* (SBLDS 99; Atlanta, GA: SBL 1988) 174–175, by virtue of its contrast with στενοχωρέω, the verb θλιβῶ, which usually has the purely metaphorical meaning of “to afflict, to oppress,” trades in 4:7 with its literal meaning of “to press.” Therefore, even though Paul is “pressed hard,” he is not pressed to the point of having little (στενός) or no room (χώρος) to breathe.

the “compactness” (ἡ στενοχωρία) of the male body, which contributes to the smallness of his glands. Paul utilises a similar expression in 2 Cor 6:12, claiming that there is no lack of room for the Corinthians in him (οὐ στενοχωρεῖσθε ἐν ἡμῖν), but that there is a lack of room for him in their entrails (στενοχωρεῖσθε δὲ ἐν τοῖς σπλάγχνοις ὑμῶν). Here, the σπλάγχνα of the Corinthians are in continuity with the heart of Paul, mentioned in the preceding verse, and, together with the mouth, complete a triad of bodily organs that comprises the somatic imagery. In summary, the Corinthians are not boxed in a narrow area of Paul’s body, as he has enlarged his heart for them. Therefore, he expects the Corinthians to make room for him in their entrails. This verse, in conclusion, is an urgent and passionate appeal for reciprocity.<sup>24</sup>

Nevertheless, Christopher Land has recently challenged this standard interpretation with compelling arguments that will be briefly discussed because our interpretation would be refuted if his exegesis is correct.<sup>25</sup> According to Land, 2 Cor 6:12 must be understood in connection with the call to purity in 6:14–7:1. He proposes that Paul’s purity policy would be a relevant factor in the criticism brought against him in Corinth. Some members of that church could think that Paul’s purity regulations would be overly restrictive, and they would “feel constrained” by them. In Land’s view, Paul’s widened heart would not be a place of welcome for the Corinthians but instead would refer to the relief that the apostle himself experienced after the good news brought to him by Titus.<sup>26</sup> Subsequently, Paul would tell the Corinthians they were not experiencing the full emotional benefits of trusting God amidst difficulty. Land thus translates 6:12, “You are not experiencing a constricting pressure imposed by us, you are experiencing a constricting pressure (i.e. a clenching) in your guts.”<sup>27</sup>

His interpretation hinges on three main arguments. First, on the semantic plane, στενοχωρέω should be interpreted in continuity with the preceding catalogue of tribulations (ἐν θλίψεσιν, ἐν ἀνάγκαις, ἐν στενοχωρίαις, 6:4). It would express the uncomfortable constrictions that the Corinthians were facing, however, not imposed by Paul but rather by themselves due to their anxiety caused by the social consequences of obedience to Paul’s preaching. Accordingly, the phrase would not express the small space that Paul would occupy within the Corinthians but the anguish they would experience in their pagan milieu. Second, on the syntactical plane, the majority of scholars explain the first part of 6:12 as a reference to Paul’s inner self, where there was no lack of room for them, and the second part of the verse would be addressed to the Corinthians, whereby Paul would exhort them

24 This is the most common interpretation of 2 Cor 6:11–13. See J. Lambrecht, “The Fragment 2 Corinthians 6,14–7,1: A Plea for Its Authenticity,” *Studies on 2 Corinthians* (eds. R. Bieringer – J. Lambrecht) (BETL 112; Leuven: Peeters 1994) 533–534; V.P. Furnish, *II Corinthians* (AYB 32A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1984) 360–361, 367–369; Bieringer, “Die Liebe des Paulus zur Gemeinde,” 193–213; Thrall, *2 Corinthians*, I, 469–471; M.J. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, MI – Milton Keynes: Eerdmans – Paternoster 2005) 487–492; Schmeller, *2. Korinther*, I, 362, 364–366.

25 See Land, “The Benefits Outweigh the Costs,” 69–88.

26 See Land, “The Benefits Outweigh the Costs,” 81–83.

27 Land, “The Benefits Outweigh the Costs,” 76.



to make room for him within themselves. Conversely, in Land's view, the contrast would be between two experiences that both affect the Corinthians, "the first phrase construes a specific force pressing in [i.e. Paul's pressure], whereas the second construes a domain in which pressure can be experienced."<sup>28</sup> Third, considering the context, Paul would warn the Corinthians to stop being anxious in 6:11–7:1. The metaphorical dialectic of amplitude/constriction would not relate to the reciprocal relations between apostle/community but to the situation of distension/tension that Paul was experiencing (concerning his relationship with the Corinthians) and that he wanted the Corinthians to adopt (concerning their pagan context and their way of living the norms of purity). Consequently, the imperative of 6:13 (πλατύνθητε καὶ ὑμεῖς) should be read in continuity with 6:14, "Stretch yourselves out! Stop bearing the yoke of being awkwardly joined with unbelievers!"<sup>29</sup> In conclusion, this is how he paraphrases 6:11–14,

We have spoken openly to you, Corinthians; we have felt our emotional tensions relax. You are not experiencing a constricting pressure imposed by us; you are experiencing a constricting pressure in your guts. What I am saying is that you, my children, can in the same way exchange your tension for relief: Stretch yourselves out! Stop bearing the yoke of being uncomfortably joined with unbelievers!<sup>30</sup>

Even though Land's proposal is very consistent, I prefer the more common interpretation. Certainly, the syntax of 6:12 is confusing and can be interpreted in different ways, and the verb στενοχωρέω may be read in continuity with the tribulations of 6:3–10. Nevertheless, apart from the alleged Corinthian criticism of Pauline norms of purity, which is quite hypothetical and could not have been understood by the hearers of the letter until 6:14, there is other evidence that Christopher Land has not considered and is decisive in support of the standard interpretation. This scholar proposes that the second part of the phrase (6:12b) would not be a demand for reciprocity but refer to the distress the Corinthians suffered in their pagan environment. However, the passage constantly alternates between the first person, referring to Paul, and the second, referring to the Corinthians (6:11–13, "Our mouth has spoken freely to you, O Corinthians, our heart has been wide open. You are not restrained in us, but you are restrained in your own entrails. In return—I speak as to children—you too, open wide"). This alternation puts the focus on the apostle-community relationship and is consistent with the clear semantic opposition between πλατύνω (6:11), στενοχωρέω (6:12), and again πλατύνω (6:13).<sup>31</sup> From the alternation of the pronouns, a reasoning follows: Paul's heart, like his mouth, is enlarged (πεπλατύνται) for them; there is no lack of room for them in him (στενοχωρεῖσθε ἐν ἡμῖν); instead, there is lacking room for him in the entrails of the Corinthians (στενοχωρεῖσθε δὲ ἐν τοῖς σπλάγχνοις

<sup>28</sup> Land, "The Benefits Outweigh the Costs," 76, n.18.

<sup>29</sup> Land, "The Benefits Outweigh the Costs," 77.

<sup>30</sup> Land, "The Benefits Outweigh the Costs," 85.

<sup>31</sup> In his first invective against Julian, Gregory Nazianzen reflects on the paradoxical condition of Christians who receive glory amid persecution. He then contrasts the two verbs, καὶ ἦνικα ἐπλατύνθημεν, ἐστενοχωρήθημεν ("when we had spread ourselves out, we were pressed close," *Contra Julianum* 4,32,4; PG 35, 560).

ὑμῶν). Note the contrast of persons between the two prepositional syntagms (ἐν ἡμῖν vs ἐν τοῖς σπλάγγχοις ὑμῶν).<sup>32</sup> Therefore, Paul urges them to enlarge their inner selves for him (πλατύνθητε καὶ<sup>33</sup> ὑμεῖς) in return (τὴν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀντιμισθίαν).<sup>34</sup>

This interpretation is confirmed by the recapitulation of 7:2–3, where Paul invites them again to make room for him (χωρήσατε ἡμᾶς, “make room for us [in your hearts]”)<sup>35</sup> because he has not wronged any of them, and he assures them anew that they are in his heart (ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν ἔστε).<sup>36</sup>

Finally, the patristic reception of these verses also supports the standard interpretation. Land has proposed patristic texts that supposedly confirm his exegesis. However, these two unclear passages do not comment on the Pauline text but rather quote it to communicate other contents.<sup>37</sup> Instead, the early commentators of the letter clearly interpreted 2 Cor 6:11–13 as a Pauline exhortation to the Corinthians to reciprocate. Thus, John Chrysostom began his homily to 6:11–7:1 by saying that “he (Paul) purposes now also to rebuke them as not being too well minded *towards himself* (ἐπιτιμᾶν ὡς σφόδρα περὶ αὐτὸν διακειμένοις).”<sup>38</sup> For Chrysostom, the open mouth and the widened heart are signs of Paul’s love for them. However, the apostle does not feel reciprocated by the Corinthians. For this reason, he rebukes them in 6:12 with forbearance. As John Chrysostom states, Paul “said not ‘you do not receive us’ (οὐ δέχεσθε ἡμᾶς), but ‘you are straitened’ (στενοχωρεῖσθε), implying indeed the same thing but with forbearance and without touching them too deeply.”<sup>39</sup> Many other comments and expressions in this homily confirm that the Archbishop of

32 The double occurrence of the preposition ἐν possesses here “a (metaphorical) local force,” according to Thrall, *2 Corinthians*, I, 470, n. 1983.

33 Christopher Land does not sufficiently consider the value of this adverbial καὶ, which demands reciprocity on the part of the Corinthians; as Paul has enlarged his heart for the Corinthians, so must they also.

34 “With the same widening as recompense” (Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 361); “Paul is asking for repayment in the same coin, namely complete candor and warm love” (Harris, *2 Corinthians*, 491).

35 Christopher Land (“The Benefits Outweigh the Costs,” 85–86) translates χωρήσατε ἡμᾶς as meaning “accept us by accepting the things we say,” based on the supposed parallel of Matt 19:11–19. However, the most obvious translation of 2 Cor 7:2 is that χωρήσατε recapitulates the two στενοχωρεῖσθε of 6:12, with which the verb shares the lexical root. In this sense, χωρήσατε ἡμᾶς would be Paul’s exhortation to the Corinthians to make room for him within themselves. Thus Bieringer, “Die Liebe des Paulus zur Gemeinde,” 205–206.

36 Realizing the strength of this argument, Land retorts that 2 Cor 7:2 “is too far separated from 6:12 to play any significant role in clarifying Paul’s meaning in the earlier wording” (“The Benefits Outweigh the Costs,” 73, n. 10). However, the concentric pattern (A 6:11–13, B 6:14–7:1, A’ 7:2–4) holds together 6:11–13 and 7:2.

37 Nilus Ancyranus, *Epistulae* 2,80,1 (PG 79, 236), and Severianus, *Fragmenta in epistolam II ad Corinthios* [in catenis], in K. Staab (ed.), *Pauluskommentar aus der griechischen Kirche. Aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben* (Münster: Aschendorff 1933) 294, lines 14–16; in Land, “The Benefits Outweigh the Costs,” 66, n. 43.

38 John Chrysostom, *Hom. 2 Cor.* 13,1 (PG 61, 490; NPNF<sup>1</sup> 12, 342).

39 John Chrysostom, *Hom. 2 Cor.* 13,2 (PG 61, 492; NPNF<sup>1</sup> 12, 343). See also John Chrysostom, *Laud. Paul.* 1,11 (Sch 300, 128–131), where he compares Paul to Job. As Job opened his house to the poor, Paul opened his heart wide to the Corinthians and to all Gentiles.

Constantinople interpreted these verses as referring to the relationship between the apostle and the Corinthians.<sup>40</sup>

In summary, Paul begins the *peroratio* of 2 Cor 2:14–7:4 by expanding his discourse to seal the relationship of reconciliation and mutual affection between himself and the Corinthians. For this purpose, he chooses the anthropological language of bodily organs (mouth, heart, entrails) and the spatial polarity of verbs expressing breadth and narrowness (open, enlarge, constrict). The internal organs (the heart and the entrails) function as metonymies of Paul and the Corinthians (note that the reference to Paul's *καρδία* in 6:11 is taken up with a simple *ἐν ἡμῖν* in 6:12a). Therefore, the apostle evokes respective inner spaces destined to host the other with affection—the Corinthians in Paul's heart, Paul in the entrails of the Corinthians. We will return to the implications of this spatial metaphor in the conclusion. Let us now examine how preceding texts may have prepared this metaphor.

### 3. The Heart as a Space of Encounter with God (2 Cor 1:22; 3:2–3; 4:6)

In 2 Cor 6:11–13 and 7:3, Paul portrays his heart as an inner space of encounter between himself and the community. He had already used the heart as a spatial metaphor throughout the letter to refer to his relationship with God. Could there be some kind of relationship between the horizontal (the heart as a place of relationship between Paul and the Corinthians) and vertical (the heart as a place of encounter with God) use of the metaphor? Let us examine the texts closely.

In 2 Cor 1:21–22, Paul states that “it is God who establishes us with you in Christ and has anointed us, by putting his seal on us and giving us his Spirit in our hearts as a first instalment (*δοὺς τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν*).” This sentence concludes a brief argument in which Paul has defended the consistency of his travel plans (1:15–17) with theological proof (1:18–22). He argues that, just as God has been reliable in fulfilling his promises in Christ, so he, Silvanus, and Timothy are trustworthy. Paul appeals to the eschatological gift of the Spirit to demonstrate this (1:21–22). The reliability of his ministerial word is based on the fact that God has confirmed him and his co-workers in Christ, having anointed, sealed, and given them the first instalment of the Spirit. To doubt this is to doubt God. Concerning our question, it is noteworthy that Paul ends the argument by saying that God has given the Spirit as the first instalment “in our hearts.”<sup>41</sup> He could have

<sup>40</sup> Theodoret of Cyrus also clearly interprets 2 Cor 6:11–13 as referring to the relationship between Paul and the Corinthians (*Comm. 2 Cor.* 320–321; PG 82, 415–416). Christopher Land himself (“The Benefits Outweigh the Costs,” 74, n. 12) acknowledges another ancient text which points in the opposite direction to his exegesis, see Pseudo-Oecumenius, *Catena in epistolam II ad Corinthios*, in J.A. Cramer (ed.), *Catena Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1841; reprint Hildesheim: Olms 1967) V, 391–392.

<sup>41</sup> The first-person plural (“in our hearts”) includes not only Paul and his collaborators but also the Corinthians. By adducing this inclusive plural, he suggests that “the eschatological gift of the Spirit which I share with you confirms the consistency of my deeds and words.”

simply stated that God had given them the Spirit as the first instalment, as indeed he will do later in 5:5 (ὁ δὸς ἡμῖν τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος). In fact, 2 Cor 1:22 and 5:5 are equivalent phrases. Yet, the spatial metaphor of the heart is useful in this passage for a particular purpose.<sup>42</sup> In several NT texts, the heart is referred to as “the centre of spiritual life, and so is spoken of as the part of a person where they encounter God or are encountered by God, in either a positive or a negative sense.”<sup>43</sup> The heart is thereby the meeting point where God interacts with the believer. Consequently, Paul’s heart in 2 Cor 1:22 appears as the inner space where God deposits his most precious commodity, the first instalment of the new creation, the Holy Spirit. Following the proposals of Johnson and Lakoff mentioned in the methodological considerations above, we noted that the heart could be pictured as a “container” in Paul’s text. In 6:11–12 and 7:3, it contained the Corinthians; now, in 1:22, it contains the Spirit of God. Would it be possible to relate this gift of the Spirit in Paul’s heart (1:22; 5:5) and his “widened heart” open to the Corinthians (6:11–12; 7:3)? In other words, could we consider that God’s intervention in the apostle’s heart *enabled* him to receive the Corinthians into it? Indeed, the passive valence of *πεπλάτυνται* (6:11) could refer to God’s action in Paul’s heart. The gift from on high had enabled him to exercise “the ministry of the Spirit” (3:8), and consequently, the Spirit would have made room within him to receive the Corinthians. Even if there are no clear textual markers of the connection between 1:22 and 6:11–12, the following occurrences of Paul’s heart as a spatial metaphor (3:2–3; 4:6) point in this same direction. We will further examine these texts.

In 2 Cor 3:2–3, the apostle develops a well-known epistolary analogy. Even though other preachers—probably a reference to his rivals—presented their commendatory letters to the believers in Achaia, Paul stated that he did not need them, for Christ had already written a letter commending him at Corinth, namely, the new life of the believers in that church was his best letter of recommendation, “written on our hearts” (ἔγγεγραμμένη ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν<sup>44</sup>). With this formulation, Paul metaphorises the writing material of the letter.

42 Paul again employs the same language of 2 Cor 1:22 in Rom 5:5 (ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκέχνηται ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἀγίου τοῦ δοθέντος ἡμῖν) and, similarly, in Gal 4:6.

43 P. Trebilco, “The Human Heart, the Center of a Person, and the Holy Spirit (Galatians 4:6; Romans 5:5; and 2 Corinthians 1:22),” *God’s Grace Inscribed on the Human Heart. Essays in Honour of James R. Harrison* (eds. P.G. Bolt – S. Kim) (Early Christian Studies 23; Sydney: SCD Press 2022) 160. Paul Trebilco supports his point by quoting Acts 8:21, Rom 6:17, 1 Cor 14:25, Heb 3:12. Likewise, the Shepherd of Hermas mentions that the Lord is in the hearts of believers (*Mand.* 12,4,3, *Sim.* 5,4,3). Of course, this idea does not only appear in Jewish and Christian literature. In the *Greek Magical Papyrus* 1:1–42, after performing some rituals, it is promised that “there will be something divine in your heart (ἐνθεον ἐν τῇ σῆ καρδίᾳ).” (*PGM* 1, 21; Betz, I, 3).

44 The Codex Sinaiticus (ⲛ 01), the authorised manuscript 14 of Paris (33) and some other minuscules (88 436 1175 1881) change the first person for the second person in plural (ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν). Thrall prefers this variant (2 *Corinthians*, I, 223–224). More valuable, however, are the manuscripts attesting to the other variant (Ⲕ<sup>46</sup> A B C D G K P Ψ 614 1739 Byzantine, and the Latin, Syriac, and Coptic versions). See B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2 ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 1994) 509. Thomas Schmeller (2. *Korintherbrief*, I, 175–176) explains that if the letter recommending Paul has been written to be read “by all human beings,” then it is logical that he himself carried it because a letter of recommendation is usually carried by the person who was recommended.

If ordinary letters would typically be written on papyrus or other materials, the community letter was inscribed (ἐγγεγραμμένη, lit. “engraved”) in the centre of his inner life, his own heart. As we have already seen, he takes up the idea in 6:11–12 and 7:3 (ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν ἔσται). Paul thus underlines the bonds of intimacy that unite him and the community. He does not carry the letter of the Corinthians in his hand, but it is engraved on his heart.

Moreover, the epistolary imagery of the Corinthian letter written in Paul's heart possesses an intertextual depth that renders it a fulfilment of divine prophecies. The apostle declares in 2 Cor 3:3 that he speaks of a letter written not “on tablets of stone but on tablets of fleshly hearts (ἐν πλαξίν λιθίναις ἀλλ’ ἐν πλαξίν καρδίαις σαρκίνοις).” These “hearts of flesh,” in contrast to the “tables of stone,” evoke LXX Ezek 11:16, 36:26, and the writing on the hearts of the ministers alludes to Jeremiah's prophecy of a new covenant written on the hearts of believers (LXX Jer 38:33; TM 31:33). The scriptural echo is confirmed later when Paul claims to exercise the “ministry of the new covenant” (2 Cor 3:6). Christ has thus acted in the Corinthians through the Spirit of God, giving them a new existence. This saving intervention, which fulfils the prophetic promises of the renewal and interiorisation of the covenant, has remained engraved on Paul's heart and has become his best letter of recommendation. In brief, this new reference to his ministerial heart—in this case, imagined as material for the writing of a letter—confirms that Paul's heart is a privileged space of the relationship between God (here mediated by the action of the Messiah and his Spirit), the apostle and the Corinthians (and indirectly with “all men” who know and read this letter).

In 2 Cor 4:6, Paul declares that “it is the God who said, ‘Let light shall shine out of darkness,’ who has shone *in our hearts* (ὅς ἔλαμψεν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν) to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.” This new reference to Paul's heart is closely related to that of 3:2–3, opening and closing the argument of 3:1–4:6, thus creating an inclusion.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, Paul evokes the divine illumination by which he received the knowledge of the glory of God, beheld in the face of Jesus. Again, his heart functions as a spatial metaphor in this passage, like a dark room flooded with light. The tenor of this metaphor may be his vocational experience of encountering Christ, the so-called Damascus experience, the origin of his apostolic mission.<sup>46</sup> It was a common idea in ancient times that the enlightened one was responsible for sharing the light received.<sup>47</sup> However, this reference to the heart is strange in principle, as light is usually received in the eyes, not in an internal organ. Nevertheless, by explicitly mentioning his heart as the receptacle of enlightenment,

<sup>45</sup> See F. De Rycke, *Gespiegeltes Licht. Die Theologie der Herrlichkeit Gottes in den paulinischen Apologien* (Studia Theologica Internationalia 1; Kraków: Uniwersytet Papieski Jana Pawła II 2019) 482.

<sup>46</sup> Thus S. Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*, 2 ed. (WUNT II/4; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1984) 5–13; Thrall, *2 Corinthians*, I, 316–318; A. Chester, *Messiah and Exaltation. Jewish Messianic and Visionary Traditions and New Testament Christology* (WUNT 207; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2007) 86–87, among others.

<sup>47</sup> See Harris, *2 Corinthians*, 334. In the priestly blessing of 1QS II 2–10, it is stated, “May he illuminate your heart (וְיִאָר לְבַבְךָ) with the discernment of life and grace you with knowledge of eternal things (3b). We find another interesting Qumran parallel in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII 28b, where the enlightenment received serves to enlighten others (“through me you have enlightened the face of the many [וְרַבִּי הָאִירוּתָה פְּנֵי רַבִּים].”) I follow the translation by F. García Martínez – E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill 1999) I–II.

Paul underlines that God has entered the vital centre of his thoughts, emotions, and decisions, where the most authentic meeting point between the Creator and his creature is to be found. It makes sense, therefore, that it is in his heart that he has been enlightened with the knowledge of Christ so that he, too, can enlighten others. The action of the Creator God in his heart enables him to develop his ministry, by which he preaches Jesus Christ as Lord and serves the Corinthians as their slave (4:5).

In summary, in Paul’s heart, the Spirit has been given, confirming him in Christ and uniting him with the Corinthians, also gifted with the same eschatological grace (1:22); in his ministerial heart has been written the letter of Christ which is the Corinthians, and which all can read (3:2–3); and in Paul’s heart has shone the divine light which brightens in the proclamation of the gospel (4:6). Due to these correlations connecting the divine action in Paul’s heart and his ministerial mission, it is plausible to deduce from these passages that there is a relationship of continuity between God’s action in Paul’s heart and the widened room the Corinthians find in his ministerial heart.

#### 4. Paul’s Heart and His Rivals (2 Cor 5:12)

We have previously mentioned the divine illumination in Paul’s heart (4:6). This statement appears in a passage, 2 Cor 4:1–6, in which he defends his ministry in contrast to that of those missionaries who practised cunning and falsified the word of God. In this text, Paul associates the hidden and shameful work (τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς αἰσχύνης: 4:2) of his rivals with that of the god of this world, who has blinded the minds of unbelievers (4:4). These connections reveal the apocalyptic battle between the Creator God who enlightens and the god of this world who blinds, both with their respective representatives, Paul who has received the divine light and spreads it by his ministry, and the other ministers who act in shameful secrecy.<sup>48</sup>

A subsequent text clarifies the role of the heart in this antagonism between Paul and his rivals.<sup>49</sup> It is 2 Cor 5:12, where he states that with his letter, he is “giving you

48 The oppositions of the two semantic fields and their respective associations are relevant:

The hidden and shadowy	The manifest and luminous
v.2: the shameful things that one hides	
v.2: to falsify God’s word	v.2: in the manifestation of the truth
v.3: even if our gospel is veiled	
v.4: the god of this world has blinded the minds of the unbelievers	v.4: to keep them from seeing the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God
v.6: “out of darkness...	v.6: “...let light shine out of darkness,” who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.

49 According to Thrall (2 *Corinthians*, I, 402–403, 405), Paul would not speak in 2 Cor 5:11–12 of his rival missionaries but of non-Christian Jews who compared Paul to Moses and prided themselves on the radiance of his countenance. However, the numerous connections of this passage with 2 Cor 10:1–18 corroborate that he is referring here to his opponents. Thus Harris, 2 *Corinthians*, 416.

[the Corinthians] an opportunity to boast about us, so that you may be able to answer those who boast in outward appearance (πρὸς τοὺς ἐν προσώπῳ καυχωμένους) and not in the heart (μὴ ἐν καρδίᾳ).” Therefore, Paul hoped that the Corinthians, recognising his ministerial labour on their behalf, would find strong reasons to be proud of him and to respond to those rival missionaries who criticised his ministerial legitimacy. He thus contrasts two grounds for pride: the legitimate boasting of the Corinthians about their apostle and the illegitimate boasting of their opponents. The difference lies in the fact that his opponents boasted ἐν προσώπῳ and not ἐν καρδίᾳ; namely, they boasted about superficial and apparent motives, but which had nothing to do with the vital centre of the person. This contrast between the face, as a metonymy for the apparent and superficial, and the heart, as a metonymy for the authentic and true, is both new and conventional in the Pauline letters. It is conventional due to its origin from the Septuagint. Concerning David’s election, it was written, “The Lord said to Samuel, ‘Do not look on his appearance (τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ) or on the posture of his size, because I have rejected him, for God will not look as a mortal will see, for a mortal will see into a face (ὄψεται εἰς πρόσωπον), but God will see into a heart (εἰς καρδίαν)’ (LXX 1 Kgs 16:7, trans. NETS).”<sup>50</sup> Likewise, such a comparison is new because Paul usually chooses different terms to express the contrast between legitimate and illegitimate boasting:

	legitimate boasting	illegitimate boasting
1 Cor 1:31; 3:21	ἐν κυρίῳ	ἐν ἀνθρώποις
2 Cor 10:15–17	ἐν κυρίῳ	ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις κόποις
Phil 3:3	ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ	ἐν σαρκί
2 Cor 11:18, 30; 12:5, 9	ἐν ταῖς ἀσθενείαις	κατὰ σάρκα
Gal 6:13–14	ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ σαρκί

In 2 Cor 5:12, however, he uses the two new elements of this comparison (ἐν καρδίᾳ / ἐν προσώπῳ) for the first time. In my opinion, such ad hoc development of the two types of boasting is due to the continued use of the heart metaphor in the first part of the letter. If we apply Lakoff and Johnson’s cognitive model to this formulation, the opposition between the face and the heart can be labelled an “orientational metaphor.” By distinguishing the outward and visible from the inward and invisible, Paul “orients” his hearers to what is not apparent but more authentic, to the inner space of the heart. In doing so, he establishes a new map of relationships between God, his adversaries, the Corinthians, and himself.

50 Paul also uses this contrast in 1 Thess 2:17, “As for us, brothers when, for a short time, we were made orphans by being separated from you—in person, not in heart [προσώπῳ οὐ καρδίᾳ]—we longed with great eagerness to see you face to face [τὸ πρόσωπον ὑμῶν ἰδεῖν]” and in Rom 2:28–29.

While his rivals remain outside the boundaries, “in the face,” God, the Corinthians, and Paul meet in the inner (and wide) regions of the heart.<sup>51</sup>

## Conclusions

Paul the Apostle used various spatial metaphors in the Corinthian correspondence to achieve his persuasive purposes. When the ecclesial concord was in crisis, he pictured the Corinthians as a temple in which the Spirit dwelt and whose sacredness was to be respected (1 Cor 3:16–17; 2 Cor 6:16)<sup>52</sup> or as a body composed of many members in which all were to live in unity and diversity (1 Cor 12:12–27). Later, when his relationship with the community was in danger, he turned to his own heart as a spatial metaphor (2 Cor 6:11–13; 7:2–3). Nothing more intimate and vital could serve this purpose.<sup>53</sup> His heart was the centre of his being, the place of his encounter with God, where God had manifested Jesus Christ to him as Lord and where God had deposited the eschatological gift of the Spirit as the first instalment of the new creation. Thus, the metaphor of the community as a temple or a body gave way to the metaphor of the apostle’s heart. The Corinthians were right there, not because of Paul’s great merits, but because God had widened Paul’s heart to make room for them. Accordingly, he exhorted them in the *peroratio* of 6:11–7:4 to reciprocate by opening their hearts wide to him (6:13) and making room for him (7:2). This appeal to mutuality is a constant in the letter. He expected them to reciprocate in boasting (1:14; 5:12) and love (12:15; cf. 8:7–8).<sup>54</sup> The Corinthians had the same ability as Paul to open their hearts wide to him. They, too, had received the divine Spirit into their hearts (1:22; 5:5). Consequently, this intimacy between Paul and the community must have inevitably meant that the Corinthians would distance themselves from their opponents. In order to boast about Paul (5:12a), they had to counter his rivals, who “boasted in outward appearance (*ἐν προσώπῳ*) and not in the heart (*ἐν καρδίᾳ*)” (5:12b). Paul turned again to the language

51 Paul uses the term *καρδία* four more times in 2 Corinthians (2:4; 3:15; 8:16; 9:7). We have not considered these verses because they either refer to the subjects other than Paul (the hearts of the Israelites over whom veil is laid in 3:15; the heart of Titus on whom God has laid great solicitude in 8:16; the hearts of the Corinthians in their decision to contribute to the collection in 8:16), or to their function as an intensifier of the affliction and anguish “of heart” that Paul experienced when he wrote the letter amid many tears (2:4).

52 Origen of Alexandria related the Pauline spatial metaphors of the heart (2 Cor 6:11–13) with the ecclesial temple (6:16) in his commentary on Rom 2:5. “God says concerning his saints, whom he has known to be enlarged and who have spacious and broad rooms in the dwelling place (*domicilium spatia longe lateque*) of their hearts, ‘I shall dwell in them and I shall walk about’ (2 Cor 6:16, quoting Lev 26:12). Based on this quote, Origen came to assert, “God not only dwells in this breadth of heart of his saints (*sanctorum cordis latitudine*), he walks about in it” (*Comm. Rom.* 2,6,6; PG 14, 885; FC 104, 112).

53 In 2 Cor 6:11–12 and 7:2–4, Paul “emphasizes that from his side the relation between him and his readers is as intimate as possible” (Lambrecht, “The Fragment 2 Corinthians 6,14–7,1,” 535).

54 These and other expressions of mutuality (joy, consolation, zeal) in the letter were identified by R. Bieringer, “Paul’s Divine Jealousy: The Apostle and His Communities in Relationship,” *Studies on 2 Corinthians* (eds. R. Bieringer – J. Lambrecht) (BETL 112; Leuven: Peeters 1994) 249–250.



of the heart to reorder the map of the Corinthians' relationships. In Paul's heart, they could dwell and find the light of divine glory manifested in the face of Jesus Christ and the gift of the Spirit they shared with their apostle. Their opponents, instead, remained outside this enclosure because they only looked "in the face" to the outside, so they could not cross "the boundaries of the heart."<sup>55</sup>

The Pauline metaphor of the heart also conveys an epistemological meaning. In biblical literature, the heart was often described as a reserved space very difficult for human beings to access. Only God had direct access to it. For example, Jeremiah said that "the heart is deep above all else, and so is man, and who shall understand him? I, the Lord, am one who tests hearts and examines kidneys, to give to each according to his ways and according to the fruit of his doings" (LXX Jer 17:9–10, trans. NETS). Likewise, Paul also pointed out that "the secrets of the heart" remained hidden unless the divine Spirit revealed them (1 Cor 14:25). Apocalyptic Judaism radicalised this idea. In the present age, the power of sin has caused the senseless hearts of people to be darkened (σκοτίσθη ἢ ἀσύνητος αὐτῶν καρδία, Rom 1:21). However, the Creator God had acted decisively in Christ, inaugurating the age to come, and had put his light in Paul's heart so that he could enlighten others with his gospel (2 Cor 4:6).<sup>56</sup> Therefore, the Corinthians should not focus on the outer self, on what is seen, on what is transient (4:16–18), to know according to the flesh (5:16), but on the inner self, on what is unseen, on what is eternal (4:16–18), on the spaces of the heart.

Finally, in the initial methodological considerations, we indicated that the dualism of mind/body had not yet developed in Paul's time. Therefore, we should not draw a clear distinction between the literal meaning of καρδία and its supposed metaphorical meanings. Hence, the analogical use of καρδία must be understood in the semiotic arc drawn between metaphor and metonymy.<sup>57</sup> On the one hand, Paul certainly creates a metaphor when he presents his heart as an imaginary space in which things happen (the giving of the Spirit as the first instalment, the writing of a letter, divine illumination for the knowledge of Christ) and people meet (God, Paul, and the Corinthians). Yet, on the other hand, καρδία also functions as metonymy: Paul's heart is Paul recognising himself as totally graced by God (to the deepest core of his being) and giving himself up totally to the Corinthians (from his innermost vital core). When Paul claims that he always carries in his body the death of Jesus so that the life of Jesus may also be made visible (φανερωθῆ) in his body (4:10), no exegete interprets his σῶμα as a metaphor. Accordingly, when Paul suggests that his heart, inhabited

<sup>55</sup> I take the expression of Harris, *2 Corinthians*, 517.

<sup>56</sup> "The human ability to recognize the truth has been restored through God's saving act of enlightening the human heart": H.D. Betz, "The Concept of the 'Inner Human Being' (ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος) in the Anthropology of Paul," *NTS* 46 (2000) 332. See also S. Harding, *Paul's Eschatological Anthropology. The Dynamics of Human Transformation* (Emerging Scholars; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2015) 156.

<sup>57</sup> Metaphor and metonymy are primarily two different concepts. If metaphor projects a source domain onto a different target domain, producing semantic impertinences that create new meanings, metonymy operates within the same domain due to a relationship of contiguity. However, this distinction needs to be qualified (see Croft – Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 216–220) because the two concepts have points in common. Anyway, the distinction will serve as a heuristic tool.

by Christ and the Spirit, is a space that God offers the Corinthians to meet him, he somewhat defines himself as a person and a minister, two sides of the same coin.

We began this essay with an example from reception history, Paul's heart as a spatial metaphor in a homily of St John Chrysostom. At the end of our investigation, we could perhaps suggest that, albeit in very amplifying tones, John Chrysostom was not quite far from the Pauline thought when he claimed that "his [Christ's] heart was Paul's heart, a tablet of the Holy Spirit, a book of grace."

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## *Strangers par excellence.* Arabs in the Neo-Assyrian Royal Inscriptions

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**ABSTRACT:** The basic questions posed in the article were: what characteristics caused Arabs to be perceived by the elites of the Neo-Assyrian Empire as strangers, and whether such classification resulted in their treatment differently from other peoples? Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions and correspondence with the court were analysed to answer these questions. On this basis, three features that together are unique only to Arabs were distinguished: nomadism, camel farming and the presence of queens. These traits are unique to Arabs, so they are *strangers par excellence* from Assyria's perspective. Interestingly, these features generally do not result in exceptional treatment. Only in a situation of conflict and defeat of the Arabs can one perceive their specific treatment, marked by exceptional cruelty even for Assyrians. For example, mainly Arab rulers were chained along with wild animals to the gates of the Assyrian capital. Moreover, only Arab women were subjected to tearing unborn children out of their wombs. This shows that Arabs were treated as half-humans against whom the most heinous crimes could be committed because Assyrians were not bound by the standards applicable to other peoples.

**KEYWORDS:** Assyria, Arabs, nomadism, camel, queen, cruelty, stranger

Each community develops certain characteristics that allow it to distinguish itself from others. They are particularly pronounced when dealing with 'strangers' and make it possible to distinguish between them and 'our people.' Much of the scientific work focuses on demonstrating these characteristics. While this is most certainly important, in reality, it is only half the job. The next step is to ask ourselves what results from becoming aware of the 'strangeness' of these other people. According to the cultural pattern, how should you treat these 'strangers,' especially when they fundamentally differ from 'our people'? This article focuses on royal sources from the Neo-Assyrian period. The Assyrians found it easy to determine who was a 'stranger.' Both the written sources and the iconography show that the 'stranger' category includes such peoples as the Elamites, the Uartians and various Western Semitic states of the Levant. Even if they differed ethnically, all of them had a similar social organisation to the Assyrians. This was different when it came to nomadic tribes, which were portrayed not only as 'strange' but also 'savage.' As such, they were *strangers par excellence*. This article focuses on this very issue, i.e. how the 'savage stranger' was perceived and treated in Neo-Assyrian sources. In other words, it aims to find the distinguishing characteristics of the 'savage stranger' and determine if he was treated in some specific way or simply deemed yet

another ‘stranger.’ The ‘savage stranger’ group included various peoples, including the Cimmerians and the Scythians. Yet it was the Arabs who appeared in the Neo-Assyrian sources most often, and as such, they are the key focus of this article. The royal inscriptions were chosen as primary source material because they perfectly reflect the outlook of the Assyrian elite and, importantly, are relatively numerous, which allows us to avoid relying on random, isolated mentions that could distort the picture. Another argument for using them is the RINAP series edition of the royal Neo-Assyrian inscriptions, which is nearing completion.<sup>1</sup> The SAA series letters have also been added to the set of inscriptions,<sup>2</sup> thus presenting the whole outlook of the same milieu of Assyrian elites associated with the royal court.

## Analysis

### 1. Introductory Remarks

First, it must be noted that the division between the civilised, settled inhabitants of Mesopotamia and the savage, nomadic inhabitants of the deserts, steppes and mountains had always been present. It is already evident in mythological texts. One merely needs to recall the description of Enkidu in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*: “he knows not at all a people nor even a country” (i.e. he is not a member of a settled people), “jostling at the water-hole with the herd,” “he wanders over the hills all day” (see *Epic of Gilgamesh* I:108.111.126 and parallel texts).<sup>3</sup> This is a typical image of a savage man – a nomad wandering with his herds – as opposed to settled farmers. Part of civilising the ‘savage’ includes introducing him to a cult he does not know – in this case, the cult of Ishtar – through seduction by the hierodule Shamhat. The appearance of nomads among the settled inhabitants of Mesopotamia inevitably brought about conflict. Worse still, if the nomads managed to dominate civilised farmers for whatever reason, the ‘savages’ were portrayed in a clearly negative light in the sources. For example, the Guteans were described in historical texts in the following manner: “Gu[tium], the fanged serpent of the mountain, who acted with violence against the gods, who carried off the kingship of the land of Sumer to the mountain land, who fi[ll]ed the land of Sumer with wickedness, who took away the wife from the one who had a wife, who took away the child from the one who had a child, who put wickedness and evil in the land (of Sumer) ... Gutium, the fanged serpent of the mountain – drank water (from[?]) the watercourses.”<sup>4</sup> Thus, the image of Arabs in Neo-Assyrian sources is not isolated but somewhat of a continuation of Mesopotamian traditions of contrasting settled, civilised farmers and savage nomads.

1 Available both in a book version and at <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/>.

2 Also available at <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/saao/>.

3 A.R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2003) I, 544–545.

4 RIME 2, Utu-hegal E2.13.6.4:1–14.124–126.

It is important to note that the term ‘Arabs’ in Mesopotamian sources defines the Arabs not so much in an ethnolinguistic sense but rather in a social sense. In practice, the term ‘Arabs’ in Neo-Assyrian texts simply means (semi-)nomads, primarily from northern Sinai, northern Arabia and the Syrian Desert. They did not necessarily have to speak a language belonging to the South-West Semitic group. They may also have spoken a language closer to Aramaic from the North-West Semitic group.<sup>5</sup> Their way of life was a much more crucial factor than their language. They lived primarily in tents or temporary, non-fortified encampments and travelled from one place to another along with their herds. They mainly kept sheep and camels, and their livelihood was animal breeding. At times, they would raid permanent settlements in areas adjacent to the steppe/semi-desert that was their home.<sup>6</sup> The names of Arabia and Arabs were recorded differently in cuneiform sources but always close enough that recognising them was not an issue.<sup>7</sup>

With the above introductory remarks in mind, we may now proceed to the next part of this article, which aims to find the characteristics distinguishing Arabs from other peoples in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions. It is possible to provide a preliminary list of such features:

- A. Living in portable encampments (usually tents) in desert areas.
- B. Using camels.
- C. The supreme authority of queens.

Although the individual features mentioned can sometimes be attributed to other peoples, together, they only apply to the Arabs. They will be discussed below, along with examples from the sources in which they occur.

## 2. Nomadism

The Arabs’ first specific characteristic is nomadism, the expression of which was generally living in tents. As mentioned above, nomadism had been seen as a distinguishing feature of strangers since the beginning of Mesopotamian civilisation and, of course, does not apply only to Arabs.<sup>8</sup> The Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions also refer to other peoples as tent dwellers, i.e. nomads (e.g. Arameans and Suteans, see RINAP 2, Sargon II 74; VII 57–58). Yet nomadism remained a constant distinguishing feature of the Arabs since, unlike peoples such as the Arameans, the Arabs residing in areas within reach of the Assyrians did not

5 R. Zadok, “Arabians in Mesopotamia during the Late-Assyrian, Chaldean, Achaemenian and Hellenistic Periods Chiefly According to the Cuneiform Sources,” *ZDMG* 131 (1981) 44.

6 I. Eph’al, *The Ancient Arabs. Nomads on the Border of the Fertile Crescent 9th–5th Centuries B.C.* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press 1984) 5.

7 <sup>kur</sup>*a-ri-bi*, <sup>kur</sup>*a-ru-bu*, <sup>kur</sup>*a-ra-bi*, <sup>kur</sup>*ar-ba-a-a*, <sup>kur</sup>*ar-bá-a-a*, <sup>kur</sup>*ár-bá-a-a*, <sup>lú/kur</sup>*a-ri-bi*, <sup>lú</sup>*ari-bi*, <sup>lú</sup>*a-ru-bu*, <sup>lú</sup>*a-ra-bi*, <sup>lú</sup>*a-ra-bu*, <sup>lú</sup>*ar-a-bi*, <sup>lú</sup>*ar-ba-a-a*, <sup>lú</sup>*ár-ba-a-a*, see Eph’al, *The Ancient Arabs*, 6.

8 For more, see Eph’al, *The Ancient Arabs*, 10–11.

shift towards a settled lifestyle.<sup>9</sup> Hence, Assyrian art portrayed the Arabs as people living in tents. A good example of this is a relief from Ashurbanipal's North Palace (Room L, Slab 9, BM 124927), showing the pillage and destruction of an Arab camp.<sup>10</sup> Attempts by the Assyrian rulers to force a settled lifestyle upon the conquered tribes failed to change the nomadic nature of the Arabs (see RINAP 2, Sargon II 1:120–123 below and the parallel slightly shorter text of Sargon II 43:20).

Notably, some texts mention Arab 'strongholds' (URU *dan-nu-tu LÚ a-ri-bi*, RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 1 IV 1); however, such mentions are not only exceptional but also the character of these 'strongholds' remains difficult to determine. The remarks on cities where the Arabs took shelter are no less questionable. It is unclear whether these cities actually belonged to the Arabs and, more importantly, what exactly the sources refer to as a 'city.' The doubt about the term 'city' in the context of the Arabs is well illustrated by a passage in Sennacherib's inscription, stating that: "They (=Arabs) abandoned their tents and fled for (their) lives [to the city ...] and the city Adummatu. [(As for) the city... and the city Ad]ummatu, which are located in the desert, [...] a place of thirst in whi[ch] there is no pasture (or) watering-place, [...]" (Sennacherib 35:r.55'–58'). Based on this source alone, it is difficult to determine what Adummatu and the other city, whose name has not survived, actually were. Undoubtedly, both lay in the desert and were not the permanent home of the Arab tribes – after all, they lived in 'their tents.' It seems that this fragment may refer to oases, some of the more common places of stay for nomads, though it would still be rather difficult to refer to them as 'cities,' construed as permanent habitats surrounded by walls. One source implying that oases may have been referred to as cities is Ashurbanipal's inscription, which mentions that Ashurbanipal set up guardposts: "In the cities Manḥabbi, Apparū, Tenuquri, Ṣayuran, Marqanā, Saratein, Enzikarme, Tā'nā, (and) Sarāqa, where(ever there was) a spring (or) a source of water..." (Ashurbanipal 11 IX 27–31). Significantly, none of the inscriptions that mention Arab 'cities' occupied by the Assyrians refers to the demolition of walls or palaces, which would indicate the existence of typical urban buildings and would be in line with the standard descriptions of captured cities in the Levant. All this suggests that Arabs are not actually portrayed as settled urban dwellers, despite the use of the pre-determinative URU to denote their settlements in the inscriptions. Instead, it signifies a place of a long-term encampment at water sources (in oases), probably with partly permanent buildings that would be left behind once the tribe moved to another location for some reason.

9 This does not mean that all inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula were nomads during the Neo-Assyrian period. There were also settled or semi-settled peoples among them; see J. Retsö, *The Arabs in Antiquity. Their History from the Assyrians to the Umayyads* (Abingdon – New York: RoutledgeCurzon 2003) 107–108. For example, the origins of the Saba state in today's Yemen date to the mid-eighth century BC, possibly influenced by Assyrian models. However, it does not seem realistic that the Assyrians would have ventured that far south, see E. Frahm (ed.), *A Companion to Assyria* (New Haven, CT: Blackwell 2017) 302.

10 J. Reade, "Assyrian Illustrations of Arabs," *Arabia and her Neighbours. Essays on Prehistorical and Historical Developments. Essays Presented in Honour of Beatrice de Cardi* (eds. C.S. Phillips – D.T. Potts – S. Searight) (Turnhout: Brepols 1998) 226.



Besides pointing out that Arabs were nomadic (they lived in tents), Neo-Assyrian sources also emphasise that they inhabited the desert (*madbaru*). Occasionally, the inscriptions also mention that this is an area where one suffers thirst, e.g. "[the de]sert, a place (where one is always) thirsty"; "the desert, [...] a place of thirst in whi[ch] there is no pasture (or watering-place"; "a land of parching thirst," etc.). They also speak of the extraordinary numbers of dangerous animals (snakes and scorpions) inhabiting the desert: "where snakes and scorpions fill the plain like ants" (RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 1 IV 56 and parallel texts). It is noticed a complete absence in the desert of any land animals or even birds: "the desert, a distant place where there are no creatures of the steppe and (where) no bird of the heavens makes (its) nest" (RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 11 VIII 108–110). Certainly, human habitation in the desert was so important (astounding? – who could possibly live in a desert, and permanently at that!) to the Assyrian rulers that the Assyrian kings repeatedly found it worthy of inclusion in their inscriptions. Thus, in the eyes of the Assyrians, the Arabs were not just nomads – there were, after all, more such tribes – but nomads from the depths of the desert, which lent them uniqueness. This made them an unusual kind of 'strangers.'

As was usually the case with nomads, the Arabs not only moved with their flocks as shepherds but also engaged in trade and plunder. While the former posed no threat from the perspective of the Mesopotamian people<sup>11</sup> – indeed, it was even desirable – the latter was clearly viewed negatively. Assyrian sources (though not royal inscriptions) make several mentions of the plundering raids of the Arabs. Letters from the time of Sargon II mention Arab robberies several times. The first letter vaguely refers to an attack on Sippar (SAA 1, 84:o.11–rev.8). Another mentions problems with hungry Arabs who had nowhere to graze their flocks due to drought and thus resorted to robbery (SAA 1, 82:rev.1–7). Another speaks of an attack by a 300 camel-strong Arab raiding party on an Assyrian caravan with loot. Although the attack was repulsed, the pursuit of the assailants was unsuccessful, as the terrain proved too tricky for Assyrian horsemen and chariots (SAA 1, 175:4–37). A letter from the era of Ashurbanipal also indirectly mentions attacks by Arabs – it states that attacks on cities ceased after the Qedarites were defeated (SAA 18, 144:rev.4'–7'). Other letters from the time of this ruler explicitly mention the capture of fifty Assyrian merchants by Arabs in Babylonia. However, this time, the intervention of the governor of the city of Birati resulted in some of the kidnappers being captured and impaled. Further investigation into the matter was ongoing (SAA 18, 148:o.7–rev.12; SAA 18, 149:o.8–rev.11). Bearing in mind the above references to Arab assaults on settled city dwellers, it is possible to reconstruct the stereotypical image of the Arab during the Assyrian empire: one of a savage desert nomad who slept in a tent and could be as much a merchant as a robber. Indeed, this image was sufficiently 'strange' to create distrust.

Below are those excerpts from Assyrian royal inscriptions which indicate that the Arabs were desert nomads (living in tents).

<sup>11</sup> For a more extensive account of Arab-Assyrian trade contacts, see R. Byrne, "Early Assyrian Contacts with Arabs and the Impact on Levantine Vassal Tribute," *BASOR* 331 (2003) 11–25.

- i) RINAP 1, Tiglath-pileser III 42:22'–25' (= Tiglath-pileser III 48:25'–26'; = Tiglath-pileser III 49:rev.19–20): “Moreover, she (= Samsi, queen of Arabs), in order to save her life, [... (and) set out] like a female onager [to the de]sert, a place (where one is always) thirsty. [I set the rest of her possessions] (and) her [ten]ts, her people’s safeguards within her camp, [on fire].”
- ii) RINAP 1, Tiglath-pileser III 44:4' (= Tiglath-pileser III 49:rev.17): “[As for Samsi, queen of] the Arabs, at Mount Sa[urri, I ...] her [en]tire camp [...].”
- iii) RINAP 2, Sargon II 1:121: “(As for) the Tamudu, [I]bādidi, Marsīma[ni], (and) Ḥayappa (tribes), faraway Arabs who live in the desert, did not know (either) overseer (or) commander, and had never brought their tribute to any king, I struck them down with the sword of the god Aššur, my lord, deported the remainder of them, and (re)settled (them) in the city Samaria.”
- iv) SAA 1, Sargon II 82:o.5–9. rev.12–18: “As to the A[rabs concerning whom the king, my lord] wrote to me: ‘[Why] do they graze [their sheep and] camel[s in the desert where they must resort to plundering] when hungry?’ ... they should (then) ask me for a territory where to gra[ze]. All the same, [their] tents should [remain] in the territory of the [governor] of Calah (while) they are grazing in [.....]”
- v) RINAP 3/1, Sennacherib 35:53'–58': “[... Te'elḥu]nu, queen of the Arabs, in the middle of the desert [...] I took away [...] thousand camels from her. She [...] with Hazael. [Terror of doing battle wi]th me overwhelmed them. They abandoned their tents and fled for (their) lives [to the city ...] and the city Adummatu. [(As for) the city... and the city Ad]ummatu, which are located in the desert, [...] a place of thirst in whi[ch] there is no pasture (or) watering-place, [...].”
- vi) RIANP 4, Esarhaddon 1 IV 53–57 (= Esarhaddon 2 III 9–14; = Esarhaddon 3 III 13'–17'; = Esarhaddon 4 II' 25'–29'; = Esarhaddon 8 I' 13'–16'): “(As for) the land Bāzu, a district in a remote place, a forgotten place of dry land, saline ground, a place of thirst, one hundred and twenty leagues of desert, thistles, and gazelle-tooth stones, where snakes and scorpions fill the plain like ants.” It is worth noting that the land Bāzu has a name very close to the noun *bāšu*, meaning ‘sand.’
- vii) RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 3 VII 88 – VIII 4 (= Ashurbanipal 4 VIII 2–7; = Ashurbanipal 7 X 10–16): “I se[n]t troops of mi[ne who] were stationed [on the border of his land against him (and) (viii) 1] they brought about their defeat. They struck down with the sword the people of the land of the Arabs, as many as had risen up against me, (and) set fire to pavilion(s and) tents, their abodes, (and thus) consigned (them) to the god Gīra.”
- viii) RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 8 IX 1"–3" (= Ashurbanipal 172:r8'–9'; = Ashurbanipal 194 II 46–48): “[I inflicted a heavy] defeat on A[diya, the queen of the land of the Arabs. I burned] her tents [with fire. I captured] her alive (and) brought her [to Assyria], together with the plunder of [her land].”

- ix) RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 11 VII 121–122: “They (my troops) set fire to pavilion(s) and tents, their (= Arabs) abodes, (and thus) burned (them) with fire.”
- x) RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 11 VIII 87–96 (= Ashurbanipal 194 III 27–34): “(Over) desert — a place of parching thirst in which no bird of the heavens flies (and) where no onagers (or) gazelles graze — a distance of one hundred leagues from Nineveh, the city loved by the goddess Ištar — the wife of the god Enlil — they advanced (and) marched in pursuit of Uaite’, the king of the land of the Arabs, and Abī-Yate’, who had come with forces of the land of the Nabayateans.”
- xi) RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 11 VIII 104–110 (= Ashurbanipal 194 III 43–50; = Ashurbanipal 22 I’ 6’–7’): “My troops drew water to (fill) their drinking vessel(s), and (then) advanced (and) marched (through) a land of parching thirst (lit. ‘a land of thirst (and) a place of parching’) as far as the city Ḥururāna, (which is) between the cities Yarki and Azalla, in the desert, a distant place where there are no creatures of the steppe and (where) no bird of the heavens makes (its) nest.” The war against the confederation of Atar-samayin and Nabayateans.
- xii) RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 11 VIII 120 – IX 2 (= Ashurbanipal 194 III 59 – IV 4): “They (my troops) advanced (and) marched from the city Azalla to the city Qurašiti, a distance of six leagues (through) a place of parching thirst. They (lit. ‘I’) surrounded the confederation of the god Atar-samayin and the Qederites of Uaite’, son of Bir-Dada, the king of the land of the Arabs.” The war against the confederation of Atar-samayin and the Qederites of Uaite’.
- xiii) RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 11 IX 25–37 (Ashurbanipal 22 I’ 6”–9” is very similar): “The fugitives who had fled from my weapons became frightened (and) took to Mount Ḥukkuruna, a rugged mountain. In the cities Manḥabbi, Apparū, Tenuquri, Ṣayuran, Marqanâ, Saratein, Enzikarme, Ta’nâ, (and) Saraqa, where(ever) there was a spring (or) a source of water, as many as there were, I had guards stationed over (them) and (thus) I withheld (from them) the water (which) sustains their live(s). I made drink scarce for their mouths (and) they laid down (their) live(s) from parching thirst. (As for) the rest (of them), they cut open the camels that they rode (and) drank the blood and the liquid from the excrement to (quench) their thirst.” The war against the confederation of Abi-Yate’ the Qederite.

### 3. Camels

Camel breeding was the second trait that was peculiar to the Arabs in the eyes of the Assyrians.<sup>12</sup> This is not to say that camels appear in Neo-Assyrian sources only in association with the Arabs; however, they are by far the most commonly associated with camels. Thus, an

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Retsö, *The Arabs in Antiquity*, 116: “The ‘arab, from their first appearance in the sources, are connected with the camel and this animal follows them through their history.”

image emerges of a desert nomad who wanders around with an animal unknown to the civilised world – the camel. Notably, archaeozoological data indicate that the camel (*Camelus dromedarius*) was not domesticated until after 1000 BC, somewhere in the south of the Arabian Peninsula,<sup>13</sup> and was previously known only as a wild animal. Thus, the arrival of the domesticated camel (10th century BC) roughly coincides with the appearance of the Arabs in Neo-Assyrian sources (9th century BC). By no means does this imply that only Arabs bred camels; however, there is no doubt that they were the ones who used these animals most extensively, thus leading to an association between themselves and camels. Even the Akkadian terms for camels (*gam(m)alu*, *bakkaru*, *anaqātu*, *ibilu*) seem to be borrowings from Arabic.<sup>14</sup> The very first chronological mention of the Arabs in a royal inscription concerning the Battle of Qarqar (853 BC) also mentions camels – as many as one thousand. The Arabs' unique relationship with this animal is further underlined because none of the other contingents of the alliance that fought the Assyrians at Qarqar had camels in their ranks. Indeed, the camel appeared in Assyrian iconography almost simultaneously. Admittedly, this is not a representation related to the Battle of Qarqar but a depiction of Assyrian spoils being brought into an Assyrian city five years earlier, which included a pair of camels.<sup>15</sup> Later, during the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, there were claims of as many as 30,000 camels captured as booty from the Arabs. Characteristically, camels as Assyrian war loot are by far mentioned the most frequently in the context of battles with Arab tribes. They appear only sporadically in the accounts of clashes with other peoples (e.g. Chaldeans). The close connection between Arabs and camels is also evident in Assyrian art, where one can find depictions of Arabs fighting on camels and camels captured during battles against them. These widely known depictions appeared during the reigns of both Tiglath-pileser III and Ashurbanipal.<sup>16</sup> The association between the Arabs and camels was not evident to the Assyrians alone. In this regard, it is worth pointing to a description dating back to the mid-8th century (the moment of Assyria's weakness), which describes the deeds of Ninurta-kudurri-ušur, a governor of the land of Suḫu that had closer ties to Babylonia. The governor mentions his ambush on an Arab merchant caravan from the land of Tema and Saba, resulting in the capture of 200 pack camels (RIMB 2, Ninurta-kudurri-ušur S.O.1002.2 IV 26'–38'). Thus, in the first half of the first millennium BC, the Arabs appeared as the most prominent camel

13 P. Magee, "When Was the Dromedary Domesticated in the Ancient Near East?," *ZORA* 8 (2015) 272; cf. "There is no evidence for a wide-spread adoption of the camel into Near Eastern economies until the beginning of the first millennium BCE" (M. Heide, "The Domestication of the Camel: Biological, Archaeological and Inscriptional Evidence from Mesopotamia, Egypt, Israel and Arabia, and Traditional Evidence from the Hebrew Bible," *UF* 42 [2011] 368). For the Negev, an even more precise date has been proposed: no earlier than the last thirty years of the 10th century BC; see L. Sapir-Hen – E. Ben-Yosef, "The Introduction of Domestic Camels to the Southern Levant: Evidence from the Arava Valley," *TA* 40 (2013) 277–285.

14 M. Krebernik, "Von Gindibu bis Muḥammad: Stand, Probleme und Aufgaben altorientalisch-arabistischer Philologie," *Studien zur Semitistik und Arabistik. Festschrift für Hartmut Bobzin zum 60. Geburtstag* (eds. O. Jastrow – S. Talay – H. Hafenrichter) (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz 2008) 259.

15 L.W. King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser King of Assyria B.C. 860–825* (London: British Museum 1915) pls. XXIII–XXIV.

16 See Reade, "Assyrian Illustrations of Arabs," 221–223, 227.

breeders among all peoples of Mesopotamia. It must be noted that Mesopotamia's peoples associated both the Arabs' way of life (nomadism) and their most characteristic livestock animal – the camel – with savagery and strangeness.

Below are excerpts from Assyrian royal inscriptions which indicate that the Arabs bred camels and that camels were taken from them as war booty.<sup>17</sup>

- i) RIMA 3, Shalmaneser III A.O.102.2:94: “1,000 camels of Gindibu of the Arabs” are mentioned among the opponents at the Battle of Qarqar.
- ii) RINAP 1, Tiglath-pileser III 15:4–5: Among tribute-paying rulers is “Zabibe, queen of the Arabs.” The following are listed as part of the tribute: “camels, she-camels together with their young.”
- iii) RINAP 1, Tiglath-pileser III 35 III 22–23: A slightly different list of tribute-paying rulers mentions: “Zabibe, queen of the Arabs.” The following are listed as part of the tribute: “camels, she-camels.”
- iv) RINAP 1, Tiglath-pileser III 42:19'–22:25'–26' (only the second part of inscription = Tiglath-pileser III 48:27'; = Tiglath-pileser III 49:rev.21–22): “As for Samsi, queen of the Arabs, at Mount Saqurri, [I] de[feated 9,400 (of her people)]. I took away (from her) 1,000 people, 30,000 camels, 20,000 oxen, [...] ..., 5,000 (pouches) of all types of aromatics, ..., thrones of her gods, [the military equipment (and) staffs of her goddess(es)], (and) her property. ... [Samsi] became startled [by] my mighty [weapon]s and she brought camels, she-camels, [with their young, to Assyria, befo]re me.”
- v) RINAP 1, Tiglath-pileser III 42:32' (= Tiglath-pileser III 44:13'–14'; Tiglath-pileser III 49:rev.21–22): “The people of the cities Mas'a (and) Tema, the (tribe) Saba, the people of the cities [Ḥayappa, Badanu], (and) Ḥatte, (and) the (tribes) Idiba'ilu, [...], who are on the border of the western lands, [whom none (of my predecessors) had known about, and whose country is remo]te, [heard about] the fame of my majesty (and) [my heroic deeds, and (thus) they beseeched] my lordship. As one, [they brought before me] gold, silver, [camels, she-camels, (and) all types of aromatics] as their payment [and they kissed] my feet.”
- vi) RINAP 2, Sargon II 1:125a (slightly shorter version = Sargon II 7:27): “[I] received as tribute from Pir'û (Pharaoh), king of Egypt, Sa[m]si, queen of the Arabs, (and) It'amar, the Sabaeen, kings from the seashore and desert, gold — ore from the mountain(s) — precious stones, elephant ivory, seed(s) from ebony tree(s), every kind of aromatic, horses, (and) camels.”
- vii) SAA 1, Sargon II 82:o.7: “As to the A[rabs concerning whom the king, my lord] wrote to me: ‘[Why] do they graze [their sheep and] camel[s in the desert where they must resort to plundering] when hungry?’”

<sup>17</sup> Apart from the royal inscriptions, mention can also be made of the above letter to Sargon II, describing an attack by an Arab raiding party riding 300 camels (SAA 1, 175:4–37).

- viii) SAA 11, 162:rev.4: The letter mentions – in addition to the captured fugitives – about “125 stray camels” captured by Assyrians.
- ix) RINAP 3/1, Sennacherib 1:27 (= Sennacherib 213:29): “I captured alive Adīnu, a nephew of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), together with Basqānu, a brother of Iatī’e, queen of the Arabs, along with their troops. I seized the chariots, wagons, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, (and) Bactrian camels that he had abandoned during the battle.”
- x) RINAP 3/1, Sennacherib 35:54’: “[... Te’elḥu]nu, queen of the Arabs, in the middle of the desert [...] I took away [...] thousand camels from her.”
- xi) RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 1 IV 17–21 (= Esarhaddon 4 II’ 23’–24’; = Esarhaddon 6 III 11’–14’; = Esarhaddon 31:r.4–6): “I added sixty-five camels (and) ten donkeys to the previous tribute and imposed (it) on him (= Hazael, the king of the Arabs). Hazael died and I placed Iauta’, his son, on his throne. I added ten minas of gold, one thousand choice stones, fifty camels, (and) one hundred bags of aromatics to the tribute of his father and imposed (it) on him.”
- xii) RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 34:r.2 “I col[lected] camels from all of the Arab kings”.
- xiii) RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 3 VIII 5–15 (= Ashurbanipal 4 VIII 8–18; = Ashurbanipal 7 X 17–27; = Ashurbanipal 11 IX 42–52; slightly shorter version = Ashurbanipal 22 I’ 10”–14”). After the war against the Arabs led by Uaite’: “They (= Assyrian soldiers) carried off without number oxen, sheep and goats, donkeys, camels, (and) people. They fi[l]led (with them) the whole extent of the land, in its entirety, to all of its border(s). I apportioned camels like sheep and goats (and) divided (them) among the people of Assyria (so that) within my country they (the Assyrians) could purchase a camel for one shekel (or even) a half shekel of silver at the market gate. The female tavern keeper for a serving, the beer brewer for a jug (of beer), (and) the gardener for (his) bag of vegetables were regularly receiving [cam]els and slaves.”
- xiv) RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 3 VIII 29 (= Ashurbanipal 4 VIII 33; = Ashurbanipal 6 X 11’; = Ashurbanipal 7 X 10’): “Abi-Yate’, son of Te’ri, came to Nineveh and kissed my feet. I concluded a treaty with him to do obeisance to me. I installed him as king in place of Iauta’. I imposed upon him gold, eyestones, pappardilû-stone, kohl, camels, (and) prime quality donkeys as annual payment.” The fragment of the above-mentioned treaty with Abī-Yate’ can be found in SAA 2, 10.
- xv) RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 11 VIII 114: “They (lit. ‘I’) brought about the defeat of the Yisamme’, the confederation of the god Atar-samayin, and the Nabayateans. They (lit. ‘I’) plundered countless people, donkeys, camels, and sheep and goats.”
- xvi) RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 11 IX 5 (= Ashurbanipal 194 IV 7): “They (lit. ‘I’) surrounded the confederation of the god Atar-samayin and the Qederites of Uaite’, son of Bir-Dāda, the king of the land of the Arabs. (As for) his gods, his mother, his sisters, his wife, his family, the people of the land Qedar, all (of it), donkeys, camels,

and sheep and goats, as many as I had captured with the support of (the god) Aššur and the goddess Ištar, my lords, I made their feet take the road to Damascus.”

- xvii) RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 11 IX 36 (very similar is Ashurbanipal 22 I’ 10”). The war against a confederation of Abī-Yate’ the Qederite: “I made drink scarce for their (= Arab) mouths (and) they laid down (their) live(s) from parching thirst. (As for the rest (of them), they cut open the camels that they rode (and) drank the blood and the liquid from the excrement to (quench) their thirst.”
- xviii) RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 11 IX 65: “The foal (of camels), the foal (of donkeys), the calf, (and) the spring lamb sucked more than seven times at (their) wet nurses and (yet) they could not satisfy their stomachs with milk. The people of the land of the Arabs constantly asked one another: (ix 70) ‘Why have evil deeds such as these (lit. ‘this’) befallen the land of the Arabs?’”

#### 4. Queens

Another factor that very clearly distinguishes the Arabs from the Assyrians, but also from other Middle Eastern peoples, is female leadership. Neo-Assyrian sources repeatedly refer to Arab queens (*šar-rat* KUR *a-ri-bi*). In total, the Assyrian sources mention seven such queens: Zabibe, Samsi, Yati’e, Apkallatu,<sup>18</sup> Te’elḥunu, Tabū’a and Adiya. At the same time, one can be certain that they refer to actual female rulers and not the wives of kings.<sup>19</sup> It is worth mentioning that apart from the Assyrian sources, the phenomenon of queens ruling over the Arabs is also mentioned in the Bible, which speaks of the Queen of Saba (1 Kgs 10:1–13 // 2 Chr 9:1–12). Undoubtedly, the patriarchal societies of the Middle East must have seen female leadership as part of an alien tradition. Since this tradition was also associated with savage nomads, it must be assumed that the reign of women was also seen as a sign of otherness and primitivism. The isolated instances where women briefly

18 There is debate as to the name of this queen since this word may also be the title ‘wise woman’; see M. Maraqtēn, “Der Afkal/Apkallu im arabischen Bereich: eine epigraphische Untersuchung,” *Assyriologica et Semitica. Festschrift für Joachim Oelsner anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 18 Februar 1997* (eds. J. Marzahn – H. Neumann) (AOAT 252; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag 2000) 264–266. The author in question suggests that this term denotes a priestess. Eckart Frahm (*A Companion to Assyria*, 301) also agrees with Mohammed Maraqtēn in this regard. Nonetheless, in the phrase *šar-rat* LÚ *a-ri-bi*, Apkallatu serves as a name. Even if it was the title of an Arab queen-priestess, the Assyrian scribes apparently recognised it as a proper name. Another puzzling issue is that this term does not appear in relation to other Arab queens. Most important, however, is the fact that the sources do not recognise Queen Apkallatu and Queen Te’elḥunu to be one and the same, contrary to Maraqtēn’s claims (“Der Afkal/Apkallu,” 264). He also unjustifiably suggests combining the term *apkallatu* with *kumirtu* (Te’elḥunu was the *kumirtu* of the goddess Dilbat). Furthermore, Maraqtēn’s linking of the goddess Dilbat with the deity Atar-samain (<sup>1</sup>*a-tar-sa-ma-in*, <sup>2</sup>*a-tar-sa-ma-a-in*) is incorrect, as this is the male deity called Ashtar of Heavens (see RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 1 IV 10 = 6 III 5’ = 97:10; RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 3 VII 82 = 4 VII 85 = 7 IX 69” = 86 III 7’), which should be identified with Ashtarū ( *štr-kmš* ), l. 17.

19 Frahm, *A Companion to Assyria*, 301.

held power in the Middle Eastern states (e.g. Hatshepsut), and only on behalf of men, could not change this outlook. Apart from the queens, Arab kings (Hazael, Iauta', Uabu, Abi-Yate', Uaite') also appear in the sources. The increase in the role of kings at the expense of queens among the Arab tribes seems evident since the time of Esarhaddon and may have been due to the influence of Assyrian patterns.<sup>20</sup> Notably, while kings of various localities or lands (e.g. Bazu, Saba), which can be recognised as areas inhabited by Arabs, also appear in the sources, they do not bear the title of the 'King of the Arabs.' The queens of individual cities are also portrayed similarly. Further, some of the mentioned leaders do not bear the title of king and yet appear to serve in such a capacity (e.g. Gindibu, Idibi'ilu). Finally, one mention suggests the Assyrians believed that some Arabs were so primitive that they knew nothing of supreme authority: "(As for) the Tamudu, [I]bādidi, Marsīma[ni], (and) Ḥayappa (tribes), faraway Arabs who live in the desert, did not know (either) overseer (or) commander, and had never brought their tribute to any king, I struck them down with the sword of the god Aššur, my lord, deported the remainder of them, and (re)settled (them) in the city Samaria." (RINAP 2, Sargon II 1:120–123). This mention is, however, one-of-a-kind and the Arab tribes were typically portrayed as having their own rulers (sheikhs). Of course, the presence of kings could in no way have been surprising to the peoples of Mesopotamia, and as such, it will be omitted from this discussion of Arabs as 'strangers.' The reason the Assyrians deemed them alien was the unique phenomenon of female leadership. It seems to have been reflected in iconographic representations as well: the reliefs in the palace of Tiglath-pileser III, which depict his campaign against the Arabs, show a richly dressed woman bringing him gifts (a vessel of perfume?), with camels visible behind her.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps it is Queen Samsi herself, just like on one of the palace's other reliefs depicting the defeat of the Arabs.<sup>22</sup> The latter shows a woman riding a camel among a group of warriors fleeing on foot.<sup>23</sup> It is also worth noting that, on at least one occasion, the sources confirm the theocratic nature of the reign of Arab queens. Indeed, Ashurbanipal's inscription mentions that his father Esarhaddon did something (unfortunately, the text is damaged) that was related to Te'elḥunu, who was described as the 'former priestess' (MUNUS *kumirtu mahritu*) of the goddess Dilbat, during the visit of the Arab king Hazael (RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 156:o.12). This is likely the very same Te'elḥunu as the one mentioned in Sennacherib's inscription and called the queen of the Arabs (*šarrat LÚ arabi*, RINAP 3, Sennacherib 35:rev.5"). As mentioned above, whether the word Apkallatu should be regarded as a proper name or a term denoting a queen-priestess is debatable.

Below are excerpts from Assyrian royal inscriptions which indicate that the Arabs had female rulers bearing the title 'Queen of the Arabs' or similar. Also included is an excerpt

20 Frahm, *A Companion to Assyria*, 307.

21 R.D. Barnett – M. Falkner, *The Sculptures of Aššur-Našir-Apli II (883–859 B.C.), Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.), Esarhaddon (681–669 B.C.) from the Central and South-West Palaces at Nimrud* (London: British Museum 1962) pl. XXV–XXVI.

22 As suggested by Jan Retsö (*The Arabs in Antiquity*, 133).

23 Barnett – Falkner, *The Sculptures*, pl. XVII.



from RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 1 IV 53–77 (= Esarhaddon 8 I' 13'–24') concerning the land of Baz, which lists eight rulers of specific localities. Two queens appear among them.

- i) RINAP 1, Tiglath-pileser III 15:2 (= Tiglath-pileser III 27:7; = Tiglath-pileser III 32:8; = Tiglath-pileser III 35 III 19): Among tribute-paying rulers mentioned is “Zabibe, queen of the Arabs.”
- ii) RINAP 1, Tiglath-pileser III 20:18': “Samsi, queen of the Arabs, who had transgressed her oath (sworn by) the god Šamaš.”
- iii) RINAP 1, Tiglath-pileser III 42:19' (= Tiglath-pileser III 44:3'; = Tiglath-pileser III 48:24'; = Tiglath-pileser III 49:rev.17): “As for Samsi, queen of the Arabs, at Mount Saqurri, [I] de[feated 9,400 (of her people)].”
- iv) RINAP 2, Sargon II 1:125a (= Sargon II 7:27): “[I] received as tribute from Pir'û (Pharaoh), king of Egypt, Sa[m]si, queen of the Arabs, (and) It'amar, the Sabaeen, kings from the seashore and desert.”
- v) SAA 11, 162:o.1–8: “[... Ya]-rapâ, [cohort co]mmander, will bring the [fugitives] of the Arabs [up t]o the lady Samsi; (and) he will bring those [o]f the lady Samsi up to the Arabs.” Lady Samsi could well be the very same 'queen of the Arabs' mentioned in the annals of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon.
- vi) RINAP 3/1, Sennacherib 1:28 (= Sennacherib 213:28): “I captured alive Adīnu, a nephew of Marduk-apla-iddina (II) (Merodach-baladan), together with Basqānu, a brother of Iatī'e, queen of the Arabs, along with their troops.”
- vii) RINAP 3/1, Sennacherib 35:53': “[... Te'elḥu]nu, queen of the Arabs, in the middle of the desert [...] I took away [...] thousand camels from her.”
- viii) RINAP 3/1, Sennacherib 35:5": “[... I carried] off [Te'elḥunu, que]en of the Arabs, together with [her] god[s, ...] ..., pappardilū-stones, pappar[mīnu]-stone[s, ...] ḥašūru-wood, all types [of] aromatics, [...] ... and kings ...”
- ix) RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 1 IV 4.15: “(As for) the city Adumutu, the fortress of the Arabs, which Sennacherib, king of Assyria, (my) father, who engendered me, conquered and whose goods, possessions, (and) gods, together with Apkallatu, the queen of the Arabs, he plundered and brought to Assyria — Hazael, the king of the Arabs, came to Nineveh, my capital city, with his heavy audience gift and kissed my feet. He implored me to give (back) his gods, and I had pity on him. I refurbished the gods Atar-samayin, Dāya, Nuḥāya, Ruldāwu, Abirillu, (and) Atar-qurumâ, the gods of the Arabs, and I inscribed the might of the god Aššur, my lord, and (an inscription) written in my name on them and gave (them) back to him. I placed the lady Tābū'a, who was raised in the palace of my father, as ruler over them and returned her to her land with her gods.”
- x) RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 1 IV 53–77 (= Esarhaddon 8 I' 13'–24'): “(As for) the land Bāzu, ... By the command of the god Aššur, my lord, I marched triumphantly in its midst. I defeated Kīsu, king of the city Ḥaldisu (Ḥandasu), Akbaru, king of the city Ilpī'atu (Alpiyana), Mansāku, king of the city Magalānu, Iapa', queen of the city Diḥrānu, Ḥabīsu, king of the city Qadaba' (Qatabu'), Niḥaru, king of the

city Ga'uani, Baslu, queen of the city Ihilu, (and) Ḥabaziru, king of the city Puda' (Padê), eight kings from that district (and) laid out the bodies of their warriors like (drying) malt. I carried off their gods, their goods, their possessions, and their people to Assyria. (As for) Laialê, king of the city Yadi', who had fled before my weapons, unprovoked fear fell upon him, and he came to Nineveh, before me, and kissed my feet. I had pity on him and put that province of Bāzu under him."

- xi) RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 8 IX 1" (= Ashurbanipal 172:r8'; = Ashurbanipal 194 II 46): "[I inflicted a heavy] defeat on A[diya, the queen of the land of the Arabs. I burned] her tents [with fire. I captured] her alive (and) brought her [to Assyria], together with the plunder of [her land]."
- xii) RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 156:o.12: "Hazaël, the king of the land of the Arabs, with hi[s] audience gift [...] came before him and kissed [his] f[et]t [...] He appealed to him to give (back) his goddess, and he (Esarhaddon) had mercy on him and agr[eed ... He ...] Te'elḥunu, her former priestess, to [...]. Regarding Tabū'a, he inquired of Šamaš, saying, '[Should] she [...]' He returned (her/them) with his goddess and [...]."

## 5. Specific Treatment

Having outlined the basic features that portray Arabs as different and strange in the sources, it is vital to consider whether this difference and strangeness resulted in different treatment. First, it should be noted that the royal inscriptions focus on issues relevant from the perspective of the ruler, namely loyalty to Assyria, possible rebellions, and finally, defeating and punishing the enemy. In the case of the first two issues, it is impossible to see any differences. The obedient subjugated rulers were portrayed as sending tribute or personally visiting the court and kissing the feet of the Assyrian king. In contrast, rebellious rulers were depicted as unfaithful, disobedient to the gods and deserving of punishment. A rebellion resulted in a war expedition that always ended in success for the Assyrian king. The rebellious ruler is often described as overcome with fear, with their army fleeing after losing the battle. The final chord is usually a description of increasing the tribute or humiliating the ruler or their successor, sometimes including the looting of statues depicting the defeated people's deities. The descriptions of victorious (Assyrian) battles against the Arabs also fit into the above pattern. They include no unique features, apart from frequently pointing out that the Arabs inhabited remote desert regions, which was where the fighting took place. However, it is worth pointing to one distinguishing factor that appears to be linked to the Arabs and their punishment after rebellions. It refers to the chaining of a defeated ruler to the gates of the Assyrian capital. Sources mention that such punishment was used against defeated opponents of the Assyrian king several times. Of the six rulers punished in

this manner, as mentioned in the royal inscriptions, as many as four were Arabs (Asuḫili, Uabu, Iauta', Ammu-ladin). The others were the Babylonian ruler Nergal-uṣeziba, tied to the gates of Nineveh by King Sennacherib (RINAP 3/1, Sennacherib 34: 33b), and the chieftains Dunan, Samgun and Aplaya from the Aramaic tribe of Gumbal inhabiting the borderlands between Babylonia and Elam, captured after the Elamite campaign by Ashurbanipal (RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 161 II 10'–12'; = Ashurbanipal 165:rev. 4'–6'). Occasionally, the punishment description is supplemented by a statement that the humiliated ruler was chained together with animals, such as dogs, pigs or bears. This cruel punishment was sometimes made worse still by tying the victim to the gates by their pierced jaw instead of using a collar or wooden pillory. Some controversy may arise in regard to Esarhaddon's texts about Asuḫili, the ruler of the land of Arzâ, which was located south of Gaza, near the 'Brook of Egypt.' The very name of this ruler appears to be Arabic.<sup>24</sup> Although the source does not explicitly identify him as an 'Arab,' he was apparently considered an Arab sheikh by the Assyrians due to the remote, desert location of his dominion. Besides, it is probably not without reason that one version of the inscription describes Asuḫili's defeat just before speaking of the battles with Hazael and Uabu, who were undoubtedly Arab rulers (RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 31). In any case, Asuḫili also met his end while chained to the gates of Nineveh. Below are texts describing the chaining of Arab rulers to the gates of the Assyrian capital.

- i) RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 1 III 39–42 (= Esarhaddon 2 I 57–63; = Esarhaddon 3 II 11'–15'; = Esarhaddon 31:o.14'–rev.2'): "The one who plundered the land Arzâ, which is in the district of the Brook of Egypt – I threw Asuḫili, its king, into fetters along with his counselors and brought (them) to Assyria. I seated them, bound, near the citadel gate of (the city of) Nineveh along with bear(s), dog(s), and pig(s)."
- ii) RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 1 IV 25–31 (= Esarhaddon 6 III' 18'–24'): "I, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters, who loves loyalty and abhors treachery, sent my battle troops to the aid of Iauta', and they trampled all of the Arabs, threw Uabu, together with the soldiers who were with him, into fetters, and brought (them) to me. I placed them in neck stocks and tied them to the side of my gate."
- iii) RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 31:rev.8–11: "[I, Esarhaddon, who loves loyalty and] abhors treachery, [sent] archers, cavalry (and) forces to [the aid of Iauta' (Iata)]. I subdued and subjected Uabu for him. [I threw] Uabu, together with all of [the soldiers who were with him, into fetters and] brought (them) here and [bound them] to the left side of the citadel gate of the city of Nineveh."
- iv) RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 11 VIII 11–14: "I placed him (Iauta', king of Arabs, son of Hazael) in a neck-stock, bound him with a bear (and) a dog and (then) made him guard the Citadel Gate of Nineveh, (whose name is) the Entrance to the Place Where the World Is Controlled."

24 As suggested by Ran Zadok ("Arabians in Mesopotamia," 66).

- v) RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 11 VIII 27–29: “By the command of the great gods, my lords, I placed him (Ammu-ladin, king of the land Qedar) in a dog collar and made him guard the gate.”
- vi) RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 11 IX 103–114 (= Ashurbanipal 109 I’ 6’–9’; = Ashurbanipal 156:r.10–12; = Ashurbanipal 215 V 1–5): “Through my entreaties that I had constantly made to (the god) Aššur and the goddess Mullissu in order to conquer my enemies, I pierced his (Uaite’s) jaw with the ... of the ... that my (own) hands hold. I put a lead-rope through his gums, placed him in a dog collar, and (then) made him guard the door of the eastern gate of the citadel of Nineveh, whose name is the Entrance to the Place Where the World Is Controlled. (So that he could) sing the praise(s) of (the god) Aššur, the goddess Ištar, and the great gods, my lords, I had mercy on him and spared his life.”
- vii) RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 109 I’ 6’–9’: “[ (As for) Uaite’, the king of the land S]umu’il, who [had sided] with him [(and) had cast o]ff the yoke of my lordship, [... h]e was placed [*in a dog collar*] and (then) [I made him guard th]e gate [...].”

The first text above (I) is about Asuḫili. The next two (II–III) describe the punishment inflicted on Uabu, who rebelled against the Assyrian-established king Iauta’, in a slightly different form. Texts IV, VI and VII refer to the very same Iauta’, who later rebelled on his own and was thus punished in the same way as Uabu. The only difference is the mention in Text VI that Iauta’ survived because the victorious Ashurbanipal spared him. It is reasonable to assume that the punishment described usually ended in the ignominious death of the victim (especially when bound together with a bear), and the case of Iauta’ is somewhat of an exception. It should be added that his punishment had previously been expanded to include participation in a kind of triumphal procession of the Assyrian king. Ashurbanipal rode into the capital on a cart drawn by the defeated Elamite rulers and Iauta’ himself (RINAP 5, Ashurbanipal 11 X 29–30; = Ashurbanipal 145:rev.6’–7’). It was probably only after this show that Iauta’ was chained to the gate and eventually released – after an unspecified time. Finally, Text V briefly describes the humiliation of Ammu-ladin.

The execution site itself is by no means unique. Assyrian royal inscriptions speak of such things as throwing the severed head of a defeated ruler next to the gate (Teumman, king of Elam), skinning (Ilu-bi’di, king of Hamath), impaling (Nabû-ušabši, king of Bit-Šilani) or forcing the sons of a deceased rebel ruler to ground their father’s bones (Nabû-šuma-ēreš, governor of Nippur). As the city’s main centres, the gates and their surroundings were naturally chosen as the location for public executions. Nonetheless, when speaking of the Arabs, it is puzzling that the executions of captured rulers were of such a specific nature. The chaining to the city gates was used almost exclusively against captured rulers of Arab descent. Considering the number of rulers defeated by the Assyrians, the chaining to the city gates alongside animals was certainly not an oft-used retribution. Naturally, this punishment was meant as the ultimate humiliation of the defeated rulers to show them that in the face of the power of the Assyrian king, they were mere animals – they lost their human

status. This may be the reason why it was used against Arab rulers. The Assyrian rulers only saw them as half-human anyway, considering them savage desert nomads who rode wild animals. The act of disobedience against the civilised kings of Assyria excluded them, as it were, from humanity itself. As such, they could be treated like wild beasts. The chieftains of the Aramaic tribe of Gambulu, who suffered the same punishment, were likely viewed similarly. However, the use of such retribution against the Babylonian king Nergal-ušeziḫ is somewhat puzzling. It seems to be due to Sennacherib violating all rules of war after the Elamites killed his firstborn son Ašur-nadin-šumi. After conquering rebellious Babylon, the Assyrian ruler had the city demolished, the gods abducted and the usurper chained like an animal to the gate. This treatment of Babylon was unparalleled in Assyrian history and was regarded as inappropriate even by subsequent rulers – after all, Esarhaddon decided to rebuild Babylon. It seems that the case of Nergal-ušeziḫ should be seen as the exception that proves the rule, resulting from a deeply wounded fatherly love. The other instances of defeated rulers being chained to the city gates seem to be due to their low status in the eyes of the Assyrian king. Apparently, he wanted to show that there was little difference between animals and the Arabs and that the latter hardly deserved to be called human.

## Conclusions and Discussion

The above analyses provide us with a list of features that were characteristic of the Arabs during the period of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. In the eyes of the royal court, the Arabs appeared to be desert nomads living in tents. They were as likely to engage in breeding and trade as in robbery. Thus, they were ‘savages’ living outside the circle of civilisation. They were known for breeding camels, which they were the first to domesticate. As such, they were seen as the best specialists in breeding these animals, which had previously only lived in the wild. Not only were the Arabs themselves a ‘wild’ people, but they also used ‘wild’ animals. Thus, they were no less alien than the elephant-riding Hindus were in the eyes of Alexander the Great. Finally, yet another trait specific to the Arabs was female leadership. This means that they differed from the ‘normal’ Middle Eastern peoples not only in terms of their living environment (desert) and livestock (camels) but also with regard to their peculiar political structure. This image of the Arabs certainly earned them absolute uniqueness in their contemporary world. It was impossible to confuse the Arabs with any other people. The above certainly fits into the image of a ‘savage alien,’ i.e. someone living outside the circle of civilisation. It was natural for the Assyrian elite to consider the Arabs inferior to the inhabitants of the Nineveh palaces.

The status of the Arabs as ‘strangers *par excellence*’ resulted in their specific treatment, although only in exceptional situations. After defeating Arab rulers, the Assyrian kings punished them by chaining them to the gates like wild animals. Since this form of retribution was applied almost exclusively to Arab rulers (once also to the similarly ‘savage’ rulers of the Gambulu tribe), it must be surmised that it resulted from the Arabs’ exceptionally

lowly status in the eyes of the Assyrians. The exceptional case of the chaining of the Babylonian ruler Nergal-ušešib, resulting from the murder of the firstborn son of the king of Assyria, should be excluded here.

This explanation for the use of the chaining to the gates alongside animals as punishment for ‘savages’ seems to be confirmed by another practice applied to defeated Arabs, or rather Arab women. As mentioned above, one of the reliefs from Ashurbanipal’s North Palace shows soldiers ripping open Arab women and tearing out their unborn babies in a captured camp.<sup>25</sup> This scene appears twice, so one can hardly speak of a coincidence. In analysing this scene, unique in its brutality even by Assyrian standards, Peter Dubovský emphasises that no other women were subjected to similarly cruel torture. While royal reliefs show various types of torture and elaborate ways of killing men, women and children were treated as the spoils of war and therefore spared. Dubovský puts this brutality down to the fierce resistance of the Arabs and the breaking of their oath of allegiance to the Assyrian kings, which seemingly entitled the latter to all sorts of cruelty.<sup>26</sup> It must be noted that it was not only the Arabs but also other peoples who fought fiercely against Assyrian aggression. There were also many occasions when a conquered ruler rose to fight again, thus breaking the oath of allegiance to his Assyrian overlord, yet we do not know of such brutal representations against other peoples. Perhaps one should look to the status of Arabs in the eyes of the Assyrians to find answers – after all, they were deemed savage strangers who were only half-human and could be treated inhumanely. Hence, Arab rulers were equated with wild animals, and women became the objects of the most elaborate cruelties that no other peoples had to endure.

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25 Reade, “Assyrian Illustrations of Arabs,” 226, Fig. 6.

26 P. Dubovský, “Ripping Open Pregnant Arab Women: Reliefs in Room L of Ashurbanipal’s North Palace,” *Or* 78 (2009) 416–418.

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## Hebrajska nazwa *Yerúšalaim* w wybranych słowiańskich przekładach Ewangelii

The Hebrew name *Yerúšalaim* in selected Slavic translations of the Gospels

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**ABSTRACT:** This article, which is part of a series of studies on biblical onyms, is devoted to the translation equivalents of the local name *Yerúšalaim* (genetically Hebr.) in selected old Slavic translations of the Gospel, produced before the 17th century. The analysis of the material, carried out on the basis of the philological method, aims to show the equivalents of the toponym in the translations into particular languages, the degree of dependence in the rendering of this name between the translations and their sources, and to show the impact of some of the translations on others. The body of the texts constituting the instalments of the multilingual translation series of the Gospel consists of key and often better-known translations into the selected languages, representing the three main groups of Slavic languages (southern, eastern and western). The source material was selected so as to ensure diversity in the basis for translation (Greek vs. Latin), religious tradition and the translation strategy applied.

**KEYWORDS:** biblical onymes, toponymy, translation equivalent

**SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:** onimy biblijne, toponimy, ekwiwalenty tłumaczeniowe

Biblijna warstwa onimiczna od czasów starożytnych stanowi przedmiot badań nie tylko filologicznych, ale także z zakresu innych nauk, na przykład egzegezy, archeologii czy historii. Tworząc rozmaite słowniki i onomastykony, koncentrowano się przede wszystkim na etymologii i strukturze morfologicznej onimów. Dociekania te, początkowo często oparte na etymologiach ludowych i objaśnieniach o charakterze alegorycznym, z czasem coraz bardziej rozwijane, zyskały solidne podstawy naukowe w postaci prac badaczy dziewiętnasto- i dwudziestowiecznych, np. Franza Wutza, Paula de Lagarde’a, Waltera Bauera, Franza Zorella, Wilhelma Boréego<sup>1</sup>. Również współcześnie biblijne *nomina propria* stają

<sup>1</sup> Por. A. Klawek, „Onomastyka biblijna”, *Onomastica* 7 (1961) 403–416.

się obiektem zainteresowania naukowego, zwłaszcza że zagadki związane z pochodzeniem wielu z nich pozostają nierozwiązane do dziś<sup>2</sup>.

Za odrębną domenę badawczą należy uznać badania lingwistyczne tłumaczeń Biblii, w ramach których ważne miejsce zajmuje onimia tekstów przekładowych. Punkt ciężkości zostaje tu przesunięty z zagadnień etymologiczno-genetycznych na rzecz zjawisk językowych, dotyczących sposobów dostosowywania genetycznie obcych nazw do potrzeb odbiorców danego przekładu oraz uwarunkowań pozajęzykowych, które determinują zewnętrzną postać nazw własnych. Należą do nich: źródło (źródła) tłumaczenia, strategia translatorska (bądź strategie), stosunek do tradycji przekładów wcześniejszych oraz wszelkie inne czynniki o charakterze pragmatycznym, związane z ukształtowaniem stylistycznym poszczególnych tłumaczeń<sup>3</sup>. Często nawet mimo daleko idących procesów adaptacyjnych, których skrajnym ogniwem może być przełożenie nazwy za pomocą równoznacznej kalki semantycznej, zachowują znamiona obcości, pełniąc funkcję swego rodzaju pomostu pomiędzy źródłem a przekładem<sup>4</sup>. Nazwy własne obok podstawowej funkcji identyfikacyjnej pełnią w Biblii funkcje symboliczne. Mogą zatem posiadać znaczenie leksykalne<sup>5</sup>.

## 1. Cel, metoda i źródła

Celem artykułu jest przyjrzenie się przy zastosowaniu metody filologicznej<sup>6</sup> ekwiwalentom tłumaczeniowym wariantów genetycznie hebrajskiego toponimu *Yerûšalaim* (gr. Ἱεροσολήμ, Ἱεροσόλυμα, łac. *Hierusalem, Ierusalem, Hierosolyma, Ierosolyma*) w wybranych dawnych słowiańskich przekładach Ewangelii<sup>7</sup>. Analiza zmierzać będzie do ukazania odpowiedników toponimu, ustalenia stopnia zależności w zakresie oddawania tej nazwy pomiędzy przekładami a ich źródłami i ukazania wpływów pewnych tłumaczeń na inne.

Na korpus tekstów stanowiących ogniwa różnojęzycznych serii translatorskich tekstu Ewangelii złożyły się ważniejsze i często bardziej znane przekłady na wybrane języki słowiańskie. Choć nasz wybór ma arbitralny charakter i jest ograniczony możliwościami krótkiego artykułu, zależało nam na możliwie szerokiej reprezentacji języków słowiańskich należących do trzech podstawowych grup (południowej, wschodniej i zachodniej)<sup>8</sup>, wobec

2 *SWB*, xx; O. Odelain – R. Séguineau, *Dictionnaire des noms propres de la Bible* (Paris: Cerf 1978).

3 D. Bienkowska, *Polski styl biblijny* (Łódź: Archidiecezjalne Wydawnictwo Łódzkie 2002) 86–94.

4 M. Ballard, *Le nom propre en traduction* (Paris: Ophrys 2001).

5 K. Długosz-Kurczabowa, „Onomastyka Nowego Testamentu”, *SO* 46–47 (1989/1990) 71–88.

6 Metoda filologiczna (źródłowa) polega na zestawianiu danych ze źródeł (zabytków piśmiennictwa) w zakresie elementów współfunkcyjnych.

7 Ze względu na niekompletność tłumaczenia w zakresie wszystkich ksiąg NT przez niektóre z uwzględnionych przez nas przekładów zdecydowaliśmy się obserwacją objąć wyłącznie Ewangelie, wyłączając z analizy Dzieje Apostolskie przypisywane ewangelicie Łukaszowi (kilka form użytych w Dziejach Apostolskich w polskim przekładzie BB podajemy jedynie w celach ilustracyjnych). W tekście tym nazwy odnoszące się do świętego miasta charakteryzują się wysoką frekwencją, co mogłoby rzutować na wnioski płynące z naszych badań.

8 A. Łuczak, „Najstarsze słowiańskie przekłady Biblii w niemieckiej serii «Biblia Slavica»”, *Nauka* 2 (2014) 135–150.

czego ekscerpcją objęliśmy przekłady na języki: staro-cerkiewno-słowiański (Kodeks zo-grafski [KZ]), cerkiewnosłowiański (Ewangeliarz Makarego [EM]<sup>9</sup>), Biblia ostrogska [BO]), starobiałoruski (Ewangeliarz W. Ciapińskiego [WC]), czeski (Biblia drażdżańska [BD], Biblia ołomuniecka [OL], Biblia kralicka [BK]) oraz polski (Nowy Testament S. Murzynowskiego [MU], Nowy Testament M. Szarfenberga [SZ], Biblia Leopoldy [BL], Biblia brzeska [BRZ], Biblia Sz. Budnego [BB], Nowy Testament M. Czechowica [MC], Nowy Testament J. Wujka [WU], Biblia J. Wujka [BW]). Przekłady uwzględnione w naszych badaniach są zróżnicowane także w zakresie źródeł: tekst grecki (KZ, EM, WC, BO, BK, MU, BRZ, BB, CZ), tekst łaciński (BD, OL, SZ, BL, WU, BW), tradycji wyznaniowej, z myślą o której zostały przygotowane, związanej z Kościołami wschodnimi (KZ, EM, WC, BO) i zachodnimi (katolickie – BD, OL, SZ, BL, WU, BW; protestanckie – BK, MU, BRZ, BB, CZ) oraz zastosowanej strategii translatorskiej<sup>10</sup>.

Najważniejsze z kryteriów przyjętych w doborze ekscerpowanych tekstów ma charakter chronologiczny, ponieważ zależało nam na uwzględnieniu tłumaczeń dokonanych do końca XVI stulecia. Wiek ten charakteryzował się bowiem – jak wiadomo – swoistą eksplozją przekładów na języki narodowe, co wiązało się z ruchem reformacyjnym, a potem także działaniami wymierzonymi w niego, czyli tzw. kontrreformacją. W związku z tym postanowiliśmy nie obejmować opisem późniejszych równie ważnych przekładów, które odegrały doniosłą rolę w kształtowaniu się biblijnej słowiańskiej tradycji tłumaczeniowej<sup>11</sup>.

## 2. Hebrajska nazwa Yerúšalaim i jej losy na gruncie greckim

Hebrajski toponim *Yerúšalaim* (lub *yěrúšālayim*) w greckim NT występuje w dwóch formach Ἱεροσολῆμ (gr.) oraz Ἱεροσόλυμα (gr.) (NA), kontynuowanych również w łacińskiej VG<sup>12</sup>: *Hierusalem*// *Ierusalem* (łac.) i *Hierosolyma*// *Ierosolyma* (łac.).

9 Zabytek reprezentuje redakcję średniobułgarską języka cerkiewnosłowiańskiego (za: EM, xix; por. też D. Ivanova, *Tradicija i priemstvenost v novobălgarskite prevodi na Evangelieto. Tekstologija i ezik* [Plovdiv: Prizma 2002] 58–59).

10 Zob. na temat wykorzystanych przekładów Biblii wybraną literaturę, np.: M. Kossowska, *Biblia w języku polskim* (Poznań: Księgarnia św. Wojciecha 1968) I; V. Kyas, *První český překlad bible* (Praha: Academis 1971); V. Kyas, *Česká bible v dějinách národního písemnictví* (Praha – Řím: Křesťanská akademie 1997); T. Lewaszkiewicz, „Rola przekładów Biblii w formowaniu języków literackich europejskiego kręgu kulturowego”, *Biblia a kultura Europy* (red. M. Kamińska – E. Małek) (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego 1992) I, 232–248; J. Pečírková, „Czech Translations of the Bible”, *The Interpretation of the Bible* (red. J. Krašovec) (Ljubljana – Sheffield: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti – Sheffield Academic Press 1998) 1167–1200; A. Alekseev, *Biblija v bogoslužbeni. Vizantijsko-slavjanskij lekcionarij* (Sankt-Peterburg: Nestor-Istorija 2008); R. Dittmann, *Místní jména v českých prekladech Starého zákona* (Olomouc: Refugium Velehrad-Roma 2009) 90–102; I. Klimaň, *Evangelie ů perakladze Vasilija Cjapinskaga* (Minsk: BDUKM 2012); Łuczak, „Najstarsze słowiańskie przekłady Biblii”; A. Naumow, „Biblia w kulturze Rusi polsko-litewskiej w XVI wieku”, *Slavia Meridionalis* 16 (2016) 32–51; R. Pietkiewicz, *Biblia Polonorum. Historia Biblii w języku polskim. I. Od początku do 1638 roku* (Poznań: Pallottinum 2016).

11 Łuczak, „Najstarsze słowiańskie przekłady Biblii”, 139.

12 Greckie i łacińskie postaci nazw za: NA, NVG, VG.

Etymologia nazwy, która w języku akadyjskim miała formę *Urusalim* lub *Urusalim-mu*, nie jest pewna. Nawiązując do znaczenia zachodniosemickich leksemów *yru* i *šlm*, oznaczałaby ‘założenie (boga) Szalem’. Źródłem toponimu poszukuje się również w języku sumeryjskim, wyjaśniając go jako ‘ufortyfikowane miejsce’ (z semickim dookreśleniem ‘bezpieczne’)<sup>13</sup>.

Na gruncie tekstu greckiego doszło do hellenizacji formy najpierw do postaci *Ἱερουσαλήμ* (bliższej oryginalnemu *Yerúšalaim*), a później także do postaci *Ἱεροσόλυμα*. W tej ostatniej, późniejszej formie greczyzacja jest silniejsza; nie tylko zastąpiono tu nieznane grece *š* przez *s*, ale także doszło tu do adideacji do grec. *h/ieros* ‘święty’ przy jednoczesnej adaptacji morfologicznej zakończenia *-yma* (wyrazy genetycznie greckie nie kończą się na *-m*). Bliższą oryginałowi i bardziej archaiczną formą jest zatem gr. *Ἱερουσαλήμ*, zaś nowszą i silniej zgrecyzowaną – gr. *Ἱεροσόλυμα*<sup>14</sup>.

Co istotne, dystrybucja obu wariantów w poszczególnych księgach NT nie jest równomierna i zależy od różnych czynników, spośród których najważniejszym były indywidualne i teologiczne preferencje autorów poszczególnych tekstów. Przy czym trzeba dodać, że upodobania autorskie wiązały się z wielością znaczeń metaforycznych, jakie ten toponim posiadał obok prymarnej funkcji identyfikacyjnej<sup>15</sup>.

W NT wariant *Ἱερουσαλήμ* (gr.) pojawia się 76 razy, zaś *Ἱεροσόλυμα* (gr.) – 63 razy, co łącznie stanowi sumę 139 miejsc NT i czyni tę nazwę najczęściej używanym toponimem nowotestamentowym. Jeśli chodzi o dystrybucję obu odmianek w poszczególnych księgach NT, to przedstawia się ona następująco: *Ἱερουσαλήμ*: Mt – 2, Łk – 27, Dz – 36, listy św. Pawła – 7, Hbr – 1, Ap – 3, *Ἱεροσόλυμα*: Mt – 11, Mk – 10, Łk 4, J – 12, Dz – 23, listy św. Pawła – 3<sup>16</sup>.

Najczęściej toponimy *Jeruzalem* – *Jerozolima* pojawiają się właśnie w twórczości Łukasza (na 139 wystąpień w NT aż 90 przypada na oba dzieła autora)<sup>17</sup>. Szczególną predylekcję Łukasza do sięgania po formę hebraizującą (zatem starszą, bardziej dostojną i nobliwą) Stanisław Rospond objaśniał uwarunkowaniami stylistycznymi<sup>18</sup>. Dystrybucji odmianek *Ἱερουσαλήμ* i *Ἱεροσόλυμα* w tekście greckiej podstawy obszerną rozprawę poświęcił na polskim gruncie Krzysztof Mielcarek<sup>19</sup>. Badacz zwrócił uwagę, że mimo pozornie

13 Por. GPSS; J. Heller, *Výkladový slovník biblických jmen* (Vyšehrad: Advent-Orion 2003); G.A. Smith, *Jerusalem. The Topography, Economics and History from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70* (Jerusalem: Ariel Publishing House [1975]) I–II; *SWB; VGDH*. W przywołanych źródłach zob. szczegółowe rozważania na temat etymologii nazwy oraz jej różne zapisy.

14 S. Rospond, „Onomastica sacra w Nowym Testamencie. 1. Jerozolima–Jeruzalem”, *RBL* 33/4 (1980) 211. W zapisie formy hellenistycznej występuje przydech mocny, natomiast w nawiązującej do postaci hebrajskiej – przydech słaby. Zob. J. Kudasiwicz, „Nazwy Jeruzalem i Jerozolima w użyciu św. Łukasza”, *RTK* 20/1 (1973) 17–20.

15 Zob. szczegółową, bogatą literaturę w: K. Mielcarek, *Ἱερουσαλήμ, Ἱεροσόλυμα. Starotestamentowe i hellenistyczne korzenie Łukaszwego obrazu świętego miasta w świetle onomastyki greckiej* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2008).

16 Z. Poniatowski, *Nowy Testament w świetle statystyki językowej* (Wrocław *et al.*: Ossolineum 1971) 72–82.

17 Kudasiwicz, „Nazwy Jeruzalem i Jerozolima”.

18 Rospond, „Onomastica sacra w Nowym Testamencie”, 212.

19 Rospond, „Onomastica sacra w Nowym Testamencie”, 212.

swobodnego stosowania przez Łukasza obu form, można w jego tekstach dostrzec znamiona świadomych działań stylizacyjno-interpretacyjnych. Zjawisko jest złożone, ma charakter nie tylko lingwistyczny, gdyż zostało wywołane także czynnikami innej natury – zwłaszcza teologicznej.

Jak dowiodły badania, wariant zhellenizowany – *Jerozolima* – występuje głównie w kontekście geograficznym (np. Łk 2,22; 13,22; 19,28; 23,7; Dz 1,4; 8,1; 11,27; 13,13), któremu mogą towarzyszyć znaczenia teologiczne (np. Łk 2,22; 13,22; 19,28). Natomiast użycie odpowiednika nawiązującego do formy semickiej – *Jeruzalem* wiązało się zwłaszcza z sensem teologicznym<sup>20</sup>. Problem dyspersji obu wariantów był też podejmowany w odniesieniu do konkretnych tłumaczeń biblijnych<sup>21</sup>.

### 3. Analiza materiału

Na zakres ekwiwalencji tłumaczeniowej nazwy *Jeruzalem* – *Jerozolima* w słowiańskich przekładach NT wpływać może w pierwszej kolejności fakt obecności obu tych odmianek w tekstach źródłowych (tłumacze pozostają bądź nie pozostają wierni podstawie), a w dalszej – różne wspomniane już czynniki pozajęzykowe. Spektrum tej ekwiwalencji warto obserwować zarówno w planie makro, czyli na tle wielu różnych tendencji, które przyczyniły się do użycia takich, a nie innych odpowiedników i pełnego zbioru tych odpowiedników w całym korpusie tekstów, jak i w planie mikro, dotyczącym konkretnego przekładu.

W planie makro, który pozwala ekscerpowane przekłady traktować globalnie przy jednoczesnym uwzględnieniu uwarunkowań związanych ze źródłami tłumaczenia, przynależnością konfesyjną i reprezentowanymi językami słowiańskimi, można dostrzec kilka istotnych rozwiązań dotyczących używania wariantów *Jeruzalem* – *Jerozolima* w badanych tekstach<sup>22</sup>.

#### 3.1. Tłumaczenia z kręgu *Slavia Orthodoxa*

W najstarszym z uwzględnionych przekładów KZ konsekwentnie użyto formy hebraizującej, którą potraktowano jako rzeczownik rodzaju męskiego i włączono do prasłowiańskiej deklinacji *o*-tematowej<sup>23</sup>, np. *ѠЛМЬ* (*elmb*; Mt 5,35), *ѠТЪ ІЛМА* (*otb ilma*; Mt 4,24), *ВЪ ІЛМЪ* (*vb ilmъ*; Mt 16,21), *ВЪ ІЛМѢ* (*vb ilmĕ*; Mt 15,1), *ІЕЛМЕ* (*ielme*; Mt 23,37). Co ciekawe, w Łk 23,7 w KZ wystąpiła forma pluralna *ВЪ ІЛМѢХЪ* (*vb ilmĕxъ*), która dominuje w Ewangelii Jana (J 2,23; 4,20; 4,21; 4,45; 5,2; 10,22). W BO rzeczownik z końcówką

20 Kudasiewicz, „Nazwy Jeruzalem i Jerozolima”; Mielcarek, *Ιερουσαλημ, Ιεροσολυμα*, 26–71.

21 Zob. Dittmann, *Místní jména v českých překladech Starého zákona*, 116; 127–130; A. Łuczak, *Droga Szymona Budnego do krytycznego wydania Nowego Testamentu z 1574 roku* (Warszawa: Instytut Slawistyki PAN 2016) 44.

22 W przykładach podawanych w transliteracji nie uwzględniamy graficznych wariantów ekwiwalentów tłumaczeniowych omawianych nazw, występujących niekiedy licznie w obrębie tego samego tekstu.

23 Na temat języka KZ zob. L. Moszyński, *Język Kodeksu Zografskiego* (Wrocław et al.: Ossolineum 1975–1990) I–II. Ze względu na bogactwo materiału przytaczamy tylko wybrane konteksty.

loc. pl. pojawia się dopiero w Ewangelii Jana: во ієрлѣмѣхъ (*vo ier[s]liměxъ*; J 2,23; 4,20; 4,21; 4,45; 5,2; 10,22), i od tego momentu wykazuje pełną zbieżność z tekstem KZ. Natomiast w kontekstach, w których mówi się o mieszkańcach Jerozolimy, w KZ występują rzeczownikowe nazwy mieszkańców, np. илмѣне (*ilměne*; Mk 1,5), илмлѣнѣ (*ilmlěně*; J 7,25). Przekład EM ma formę pluralną po raz pierwszy w Ewangelii Jana, ale dopiero od następnego wersu: въ ієрлѣмѣхъ (*vъ ier[s]liměxъ*; J 4,20).

Obserwacja innych przekładów z kręgu *Slavia Orthodoxa* pozwala stwierdzić, że rozwiązania obecne w najstarszych tekstach słowiańskich znalazły zastosowanie w późniejszych przekładach cerkiewnosłowiańskich i wschodniosłowiańskich. Ich autorzy sięgali dość konsekwentnie po wariant semicki, który adaptowali do słowiańskiej fleksji. Charakter spółgłoski tematycznej konsekwentnie decydował o włączeniu formy do męskiego paradygmatu twar-dotematowego:

EM: ієрлѣмь (*ier[s]lmbь*; Mt 23,37; Łk 13,34; 21,20; 21,24), и весь ієрлѣмь (*i vєsь ier[s]lmbь*; Mt 2,2), ієрлѣма (*ier[s]lma*; Łk 19,11), и ієрлѣма (*i ier[s]lma*; Mt 4,25), и ієрлѣма (*i ier[s]lma*; Łk 6,17), ѿ/ кромѣ/ близь ієросолима (*ō[t]/ kromě/ blizь ierosolima*; Mt 15,1; Łk 13,33; J 11,18), въ ієросолимѣхъ (*vъ ierosolimbъ*; Mt 16,21; Mk 10,32; 11,1), въ ієрлѣмѣхъ (*vъ ier[s]liměxъ*; Łk 2,25; 2,38; 2,41; 2,45; J 2,23), ни ієрлѣмѣ (*ni ier[s]limō[m]*; Mt 5,35);

WC<sup>24</sup>: ѿ/ до (и)єрѣсолима (*ō[t]/ do (i)erusalima*; Mk 3,8 // Mt 2,1; 21,1), зъ ієрлѣма (*zъ er[s]lma*; Mt 4,25), ни (и)єрлѣмомѣхъ (*ni (i)er[s]limombъ*; Mt 5,35), Єрѣсолиме, єрѣсолиме (*Erusolime, erusolime*; Mt 23,37);

BO: ієрлѣмѣхъ (*ier[s]liměxъ*; Mt 23,37; Łk 13,34; 21,20; 21,24), ѿ/ кромѣ/ близь ієрлѣма (*ō[t]/ kromě/ blizь ier[s]lma*; Mt 4,25; 15,1; Mk 3,8; 3,22; 7,1; Łk 10,30; 13,33; 24,13; 24,47; J 1,19; 11,18), во ієрлѣмѣхъ (*vo ier[s]liměxъ*; Mt 2,1; 16,21; 20,17; 21,1; 21,10; Mk 10,32; 10,33; 11,1; 11,11; 11,15; 15,41; Łk 2,22; 2,41; 2,43; 2,45; 4,9; 9,51; 9,53; 13,22; 17,11; 18,31; 19,28; 24,18; 24,33; 24,52; J 5,1; 11,55; 12,12), во ієрлѣмѣхъ (*vo ier[s]liměxъ*; Łk 2,25; 2,38; 2,43; 9,31; 13,4; 23,7; J 2,13), ни ієрлѣмомѣхъ (*ni ier[s]limombъ*; Mt 5,35).

W analogicznych kontekstach wobec KZ wystąpiły nazwy mieszkańców utworzone od nazwy miasta, np. и ієрлѣмѣлане (*i ier[s]limlěne*; Mk 1,5) (BO), нѣціи ѿ ієрлѣмѣланѣхъ (*něcii ō[t] ier[s]limlěněxъ*; J 7,25) (BO), нѣціи ѿ ієросолимѣнѣхъ (*něcii ō[t] ierosolimlěněxъ*; J 7,25) (EM), и ієросолимѣне (*i ierosolimlěne*; Mk 1,5) (EM) и (и)єрѣсолимѣлане (*i [i]erusalimlěne*; Mk 1,5) (WC). Odnotowane zostały także derywaty przymiotnikowe, np. ѿ всакиа вєси [...] ієрлѣмскѣа (*ō[t] vsękŕę vєsi [...] ier[s]limskŕę*; Łk 5,17) (BO), и ієрлѣмскѣа (*i ier[s]limskŕę*; Łk 5,17) (EM).

Forma zhellenizowana w postaci rzeczownika rodzaju żeńskiego pojawiła się wyłącznie w początkowych partiach Ewangelii Mateusza w przekładach cerkiewno- i wschodniosłowiańskich: вса ієрлѣма (*vę ier[s]lma*; Mt 2,2) (BO), ієросолима (*ierosōlima*; Mt 3,5) (EM), въ вса ієрлѣма (*vъę ier[s]lma*; Mt 2,2) (WC), єрѣсолима (*erusalima*; Mt 3,5) (WC).

24 W przekładzie WC brak tekstu, który pozwoliłby na wydobycie ekwiwalentu z Mk 15,41 oraz z Ewangelii Łukasza i Jana.

W KZ brakuje wersów dla tych lokalizacji, w związku z czym nie jesteśmy w stanie stwierdzić, jakie rozwiązanie sugerowałby ten tekst późniejszym tłumaczeniom z obszaru *Slavia Orthodoxa*.

### 3.2. Tłumaczenia czeskie

Mimo braku istotnych oddziaływań piśmiennictwa cerkiewnego na najdawniejsze katolickie przekłady zachodniosłowiańskie, korzystające z łacińskiej Wulgaty przekłady czeskie BD i OL konsekwentnie użyły formy semickiej dostosowanej do wymogów czeskiej fleksji<sup>25</sup>:

BD: *jeruzalem* (Mt 2,2; Łk 21,24), *do/ z/ ot/ podle jeruzalema* (Mt 2,1; 16,21; 20,17; 21,10; Mk 10,33; 11,15; Łk 2,22; 2,41; 2,43; 2,45; 4,9; 9,51; 9,53; 13,22; 17,11; 18,31; 19,28; 24,33; 24,52; J 11,55 // Mt 3,5; 4,25; 15,1; Mk 3,8; 3,22; 7,1; 15,41; J 7,25 // Łk 19,11; 24,47 // J 11,18), *k jeruzalemu* (Mt 21,1), *k/ na/ v jeruzalemi* (Mk 10,32; 11,1 // Mt 5,35 // Mk 11,11; Łk 23,7; 24,18; J 2,23; 4,20; 4,21; 4,45; 5,2), *v ieruzalemie* (J 10,22), *jeruzaleme* (Mt 23,37).

OL: *Jeruzalém* (Mt 3,5; Łk 21,24), *vykúpenie Jeruzalémi* (Łk 2,38), *do/ z/ ot/ kromě Jeruzaléma* (Mt 2,1; 16,21; 20,17; 21,10; Mk 10,33; 11,15; 15,41; Łk 2,22; 2,41; 2,42; 2,45; 4,9; 9,51; 9,53; 13,22; 17,11; 18,31; 19,28; 24,33; 24,52; J 2,13; 5,1; 11,55; 12,12 // Mt 4,25; Mk 3,8; 3,22; 7,1; Łk 6,17; 10,33; J 1,19; 7,25 // Mt 15,1; Łk 19,11; 24,13; 24,47), *k Jeruzalému* (Mt 21,1; Mk 10,32; 11,1 // Łk 13,33; J 11,18), *v Jeruzalémi* (Mt 2,2), *v Jeruzalémě* (Łk 2,25; 2,43; 9,31; 23,7; 24,18; J 2,23; 4,20; 4,21; 4,45; 5,2; 10,22), *na Jeruzalémě* (Mt 5,35), *Jeruzaléme* (Mt 23,37; Łk 13,34).

Analogiczna praktyka dotyczy czeskiej renesansowej BK, która powstała w środowisku protestanckim, np. *Jeruzalém* (Mt 2,3; Łk 21,24), *do/ z/ od/ kromě Jeruzaléma* (Mt 2,1; 16,21; 20,17; 21,10; Mk 10,32; 10,33; 11,11; 11,15; 15,41; Łk 2,41; 2,42; 2,45; 4,9; 9,51; 9,53; 13,4; 13,22; 17,11; 18,31; 24,13; 24,18; 24,33; 24,52; J 2,13; 5,1; 11,55; 12,12 // Mt 3,5; 4,25; Mk 7,1; Łk 5,17; 6,17; 10,33; J 1,19 // Łk 2,22; 2,38; 19,11; 24,47; J 11,18 // Łk 13,33), *k Jeruzalému* (Mt 21,1; Mk 11,1; Łk 19,28), *v Jeruzalémě* (Łk 2,25; 2,43; 9,31; 23,7; J 2,23; 4,20; 4,21; 4,45; 5,2; 10,22), *Jeruzaléme* (Mt 23,37; Łk 13,34). Podobnie jak w starszych przekładach czeskich, tak i tu sporadycznie zdarzają się formy nieodmienne, np. *do Jeruzalém* (Mt 2,1).

Jako ekwiwalentne pojawiły się również przymiotniki odmiejscowe (także w funkcji nazw mieszkańców), np. *jeruzalemszczi* (Mk 1,5) (BD), *Jeruzalémští* (Mk 1,5) (OL), *Jeruzalémští* (Mt 15,1; Mk 5,1) (BK), *jeruzalémského* (Łk 5,17) (BD, OL), *všech bydlíčev jeruzalémských* (Łk 13,4) (BD), *všech bydlíčov jeruzalémských* (Łk 13,4) (OL), *(někteří z) Jeruzalémských* (J 7,25) (BK)<sup>26</sup>.

25 Warto przy okazji wspomnieć, że kontekst dotyczący lokalizacji Łk 21,20 może świadczyć o potraktowaniu nazwy jako *indeclinabile*, por. *Zástupy geruzalem* (BD), *Zástupy Jeruzalém* (OL), *Jeruzalém* (BK). Podobnie też Mk 11,11 w OL: *v Jeruzalém*.

26 Na temat adaptacji językowej nazwy i jej wariantów w przekładach czeskich zob. Dittmann, *Místní jména v českých překladech Starého zákona*, 213, 345, 359, 377, 385, 397, 417.

### 3.3. Tłumaczenia polskie

Interesująco przedstawia się obszar ekwiwalencji opisywanej nazwy w polskich przekładach XVI-wiecznych. Przyjmując optykę makro, należy zwrócić uwagę na kilka faktów. Autorzy większości z nich zdecydowali się na zastosowanie formy hebraizującej, ale nieprzystosowanej do polskiej fleksji. Zjawisko wydaje się dość osobliwe nie tylko na tle systemu gramatycznego polszczyzny doby średniopolskiej, zgodnie z którym zapożyczenia z języków obcych (w tej grupie mieszczą się również genetycznie obce nazwy własne) włączano do polskich paradygmatów fleksyjnych<sup>27</sup>, ale także na tle pozostających w zgodzie z tą cechą polszczyzny tendencji translatorskich do adaptacji fleksyjnej obcego słownictwa w ówczesnych przekładach. Na ten fakt zwrócił uwagę Edward Breza<sup>28</sup>, pokazawszy dużo większą skalę do przystosowywania onimów biblijnych do polskiej odmiany w tekstach jednego z autorów dawnych przekładów, Jakuba Wujka, niż ma to miejsce w tłumaczeniach współczesnych.

Nazwa *Jeruzalem* uległa blokadzie fleksyjnej zarówno w tekstach powstałych w kręgu protestanckim i opartych na źródle greckim: *Hieruzalem* (MU), *Jeruzalem* (BRZ), jak i w przekładach katolickich, których podstawą była łacińska VG: *Jeruzalem* (BL). Wskazane przekłady reprezentują pierwszy i niejako podstawowy typ w zakresie możliwych rozwiązań.

Drugą grupę stanowiłyby te przekłady (również niezależnie od podstawy tłumaczenia, jak i kręgu wyznaniowego), których autorzy zdecydowanie preferują nieodmienną formę *Jeruzalem*, z rzadka tylko sięgając po zgrecyzowaną formę żeńską, dostosowaną do polskiej żeńskiej deklinacji samogłoskowej: *z Jerozolimy* (Mk 7,1) (CZ), *Jerozolima* (Mt 2,1; 2,2) (BW), *Jerozolima* (Mt 2,1; 2,2; 3,5) (WU). Katolicki przekład SZ, w którym wariant *Jerozolima* pojawił się 10 razy na 63 wystąpienia we wszystkich Ewangeliach, ma formę żeńską jednokrotnie w Ewangelii Mateusza (Mt 5,35) oraz jako przeważającą w Ewangelii Marka: *do Jerozolimy* (Mk 3,8; 3,22; 7,1; 10,32; 10,33; 11,1; 11,15; 15,41) (SZ) (forma *do Jeruzalem* wystąpiła tylko w Mk 11,11). Trudno wskazać przyczyny takiej decyzji tłumacza, ponieważ dystrybucja tych form nie pozostaje w zgodzie z teksem VG, w której wariant *Ierusalem* występuje w Mt 23,37; Łk 2,25; 2,38; 2,43; 2,45; 4,9; 5,17; 6,17; 9,31; 9,51; 9,53; 10,30; 13,4; 13,33; 13,34; 17,11; 18,31; 19,11; 21,20; 21,24; 24,13; 24,18; 24,33; 24,47; 24,52, poza tym dominuje odpowiednik *Hierosolyma*.

Konsekwentnie zgodnie z tekstami źródłowymi użyto rzeczownikowych nazw mieszkańców w obrębie lokalizacji Mk 1,5: *Hierozolimianie* (MU), *Jerozolimianie* (BL, WU), *Jerozolimowicze* (SZ), *Jerozolimczycy* (BRZ, BB, CZ, BW) oraz J 7,5: *z Hierozolimianów* (MU), *z Jerozolimczyców* (SZ, BL, BRZ, BB, CZ, BW), *z Jerozolimianów* (WU).

27 Z. Klemensiewicz – T. Lehr-Splawiński – S. Urbańczyk, *Gramatyka historyczna języka polskiego* (Warszawa: PWN 1981) 309; Z. Klemensiewicz, *Historia języka polskiego*, wyd. 6 (Warszawa: PWN 1985) II, 296–301.

28 E. Breza, „Odmiana nazw własnych w Nowym Testamencie Biblii Wujka i Biblii Tysiąclecia”, *Biblia a kultura Europy* (red. M. Kamińska – E. Małek) (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego 1992) I, 152–159.



W tym miejscu chcielibyśmy zastosować obserwację w skali mikro i spojrzeć na jeden z ekscerpowanych przekładów z uwzględnieniem jego specyfiki. Chodzi tu o polski przekład innowiercy Szymona Budnego (1572) (BB), który to tekst w odniesieniu do NT był oparty na źródle greckim. W BB zaskakuje występowanie formy hebraizującej i zhellenizowanej przy znacznym udziale wariantów fonetyczno-morfologicznych.

Wariant zhellenizowany *Jerozolima* pojawia się we wszystkich Ewangeliach: *Jerozolima* (Mt 2,1; 2,3; 3,5; 4,25), *Jerozolimy* (Łk 19,28; J 11,18; 11,55; 12,12), *do/ od Jerozolimy* (16,21; 20,17; 10,33; 11,11; 11,15; Łk 2,22; 18,31; J 2,13; 5,1 // Mk 10,32), *w Jerozolimie* (Łk 2,25; J 2,23; 4,20; 4,21; 4,45; 5,2; 10,22). Poza tym w przekładzie występuje nieodmienna postać hebrajska *do/ w Jeruzalem* (Łk 13,34; 19,11; 21,24; 23,7)<sup>29</sup>. W ramach pewnych lokalizacji ulega ona odmianie według paradygmatu męskiego: *do/ od Jeruzalema* (Łk 6,17; 10,30; 17,11; 24,13; 23,33; 24,52), *w Jeruzalemie* (Łk 13,4; 24,18).

Forma semicka może też występować w wariancie fonetycznym *Jerozolim*, który pozostaje nieodmienny: *do Jerozolim* (Mt 21,10; Mk 3,8; 3,22; Łk 2,41; J 1,19), lub podlega deklinacji: *do Jerozolima* (Mt 20,17; 21,1; Mk 7,1; 11,1; Łk 13,22; 13,33), *Jerozolimem* (Mt 5,35), *w Jerozolimie* (Łk 2,25; J 2,23; 4,20; 4,21; 4,45; 5,2; 10,22), *Jerozolimie* (voc.) (Mt 23,37[x2]). Przy okazji warto zauważyć, że w związku z homonimią fleksyjną postaci loc. sg. *w Jerozolimie* względem loc. sg. *w Jeruzolimie* od nom. sg. odmianki *Jerozolima* formy te trzeba uznać za niejednoznaczne.

Jeszcze innym wariantem fonetycznym, występującym wyłącznie w Łk i Dz, jest toponim *Jeruzalim* (w Łk 21,20 forma ta występuje w funkcji gen. sg.), który funkcjonuje jako *indeclinabile* lub włącza się w polski paradygmat fleksyjny: *do Jeruzalima* (Łk 2,45; 4,9; 9,51; 9,53; 24,47; Dz 1,12[x2]), *w Jeruzalimie* (Łk 2,43; 9,31; Dz 1,8; 2,5). Formy te wykazują największą zbieżność z ekwiwalentami obecnymi w przekładach z kręgu *Slavia Orthodoxa*, pod wpływem których Szymon Budny pozostawał i z których korzystał<sup>30</sup>. Tłumacz ten znał przekład Franciszka Skoryny i utrzymywał kontakty z Wasylem Ciapińskim, autorem przekładu Ewangelii na język starobiałoruski. Na przekład Ciapińskiego (WC) miały wpływ tłumaczenia Budnego<sup>31</sup>. Ponadto warto także zwrócić uwagę, że podparta autorytetem tekstów cerkiewnych tendencja do odmieniania nazwy *Jerozolim*, *Jeruzalim* pozostaje w zgodzie z translatorskimi postulatami Budnego. Tłumacz zdecydowanie wypowiadał się na temat potrzeby dostosowywania obcych nazw biblijnych do polskiej fleksji<sup>32</sup>. Zależności w warstwie

29 Nieodmienna forma Jeruzalem dominuje w dalszych księgach NT: Dz 1,4; 2,14; 4,5; 4,16; 5,16; 5,28; 6,7; 8,25; 8,26; 8,27; 9,2; 9,13; 9,21; 9,26; 9,28; 10,39; 11,22; 11,27; 13,13; 13,27; 13,31; 15,2; 15,4; 18,22; 19,21; 21,4; 21,11; 21,13; 21,15; 21,17; 21,31; 22,5; 22,6; 22,17; 22,18; 23,11; 24,11; 25,1; 25,3; 25,7; 25,9; 25,15; 25,20; 25,24; 26,4; 26,10; 26,20; Rz 15,19; 15,22; 15,26; 15,31; 1 Kor 16,3; Ga 1,17; 1,18; 2,1; 4,25.

30 Por.: J. Czerniatowicz, *Niektóre problemy naukowe grecożytyki w pracach biblistów polskich XVI i XVII w.* (Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków: Ossolineum 1969) 54–56; Kossowska, *Biblia w języku polskim*, 259–261.

31 Za: Naumow, „Biblia w kulturze Rusi polsko-litewskiej”, 41.

32 L. Moszyński, „Szymon Budny jako onomasta. I. Antroponimia”, *Onomastyka i dialektologia. Prace dedykowane Pani Profesor Ewie Rzetelskiej-Feleszko* (red. H. Popowska-Taborska – J. Duma) (Warszawa: Instytut Sławiastyki PAN 1997) 188; zob. też: L. Moszyński, „Biblia Szymona Budnego. Charakterystyka przekładu”, *Biblie staropolskie* (red. I. Kwilecka) (Poznań: Ośrodek Wydawnictw Naukowych 2003) 41–50.

onimicznej pomiędzy przekładami Budnego a tłumaczeniami cerkiewno- i wschodniosłowiańskimi są widoczne także w formie innych jednostek nazewniczych<sup>33</sup>.

## Wnioski

Podsumowując, należy wskazać najważniejsze wnioski, jakie płyną z obserwacji obszaru ekwiwalencji nazwy *Jeruzalem* – *Jerozolima* w wybranym, reprezentatywnym korpusie dawnych tłumaczeń Ewangelii na języki słowiańskie. Spojrzenie na zbiór zastosowanych ekwiwalentów zarówno w perspektywie makro, jak i mikro pozwala zbudować – jak się wydaje – spójny i pełny obraz tej ekwiwalencji.

Po pierwsze, wykorzystanie poszczególnych wariantów tłumaczeniowych nie koresponduje z tekstem greckim (zwłaszcza zaś z księgami Łukasowymi – Ewangelią i Dziejami Apostolskimi), w którym użycie formy bliższej oryginałowi semickiemu, jak i zhellenizowanej miało charakter celowy. Wiązało się bowiem – jak już powiedziano – z takim operowaniem obiema formami, które pozwalałoby ukazać różne funkcje symbolicznej nazwy. Co prawda dawni tłumacze nie posiadali takiej wiedzy biblijnej, jaką dysponują współcześni autorzy przekładów Biblii, wobec czego pewnych szczegółów dotyczących funkcji interesujących nas wariantów mogli po prostu nie być świadomi. Tym też można by próbować wyjaśnić zabiegi autorskie zastosowane w dawnych przekładach słowiańskich. Jeśli jednak weźmiemy pod uwagę współczesne tłumaczenia słowiańskie, to wiele z nich również nie respektuje dystrybucji obu wariantów w taki sposób, w jaki to miało miejsce w greckim oryginale<sup>34</sup>.

Po drugie, istotne wydają się nasze obserwacje dotyczące kształtowania się i trwania słowiańskiej biblijnej tradycji przekładowej. Zdajemy sobie sprawę, że tradycja ta od początku nie była bytem homogenicznym, co w pierwszej kolejności wiązało się z odmiennymi czynnikami wyznaniowymi. Różnorodność Słowian wynikająca z przyjęcia chrześcijaństwa w dwóch rozmaitych obrządkach nie mogła nie pozostawić śladów na kształcie językowo-stylistycznym poszczególnych tłumaczeń<sup>35</sup>. Na ten kształt wpłynęły także XVI-wieczny protestantyzm oraz rozmaite ruchy, które pojawiły się w jego obrębie, a wreszcie katolicka reakcja na nie, czyli kontrreformacja. Co więcej, czynnik konfesyjny od samego początku był mocno sprzężony ze źródłami, na podstawie których dokonywano przekładów słowiańskich. Grecki tekst NT dla tłumaczeń z kręgu *Slavia Orthodoxa* i renesansowych przekładów protestanckich z jednej strony, a tekst łacińskiej VG dla przekładów katolickich

33 R. Zarębski, „Cerkiewnosłowiańskie i wschodniosłowiańskie wpływy językowe w warstwie onimicznej przekładów biblijnych Szymona Budnego (na materiale Nowego Testamentu)”, *Język Polski* 100/2 (2020) 77–88.

34 Na przykład BT IV preferuje formę zhellenizowaną, podczas gdy wariant semicki w obrębie Ewangelii występuje jedynie w Mt 23,37[x2] i Łk 13,34.

35 D. Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology in the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. Chapters in the History of the Controversies (1551–1632)* (Modern Philology 123; Berkeley, CA: University of California Press 1989); M. Garzaniti, „Slavia latina e Slavia ortodossa: Per un’interpretazione della civiltà slava nell’Europa medievale”, *Studi Slavistici* 4 (2007) 29–64.

kształtowały ostateczną postać poszczególnych przekładów i – co oczywiste – generowały różnice pomiędzy nimi. Te różnice istnieją na wszystkich poziomach systemu i leksyki konkretnych tłumaczeń, w tym także w ramach leksyki onimicznej, niezależnie od języka, w którym dokonano tegoż tłumaczenia.

Mimo świadomości istnienia różnic pomiędzy tekstami, które złożyły się na nasz korpus, na podstawie analizy niewielkiego wycinka ekwiwalencji onimicznej możemy wskazać istnienie silnej słowiańskiej tradycji przekładowej przekraczającej barierę konfesyjną. Tę tezę potwierdzają badania w zakresie ekwiwalentów innych leksykalnych jednostek biblijnych<sup>36</sup>. Istnienie tej tradycji potwierdza choćby tak powszechnie stosowany wariant semicki nazwy w ekscerpowanych tłumaczeniach, niezależnie od uwarunkowań konfesyjnych i źródła przekładu. Przy okazji należy wspomnieć, że obok tradycji słowiańskiej niebagatelną rolę odgrywały także tradycje lokalne, narodowe, ograniczające się do tłumaczeń na jeden język. Jej działanie widać na podstawie obserwacji tłumaczeń czeskich i polskich (na marginesie warto dodać, że w przekładach polskich zaznaczyła się silna tendencja do nieodmieniania nazwy *Jeruzalem*).

Po trzecie, interesujących wniosków w zakresie podjętej problematyki może dostarczyć spojrzenie na dany przekład w ujęciu mikro. Próbkę takiej analizy dokonaliśmy w odniesieniu do ekwiwalencji analizowanych nazw w przekładzie Szymona Budnego. Zastosowana procedura pozwoliła wykryć nie tylko silne zależności pomiędzy tym tekstem a tłumaczeniami cerkiewno- i wschodniosłowiańskimi, ale również – co szczególnie ważne – indywidualny charakter tego tłumaczenia na tle innych polskich XVI-wiecznych przekładów.

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36 A. Kawecka – R. Zarębski, „Linguistic Equivalence of the Hebrew Term Eden in Slavic Translations of the Bible”, *Studia Ceranea. Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean and South-East Europe* 6 (2016) 43–60; A. Kawecka – R. Zarębski, „Ezikiwi ekwivalenti na staroevrejskata duma (šeol) v izbrani slavjanski prevodi na Biblijata”, *Palaeobulgarica/Starobългарistika* 42/1 (2018) 117–135.

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## Zapomniany polski biblista ks. Franciszek Ksawery Pawłowski (1807–1876)

Forgotten Polish Biblicist Fr. Franciszek Ksawery Pawłowski (1807–1876)


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**ABSTRACT:** The article profiles Fr Franciszek Pawłowski, a 19th-century Roman Catholic priest of the Przemyśl diocese, prelate of the local cathedral chapter and professor and rector of the major seminary in Przemyśl. This remarkable figure been noted in, among others, *The Polish Biographical Dictionary* and *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, mostly known to specialists but less familiar to the wider circle of researchers and scholars. This article not only presents Fr Pawłowski's basic biographical data, and the ecclesiastical and academic roles he held, but also his main research interests and his many publications in theology, biblical studies and church history. Particular attention is paid to Pawłowski's most important work, the four-volume Psalter with a commentary on the Psalms and Lamentations of the prophet Jeremiah, which was published a few years before its author's death and constitutes his *opus vitae*. It was dedicated by Fr Pawłowski himself to those interested in Scripture, especially priests and seminarians preparing for the priesthood. Although the basis for his analysis of the biblical text was the Vulgate, and its late 16<sup>th</sup>-century Polish translation by Fr Jakub Wujek, the author applied modern textual criticism, including comparisons with the Greek and Hebrew texts. Fr Pawłowski's commentary on the Psalms was highly praised from the outset, as a work testifying to the author's immense erudition and great diligence. Notably, Fr Pawłowski was also a historian, particularly of the Church of the diocese of Przemyśl, with published sketches on the history of its parishes and monasteries and the schematism of the folk schools and their teachers. Of particular importance was his study on the history, composition and endowment of the Cathedral Chapter in Przemyśl, edited in 1853, and his work *Premislia sacra [Holy Przemyśl, or the list and activities of the Roman Catholic bishops of Przemyśl]*, published in 1869. For such achievements, he was appointed in 1872 as an active member of the Historical-Philosophical Faculty of the newly established Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kraków. Among his legacy are yet other works in the field of biblical studies, which remain to this day as manuscripts in the library of the Przemyśl Chapter, still waiting to be edited and published.

**KEYWORDS:** Fr Franciszek Pawłowski, Archdiocese (Diocese) of Przemyśl, Cathedral Chapter in Przemyśl, Psalter, psalms of David, clergy of Przemyśl

**SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:** ks. Franciszek Pawłowski, archidiecezja (diecezja) przemyska, kapituła katedralna w Przemyślu, psalterz, psalmy Dawida, duchowieństwo przemyskie

Niemal zapomniana pozostaje w dzisiejszej biblistyce postać ks. Franciszka Pawłowskiego. Ten ceniony historyk Kościoła, profesor i rektor Seminarium Duchownego w Przemyślu, członek Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie należał do najświetlejszych przedstawicieli duchowieństwa diecezji przemyskiej obrządku łacińskiego XIX stulecia. Jednym z jego dokonań było wydanie i opatrzenie komentarzami psalterza. Dzieło to było nie tylko wyrazem jego fascynacji naukowych, ale także wiązało się z podejmowaną aktywnością dydaktyczną. Już choćby z tego powodu warto przybliżyć postać tego zasłużonego kapłana i biblisty, o którym dziś mało kto pamięta<sup>1</sup>.

Franciszek Ksawery Pawłowski urodził się 3 XII 1807 roku w Leżajsku, w ówczesnym powiecie łańcuckim. Był synem skarbnika, asesora i burmistrza leżajskiego Jana Pawłowskiego i Magdaleny z Łęckich. Jako dziesięcioletnie dziecko został osierocony przez matkę. Pierwszą edukację odebrał w miejscowej szkole. Następnie kontynuował naukę w C.K. [Cesarsko-Królewskim] Gimnazjum w Rzeszowie. Ukończył je w roku 1825 jako prymus<sup>2</sup>. Następnie odbył dwuletni kurs filozofii w Przemyślu<sup>3</sup>.

W opublikowanym po latach wspomnieniu odnotowano o tym okresie życia przyszłego kapłana: „Wątłego, słabowitego, ale wiele obiecującego chłopca, oddali rodzice na nauki do gimnazjum Rzeszowskiego, gdzie wśród rówieśników talentem, skromnością obyczajów i pilnością celował. Na kurs filozoficzny uczęszczał w Przemyślu. Tu zwrócił na siebie uwagę przełożonych, którzy niezwykłym talentem wyposażonego młodzieńca na studia teologiczne do Wiednia wysłali”<sup>4</sup>.

W stolicy monarchii austriackiej alumn Franciszek Pawłowski studiował przez cztery lata 1827/1828–1830/1831. Pozostawał wychowankiem Cesarsko-Królewskiego Konwiktum Miejskiego w Wiedniu. Jako członek konwiktum był zwolniony z opłat uniwersyteckich. Uczył się bardzo dobrze, wszystkie egzaminy zdawał z taką właśnie notą. Podobnie był oceniany pod kątem zachowania i przydatności do stanu duchownego<sup>5</sup>. Warto tu zaznaczyć, że studenci związani z Wiedeńskim Konwiktem Miejskim stanowili przyszłą elitę duchowieństwa. Na każdej zajmowanej posadzie mogli liczyć na pensję w wysokości porównywalnej z wynagrodzeniem rektora seminarium. Byli także traktowani jako zaufani urzędnicy monarchii habsburskiej. Mieli pierwszeństwo przy obsadzie znaczących beneficjów proboszczowskich. Z ich grona rekrutowali się wykładowcy i przełożeni seminaryjni, kanonicy,

1 E. Gigilewicz, „Pawłowski Franciszek Ksawery”, *Encyklopedia katolicka* (Lublin: TN KUL 2011) XV, 164. W całym tekście w tytułach i cytatach zachowano oryginalną pisownię.

2 J. Świeboda, „Kolegium, Gimnazjum i Liceum w Rzeszowie w ujęciu encyklopedycznym 1658–2008”, *Księga Jubileuszowa Liceum Konarskiego w Rzeszowie 1658–2008* (red. J. Świeboda) (Rzeszów: Collegium Resso- viense 2008) 93; T. Ochendusko, „Spis absolwentów 1790–2008”, *Księga Jubileuszowa Liceum Konarskiego w Rzeszowie 1658–2008* (red. J. Świeboda) (Rzeszów: Collegium Resso- viense 2008) 434.

3 D. Białic, „Pawłowski Franciszek Ksawery”, *Polski słownik biograficzny* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich 1980) XXV, 497.

4 „Z Przemyśla”, *Wiadomości Kościelne* 4/22 (1876) 221.

5 Archiv der Universität Wien, M 11, Matrikel der Universität Wien, 1827/1828, Mikrofilm 20, fol. 392; Th 22, Matricula Facultatis Theologicae, Mikrofilm 79, fol. 98; Thk 53.15 (1824–1829); 53.16 (1829–1835), Studienkataloge, Mikrofilm 420, 421.



prefekci gimnazjalni, dyrektorzy głównych szkół ludowych itp. Z tego też powodu status wychowanka wspomnianej instytucji był nie tylko prestiżowy, ale otwierał drzwi do kariery i zajmowania wysokich stanowisk<sup>6</sup>.

Po powrocie do diecezji przemyskiej przyszedł bibliista dopełnić kolejnych stopni formacji seminaryjnej. Pierwszą tonsurę i cztery święcenia niższe otrzymał z rąk bpa Jana Potoczkiego w Przemyślu 28 VIII 1831 roku. Również w tym dniu tenże biskup udzielił mu święceń subdiakonatu, a dwa dni później święceń diakonatu. Zwieńczeniem przygotowania do kapłaństwa było przystąpienie przez Pawłowskiego do święceń prezbiteratu w przemyskim kościele katedralnym 1 IX 1831 roku. Szafarzem sakramentu był wspomniany hierarcha<sup>7</sup>.

Po święceniach Pawłowski objął funkcję kapelana i sekretarza bpa Jana Potoczkiego. Obowiązki te spełniał aż do jego śmierci 16 V 1832 roku<sup>8</sup>. Kolejno powierzono młodemu kapłanowi zadania tymczasowego rządcy parafii w Wysokiej koło Łańcuta. Zastąpił tam ks. Wojciecha Brygilewicza, który zrezygnował z tego probostwa i objął takie samo stanowisko w Brzostku<sup>9</sup>.

Posługa duszpasterska Pawłowskiego w Wysokiej trwała dość krótko. Od stycznia 1833 roku prowadził wykłady z Nowego Testamentu w Instytucie Teologicznym w Przemyślu. Na początku zajmował stanowisko suplenta, a później – po zdaniu egzaminu konkursowego w 1834 roku – profesora zwyczajnego. Równocześnie został powołany na prefekta studiów w przemyskim seminarium duchownym. Pełnił też funkcję jednego z egzaminatorów diecezjalnych w zakresie bibliistyki<sup>10</sup>. „Na profesurze zajął stanowisko nieco odmienne od swych kolegów, gdyż przedmiot swój traktował zawsze poważnie i naukowo, zbierając już wówczas obszerne materiały do swych późniejszych duchownych prac z dziedziny Pisma Świętego”<sup>11</sup>.

O szczegółach działalności profesorskiej Pawłowskiego w przemyskim studium biblijnym nie zachowało się wiele informacji. Wedle dostępnych dokumentów w roku akademickim 1833/1834 zajmował się egzegezą całej Ewangelii św. Mateusza i części Dziejów Apostolskich. Nie wiadomo jednak, co było przedmiotem jego wykładów w kolejnych latach. Zajęcia w Instytucie Teologicznym prowadził do roku 1842. Do pracy wykładowcy

6 S.L. Piech, *Wychować dla Kościoła i państwa. Formacja elity duchowieństwa galicyjskiego w Wiedniu 1775–1918* (Kraków: Unum 2009) 75, *passim*.

7 A. Motyka, *Duchowni wyswięceni w łacińskiej diecezji przemyskiej w latach 1788–1834* (Rzeszów: Bonus Liber 2015) 43.

8 *Catalogus Universi Cleri Dioeceseos Premisliensis tum saecularis tum regularis ritus latini Anno Salutis 1832* ([s.l.]: [s.n.] [1831]) 5; „Z Przemyśla”, 221.

9 *Schematismus Universi Venerabilis Cleri Dioeceseos Premisliensis tum saecularis tum regularis ritus latini Anno Salutis MDCCCXXXIII* ([s.l.]: [s.n.] [1832]) 43; W. Bielak, „Repertorium źródeł do dziejów parafii Wysoka z dawnego archiwum tej parafii sporządzone przez ks. Jana Kwołka w 1915 r.”, *Wysoka k. Łańcuta. Studia, szkice i materiały z dziejów parafii i miejscowości* (red. A. Szal – S. Zych) (Wysoka: Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Przemyskiej 2014) [1], 82, 85.

10 *Schematismus Universi Venerabilis Cleri tum saecularis tum regularis Dioeceseos Premisliensis ritus latini Anno Salutis MDCCCXXXIV* (Premislae: [s.n.] [1833]) 9–10.

11 J. Federkiewicz, „Kapituła przemyska ob. łac. VI (11)”, *Kronika Dyecezyi Przemyskiej* 9/11 (1909) 602–603.

powrócił na krótko w roku 1851, gdy władze austriackie usunęły z katedry Nowego Testamentu ks. Feliksa Buchwalda zaangażowanego w działalność patriotyczną<sup>12</sup>.

W tym czasie władze diecezjalne powierzały Pawłowskiemu kolejne zadania, doceniając jego gorliwość w wypełnieniu obowiązków, odpowiedzialność i pracowitość. Od roku 1835 był wymieniany jako referent, a później jako asesor w składzie Konsystorza Biskupiego<sup>13</sup>. W sierpniu 1842 roku został zamianowany wicerektorem Seminarium Duchownego w Przemyślu. Kilka lat później, 13 X 1851 roku, awansował na stanowisko rektora. Urząd ten zajmował do września 1859 roku, gdy ustąpił z niego na rzecz ks. Marcina Skwierczyńskiego<sup>14</sup>.

Od roku 1834 duchowny pracował jako komisarz przy egzaminach semestralnych z religii w Gimnazjum w Przemyślu. Od roku 1850 był tam również wizytatorem religii. Jako scholastyk kapitulny aż do roku 1873 pozostawał głównym inspektorem szkół ludowych w diecezji przemyskiej obrządku łacińskiego. W roku 1872 został delegatem biskupim do Rady Szkolnej Okręgowej w Przemyślu. W latach 1858–1864 był aktywny jako sędzia, a w latach 1863–1864 jako prezes Sądu Biskupiego do spraw małżeńskich. W uznaniu za całokształt działalności w roku 1839 otrzymał przywilej noszenia rokiety i mantoletu, a w marcu 1872 roku godność papieskiego prałata domowego. W roku 1873 przyznano mu Order Franciszka Józefa<sup>15</sup>.

W roku 1845 Pawłowski został powołany do grona kanoników honorowych kapituły katedralnej w Przemyślu. Pięć lat później zaliczony został do kanoników gremialnych. Z prawa prezydentury kapituły zajął wtedy miejsce zmarłego ks. Stanisława Czaykowskiego. W roku 1854 biblista został zamianowany scholastykiem kapitulnym. Na stanowisko to został wybrany 7 października tegoż roku i kanonicznie zainstalowany dzień później<sup>16</sup>.

12 W. Kochowski, *Historia Seminarium Duchownego Diecezji Przemyskiej obrządku łacińskiego 1687–1895*, (oprac. J. Wolczański) (Lwów – Kraków: Wydawnictwo Bł. Jakuba Strzemię Archidiecezji Lwowskiej Obrządku Łacińskiego 2011) 252; H. Borcz, „Studium biblijne w Seminarium i Instytucie Teologicznym w Przemyślu od roku 1687 do czasów najnowszych”, *ResS* 3 (1996) 175–176.

13 *Schematismus Venerabilis Cleri Dioecesis Premisliensis ritus latini in Annum MDCCCXXXV* (Premislae: [s.n.] 1835) 7–9. Por. schematyzmy z następnych lat.

14 *Schematismus Universi Venerabilis Cleri saecularis et regularis Dioeceseos ritus latini Premisliensis Anno Domini 1860* (Jasło: [s.n.] [1859]) 12, 111; Kochowski, „Historia Seminarium Duchownego Diecezji Przemyskiej”, 288; Bialic, „Pawłowski Franciszek Ksawery”, 497; J. Kupczewska, „Biskupa Józefa Sebastiana Pelczara Mój życiorys”, *Święty Józef Sebastian Pelczar (1842–1924). Rektor Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego i Biskup Przemyski* (red. A. Kubiś – J. Wolczański) (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Papieskiej Akademii Teologicznej 2005) 31; C. Lechicki, „Pawłowski Franciszek”, *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon* (Wien: Böhlau 1977) VII, 371.

15 *Schematismus Venerabilis Cleri Dioecesis Premisliensis ritus latini in Annum Salutis MDCCCXXXX* (Premislae: [s.n.] 1839) 10; *Schematismus Universi Venerabilis Cleri saecularis & regularis Dioeceseos ritus latini Premisliensis pro Anno Domini 1874* (Jasło: [s.n.] 1873) 18; Bialic, „Pawłowski Franciszek Ksawery”, 497–498; T. Śliwa, „Pawłowski Franciszek Ksawery”, *SPTK* III, 332.

16 *Schematismus Universi Venerabilis Cleri saecularis et regularis Dioeceseos Premisliensis ritus latini Anno Domini 1846* (Premislae: [s.n.] 1845) 14; *Schematismus Universi Venerabilis Cleri saecularis et regularis Dioeceseos Premisliensis ritus latini Anno Domini 1855* (Premislae: [s.n.] 1855) 7, 121; F. Pawłowski, *Prałaci i kanonicy Kapituły Katedralnej obrządku łacińskiego w Przemyślu* (tł. Z. Trojnar, red. A. Szal – S. Zych) (Przemyśl: Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Przemyskiej 2018) 207.

W tym miejscu warto zaznaczyć, że w darach Pawłowskiego na rzecz biblioteki kapitulnej w Przemyślu były widoczne jego fascynacje biblijne. Szczególnie ważne i cenne jest to, że w darowiznie Pawłowskiego znalazły się między innymi także jego manuskrypty. W spisie działu teologicznego księgozbioru kapituły, o którym pisze dokładniej ks. Jakub Federkiewicz, autor serii artykułów publikowanych w *Kronice Diecezji Przemyskiej*, można między innymi odnaleźć takie pozycje autorstwa Pawłowskiego, jak:

- N. 25. Egzegeza do Starego Testamentu, w której obrobiono Pięcioksiąg, Machabeuszów i Proroków. Konwolut cały złożony z arkuszy, ma 12 cm grubości. Paginacy w nim nie przeprowadzono.
- N. 26. Egzegeza do ksiąg Starego Testamentu księdza Pawłowskiego, obejmuje Eklestesa i Eklestasjka. Konwolut in 4° bez paginacy ma 10 cm grubości.
- N. 27. Egzegeza do ksiąg Starego Testamentu ks. Pawłowskiego, obejmuje: Canticum Cantorum, Liber Proverbiorum i Sapientiae również bez paginacy ma 9 cm grubości in 4°.
- N. 28. Egzegeza do Psalmów ks. Pawłowskiego konwolut in 4° bez szczegółowej paginacy ma 13 cm grubości. Ten ostatni manuskrypt był przez autora podany do druku i wyszedł w kilku tomach.

W odniesieniu to tych rękopisów ks. Federkiewicz intrygująco pytał „Czy kto odważy się kiedy inne jego manuskrypty ogłosić drukiem, wątpić należy, albowiem u nas chęć do czytania Pisma św. S. T. za mała, a przeto wydawnictwo tych komentarzy by się nie rentowało”<sup>17</sup>.

Oprócz zainteresowań biblijnych Pawłowski zasłynął jako historyk Kościoła, a zwłaszcza diecezji przemyskiej. Swoje pierwsze opracowania historyczne publikował na łamach czasopisma *Przyjaciel Chrześcijańskiej Prawdy* wydawanego w Przemyślu przez bpa Michała Korczyńskiego. Były to czteroczęściowe żywoty św. Grzegorza Wielkiego<sup>18</sup> i św. Cypriana<sup>19</sup>. Rozprawy te uznawane były za pionierskie w polskiej literaturze teologicznej, jakkolwiek brakowało im odpowiedniego aparatu naukowego<sup>20</sup>.

W późniejszym czasie badacz skupił się na przeszłości Kościoła przemyskiego. Owocem tej pracy był zbiór szkiców dotyczących dziejów 263 parafii i 25 klasztorów łacińskiej diecezji przemyskiej. Po raz pierwszy zamieszczono go w schematyzmie diecezjalnym na

17 J. Federkiewicz, „Kapituła przemyska ob. łac. VII (19)”, *Kronika Diecezji Przemyskiej* 12/7–8 (1912) 237; J. Federkiewicz, „Kapituła przemyska ob. łac. VII (21)”, *Kronika Diecezji Przemyskiej* 12/11 (1912) 357. Por. J. Kwolek, *Archiwum Diecezjalne przy Kurii Biskupiej ob. łac. w Przemyślu* (Włocławek: [s.n.] 1936) 15.

18 F. Pawłowski, „Wiadomości o życiu i pismach ś. Grzegorza Wielkiego, Papieża”, *Przyjaciel Chrześcijańskiej Prawdy* 5/1 (1837) 39–60; 5/2 (1837) 42–71; 5/3 (1837) 33–58; 5/4 (1837) 38–70.

19 F. Pawłowski, „Żywot ś. Cypriana, męczennika, biskupa Kartaginy”, *Przyjaciel Chrześcijańskiej Prawdy* 8/1 (1840) 82–107; 8/2 (1840) 128–147; 8/3 (1840) 34–57; 8/4 (1840) 114–135.

20 J. Kwolek, „«Przyjaciel Chrześcijańskiej Prawdy». Szkic monograficzny pierwszego polskiego czasopisma teologicznego”, *NP* 43 (1975) 222–223; S. Zych – B. Wąlicki, „Pierwsze polskie czasopismo teologiczne o charakterze naukowym «Przyjaciel Chrześcijańskiej Prawdy» (1833–1840)”, *Czasopisma archiwów, bibliotek i muzeów Kościoła katolickiego* (red. W.W. Żurek) (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2014) 256–257.

rok 1863 i kontynuowano w kolejnych edycjach do roku 1912<sup>21</sup>. Jako podstawa źródłowa wykorzystane zostały wypisy akt biskupich z XVII wieku i akta wizytacyjne z następnego stulecia, a także inne dokumenty archiwalne<sup>22</sup>. Prócz tego w roku 1861 Pawłowski opracował schematyzm szkół ludowych i ich nauczycieli<sup>23</sup>. Informator ten był kontynuowany do roku 1866, gdy rząd austriacki przejął nadzór nad szkołami<sup>24</sup>. Ponadto pośmiertnie w roku 1879 w tygodniku *San* opublikowano podzielony na trzy krótkie części artykuł duchownego o łacińskiej katedrze w Przemyślu<sup>25</sup>.

Szczególnie cenne były dwie prace historyczne Pawłowskiego: studium o dziejach, składzie osobowym i uposażeniu kapituły katedralnej w Przemyślu opracowane w roku 1853<sup>26</sup> i wydane w 1869 roku dzieło *Premislia sacra [Święty Przemyśl czyli seria i czynności biskupów przemyskich rzymskokatolickich]*<sup>27</sup>. Na podstawie pierwszego z nich ułożono chronologiczny katalog członków przemyskiej kapituły katedralnej według prebend, zamieszczany później w schematyzmach diecezjalnych<sup>28</sup>. Drugie przez długie lata stanowiło podstawową pozycję o tematyce historycznej dotyczącą diecezji przemyskiej obrządku łacińskiego<sup>29</sup>. Dokonania Pawłowskiego na gruncie badań historycznych były motywem powołania go 23 VII 1872 roku na członka czynnego Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego nowo utworzonej Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie. Formalnego zatwierdzenia kapłana na tym stanowisku dokonał cesarz Franciszek Józef 18 października tegoż roku. Działalność kapłana w ramach Akademii nie była jednak szczególnie czynna, co wynikało prawdopodobnie z zakończenia jego aktywności naukowej po roku 1872<sup>30</sup>.

Niezależnie od badań historycznych Pawłowski z zapałem, o czym była już mowa, poświęcał się biblistyce. Jego wielkim dokonaniem było przygotowanie obszernego komentarza psalmów przełożonych na język polski. Ta czterotomowa praca została wydana

21 *Schematismus Universi Venerabilis Cleri saecularis et regularis Dioeceseos ritus latini Premisliensis pro Anno Domini 1863* (Jasło: [s.n.] 1862). Zob. też schematyzmy z kolejnych lat.

22 J. Kwolek, „Archiwa Diecezji Przemyskiej ob. łac.”, *KDP* 27/10 (1927) 237; T. Śliwa, „Sylwetki duchownych przemyskich. Ks. Pawłowski Franciszek Ksawery (1807–1876)”, *KDP* 63/5–6 (1977) 118–119.

23 *Schematyzm szkół ludowych i ich nauczycieli pod kierunkiem Konsystorza przemyskiego obrz. łac. Na Rok 1862* (Jasło: [s.n.] [1861]) 22, II.

24 W. Sarna, *Biskupi przemyscy obrz. łac. II. 1624–1900* (Przemyśl: Redakcja „Kroniki Dyecezyi Przemyskiej” 1910) 530.

25 F. Pawłowski, „Rz. kat. Katedra przemyska”, *San* 1 (1879) 1; 2 (1879) 1; 7 (1879) 1–2.

26 Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Przemyślu, F. Pawłowski, *Liber memorandorum capituli cathedralis r. l. Premisliensis, historicas notitias de origine ac vicissitudinibus eius, porro de fundationibus et personis ad illud pertinentibus continens, e fontibus domesticis et extraneis adornatus* (Przemyśl 1853) 764.

27 F. Pawłowski, *Premislia sacra, sive series et gesta Episcoporum r. l. Premisliensium* (Cracoviae: Jaworski 1869) 682, XXX. Por. *Kurenda Przemyskiego Konsystorza Biskupiego o. ł.* 2 (1869) 2–3.

28 *Schematismus Universi Venerabilis Cleri saecularis et regularis Dioeceseos ritus latini Premisliensis pro Anno Domini 1862* (Jasło: [s.n.] 1861) i schematyzmy z kolejnych lat. Kwolek, „Archiwa Diecezji Przemyskiej ob. łac.”, 237–238; Śliwa, „Sylwetki duchownych przemyskich”, 119.

29 Sarna, „Biskupi przemyscy obrz. łac.”, 555–556; Kwolek, „Archiwa Diecezji Przemyskiej ob. łac.”, 237; J. Wołczański, „Korespondencja ks. dr. Jana Kwołka z ks. prof. Janem Fijałkiem za lata 1919–1936”, *RPr* 57/1 (2021) 294.

30 T. Śliwa, „Wybór ks. Franciszka Pawłowskiego do Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie”, *KDP* 63/5–6 (1977) 121–122.

w Krakowie w roku 1872 nakładem Wydawnictwa Dzieł Katolickich Władysława Jaworskiego. Zaznaczyć należy, że autor zastosował tu nowożytną krytykę tekstu. Podstawą analizy była Wulgata, ale nie brakło porównań z tekstem greckim i hebrajskim<sup>31</sup>.

Na temat tej pracy pisano tuż po śmierci Pawłowskiego następująco:

[...] dzieło, które już przy schyłku życia wydał, a które mu zaszczytne miejsce w dziejach literatury kościelnej i ojczystej zapewni, jest wyjaśnienie psalmów Dawidowych i kantyków, odmawianych w pancerzach kapłańskich. Dzieło to chlubne daje świadectwo o głębokiej erudycji i niezmordowanej pracowitości nieboszczyka. Posiadając języki grecki i hebrajski, a władając językiem łacińskim, jak nikt dzisiaj, śmiało to można powiedzieć, na całym obszarze ziemi polskiej, głęboki znawca Pisma św. i dzieł Ojców Kościoła, nie śmiał pracy swojej, jeszcze w czasie swego urzędu profesorskiego rozpoczętej, światu rychło okazać, bo, jak sam skromnie wyznawał, nie posiadał wprawy w języku ojczystym, którego dawniej w szkołach nie udzielano, a łatwiej mu było pisać językiem łacińskim. Niepospolity talent pozwolił mu pokonać trudności i zdobyć wprawę i biegłość w języku ojczystym, której dowody złożył w tłumaczeniu psalterza<sup>32</sup>.

Pełny tytuł omawianego dzieła brzmi następująco: *Psalterz czyli Księga Psalmów z przydatkiem pieśni biblijnych, które w brewiarzu Rzymskim przychodzą i trenów Jeremiaszowych*. Odnośnie do autora zaznaczono: „Krótkim komentarzem objaśnił: X. Franciszek Pawłowski Scholastyk katedralny Przemyśki”. Pierwszy z tomów jest nienumerowany, pozostałe trzy zaopatrzone na stronie tytułowej w numer tomu. Pierwsze dwa tomy są wyraźnie obszerniejsze – liczą odpowiednio 547 i 550 stron. Najmniejszy objętościowo jest 387-stronicowy tom trzeci. Ostatni z tomów posiada 486 zadrukowanych stron<sup>33</sup>.

Poszczególne tomy mają zbliżoną strukturę. Składają się na nią zasadniczo korpus pracy, stanowiący tłumaczenie i analizę kolejnych psalmów, oraz spis treści zapisany jako „Rejestr”. Ze zrozumiałych względów bogatszą budowę posiadają pierwszy i ostatni tom. Na odwrocie strony tytułowej pierwszego tomu zamieszczono dwa łacińskie motto. Pierwsze stanowią słowa z komentarza św. Augustyna *Enarrationes in psalmos*: „Humana ratione, non quasi avium voce cantemus... Qui in ecclesia divina eloquia cantare didicimus, simul etiam instare debemus esse, quod scriptum est: *Beatus populus, qui intelligit jubilationem!* (Ps. 88,16)”. Druga dewiza to cytat z przedmowy św. kard. Roberta Bellarmina do Psalmu 41: „Cantus in ecclesia Spiritui deservire debet, et non soli aurium oblectationi” („Śpiew w kościele powinien służyć Duchowi, a nie tylko bawić uszy”)<sup>34</sup>.

Kolejno umieszczone zostały pozwolenia Ordynariatu Metropolitalnego Lwowskiego obrządku łacińskiego i Ordynariatu Biskupiego obrządku łacińskiego w Przemyślu. Pierwsze trzy podpisał abp Franciszek Ksawery Wierchlejski. W aprobacie Nr 883/1870 z 4 XII 1870 roku można przeczytać: „Dzieło [...] nie tylko za zgodne z nauką kościoła

31 Śliwa, „Sylwetki duchownych przemyskich”, 119.

32 „Z Przemyśla”, 221.

33 F. Pawłowski, *Psalterz, czyli Księga Psalmów z przydatkiem pieśni biblijnych, które w brewiarzu Rzymskim przychodzą i trenów Jeremiaszowych* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Dzieł Katolickich Władysława Jaworskiego 1872) I, ss. LI, 52–544, [3]; II, ss. 546, [4]; III, ss. 383, [4]; IV, ss. 471, [15].

34 Pawłowski, *Psalterz, czyli Księga Psalmów*, I, IV.

św. i wykładem OO. SS. uznajemy, ale jako umiejętnie, jasno, zrozumiale i z namaszczeniem napisane wszystkim wiernym katolikom, szczególnie zaś kapłanom, co w rozumieniu i ducha Psalmów wniknąć powinni, wielce zachwalamy, i najusilniej zalecamy”. Kolejne zezwolenia Nr 1192/1871 z 22 V 1871 roku i Nr 1228/1871 z 28 V 1871 roku rozciągały udzieloną wcześniej aprobatę na kolejne części opracowania Pawłowskiego. Analogiczne pozwolenia zostały wydane trzykrotnie przez ordynariat przemyski: Nr 1021/1870 z 18 VI 1870 roku, Nr 295/1871 z 6 II 1871 roku i Nr 1132/1871 z 13 VI 1871 roku. Podpisali je: wikariusz kapitulny ks. Józef Hoppe (pierwszą) oraz bp Maciej Hirschler (drugą i trzecią)<sup>35</sup>. W pierwszym tomie dzieła zawarta też została dedykacja:

Jego Excellencyi Jaśnie Wielmożnemu i Najprzewielebniejszemu Jego Mości Księdzu Franciszkowi Ksaweremu Wierzchlejskiemu z Bożej i Św. Apost. Stolicy łaski Arcybiskupowi Lwowskiemu o. ł. Pralatowi Dworu Jego Świątobliwości Piusa P. IX, Asystentowi Tronu Papieskiego, Jego Ces. Król. Mości Rzeczywistemu Tajnemu Radcy, Kawalerowi Wielkiej Wstęgi C. K. Orderu Leopolda, Członkowi Izby Panów w Radzie Państwa Austr., tudzież Członkowi Sejmu Królestwa Galicyi i W. Księstwa Krakowskiego, Prezesowi Centralnej Komisji Zakładu Ubogich, Swemu niegdyś Pasterzowi, teraz Metropolicie i miłościwemu Panu tę pracę swoją z wyrazem szczerej wdzięczności, i z najgłębszem uszanowaniem poświęca autor<sup>36</sup>.

Korpus pracy został poprzedzony sześciostronicową „Przedmową” datowaną na 31 V 1870 roku. Autor zaznaczył w niej:

Cokolwiek mężowie, duchem Bożym natchnieni napisali, każdemu, a osobliwie kapłanowi, wielce jest pożytecznem ku utwierdzeniu się w wierze, nadziei i miłości Boga, ku zbudowaniu siebie samego i tych, których na drodze zbawienia jest przewodnikiem. Ale nie masz księgi Pisma św., któraby pod tym względem większe korzyści niosła nad psalterz, czyli pobożne pienia Dawida, i innych mężów św. starego zakonu. [...] Liturgia nasza, modły kościoła w brewiarzu, mszale i rytuale albo się do psalmów odnoszą, albo też z samych psalmów się składają; a byłoby rzeczą wielce niegodną, gdyby ten, który dla ludu jest szafarzem tajemnic Pańskich, tłumaczem słowa Bożego, sam nierozumiał tego, co w psalmach św. na chwałę Najwyższego odmawia, lub śpiewa. Jeżeli więc kto, to kapłan ma do siebie stosować słowa Apostoła: „Modlić się będę duchem, modlić się będę i rozumieniem, będę śpiewał duchem, będę śpiewał i rozumieniem” (1 Cor 14,15)<sup>37</sup>.

Autor *Psalterza* zwrócił uwagę, że Księga Psalmów, tak jak każdy tekst starożytny, a zwłaszcza poetycki, nie jest łatwa do zrozumienia. Bez należytego przygotowania trudno ją odczytywać właściwie. Z problemem tym musieli mierzyć się też rodacy autora z uwagi na brak dokładnego komentarza biblijnego w języku polskim. Zadania tego na pewno nie mogły spełniać krótkie glosy, jakie w swoim tłumaczeniu Pisma Świętego zamieścił ks. Jakub Wujek. Te XVI-wieczne uwagi według Pawłowskiego nie tylko posiadały charakter polemiczny, ale i nie odpowiadały wymaganiom współczesnej egzegezy.

35 Pawłowski, *Psalterz, czyli Księga Psalmów*, I, V–VIII.

36 Pawłowski, *Psalterz, czyli Księga Psalmów*, I, IX.

37 Pawłowski, *Psalterz, czyli Księga Psalmów*, I, XI–XII.

Po wskazaniu powyższych kwestii autor przedstawił przyświecającą mu intencję:

Owoż potrzeba polskiego komentarza do psalmów nie da się zaprzeczyć. Odważyłem się takowy wypracować, i wszystkim miłośnikom pism Bożych, osobliwie mej współbraci w winnicy Pańskiej i kochanej młodzieży, do stanu duchownego się sposobiącej, niniejszem go ofiaruję: Nieznośną dla mnie zawsze rzeczą było te święte i namaszczenia pełne hymny bez rozumienia ich sensu odmawiać lub śpiewać; przetoż starałem się je nie tylko sam zrozumieć, lecz i innym do tego być pomocnym. Czym ten zamiar osiągnął, o tem sąd nie do mnie należy. Znam niedokładności i niedostatki pracy mojej, osobliwie pod względem stylistyki polskiej, w której, jako według dawnego systemu austriackiego edukowany, wydoskonalić się nie miałem sposobności. Wstrzymywało mię to długo od wydania tej pracy; lecz wreszcie to mi dodało otuchy: że „in magnis et voluisse sat est”. Niechże więc ten wykład mój tak długo służy mej współbraci, dopóki od kogo innego coś lepszego nie będzie wydane. Oby nawet ten komentarz innym uczeńszym odemnie, stał się bodźcem do podjęcia tej mozolnej pracy z pomyślniejszym skutkiem!<sup>38</sup>

W tym słowie wstępnym Pawłowski przybliżył również czytelnikom swój zamysł. Przede wszystkim zaznaczył, że nie podaje nowego tłumaczenia psalmów na język polski, opierając się zasadniczo na wcześniejszym przekładzie ks. Jakuba Wujka z Wulgaty przy uwzględnieniu krakowskiego wydania Biblii Leopolicy z 1561 roku. Zastrzegł też, iż będzie sięgać do tekstu hebrajskiego w przypadku różnic wynikających z tego, że Wulgata opierała się na dosłownym przekładzie greckiej Septuaginty. Zaprezentował w końcu sposób swojego wykładu. Miały się składać na niego: podanie „osnowy” stanowiącej przegląd myśli zawartych w danym tekście i wyjaśnienie pojedynczych ustępów i wersów, a także docenienie roli paralelizmu. Wskazał źródła swojej egzegezy i pisarzy, do których postanowił się odwoływać. Choć zastrzegł, że nie będzie koncentrował się na problematyce ascetycznej, postanowił dodawać „uwagi ku zbudowaniu czytelnika”. Interesującym zabiegiem było zawarcie informacji na temat używania danych psalmów w brewiarzu i księgach liturgicznych oraz w jakiej intencji należy się nimi modlić. Wzorem innych komentatorów psalmów swoją analizą objął też treny proroka Jeremiasza śpiewane w Wielkim Tygodniu podczas tzw. ciemnych jutrzni.

W ostatnich słowach „Przedmowy” autor przyznał:

Będąc słabego zdrowia, i mając wzrok znacznie nadwątłony, nie mogłem się sam zajmować korekturą dzieła, lecz takową wydawcy, tem bardziej pozostawić byłem przymuszony, ile że od miejsca druku oddalonym byłem. Upraszam przeto, by mię szanowni recenzenci za omyłki drukowe do żadnej odpowiedzialności nie pociągali. Za wielką nagrodę mej kilkoletniej, mozolnej pracy poczytam, jeśli jej łaskawa Opatrzność pobłogosławi, aby czytającym ku oświeceniu i zbudowaniu posłużyła, a innych zdolniejszych i uczeńszych odemnie, do podobnej pracy w zawodzie egzegietycznym zachęciła. Pragnąłem ja dawniej do całego pisma św. choćby krótki komentarz wypracować; ale nie było na to woli Bożej, bo różne inne zajęcia dotąd mi tego nie dozwoliły, a lubo do tego materiałów nie mało przysposobiłem, przecież obecnie w podeszłym wieku, i przy skołatanem zdrowiu już o tem myśleć nie mogę. Podobno na to potrzeba by połączonych sił wielu pod kierownictwem i redakcją jednego, o co u nas właśnie trudno<sup>39</sup>.

38 Pawłowski, *Psalterz, czyli Księga Psalmów*, I, XIII.

39 Pawłowski, *Psalterz, czyli Księga Psalmów*, I, XVI.

Po „Przedmowie” biblista zamieścił „Wstęp do Psalterza”. Ten szerszy tekst podzielił na kilka części. Na początku skupił się na starożytnej poezji religijnej, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem pieśni narodu hebrajskiego. Następnie podjął temat autorów psalmów. Krótką uwagę poświęcił „napisom” psalmów, czyli zapisanym informacjom dotyczącym poszczególnych utworów. W większym stopniu zainteresował go podział psalterza, porządek psalmów i sposób ich liczenia. Kolejne części wstępu dotyczą: poezji hebrajskiej, tekstu pierwotnego i tłumaczeń psalmów oraz wymiaru artystycznego i modlitewnego psalmów. W ostatnich uwagach autor pochylił się nad kwestią komentarzy do Księgi Psalmów<sup>40</sup>.

Także i czwarty tom *Psalterza* posiada bogatszą strukturę od drugiego i trzeciego. Jako osobny dział zamieszczony tam został obszerny „Dodatek do Psalterza” rozplanowany na stronach 293–471, zawierający dziesięć kantyków z różnych ksiąg Pisma Świętego Starego i Nowego Testamentu i treny Jeremiasza. Zaznaczyć warto, że na końcu tekstu czwartego tomu zamieszczono skrótowiec: „O. A. M. D. G.” oznaczający łacińską dewizę „Omnia Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam” („Wszystko dla większej chwały Bożej”). Oprócz tego już po spisie treści znalazło się miejsce dla trzech wykazów. Zatytułowano je odpowiednio: „Psalmy porządkiem alfabetycznym szykowane według Wulgaty łacińskiej”, „Rejestr hymnów biblijnych” oraz „Psalmy i pienia bibl. według swej treści”. Dwa pierwsze spisy przy każdym tytule łacińskim wskazują tom i stronę. Trzeci indeks o charakterze tematycznym sporządzony został w języku polskim i odsyła do konkretnych utworów. Obejmuje osiemdziesiąt jeden terminów: od „Arki Pana” po „Żywota ludzkiego krótkość i dolegliwość”. Całość zamyka wykaz skrótów ujęty jako „Główniejsze skrócenia”<sup>41</sup>.

Jeśli chodzi o ścisłą treść *Psalterza*, to w pierwszym tomie swojego dzieła Pawłowski skupił się na pierwszych trzydziestu pięciu psalmach. W drugim tomie przeanalizował kolejne czterdzieści cztery psalmy, a w trzecim tomie następnych trzydzieści osiem. Czwarty tom poświęcony został ostatnim trzydziestu trzem psalmom. Prócz omówienia kanonicznych stu pięćdziesięciu psalmów, w ostatnim tomie, w dziale psalmów zaprezentowany został psalm apokryficzny pomijany przez Wulgatę, ale zawarty w Septuagincie oraz tłumaczeniach syryjskim i arabskim. W „Dodatku” znalazło się miejsce dla przedstawienia dziesięciu utworów. Są to kolejno: *Pienie Mojżeszowe po przejściu przez morze czerwone* (Wj 15,1–19), drugie *Pienie Mojżeszowe* (Pwt 32,1–43), *Pieśń Anny, matki Samuela* (1 Sm 2,1–10), *Pieśń Jezajasza* (Iz 12,1–6), *Pienie Ezechiasza* (Iz 38,10–20), *Pieśń Habakuka* (Ha 3,1–19), *Pienie trzech Pacholąt w ogniu* (Dn 3,57–88), *Pienie Najświętszej Panny Maryi* (Łk 1,46–55), *Pienie Zacharyasza kapłana, ojca S. Jana Chrzciciela* (Łk 1,68–79) i *Pienie Symeona starca* (Łk 2,29–32). Po nich uwaga badacza skupiła się na *Trenach czyli narzekaniach Jeremiasza Proroka*. Została tu przeanalizowana cała Księga Lamentacji z podziałem na pięć rozdziałów poświęconych kolejnym lamentacjom („pieniom”).

Poszczególne psalmy zostały omówione według jednego wzoru. Jako pierwszy zostaje podany incipit tłumaczenia łacińskiego utworu oraz opisowy tytuł w języku polskim

40 Pawłowski, *Psalterz, czyli Księga Psalmów*, I, XVII–LI.

41 Pawłowski, *Psalterz, czyli Księga Psalmów*, IV, [473]–[486].



(np. „Obrona niewinnego przeciw fałszywym zarzutom nieprzyjaciół, i prośba: aby Bóg sam chciał być jego sędzią, a potwarcom według zasługi odpłacić” – Ps 7). Następnie przedstawiona jest „osnowa” ujęta w kilka punktów. Po niej autor przedstawia przekład psalmu na język polski z podziałem na wersy. Po dokładnej analizie utworu zamieszczone zostają na koniec informacje o tym, jak liturgia stosuje psalm podczas świąt i uroczystości. W wielu przypadkach treści te mają wymiar duszpasterski.

Struktura „Dodatku” jest podobna do głównej części *Psalterza*. Najpierw przybliżone zostają okoliczności powstania utworu, później w kilku przypadkach ukazana jest „osnowa”. Po samym tłumaczeniu tekstu natchnionego następuje jego dokładna analiza. Na koniec wskazane zostają okazje, w których po daną pieśń sięga liturgia Kościoła. Jedynie w przypadku Lamentacji proroka Jeremiasza po omówieniu tekstu biblijnego umieszczone są uwagi na temat cierpień narodu wybranego, przypomnienie o karze Boskiej za grzechy oraz wezwanie do nawrócenia.

Wydanie *Psalterza* było ostatnim wielkim dokonaniem Pawłowskiego. Zmarł on cztery lata później 26 VII 1876 roku<sup>42</sup>. Był to jego 69. rok życia i 45. rok kapłaństwa. Przed śmiercią został zaopatrzony sakramentami. Notka o jego śmierci zamieszczona została m.in. w lwowskich *Wiadomościach Kościelnych* i *Gazecie Lwowskiej*<sup>43</sup>. Na łamach pierwszego z tych periodyków opublikowano też obszerną relację o ostatnich chwilach życia duchownego oraz jego pogrzebie. Obrzędy żałobne miały miejsce na trzeci dzień po śmierci Pawłowskiego. Uczestniczyli w nich licznie przybyli kapłani z diecezji przemyskiej. Ciało zmarłego kapłana spoczęło na cmentarzu przemyskim. Wewnątrz kościoła katedralnego umieszczono poświęcone mu epitafium ufundowane przez kapitułę przemyską<sup>44</sup>.

Warto na koniec przywołać choć kilka słów zaczerpniętych z wezwania do modlitw za duszę ks. Franciszka Pawłowskiego zamieszczonego w *Kurendzie* przemyskiego Konsystorza Biskupiego:

Jakkolwiek tyle już tygodni ubiegło od śmierci tego prałata, jednak żałoba po nim zawsze świeżym odzywa się głosem w sercu naszym pasterskim. Nie było i WW Duchowieństwo obojętnem na tę wielką stratę, bo na wieść o jego tak nagłym skonie zbiegli się znajomi i uczniowie zblizka i zdala na oddanie nieboszczykowi ostatniej usługi. Tyleż mieliśmy ulgi w oddaleniu naszym, wspominając na tę kapłańską wdzięczność i oddanie hołdu ostatniego dla tego męża wiecznej pamięci godnego. Dziś przychodzi nam smutnie się obejrzeć w około, ażali jest kto taki, co pióro ś. p. Scholastyka pochwyci gwoli pracy dla przeszłości i przyszłości. Niestety, strata to tem cięższa i boleśniejsza, że w tej dobie zastąpić się nie da. Tęskno nam za tym cichym i pokornego serca doradcą, za niestrudzonym pracownikiem. Brak nam jego głębokiej i obszernej nauki, do której nietylko my ale i nasi poprzednicy się uciekali. Podniósł nieboszczyk pracą i nauką swoją imię dyecezyi naszej do wysokiego znaczenia u swoich i u postronnych, którzy chlubne świadectwo oddali dziełom jego „Premislia sacra”, komentarzowi na Psalterz, i zapisom w Szematyzmie dyecezalnym umieszczonym. Pozostawił w manuskrypcie cenne materiały do dziejów

42 *Schematismus Universi Venerabilis Cleri saecularis & regularis Dioecesis ritus latini Premisliensis pro Anno Domini 1877* (Jasło: [s.n.] 1876) 216.

43 „Wiadomości dyecezaalne”, *Wiadomości Kościelne* 4/22 (1876) 224; „Kronika. Ks. Pawłowski”, *GL* 66/171 (1876) 3.

44 „Z Przemysła”, 220–222; Bialic, „Pawłowski Franciszek Ksawery”, 498.

Kapituły, których nie dozwoliła mu śmierć uzupełnić. Zresztą na schyłku żywota, umysł ten nader czynny więcej się poświęcał wykładowi: Przypowieści, Pieśni nad pieśniami i księgi Mądrości, którego manuskrypt zostawił niedokończony. Zdążając do źródła, z którego wypłynęły owe pienia i prawdy wzniosłe, w ich rozważaniu rozkosz i ochłodę ku wieczorowi życia swego znajdował. Poszła w grób ona niepospolitego wyrazu postać najmilszego współpracownika naszego, zasnął on niezmordowany historyk nasz, który jak górnik z olbrzymich stosów ksiąg i dokumentów wiekowym pokrytych kurzem wydobywał i wykuwał pracowicie drogie skarby do dziejów tego Biskupstwa i katedry należące. Wy najmilsi Bracia pojmujecie tę skargę, która sercem Naszym wstrząsa. Ale bardziej się złączycie z Nami w żalości, gdy Wam powiemy, że ten znakomitej erudycy kapłan obok dzieł którym i uwiecznił pamięć swoją, zasłużył sobie na to wdzięczne wspomnienie cnotami kapłańskimi, zdobył sobie przywiązanie Nasze objawami rzadkiej pokory i wdzięczności szczególnej ku Nam i poprzednikom naszym. Budowaliśmy się widokiem tych cnót, a nie możemy przemilczeć tego, że w testamencie swoim na lat kilka przed śmiercią spisany, pozostawił serdeczne oświadczenie jako dowód przywiązania Swego ku Nam i szacunku za uznanie, do któregośmy się czuli święcie zobowiązanymi<sup>45</sup>.

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## Reviews



Mirosław Stanisław Wróbel, *Anti-Judaism and the Gospel of John. A New Look at the Fourth Gospel's Relationship with Judaism* (Lublin Theological Studies 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2023). Pp. 297. € 120. ISBN: 978-3-525-50053-8

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Professor Mirosław Wróbel has long been involved in research on Jewish topics which are inextricably linked with the beginnings of Christianity, including the stage of the formation of New Testament books. This is evidenced by his numerous publications both in Polish and English. A book entitled *Anti-Judaism and the Gospel of John. A New Look at the Fourth Gospel's Relationship with Judaism* also focuses on this issue. It is an important voice in the discussion on the “*parting of the ways*” of the Church and the Synagogue, which has been going on for several decades in the theological academic world. Before delving into Wróbel’s monograph, it is crucial to recognize the fact that the separation of the Church and the Synagogue (Christianity and Judaism) was not a one-time act, but a long-lasting, multilayered, and diversified process. Even if many scholars try to isolate that moment in time (pointing to ca. A.D. 90 and the environment of Jabne or the fall of the Bar Kochba uprising), the rabbis’ decision to exclude Christians from the Synagogue or the decision of followers of Christ’s to break ties with the Synagogue evolved over the years.

Mirosław Wróbel’s book is dedicated, as the title suggests, to the anti-Judaism of the Fourth Gospel. The author’s very recognition of the distinction between antisemitism and anti-Judaism is crucial. This issue, although partly developed, especially in his articles, was examined by Wróbel differently and innovatively due to the methodology employed, and therefore, it deserves to be the subject of a monograph. The Gospel of John is considered by many scholars to be the most anti-Judaic piece of the New Testament. It contains a reflection of Christian-Jewish relations from the period of their inception, even though the Gospel primarily describes the activities of Jesus (John 1–12) leading up to his passion and death (John 13–21).

Apart from the table of contents, the list of abbreviations, the introduction, the conclusion, and the bibliography, the book contains six chapters titled “Status Quaestionis,” “An Analysis of Terminology,” “The *Ioudaioi* in John’s Gospel,” “Anti-Judaic texts in John” (here, the term “Texts” should be capitalized), “The Specificity of Anti-Judaism

in the Gospel of John,” and “Anti-Judaism and Johannine Theology.” In the first chapter, the reader learns that it is extremely important to understand the term *Ioudaioi* to properly delineate the relationship of the Gospel of John to Judaism and that the author uses synchronic and diachronic methods to interpret anti-Judaic texts. The second chapter is particularly noteworthy. In it, the author analyzes the nomenclature related to the chosen people based on the Old Testament, rabbinic literature, Qumran writings, the works of Josephus and Philo of Alexandria, apocryphal writings, books of the New Testament, and even early Christian literature. The three words in question are “the Hebrews,” “the Israelites,” and “the Jews.” For Mirosław Wróbel’s research, the third one proves to be the most relevant. He devotes the fourth chapter of the book to that very expression, quite reasonably limiting the scope of analysis to its Greek form.

The term *Ioudaioi* appears seventy-two times in the Fourth Gospel and is by no means unambiguous. Sometimes it takes on a regional meaning with reference to Judea (John 3:22; 4:3, 47, 54; 7:1, 3; 11:7–8, 54); at other times it is used to refer to its inhabitants (John 10:19; 11:19, 31, 33, 36, 45; 12:9, 11; 19:20). Occasionally, it takes on a neutral meaning with reference to Jewish persons, festivals, and customs (John 2:6, 13; 3:1, 25; 4:9, 22; 5:1; 6:4; 7:2; 11:55; 18:20, 33, 35, 39; 19:3, 19, 21, 40, 42) while at other times it has a negative connotation (John 1:19; 2:18, 20; 5:10, 15, 16, 18; 6:41, 52; 7:1, 11, 13, 15, 35; 8:22, 31, 48, 52, 57; 9:18, 22; 10:24, 31, 33; 11:8; 13:33; 18:12, 14, 31, 36, 38; 19:7, 12, 14, 31, 38; 20:19). The negative connotations of the term *Ioudaioi* are associated with the hostility of the “Jews” towards Jesus and his followers. This does not, of course, refer to all Jews, but to a certain group whose animosity towards Jesus and his disciples is so intense that John repeatedly speaks of “fear of the Jews” (John 7:13; 19:38; 20:19). The so-called “anti-Judaic” texts in John’s Gospel are usually divided into three groups. The first one includes Jesus’ polemical dialogues with the Jews, the second one covers the hostility and strong controversy between them while the third one comprises texts that speak of the role played by the Jews in the account of Christ’s passion. The fourth chapter of Mirosław Wróbel’s work is devoted to the exegesis of these three groups of pericopes, which can undoubtedly be considered essential in the conducted research. John reveals the murderous intentions of the Jews towards Jesus. There were various reasons why Jesus’ opponents intended to execute him: violating the Sabbath rest (John 5:18; cf. 7:1), his accusations of their not keeping the Law (John 7:19) and of rejecting his teaching (John 8:37), as well as their questioning of his connection to Abraham (John 8:40). These intentions turned into action: first into an attempt to stone Jesus (John 8:59; 10:31; 11:8), and then his trial (John 18–19). Those responsible for this state of affairs were, yet again, not all the *Ioudaioi*, but the leaders (Gr. *archontes*; John 7:25–26). John 8:44 is often regarded as the *locus classicus* of John’s anti-Judaism; Jesus accuses the Jews of being the children of the devil. Extensive study of this text and its closer and further context, however, indicates that Jesus directs this statement not to the Jews alone, but to all people who reject his teaching and oppose his messianic message.



Another aspect of the anti-Judaism of John's Gospel is the phenomenon of *aposynagōgos*, which indicates exclusion from the Synagogue (John 9:22; 12:42; 16:4). The author has already explored this theme in an earlier monograph entitled *Synagoga a rodzący się Kościół. Studium egzegetyczno-teologiczne Czwartej Ewangelii (J 9,22; 12,42; 16,2)* [Synagogue and Church. Exegetical and Theological Study of the Fourth Gospel (John 9:22; 12:42; 16:2)] (Studia Biblica 3; Kielce: Instytut Teologii Biblijnej VERBUM 2002), and in this case, he largely cites the results of the analyses contained in it. Chapter five is dedicated to the exclusion of Christians from the Synagogue, as well as to the issue of the Samaritans. The last chapter is devoted to theological issues, among which the importance of Christological polemics related to the titles of the Messiah, the Son of God, the Son of Man, and the Teacher comes to the fore. The attitude of the *Ioudaioi* towards Jesus found its continuation in their stance towards the emerging community of the Church.

Ultimately—from the “*parting of the ways*” perspective—it must be concluded that John's Gospel did not so much influence the schism between the Church and the Synagogue, or was one of the factors that contributed to this schism, but rather is a testimony to it. The paths of the two religious communities in the region inhabited by the Johannine community were already running almost separately, yet the links between them were still vivid enough that the Christian polemic with Judaism in the Fourth Gospel was unusually fierce. The difficulty in properly assessing the mutual relations of the Church and the Synagogue in John results from such things as his use of the term *Ioudaioi* with various shades of meaning. Moreover, when carefully read, some fragments of the Gospel of John that had previously been considered anti-Judaic in character turn out to be references expressing intra-Church criticism directed at the Jews who had accepted Jesus, i.e., against the Judeo-Christians.

From a formal point of view, the proposed structure of the work seems logical and does not raise any objections. The structure of the individual chapters is also very clear. The author uses correct and rich vocabulary; the book's language is academic and the conclusions are formulated in a comprehensible and competent manner while also being well-argued, justified and characterized by logical argumentation. They follow directly from the conducted research and are not, as sometimes happens, too far-reaching or not rooted in the source research data. The collected literature references are extensive and the author has consulted many books and articles that are difficult to access.

The question of the parting of the ways of the Church and the Synagogue calls for further in-depth study. It should be explored from the perspective of both Judaism and Christianity. The progress made in these studies in recent decades cannot be overestimated. It touches on the mutual relationships between the adherents of the two religions. There is no doubt that Mirosław Wróbel's monograph can make a significant contribution to the development of mutual dialogue between the two religious communities.



# **Biblical News**




## **Działalność Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II w roku akademickim 2022/2023**

Academic Activities of the Institute of Biblical Studies  
at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin  
in the Year 2022/2023

**Tomasz Bartłomiej Bąk**

Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II  
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### **I. Sprawy personalne**

W roku akademickim 2022/2023, podobnie jak w roku ubiegłym, Sekcja Nauk Biblijnych KUL działała w ramach czterech katedr:

#### **1. Katedra Egzegezy Ksiąg Historycznych, Prorockich i Sapiencjalnych**

Kierownik – ks. dr hab. Dariusz Dziadosz, prof. KUL

Pracownicy:

- ks. dr hab. Andrzej Piwowar, prof. KUL
- ks. dr Krzysztof Naporę SCJ
- ks. dr Arnold Zawadzki

#### **2. Katedra Filologii Biblijnej i Literatury Międzytestamentalnej**

Kierownik – ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Stanisław Wróbel

Pracownicy:

- ks. prof. dr hab. Henryk Drawnel SDB
- ks. dr Tomasz Bąk
- ks. dr Krzysztof Kinowski

Wykładowcy wyższych seminariów duchownych afiliowani do Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych:

- ks. dr Marcin Biegas
- ks. dr Michał Powęska

### 3. Katedra Egzegezy Ewangelii i Pism Apostolskich

Kierownik – dr hab. Krzysztof Mielcarek, prof. KUL

Pracownicy:

- ks. prof. dr hab. Stefan Szymik MSF
- ks. dr hab. Adam Kubiś, prof. KUL

Wykładowcy wyższych seminariów duchownych afiliowani do Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych:

- ks. dr Sławomir Czajka
- ks. dr hab. Jacek Kucharski

### 4. Katedra Teologii Biblijnej i Proforystyki

Kierownik – ks. prof. dr hab. Henryk Witczyk

Pracownicy:

- ks. dr hab. Marcin Kowalski, prof. KUL
- ks. dr Marcin Zieliński

Wykładowca wyższego seminarium duchownego afiliowany do Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych:

- ks. dr Paweł Lasek

## II. Ważniejsze wydarzenia naukowe i organizacyjne

8 listopada 2022 r. miało miejsce spotkanie profesorów i doktorantów Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL połączone z uroczystą inauguracją nowego roku akademickiego. Spotkanie odbyło się w parafii pw. Dobrego Pasterza w Lublinie.

Pod koniec roku 2022 ukazał się dwutomowy podręcznik *Język grecki Nowego Testamentu* autorstwa ks. dr. hab. Andrzeja Piwowara, prof. KUL. Jest to kolejna pozycja książkowa w ramach wydawanej przez Sekcję Nauk Biblijnych KUL serii Materiały Pomocnicze do Wykładów z Biblistyki.

W dniu 18 stycznia 2023 r. działające we współpracy z Sekcją Nauk Biblijnych KUL Centrum Heschela oraz Archidiecezjalne Centrum Dialogu Katolicko-Żydowskiego zorganizowały Dzień Judaizmu. Uroczystości miały miejsce w Collegium Jana Pawła II. Po odśpiewaniu *Shema Israel* i przywitaniu gości odczytany został fragment Księgi Wyjścia (13,1–9) oraz perykopa z Ewangelii według św. Marka (14,12–25). W dalszej części programu wygłoszone zostały dwa referaty:

- „Pascha w ujęciu żydowskim” (referat wygłosił rabin Icchak Chaim Rapoport z Żydowskiej Gminy Wyznaniowej w Warszawie),
- „Pascha w ujęciu chrześcijańskim” (referat wygłosił ks. Mirosław Bielecki, ojciec Ogniska Światła i Miłości w Łopocznie).

Po wysłuchaniu referatów miał miejsce koncert w wykonaniu duetu skrzypcowego ROKduo oraz chwila modlitwy, którą poprowadził kantor Symcha Keller oraz

bp Mieczysław Cisło. Obchody Dnia Judaizmu zakończyło słowo i błogosławieństwo abp. Stanisława Budzika, Metropolity Lubelskiego i Wielkiego Kanclerza KUL.

W styczniu 2023 r. Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II otrzymał dofinansowanie z budżetu Ministerstwa Edukacji i Nauki w ramach programu „Doskonała Nauka” (moduł: Wsparcie monografii naukowych), którego finalnym celem jest upowszechnianie najnowszych osiągnięć nauki polskiej w świecie. Beneficjentami projektu, obejmującego dofinansowanie tłumaczeń monografii naukowych na język angielski, zostali trzej pracownicy Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL:

- dr. hab. Krzysztof Mielcarek, prof. KUL: „Jeruzalem, Jerozolima. Znaczenie onomastyki Świętego Miasta w dziele Łukasowym” (dofinansowanie 43 694,75 zł, całkowita wartość projektu 49 222,25 zł);
- ks. prof. dr hab. Stefan Szymik: „Problem polemiki antyepikurejskiej w pismach Nowego Testamentu” (dofinansowanie: 45 163,25 zł, całkowita wartość projektu 50 855,75 zł);
- ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Wróbel: „Antyjudaizm a Ewangelia Janowa” (dofinansowanie 48 834,50 zł, całkowita wartość projektu 54 939,50 zł).

W dniu 13 lutego 2023 r. o. Iyad Twał, vice-prezydent wykonawczy Betlehem University i ks. prof. Mirosław Kalinowski, rektor KUL podpisali Memorandum of Understanding pomiędzy Betlehem University (Palestyna) a Katolickim Uniwersytetem Lubelskim Jana Pawła II (Polska). W wydarzeniu uczestniczył ks. prof. Mirosław S. Wróbel, dyrektor Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL.

14 lutego 2023 r. ks. prof. Mirosław Kalinowski, rektor KUL oraz ks. prof. Mirosław Wróbel, dyrektor Centrum Heschela KUL i kierownik Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL spotkali się z prof. Amnonem Albeckiem, rektorem Bar-Ilan University w Tel Avivie oraz z osobami odpowiedzialnymi za poszczególne wydziały na tym uniwersytecie w celu omówienia możliwości współpracy naukowej, dydaktycznej i kulturalnej pomiędzy Bar-Ilan University a Katolickim Uniwersytetem Lubelskim Jana Pawła II.

W ramach serii Materiały Pomocnicze do Wykładów z Bibliistyki (tom 14) ukazała się monografia ks. prof. dr hab. Stefana Szymika *Ziemia Przymierza. Geografia i archeologia biblijna w zarysie*.

17 maja 2023 r. rektor KUL ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Kalinowski mianował ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosława Wróbla pełnomocnikiem ds. Relacji Katolicko-Żydowskich i Badań Naukowych w Ziemi Świętej, będącego dotychczasowym dyrektorem Centrum Heschela KUL. Na nowego dyrektora Centrum Heschela powołany został ks. dr hab. Marcin Kowalski, prof. KUL.

Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II, reprezentowany przez ks. prof. dr. hab. Mirosława Wróbla oraz ks. dr. hab. Marcina Kowalskiego, prof. KUL, zawarł porozumienie z Seminario Rabinico Latinoamericano. Umowa o współpracy przewiduje wymianę studentów, wspólne seminaria, warsztaty oraz publikacje naukowe. Wśród realizatorów porozumienia jest Centrum Heschela KUL.

5 czerwca 2023 r. odbył się egzamin licencjacki dla studentów Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL, do którego przystąpili ks. Arkadiusz Wojnicki, o. Stanisław Paprocki oraz p. Patryk Pikulinski. Wszyscy zdający otrzymali oceny pozytywne.

W dniach 5–6 czerwca 2023 r. w Niepokalanowie miał miejsce finał Ogólnopolskiego Konkursu Wiedzy Biblijnej. Przewodniczącym komisji konkursowej był ks. prof. dr. hab. Mirosław Wróbel.

23 czerwca 2023 r. w ramach serii naukowej *Studia Biblica Lublinensia* (tom 23) ukazała się nowa monografia *Ojciec na ziemi w dziele Łukasza*. Autorem książki jest dr hab. Krzysztof Mielcarek, prof. KUL.

4 sierpnia 2023 r. Prezydent Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej Andrzej Duda nadał ks. dr. hab. Dariuszowi Dziadoszowi, prof. KUL tytuł naukowy profesora nauk teologicznych w dyscyplinie nauki biblijne.

### **III. Sympozja naukowe organizowane w Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL**

#### **1. Jesienne Dni Biblijne**

W dniach 25–26 października 2022 r. Sekcja Nauk Biblijnych KUL zorganizowała Jesienne Dni Biblijne pod hasłem „The Stranger in the Bible and the Ancient Near East”. Ze względu na niedawne obostrzenia, związane z pandemią koronawirusa, symposium zostało przeprowadzone w formie zdalnej z wykorzystaniem multimedialnej platformy Teams.

#### **Wtorek, 25 października**

Symposium rozpoczęło się powitaniem prelegentów i gości przez ks. prof. dr. hab. Przemysława Kantykę, dziekana Wydziału Teologii KUL, oraz ks. prof. dr. hab. Mirosława Wróbla, kierownika Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL. Kolejne sesje przedstawiały się następująco:

#### **Sesja I: The Foreigner in the Ancient Near East**

(przewodniczył ks. dr hab. Adam Kubiś, prof. KUL)

- Israel Finkelstein (Tel Aviv University: School of Archaeology and Maritime Cultures at the University of Haifa): „Israelites in Judah after 720 BCE: An Updated View”,



- Filip Taterka (Instytut Kultur Śródziemnomorskich i Orientalnych PAN): „You Were Strangers in the Land of Egypt: Notes on the Attitude towards Foreigners in Ancient Egypt”
- Maciej Münnich (Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II): „Strangers par Excellence – Arabs in Neo-Assyrian Sources”
- Bruno Clifton OP (Blackfriars Hall, University of Oxford): „A Stranger in My Own Land: Can a Sojourner Belong to the Household?”

### **Sesja II: The Stranger in the Hebrew Bible (Part One)**

(przewodniczył ks. dr Marcin Zieliński)

- Augustinus Gianto SJ (Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome): „The Foreigner in the Hebrew Bible. A Sociolinguistic Observation”
- Peter Dubovský SJ (Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome): „A Poor Foreign Widow Teaches a Great Prophet (1 Kings 17)”
- Craig E. Morrison SJ (Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome): „Insiders and Outsiders: Transmitting the Idea of the Foreigner from the Hebrew Bible to the Targums and the Peshitta”
- Paul Béré SJ (Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome): „Living in Canaan: Who Are the Strangers in Joshua?”

### **Sesja III: The Stranger in the Hebrew Bible (Part Two)**

(przewodniczył ks. dr Krzysztof Naporá)

- Łukasz Popko OP (École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem): „Estrangement and Homecoming in the Prophetic Texts. Household as a Root Metaphor”
- Andrzej Toczyski SDB (Salesian Pontifical University in Jerusalem): „Identity and Otherness in the Analysis of the Rahab Story (Josh 2:1–24)”
- Joseph Sievers (Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome): „Josephus’s Presentations of Foreigners”
- Waldemar Szczerbiński (Uniwersytet Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu): „The Attitude of Jews towards Strangers from Biblical Times to the Present Day”

## **Środa, 26 października**

### **Sesja IV: Lo straniero nei libri storici della Bibbia Ebraica**

(przewodniczył ks. dr hab. Dariusz Dziadosz, prof. KUL)

- Pietro Bovati SJ (Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome): „La figura dello straniero nella Bibbia Ebraica: fenomenologia e teologia”
- Jean Louis Ska SJ (Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome): „Uno straniero può attraversare il Giordano e far parte del Popolo eletto? (2 Re 5)”
- Giovanni Rizzi (Pontifical Urbaniana University in Rome): „L’ospitalità negata e il disfacimento di una società: I casi emblematici di Lot a Sodoma in Gen 19 e del crimine di Gabaa in Gdc 19”

**Sesja V: Gli stranieri nei libri storici e sapienziali**

(przewodniczył ks. dr hab. Andrzej Piwowar, prof. KUL)

- Stanisław Bazyliński OFMConv (Pontifical Theological Faculty Saint Bonaventure-Seraphicum in Rome): „La simbolica dello straniero nel Salterio”
- Donatella Scaiola (Pontifical Urbaniana University in Rome): „Rut e l’inizio di Proverbi (capp. 1–9)”
- Daniela de Panfilis (Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome): „Straniero ma non estraneo. Lo sfondo esperienziale e teologico della relazione con l’«altro di me» nella Bibbia Ebraica”.

**Sesja VI: Lo straniero nel Nuovo Testamento**

(przewodniczył ks. dr Arnold Zawadzki)

- Andrzej Gieniusz (Pontifical Urbaniana University in Rome): „Cittadini e stranieri nelle lettere autoriali di san Paolo”
- Dariusz Kotecki (Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu): „«Uscite, popolo mio, da lei [...]» (Ap 18,4). Cristiano verso la cultura straniera”
- Paweł Podeszwa (Uniwersytet Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu): „L’accoglienza trasforma da forestiero a ospite. Una riflessione alla luce della Terza Lettera di Giovanni”.

Jesienne Dni Biblijne zostały zakończone słowami podziękowania i podsumowania, wygłoszonymi przez ks. prof. dr. hab. Mirosława Wróbla, kierownika Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL, oraz przez ks. dr. hab. Dariusza Dziadosza, prof. KUL, głównego organizatora sympozjum.

**2. Konferencja upamiętniająca 10. rocznicę śmierci ks. prof. Józefa Kudasiewicza**

Konferencja zatytułowana „Uczeń mądrości, ojciec Kościoła naszych czasów” została zorganizowana 16 listopada 2022 r. w Lublinie. Rozpoczęła się Mszą Świętą celebrowaną w kościele akademickim KUL w intencji śp. ks. prof. Józefa Kudasiewicza. Homilię wygłosił ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Wróbel. Po Mszy Świętej miała miejsce okolicznościowa konferencja poprowadzona przez ks. prof. dr. hab. Stefana Szymika. Ks. prof. dr hab. Stanisław Dyk przedstawił „Wkład ks. prof. Józefa Kudasiewicza w rozwój homiletyki polskiej”, a ks. dr Hubert Ordon „Sylwetkę naukową ks. prof. Józefa Kudasiewicza”. Ostatnia część konferencji została poświęcona wspomnieniom „Ks. prof. Józefa Kudasiewicza w ocenie współpracowników i przyjaciół”.

**3. Sympozjum ku czci ks. prof. Józefa Kudasiewicza (1926–2012)**

Sympozjum ku czci ks. prof. Józefa Kudasiewicza było kolejną formą upamiętnienia 10. rocznicy jego śmierci i zostało zorganizowane w Wyższym Seminarium Duchownym w Kielcach w dniu 19 listopada 2022 r. Otwarcie sympozjum nastąpiło po Mszy Świętej celebrowanej w kościele seminaryjnym w intencji śp. Ks. prof. Kudasiewicza. Słowo

powitania do zgromadzonych skierował ks. bp Jan Piotrowski oraz ks. Paweł Tambor, rektor WSD w Kielcach. Sympozjum składało się z dwóch sesji:

#### **Sesja I: Biblia i przepowiadanie**

- ks. prof. dr hab. Henryk Witczyk: „Bóg – Ojciec Jezusa Chrystusa i Ojciec nasz. Misterium miłości i życia”,
- ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Wróbel: „Biblijna ikona Miriam z Nazaretu jako wzór kobiecości i otwarcia na moc Ducha Świętego”,
- ks. prof. dr hab. Stanisław Dyk: „Aktualizacja Słowa Bożego w przepowiadaniu”.

#### **Sesja II: Biblia – kultura – społeczeństwo**

- dr hab. Krzysztof Mielcarek, prof. KUL: „«Matka mojego Pana» (Łk 1,43), czyli Łukaszowa perspektywa roli Maryi w historii zbawienia”,
- dr hab. Małgorzata Krzysztofik: „Biblia w polskiej poezji współczesnej – modele obecności”,
- ks. dr hab. Miłosz Hołda: „Do kogo mówimy? «Aksjologia teizmu» i diagnozy Grzegorza Wielkiego”,
- ks. dr hab. Rafał Dudala: „Ewangelia zsekularyzowanego świata”.

#### **4. Sympozjum ku czci ks. prof. Ryszarda Rubinkiewicza SDB**

W dniach 23–24 listopada 2022 r. w Centrum Transferu Wiedzy KUL zostało zorganizowane sympozjum, upamiętniające życie i twórczość wybitnego polskiego biblisty – ks. prof. Ryszarda Rubinkiewicza: „Od Księgi Henocha do Czwartej Księgi Sybillyńskiej. Apokryfy Starego Testamentu – pomiędzy tradycją a innowacją”. Uroczystego otwarcia sympozjum dokonał ks. prof. dr hab. Przemysław Kantyka – Dziekan Wydziału Teologii KUL. Przebieg sympozjum był następujący:

#### **Środa, 23 listopada 2022 r.**

##### **Sesja I**

(przewodniczył ks. prof. dr hab. Henryk Drawnel SDB)

- ks. dr Wojciech Kardys (WSD, Pelplin): „Egzorcyzm w Apokryfie Księgi Rodzaju (1Q20ar) na tle demonologii Starego i Nowego Testamentu”,
- ks. dr Marcin Biegas (KUL, Lublin): „Dawid jako prorok w tekście Kompozycji Dawidowych (11Q5 xxvii 2–11) na tle literatury z Qumran”,
- dr Michał Klukowski (KUL, Lublin): „Problem małżeństw mieszanych. Od Księgi Ezechiela do 4QMMT”.

##### **Sesja II**

(przewodniczył ks. dr hab. Marcin Kowalski, prof. KUL)

- ks. prof. dr hab. Henryk Drawnel SDB (KUL, Lublin): „Potop w tekście etiopskim Księgi Przypowieści (1 Hen. 89:1–9) w kontekście literatury starożytnej Mezopotamii”,
- ks. dr hab. Sylwester Jędrzejewski (UPJP II, Kraków): „Bóg Żydów diaspory egipskiej w modlitwie arcykapłana Szymona (3 Mch 2,1–20) i kapłana Eleazara (3 Mch 6,1–15)”.

- ks. prof. dr hab. Marek Parchem (UKSW, Warszawa): „Apokaliptyczny charakter Testamentu Mojżesza”.

### **Sesja III**

(przewodniczył ks. dr Marcin Biegas)

- ks. prof. dr hab. Antoni Tronina (KUL, Lublin): „Książę Mastema i jego aniołowie w Księdze Jubileuszy”,
- ks. dr hab. Marcin Kowalski, prof. KUL: „Apokaliptyczne oblicze przeciwników Pawła w 2 Kor 10 – 13”.

### **Sesja IV**

(przewodniczył: ks. prof. dr hab. Antoni Tronina)

- dr hab. Dorota Muszytowska (UKSW, Warszawa): „Znaczenie metafory «asteres planetai» w Liście Judy 13 w świetle 1 Księgi Henocha”,
- ks. dr Łukasz Laskowski (WSD, Częstochowa): „Aktualizacja historii biblijnej u Pseudo-Filona”.

## **Czwartek, 24 listopada 2022 r.**

### **Sesja V**

(przewodniczył: ks. dr hab. Sylwester Jędrzejewski SDB)

- ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Wróbel (KUL, Lublin): „Walka o władzę nad Mojżeszem pomiędzy aniołem a diabłem (Jud 9) w świetle apokryfów Starego Testamentu”,
- dr Maja Miduch (UPJP II, WSD TS, Kraków): „Żyd z Diaspory czy poganin ? Kto stoi za powstaniem IV Syb”,
- dr Przemysław Piwowarczyk (UŚ, Katowice): „Obieg apokryfów Starego Testamentu w literaturze koptyjskiej”.

### **Sesja VI**

(przewodniczył: ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Wróbel)

- dr Wojciech Kosior (UJ, Kraków): „Echa apokryficznego mitu o upadku aniołów i narodzinach demonów w Talmudzie babilońskim z perspektywy systemu Elyonim veTachtonim”,
- prof. dr hab. Piotr Muchowski (UAM, Poznań): „Wzięcie Henocha (Rdz 5,24) w egzegezie karaimskiej”,
- prof. dr hab. Dorota Rojszczak-Robińska (UAM, Poznań): „Stary Testament w staropolskich apokryfach Nowego Testamentu”.

### **Sesja VII**

(przewodniczyła: prof. dr hab. Dorota Rojszczak-Robińska)

- dr hab. Barbara Strzałkowska, prof. UKSW (Warszawa): „Testament Hioba jako interpretacja tekstu LXXHi”,
- mgr Wojciech Stelmach (UAM, Poznań): „Postacie Adama i Ewy w staropolskich apokryfach Nowego Testamentu”.

- mgr Zofia Bryłka (UAM, Poznań): „Sensy typiczne w staropolskich apokryfach Nowego Testamentu”.

## 5. Wiosenne Sympozjum Biblijne

22 marca 2023 r. na Katolickim Uniwersytecie Lubelskim miało miejsce zorganizowane przez Sekcję Nauk Biblijnych Wiosenne Sympozjum Biblijne. Tegoroczny temat sympozjum: „Ekonomia w Biblii. Biblia w ekonomii”. Głównym organizatorem wydarzenia był ks. dr Krzysztof Naporą. Po słowie wstępnym, wygłoszonym przez ks. prof. dr. hab. Mirosława Wróbla, kierownika Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL, sympozjum przebiegało według następującego porządku:

### Sesja I

- dr hab. Witold Tyborowski, prof. UAM: „Klasyczny i nieklasyczny najem pasterzy w okresie starobabilońskim”;
- ks. dr Krzysztof Kinowski (KUL): „Asyryjskie interesy handlowe w Fenicji za czasów Tiglat-Pilesera III (744–727 przed Chr.) na podstawie Listu z Nimrud ND2715”;
- ks. dr Łukasz Laskowski: „*Abyście panowali...* Szczególne aspekty znaczeniowe Rdz 1,28n”;
- ks. dr hab. Andrzej Piwowar, prof. KUL: „Pożyczka w nauczaniu Syracha (Syr 29,1–7)”.

### Sesja II

- ks. dr hab. Wojciech Węgrzyniak (UPJP II, Kraków): „Powołani do pomnażania pieniędzy czy do ubóstwa?”;
- ks. prof. dr hab. Janusz Kręciđło (UKSW, Warszawa): „Jakiej ekonomii uczy nas Jezus?”;
- dr Magdalena Józwiak (KUL, Lublin): „*Jednemu dał pięć talentów, drugiemu dwa, trzeciemu jeden.* Patrystyczna egzegeza Mt 25,14–30”;
- ks. dr Zbigniew Grochowski (UKSW, Warszawa): „*Ubogich zawsze macie u siebie, ale Mnie nie zawsze macie* (J 12,8). Obfitość czasów mesjańskich według czwartej Ewangelii”.

### Sesja III

- dr hab. Krzysztof Mielcarek, prof. KUL: „Purpura i bisior, czyli chrześcijanin wobec luksusu (Łk 16,19–31)”;
- ks. dr Wojciech Wasiak (UAM, Poznań): „Łukaszowy *oikos* – między ekonomią i zbawieniem”;
- o. dr Piotr Nyk OCD (KID, Kraków): „Rola i znaczenie dóbr materialnych w przypowieści o nieuczciwym rządcy (Łk 16,1–13)”

### Sesja IV

Panel dyskusyjny: „Biblia w ekonomii”. Prowadził ks. dr Krzysztof Naporą. Uczestnikami byli: prof. dr hab. Andrzej Cwynar (WSEI, Lublin), Artur Kalicki (Duszpasterstwo Przedsiębiorców i Prawodawców „Talent”, Fundacja „Crown”), Rafał Barański („Talent”), Marek Świeży („Talent”).

## IV. Działalność naukowo-dydaktyczna pracowników Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL

Prezentację działalności naukowo-dydaktycznej rozpoczyna osoba kierownika Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych KUL. W dalszej kolejności przyjęty został porządek alfabetyczny. Sprawozdanie obejmuje działalność pracowników sekcji zatrudnionych na etatach badawczych lub badawczo-dydaktycznych. Pod hasłem „Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL” należy rozumieć wykłady wykraczające poza obowiązkowe zajęcia prowadzone przez pracowników SNB KUL.

### 1. Ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Stanisław Wróbel

#### Monografia

*Anti-Judaism and the Gospel of John. A New Look at the Fourth Gospel's Relationship with Judaism* (Lublin Theological Studies 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2023).

#### Rozdziały w monografiach lub podręcznikach

1. „Komentarz do Księgi Rodzaju”, M.S. Wróbel *et al.*, *Komentarz do Księgi Rodzaju, Księgi Wyjścia, Księgi Kapłańskiej, Księgi Liczb i Księgi Powtórzonego Prawa* (Komentarz Teologiczno-Pastoralny do Biblii Tysiąclecia. Stary Testament; Poznań: Pallottinum 2023) 35–94.
2. „Wizja świata w judaizmie Drugiej Świątyni”, *Kościół i świat* (red. A.A. Napiórkowski) (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UPP II 2023) 11–30.
3. „Wyznanie wiary ‘obcych’ w Boga Abrahama, Izaaka i Jakuba w interpretacji Biblii Aramejskiej”, *Religijne obrazy obcych. Żydzi, chrześcijanie, muzułmanie* (red. R. Marcinkowski – M. Grodzki – A. Citlak) (Kraków: Libron) 195–212.
4. „Dialogiczna relacja między Bogiem i człowiekiem w Biblii”, *Przestrzenie dialogu. Chrześcijańskie inspiracje kultury spotkania* (red. T. Adamczyk) (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL) 329–353.
5. „Znaczenie i wartość lektury Starego Testamentu”, M.S. Wróbel *et al.*, *Komentarz do Księgi Rodzaju, Księgi Wyjścia, Księgi Kapłańskiej, Księgi Liczb i Księgi Powtórzonego Prawa* (Komentarz Teologiczno-Pastoralny do Biblii Tysiąclecia. Stary Testament; Poznań: Pallottinum 2023) 27–33.

#### Książka pod redakcją

M.S. Wróbel, K. Napora, A. Tronina, M. Targoński, M. Klukowski, *Komentarz do Księgi Rodzaju, Księgi Wyjścia, Księgi Kapłańskiej, Księgi Liczb i Księgi Powtórzonego Prawa* (Komentarz Teologiczno-Pastoralny do Biblii Tysiąclecia; Poznań: Pallottinum 2023).

### Artykuły naukowe

1. „Ideological and Intertextual Relations Between the Targum Isaiah and the Gospel of John”, *Collectanea Theologica* 93/1 (2023) 85–102.
2. „L'expression « pain du ciel » dans l'Évangile de saint Jean à la lumière de l'Ancien Testament”, *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 71/8 (2023) 133–142.

### Artykuły popularnonaukowe

1. „Człowiek Boży, którego serce mocno bije w Ziemi Świętej i w kraju nad Wisłą”, *Głosił Słowo Boże (Hbr 13,7). Księga Pamięci ku czci śp. ks. prof. Michała Bednarza* (Tarnów: Biblos 2022) 61–63.
2. „Grzech, który nie będzie odpuszczony”, *Apostoł Miłosierdzia Bożego* 1(117) (2023) 26–27.
3. „Wierzę w Kościół Chrystusowy, w którym można doświadczyć Miłości”, *Przegląd Biblijny* 15 (2023) 80–86.
4. „Bohaterowie Starego Testamentu: Mojżesz – życie i dzieło”, *Krąg Biblijny* 50 (2022) 107–112.
5. „Jezus jako nowy Mojżesz”, *Krąg Biblijny* 50 (2022) 112–117.
6. „Uświęcenie czasu i odpoczynek”, *Apostoł Miłosierdzia Bożego* 2(118) (2023) 30–31.
7. „Bohaterowie Starego Testamentu: Aaron – życie i dzieło”, *Krąg Biblijny* 51 (2023) 119–123.
8. „Błogosławieństwo Aaronowe w kontekście błogosławieństw Starego i Nowego Testamentu”, *Krąg Biblijny* 51 (2023) 123–129.
9. „Sakrament pokuty i pojednania”, *Apostoł Miłosierdzia Bożego* 3(119) (2023) 28–29.
10. „Bohaterowie Starego Testamentu: Jozue – życie i dzieło”, *Krąg Biblijny* 52 (2023) 129–134.
11. „Ziemia Kanaan jako Boży dar dla ludu wybranego”, *Krąg Biblijny* 52 (2023) 134–140.
12. „Sakrament Eucharystii”, *Apostoł Miłosierdzia Bożego* 4(120) (2023) 28–29.

### Grant naukowy

Grant Ministerstwa Edukacji i Nauki „Doskonała Nauka” – moduł: Wsparcie monografii naukowych, którego finalnym celem jest upowszechnianie najnowszych osiągnięć nauki polskiej w świecie. Temat „Anti-Judiasm and the Gospel of John”.

### Działalność sympojalna

1. Referat: „Biblijna ikona Miriam z Nazaretu jako wzór kobiecości i otwarcia na moc Ducha Świętego”, Sympozjum ku czci ks. prof. Józefa Kudasiwicza „Teolog w Kościele i świecie” (WSD, Kielce, 19.11.2022).
2. Referat: „Walka o władzę nad Mojżeszem pomiędzy aniołem i diabłem (Jud 9) w świetle apokryfów Starego Testamentu”, Ogólnopolskie Sympozjum „Od Księgi Henocha do Czwartej Księgi Sybillyńskiej. Apokryfy Starego Testamentu – pomiędzy tradycją

a innowacją” upamiętniające życie i twórczość prof. dr hab. Ryszarda Rubinkiewicza (KUL, Lublin, 23–24.11.2022).

3. Referat: „Aktualne działania i perspektywy rozwoju Centrum Heschela KUL”, Międzyreligijny Kongres Katoliczek i Katolików (Warszawa, 11.01.2023).
4. Referat: „Wizja świata w judaizmie Drugiej Świątyni”, Sympozjum XIV editio Cracoviensis Cogitationis Ecclesialis „Kościoł w świecie. Świat w Kościele” (UPJP II, Kraków, 6–7.03.2023).
5. Referat: „Catholic-Jewish Relations in Lublin”, Konferencja z Profesorami i Studentami z Loyola Marymont University (Centrum Heschela KUL, Lublin, 26–27.05.2023).
6. Referat: „Literary, Exegetical and Theological Aspects of Aramaic Translations of Psalms of Pilgrims (Psa 120–134)”, International Conference “Meeting with the Psalms and Psalters” (University of Notre Dame [USA], 22.06.2023).
7. Referat: „Dialog chrześcijańsko-żydowski – wyzwania i perspektywy”, Lectio Magistralis Internationalis (UŚ, Katowice, 27.06.2023).

### Kwerendy biblioteczne

1. Rzym, Papieski Instytut Biblijny (25–30.11.2022).
2. Jerozolima, École Biblique (4–15.02.2023).

### Promocja obronionej rozprawy doktorskiej

Przemysław Kubisiak, *Moria jako miejsce ofiary Izaaka (Akedra) i Świątyni Jerozolimskiej w świetle źródeł biblijnych i rabinicznych. Analiza literacka, historyczna, archeologiczna i teologiczna (Rdz 22,1–19; 2 Krn 3,1)* (KUL; Lublin 2023).

### Recenzja rozprawy doktorskiej

Szymon Wróbel, *Agape Ojca i Syna w Ewangelii św. Jana* (UPJP II; Kraków 2023). Promotor: ks. prof. dr hab. Stanisław Hałas.

### Promocje obronionych prac magisterskich

1. Konrad Imieliński, *Znaczenie i funkcja Ducha Prawdy we wspólnocie Janowej. Studium egzegetyczno-teologiczne (J 14,15–17; 15,26; 16,13–15)* (KUL; Lublin 2023).
2. Anna Katarzyna Dziuba, *Zstępowanie Jezusa, Jego Matki, braci, uczniów z Kany do Kafarnaum jako proces tworzenia nowej relacji pomiędzy Bogiem i człowiekiem. Analiza literacka, egzegetyczna i teologiczna J 2,12* (KUL; Lublin 2023).

### Recenzje wydawnicze książek

1. K. Bardski – D. Budzanowska-Weglenda (oprac. krytyczne, tł.), *Średniowieczny słownik symboliki biblijnej. Pseudo-Garnier z Langres. Alegoryczne interpretacje całego Pisma Świętego* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UKSW 2023).
2. M. Śleziak – J. Krzywdziński (red.), *Kuluary. Prace o języku i literaturze* (Wrocław: Quaestio 2022).



### Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

1. *Verbum Vitae* (1 recenzja).
2. *Studia Europea Gnesnensia* (1 recenzja).
3. *Studia Warmińskie* (2 recenzje).
4. *Collectanea Theologica* (2 recenzje).
5. *Biblia Patristica Thorunensia* (2 recenzje).
6. *Wrocławski Przegląd Teologiczny* (3 recenzje).
7. *Studia Gdańskie* (3 recenzje).

### Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

Wykłady biblijne u sióstr karmelitanek w Dysie: „Jezus jako nowa Świątynia w Ewangelii według św. Jana”.

### Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Organizacja Kursu Formacji Biblijnej KUL.
2. Liczne wystąpienia w telewizji i w radio jako ekspert KUL do spraw biblijnych.
3. Spotkania z cyklu W Blasku i Mocy Słowa Bożego w parafii Miłosierdzia Bożego w Lublinie (raz w miesiącu).
4. Lectio divina w archikatedrze lubelskiej (raz w miesiącu).
5. Spotkania biblijne w Ognisku Światła i Miłości w Łopocznie (3 spotkania w ciągu roku).
6. Organizacja pielgrzymek-rekolekcji biblijnych do Ziemi Świętej i Turcji szlakiem Kościółów Apokalipsy.

### Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje

1. Dyrektor Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych.
2. Dyrektor Centrum Relacji Katolicko-Żydowskich im. Abrahama J. Heschela (17.10.2022 – 17.05.2023).
3. Pełnomocnik Rektora KUL ds. relacji katolicko-żydowskich i badań naukowych w Ziemi Świętej (od 17.05.2023).
4. Kierownik Katedry Filologii Biblijnej i Literatury Międzytestamentalnej.
5. Konsultor Komisji Nauki Wiary Konferencji Episkopatu Polski.
6. Prezes Stowarzyszenia na Rzecz Wspierania Bibliistyki „Verbum Sacrum”.
7. Dyrektor i redaktor naukowy projektu „Biblia Aramejska”.
8. Dyrektor Kursu Formacji Biblijnej KUL.
9. Moderator Dzieła Biblijnego im. Jana Pawła II Archidiecezji Lubelskiej.
10. Redaktor naczelny *The Biblical Annals*.
11. Redaktor naczelny serii *Studia Pomocnicze do Wykładów z Bibliistyki*.
12. Redaktor naukowy serii *Biblia Lubelska. Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu w Przekładzie z Języków Oryginalnych*.
13. Redaktor naukowy serii *Komentarz Starego Testamentu do Biblii Tysiąclecia*.

14. Sekretarz komisji w przewodzie habilitacyjnym ks. dr. Jacka Kucharskiego.
15. Członek Stowarzyszenia Bibliistów Polskich.
16. Członek Polskiego Towarzystwa Studiów Żydowskich.
17. Członek Lubelskiego Oddziału Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
18. Członek Lubelskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego.
19. Członek Associazione ex-alumni del Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
20. Członek Society of Biblical Literature.
21. Członek Catholic Biblical Association.

## 9. Ks. dr Tomasz Bąk

### Artykuły naukowe

1. „Il significato di “mandare” (Ἀποστέλλω) il discepolo da parte di Gesù nel Vangelo di Marco. Parte III: Le persone mandate da Gesù e l’ambiente della missione”, *Resovia Sacra* 29 (2022) 5–34.
2. „Critical Edition and Philological Analysis of Isa 49–50 based on Coptic Manuscript sa 52 (M 568) and Other Coptic Manuscripts in the Sahidic Dialect and the Greek Text of the Septuagint,” *The Biblical Annals* 13/1 (2023) 1–36.

### Sprawozdanie

„Działalność Sekcji Nauk Biblijnych Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II w roku akademickim 2021/2022”, *The Biblical Annals* 13/2 (2023) 385–414.

### Realizacja grantu

Projekt badawczy „Edycja krytyczna i analiza filologiczna dwóch rozdziałów Deutero-Izajasza (Iz 51–52) na podstawie koptyjskiego manuskryptu sa 52 (M 568), innych rękopisów dialektu saidzkiego oraz greckiego tekstu Septuaginty” finansowany przez Instytut Nauk Teologicznych Wydziału Teologii KUL (czas realizacji: 23.11.2021 – 31.12.2022).

### Działalność sympozjalna

1. Referat: „Opis stworzenia świata w Rdz 1 na tle kultur starożytnego Bliskiego Wschodu”, symposium katechetyczne (Instytut Teologiczno-Pastoralny w Rzeszowie, Rzeszów, 22.04.2023).
2. Referat: „Czy Bóg odrzucił lud swój? (Rz 11,1). Zbawcza perspektywa Izraela w Liście św. Pawła do Rzymian”, konferencja „Ku lepszemu rozumieniu Pisma Świętego” organizowana przez Caritas Diecezji Rzeszowskiej i Katolickiego Stowarzyszenia „Civitas Christiana” Regionu Lubelsko-Rzeszowskiego we współpracy z Katedrą Filologii Biblijnej i Literatury Międzytestamentalnej KUL, Instytutem Muzyki Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Katedrą Biotechnologii i Ogrodnictwa Uniwersytetu Rolniczego

w Krakowie, Katedrą Chrystologii i Eklezjologii Fundamentalnej KUL, Wydziałem VI Nauk Teologicznych Lubelskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego (Myczkowce, 3.06.2023).

### **Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych**

1. *Roczniki Teologiczne KUL* (1 recenzja).
2. Wydawnictwo „Tygiel” (2 recenzje).

### **Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL**

1. Wykład: „Wprowadzenie do Pięcioksięgu”, Instytut Teologiczno-Pastoralny im. św. Józefa Sebastiana Pelczara w Rzeszowie (Akademia Biblijna).
2. Wykład: „Stworzenie świata i człowieka w świetle Księgi Rodzaju”, Instytut Teologiczno-Pastoralny im. Św. Józefa Sebastiana Pelczara w Rzeszowie (Teologia dla Nowej Ewangelizacji).
3. Cykl wykładów: „Egzegeza Starego Testamentu: Pięcioksiąg”, Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne w Rzeszowie (rok III i IV, semestr I, rok akademicki 2022/2023).
4. Cykl wykładów: „Wprowadzenie do Pisma Świętego”. Kurs w zakresie teologii i kultury polskiej – edycja I w ramach Studium KUL dla Polonii i Polaków za granicą (II semestr, rok akademicki 2022/2023).
5. Cykl wykładów: „Listy świętego Pawła”, Akademia Biblijna Diecezji Rzeszowskiej (II semestr, rok akademicki 2022/2023).
6. Cykl wykładów: „Egzegeza Listu św. Pawła do Rzymian”, Akademia Biblijna Diecezji Rzeszowskiej (II semestr, rok akademicki 2022/2023).
7. Cykl wykładów: „Wprowadzenie do Pisma Świętego”. Kurs w zakresie teologii i kultury polskiej – edycja II w ramach Studium KUL dla Polonii i Polaków za granicą (II semestr, rok akademicki 2022/2023).

### **Działania popularyzujące Biblię**

Audycja „Bazylika Grobu Pańskiego” w cyklu Niezwykłe Historie z Pocztówek (TVP Lublin, 21.03.2023).

### **Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje**

1. Szkolenie z zakresu doskonalenia kompetencji pracowniczych – Kurs języka niemieckiego (luty 2022 – styczeń 2023) zakończony certyfikatem TELC z poziomu B2 (egzamin: 11.01.2023).
2. Redaktor sekcji „Varia” w *The Biblical Annals*.

## 10. Ks. prof. dr hab. Henryk Drawnel SDB

### Rozdziały w monografiach

1. "Introduction", J.T. Milik (†), *Les livres des patriarches. Édition des textes, traduction et commentaire. I. Testament de Lévi* (red. H. Drawnel) (Etudes Bibliques NS 95; Leuven: Peeters 2022) 1–88.
2. "Enoch at the Ends of the Earth: Horizon-Based Astronomy and the Stars in 1 Enoch 33–36", *Science in Qumran Aramaic Texts* (red. I. Fröhlich) (Ancient Cultures of Sciences and Knowledge; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2022) 143–172.

### Książka pod redakcją

J.T. Milik (†), *Les livres des patriarches: Édition des textes, traduction et commentaire. I. Testament de Lévi. Introduction par Henryk Drawnel SDB* (red. H. Drawnel) (Etudes Bibliques NS 95; Leuven: Peeters 2022).

### Artykuł naukowy

„The Literary Structure of the Flood Account in the Animal Apocalypse,” *The Biblical Annals* 13/3 (2023) 395–417.

### Realizacja grantów naukowych

1. Pozyskanie i realizacja w roku 2022 (wrzesień–grudzień) grantu Ministerstwa Edukacji i Nauki „Doskonała Nauka – Społeczna odpowiedzialność nauki”. Moduł: Wsparcie konferencji naukowych. Tytuł: „Od Księgi Henocha do Czwartej Księgi Sybillyńskiej. Apokryfy Starego Testamentu – pomiędzy tradycją a innowacją” (projekt nr: DNK/SP/548468/2022).
2. Grant Wydziału Teologii: „The Creation of a 364-Day Year in 1 Enoch 72” (2023).

### Działalność sympozjalna

1. Organizacja sympozjum „Od Księgi Henocha do Czwartej Księgi Sybillyńskiej. Apokryfy Starego Testamentu – pomiędzy tradycją a innowacją” (KUL, Lublin, 23–24.11.2022).
2. Referat: „Potop w tekście etiopskim Apokalipsy Zwierząt (1 Hen. 89:1–9) w kontekście literatury starożytnej Mezopotamii”, sympozjum „Od Księgi Rodzaju do Czwartej Księgi Sybillyńskiej” (KUL, Lublin, 23–24.11.2022).
3. Referat: „*In Order, By Measure, and Weight: Between Professional Education and Aramaic Literacy*”, konferencja „Apocalypticism and Authority” (Uniwersytet Kopenhaski, Kopenhaga, Dania, 16–17.08.2023).

### Kwerenda biblioteczna

Papieski Instytut Biblijny (Rzym, 1.10.2022 – 30.06.2023).

## Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

*Dead Sea Discoveries* (2 recenzje)

## Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje

1. Członek Komitetu Redakcyjnego (Editorial Board) czasopisma *Dead Sea Discoveries*.
2. Redaktor sekcji Literatura Międzytestamentalna w *The Biblical Annals*.
3. Redaktor serii *Studia Biblica Lublinensia*.
4. Dyrektor Ośrodka Badań nad Judaizmem Drugiej Świątyni.

## 11. Ks. prof. dr hab. Dariusz Dziadosz

### Artykuł naukowy

„The Covenants of the Patriarchs with Foreigners at Beersheba. The Historical and Legal Background of the Traditions in Gen 21:22–24, 25–33 and Gen 26:26–31”, *The Biblical Annals* 13/3 (2023) 1–31.

### Realizacja grantu naukowego

Współpraca w publikacji pokonferencyjnych materiałów z międzynarodowego sympozjum naukowego „The Stranger in the Bible and the Ancient Near East/Lo straniero nella Bibbia e nel Vicino Oriente Antico” (KUL, Lublin, 25–26.10.2022) w ramach realizacji grantu Ministerstwa Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego na lata 2019–2022 (028/RID/2018/19) (współudział ks. dr Krzysztof Napora, ks. dr Arnold Zawadzki).

### Działalność sympozjalna

1. Referat: „Mistrz wzywający do wypłynięcia na głębię. Jana Pawła II reлектura opisu powołaniu pierwszych uczniów w trzeciej Ewangelii (Łk 5,1–11)”, konferencja krajowa: „Fundacja Pomocy Młodzieży „Wzrastanie” imienia Jana Pawła II w hołdzie swemu Świętemu Patronowi” (Przeworsk, 16.05.2023).
2. Referat: „Źródło w Starym Testamencie”, konferencja krajowa XXXIII Ogólnopolski Zjazd Szkół im. Jana Pawła II „Gdzie jesteś źródło?” (Zręcin, 16.06.2023).
3. Organizacja konferencji krajowej: XXXIII Ogólnopolski Zjazd Szkół im. Jana Pawła II „Gdzie jesteś źródło?” (Zręcin, 16.06.2023).

### Staż naukowy

„Seminario di aggiornamento per docenti e studiosi di Sacra Scrittura: Testi e versioni dell’AT: dalla critica testuale alla critica letteraria”, Papieski Instytut Biblijny (Rzym, 23–27.01.2023).

### Promocja obronionej rozprawy doktorskiej

Krystian Malec, *Manifestacje rúah רוח w deuteronomistycznej historiografii Izraela. Analiza historyczno-krytyczna wybranych tradycji Joz–2Krl* (KUL; Lublin 2023).

### Promocje obronionych prac magisterskich

1. Marcin Piotrowski, *Kobiety w wojennych realiach biblijnej epoki sędziów. Studium historyczno-krytyczne wybranych passusów zbioru tradycji Sdz 4,1–5,31* (UPJP II; Kraków 2023).
2. Łukasz Juszczyk, *Genealogia rodu Abrahama kluczem do teologicznej lektury cyklu tradycji Rdz 12,1–25,18. Studium historyczno-krytyczne Rdz 11,27–32* (UPJP II; Kraków 2023).

### Promotorstwo prac dyplomowych

1. Praca licencjacka z teologii biblijnej: Patryk Pikuliński, *Deuteronomistyczna koncepcja konfrontacji Eliasza z Achabem. Studium historyczno-krytyczne 1Krl 17,1; 18,1–2.41–46* (KUL; Lublin 2023).
2. Praca licencjacka z teologii biblijnej: Arkadiusz Wojnicki, *God as Guardian and Enemy of the Human Soul/Life. The Cultural and Theological Code of the nepeš in 1 Sam 25:29* (KUL; Lublin 2023).

### Recenzje wydawnicze książek

1. M. Baranowski, *Księga Powtórzonego Prawa. Wstęp. Przekład z oryginału. Komentarz* (Nowy Komentarz Biblijny. Stary Testament 5; Częstochowa: Edycja Świętego Pawła 2022).
2. W. Pikor, *Księgi historyczne Starego Testamentu. Wprowadzenie do zagadnień literackich, historyczno-krytycznych i teologicznych* (Biblioteka Szkoły Dabar 5; Pelplin: Bernardinum 2023).

### Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

1. *The Biblical Annals* (1 recenzja)
2. *Biblica et Patristica Thorunensia* (2 recenzje)
3. *Ethos* (1 recenzja)
4. *Verbum Vitae* (1 recenzja)
5. *Teologia i Człowiek* (1 recenzja)

### Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

Wykłady w Wyższym Seminarium Duchownym w Przemyślu.

### Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje

1. Członek Zarządu Stowarzyszenia Biblistów Polskich.

2. Członek Rady Programowej (Stary Testament) *Urbaniana University Journal. Euntes Docete* (Rivista quadrimestrale della Pontificia Università Urbaniana di Roma).

## 12. Ks. dr Krzysztof Kinowski

### Recenzja książki

H.M. Patmore – J. Lossl (eds.), *Demons in Early Judaism and Christianity. Characters and Characteristics* (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 113; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2022), *The Biblical Annals* 13/1 (2023) 197–200.

### Działalność sympozjalna

Referat: „Asyryjskie interesy handlowe w Fenicji za czasów Tiglat-Pilesera III (744–727 przed Chr.) na podstawie Listu z Nimrud ND 2715”, „Ekonomia w Biblii. Biblia w ekonomii” (KUL, Lublin, 23.03.2023).

### Szkolenia i kwerendy biblioteczne

1. „Seminario di aggiornamento per docenti e studiosi di Sacra Scrittura: Critica textus” (Papieski Instytut Biblijny, Rzym 23–27.01.2023).
2. Kwerenda biblioteczna w Papieskim Instytucie Biblijnym w Rzymie (19–29.01.2023).

### Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

1. Wykłady oraz ćwiczenia z Pisma Świętego (Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne w Gdańsku).
2. Wykłady z Pisma Świętego dla słuchaczy studium podyplomowego (Instytut Teologiczny Archidiecezji Gdańskiej).
3. Wykłady z Pisma Świętego dla studentów jednolitych studiów magisterskich (Instytut Teologiczny Archidiecezji Gdańskiej).

### Działania popularyzujące Biblię

Wykłady w Telewizyjnym Uniwersytecie Biblijnym (TV Trwam, Toruń).

### Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje

1. Członek zespołu redakcyjnego *Verbum Vitae*.
2. Członek Stowarzyszenia Biblistów Polskich.
3. Członek Associazione Ex-alumni ed Ex-alunne del Pontificio Istituto Biblico a Roma.

### 13. Ks. dr hab. Marcin Kowalski, prof. KUL

#### Monografia

P. Śliwiński [współautor], *Jutro Święto. Rok ABC* (Kraków: Stacja7 2022).

#### Rozdziały w monografiach lub podręcznikach

1. „Lew w starciu z orłem. Krytyczna ocena antyimperialnej lektury Pawła”, *Któż potrafi opowiedzieć dzieła miłosierdzia Bożego. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci ks. prof. dra hab. Stanisława Hałasa SCJ* (red. T.M. Dąbek – S. Witkowski – B. Zbroja) (Kraków: Uniwersytet Papieski Jana Pawła II w Krakowie. Wydawnictwo Naukowe 2022) 159–192.
2. „Divine and Human Spirit in Rom 8:16: Paul and Epictetus on Free Will”, *Biblical Anthropology. A Message for Contemporary People* (red. M. Kowalski) (Seria Myśli Teologicznej 111; Kraków: WAM 2023).

#### Książka pod redakcją

*Biblical Anthropology. A Message for Contemporary People* (Seria Myśli Teologicznej 111; Kraków: WAM 2023).

#### Artykuły naukowe

1. „*Holy War* in Corinth: The Apocalyptic Background of Paul’s Struggle against Opponents in 2 Cor 10:3–6”, *Religions* 14/5 (2023) 630.
2. „The Lion Against the Eagle: A Critical Appraisal of the Anti-Imperial Reading of Paul”, *Collectanea Theologica* 93/2 (2023) 57–103.

#### Recenzja

Christoph Heilig, *The Apostle and the Empire. Paul’s Implicit and Explicit Criticism of Rome* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2022), *The Biblical Annals* 13/2 (2023) 379–383.

#### Realizacja grantów naukowych

1. Realizacja grantu Regionalnej Inicjatywy Doskonałości (RID): dofinansowanie udziału w konferencji „Romans 8 through the Lens(es) of Pauline Research Past and Present”, 21–25 września, 2022, Universität Wien, wygłoszenie referatu i przygotowanie publikacji „The Deeds of the Body and the Role of the Spirit in Rom 8:13”.
2. Realizacja grantu Regionalnej Inicjatywy Doskonałości (RID) na dofinansowanie publikacji *The Spirit in Romans 8: Paul, the Stoics, and Jewish Authors in Dialog* (Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht).
3. Realizacja grantu Wydziału Teologii na udział w sympozjum European Association of Biblical Studies w Syrakuzach we Włoszech (10–13.07.2023), wygłoszenie referatu



i publikację artykułu „Holy War’ in Corinth. The Apocalyptic Background of Paul’s Struggle with Opponents in 2 Cor 10:3–6”.

4. Realizacja zadania zleconego przez Ministerstwa Edukacji i Nauki, „Centrum A.J. Heschela KUL 2022/2023”.

### **Działalność sympozjalna**

1. Referat: „Apokaliptyczne oblicze przeciwników Pawła w 2 Kor 10–13”, sympozjum „Od Księgi Henocha do Czwartej Księgi Sybillyńskiej. Apokryfy Starego Testamentu – pomiędzy tradycją a innowacją” upamiętniające życie i twórczość prof. dr. hab. Ryszarda Rubinkiewicza SDB (1939–2011) (KUL, Lublin, 23–24.11.2022).
2. Referat: „Holy War’ in Corinth. The Apocalyptic Background of Paul’s Struggle with Opponents in 2 Cor 10:3–6”, European Association of Biblical Studies Annual Conference (Syracuse, Italy, 10–13.07.2023).

### **Kwerenda biblioteczna**

Papieski Instytut Biblijny w Rzymie (15–22.04.2023).

### **Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych**

1. *Religions* (2 recenzje).
2. *Biblica* (2 recenzje).
3. *Collectanea Theologica* (1 recenzja).
4. *Wrocławski Przegląd Teologiczny* (1 recenzja).
5. *Verbum Vitae* (1 recenzja).

### **Działania popularyzujące Biblię**

1. Programy telewizyjne w TV Trwam („Telewizyjny Uniwersytet Biblijny”) i TVP 1 („Między Ziemią a Niebem”), TVP Kielce („Siewcy Słowa”), TVP Kraków.
2. Audycje w Radiu Maryja („Szukając Słowa Bożego”), Radiu Kielce („Co Biblia mówi o...?”), Radiu Warszawa, Radiu Plus oraz Radiu eM.

### **Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje**

1. Redaktor kwartalnika *The Biblical Annals*.
2. Członek Papieskiej Komisji Biblijnej.
3. Moderator Dzieła Biblijnego Diecezji Kieleckiej.
4. Członek Komitetu Redakcyjnego *Biblii Tysiąclecia* (wydanie 6).
5. Dyrektor Centrum Relacji Katolicko-Żydowskich im. Abrahama J. Heschela.

## 14. Ks. dr hab. Adam Kubiś, prof. KUL

### Książki pod redakcją

1. K. Anderson – D. Keating, *List św. Jakuba, Pierwszy List św. Jana, Drugi List św. Jana i Trzeci List św. Jana* (Katolicki Komentarz do Pisma Świętego; Poznań: W drodze 2023) = K. Anderson – D. Keating, *James, First, Second, and Third John* (Catholic Commentary on Sacred Scripture; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2017).
2. K. Malec, *Księga Habakuka. Wstęp, przekład, miejsca paralelne, komentarz* (Biblia Lubelska. Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu w Przekładzie z Języków Oryginalnych; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2023).
3. P. Jaworski, *Księga Malachiasza. Wstęp, przekład, miejsca paralelne, komentarz* (Biblia Lubelska. Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu w Przekładzie z Języków Oryginalnych; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2023).
4. M. Zieliński, *Księga Mądrości. Wstęp, przekład, teksty paralelne, komentarz* (Biblia Lubelska. Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu w Przekładzie z Języków Oryginalnych; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2023).

### Artykuły popularnonaukowe

1. „Chrześcijanin ma stać się żyjącą Biblią, którą inni mają czytać. Wywiad z ks. dr. hab. Adamem Kubisiem”, *Znak Łaski* 95/2 (2022) 12–19.
2. „Ewangelia największym wyzwaniem. Rozmawia Alina Ziętek-Salwik”, *Niedziela* 40 (2022) 6.

### Realizacja grantów naukowych

1. Kierownik grantu w programie „Społeczna odpowiedzialność nauki” (X 2021) na powstanie teologicznego repozytorium dziedzinowego „Theo-logos”. Suma: 700 000 zł. Zespół: 9 osób. Czas realizacji: 2 lata (1.12.2021 – 30.11.2023).
2. Kierownik grantu w programie „Nauka dla społeczeństwa II” (IX 2023) na rozbudowę teologicznego repozytorium dziedzinowego „Theo-logos”. Suma: 1 330 000 zł. Zespół: 8 osób. Czas realizacji: 3 lata (1.12.2023 – 30.09.2026).

### Działalność sympozjalna

1. Referat: „Doskonała miłość usuwa lęk. Wokół interpretacji 1 J 4,18”, sympozjum: „Strach, lęk, bojaźń Boża w tradycji Kościoła”, Ogólnopolska konferencja zorganizowana przez Zakład Teologii Historycznej Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu (14–15.10.2022).
2. Referat: „Teologiczne Repozytorium Cyfrowe ‘Theo-logos’”, sympozjum: „Zbiory biblioteczne w instytucjach kościelnych – konferencja naukowa” (Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie, 23–25.11.2022; referat 24.11.2024).

3. Referat: „Opis stworzenia człowieka w Rdz 2 na tle kultur starożytnego Bliskiego Wschodu”, symposium katechetyczne (Instytut Teologiczno-Pastoralny w Rzeszowie, 22.04.2023).
4. Referat: „Teologiczne repozytorium cyfrowe *Theo-logos*” w pracy bibliisty”, 60. Sympozjum Bibliistów Polskich (Tarnów, 22.09.2023).
5. Referat: „Apostazja w źródłach biblijnych”, symposium: „Podwawelskie spory o kształt wiary 5: Odejścia z Kościoła” (UPJP II, Kraków, 25–26.10.2023).
6. Referat: „Baza „Theo-logos” – powstanie, cele, zasoby”, symposium: „Teolog – bibliografia – Internet” (KUL, Lublin, 8.11.2023).
7. Organizacja międzynarodowej konferencji: „The Concept of Mercy in the Book of Psalms / Idea miłosierdzia w Księdze Psalmów”, z cyklu „Colloquia Kolbuszoviensia. Christian and Jewish Conversations on Psalms” (Dawna synagoga, Kolbuszowa, 22.08.2022).

### **Kwerenda biblioteczna**

Papieski Instytut Biblijny (Rzym, 13–22.05.2022).

### **Recenzja obronionej rozprawy doktorskiej**

Izabela Kulik-Izdyrdczyk, *Koncepcja miłości Boga w Pierwszym Liście Świętego Jana* (UPJP II; Kraków 2023). Promotor: ks. dr hab. Stanisław Witkowski MS.

### **Promotorstwo pracy magisterskiej**

Michał Kot, *Znaczenie śmierci Chrystusa w świetle znaków towarzyszących ukrzyżowaniu Jezusa w relacji Ewangelii Mateusza (27,45–53)* (KUL; Lublin 2023).

### **Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych**

1. *Biblica et Patristica Thorunensia*.
2. *Religions*.
3. *Studia Salvatoriana Polonica*.
4. *Saeculum Christianum*.
5. *Teologia i Moralność*.
6. *Polonia Sacra*.

### **Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL**

1. Cykl wykładów: „Pisma Janowe”, WSD Rzeszów.
2. Cykl wykładów: „Literatura mądrościowa”, WSD Rzeszów.
3. Cykl wykładów: „Wprowadzenie w biblijną historię zbawienia”, WSD Rzeszów.
4. Wykład: „Corpus Johanneum”, Akademia Katolicka w Warszawie (12.02; 15.02; 1.03.2022).

5. Wykład: „Ewangelia Mateusza. Zagadnienia literackie, historyczne i teologiczne”, Akademia Biblijna Diecezji Rzeszowskiej (5.11.2022).
6. Wykład: „Ewangelia Marka. Zagadnienia literackie, historyczne i teologiczne”, Akademia Biblijna Diecezji Rzeszowskiej (3.12.2022).
7. Wykład: „Pneumatologia Janowa”, Szkoła Eliasza, Nowy Sącz (21.01.2023).
8. Wykład: „Angelologia biblijna: Kim są i skąd się wzięły anioły?”, Akademia Biblijna Diecezji Rzeszowskiej (18.02.2023).
9. Wykład: „Pasja Jezusa według Ewangelii św. Jana”, Szkoła Biblijna Joanneum, Akademia Katolicka w Warszawie (18.03.2023).
10. Wykład: „Wiara i niewiara we współczesnym świecie: Wiara w Biblii”, Instytut Wyższych Studiów Teologicznych w Rzeszowie (7.10.2023).
11. Wykład: „Jezus Chrystus – centrum wszechświata: obraz Jezusa w Ewangeliach synoptycznych i pismach Janowych”, Instytut Wyższych Studiów Teologicznych w Rzeszowie (18.11.2023).

### **Działania popularyzujące Biblię**

1. „Radość w Biblii”, Radio Via, Rzeszów (10.10.2022).
2. „Drugoplanowe postaci Adwentu”, Radio Via, Rzeszów (26.11.2022).
3. „Gwiazda betlejemska – rozumienie”, Radio Via, Rzeszów (24.12.2022).
4. „Biblijne kobiety”, Radio Via, Rzeszów (4.03.2023).
5. „Zmartwychwstanie – jak w nie uwierzyć?”, Polskie Radio Rzeszów (5.04.2023).
6. „Triduum Sacrum a Wielka Sobota”, Radio Via, Rzeszów (8.04.2023).
7. „Symbolika wody w świecie starożytnym oraz w Biblii”, Polskie Radio Rzeszów (10.04.2023).
8. „Tajemnice wyspy Patmos”, Polskie Radio Rzeszów (15.06.2023).
9. „Ziemia Święta – piąta Ewangelia”, Katolickie Radio Via (9.09.2023).
10. „Izrael, podróże na styku kultur i religii”, Polskie Radio Rzeszów (14.09.2023).
11. Warsztaty biblijno-archeologiczne Szkoły DABAR: „Pascha Jezusa” w Izraelu wraz z s. dr hab. Judytą Pudelko, ks. dr. Krzysztofem Naporą, o. dr. Jakubem Waszkowiakiem OFM oraz o. prof. Eugenio Alliatą OFM (4–15.07, 18–29.07, 16–30.08.2023).

### **Pełnione funkcje**

1. Redaktor naczelny kwartalnika *Verbum Vitae*.
2. Redaktor serii Lublin Theological Studies (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
3. Redaktor naukowy Biblii Lubelskiej (Wydawnictwo KUL).
4. Redaktor serii Biblioteka Szkoły DABAR.
5. Wiceprezes Stowarzyszenia na Rzecz Wspierania Bibliistyki „Verbum Sacrum”.
6. Członek Zespołu ds. Umieędzynarodowienia na Wydziale Teologii KUL.
7. Członek Uniwersyteckiej Komisji Wydawniczej KUL (od 16.03.2023 r.).

## 15. Dr hab. Krzysztof Mielcarek, prof. KUL

### Monografia

*Ojciec na ziemi w dziele Łukasza* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2023).

### Artykuł naukowy

„The Characterisation of Joseph by Matthew (Matt 1–2; 13:55)”, *The Biblical Annals* 13/2 (2023), 335–362.

### Recenzja wydawnicza książki

A. Draguła, *Syn marnotrawny. Biografia ocalenia* (Biblioteka „Więzi” 388; Warszawa: Towarzystwo „Więź” 2022).

### Artykuły popularnonaukowe

1. „Święta i tradycje biblijne: Święto Przebłagania – Jom Kippur”, *Krag Biblijny* 51 (2023) 109–118.
2. „Święta i tradycje biblijne: Święto Poświęcenia Świątyni – Chanuka”, *Krag Biblijny* 52 (2023) 121–127.

### Realizacja grantu naukowego

Grant z programu Ministerstwa Edukacji i Nauki „Doskonała Nauka”: aktualizacja, tłumaczenie i publikacja monografii naukowej: *Jerusalem or Hierosolyma. Exploring the Semitic and Hellenistic onomastic Notions in Luke’s Work* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2023).

### Działalność sympozjalna

1. Referat: „Purpura i bisior, czyli chrześcijanin wobec luksusu (Łk 16,19–31)”, symposium: „Ekonomia w Biblii. Biblia w ekonomii” (Lublin, KUL, 22.03.2023).
2. Referat: „The Earthly Paternity of Zechariah and Joseph in the Service of the Narrative and Theological Plan of Lukan Work: Characterization of Two Characters from Luke 1–2”, Siracusa Annual Conference of EABS (Istituto Superiore di Scienze Religiose San Metodjo, Włochy, 10–13.07.2023).
3. Referat: „Dzieje Apostolskie jako obraz Kościoła Synodalnego”, Doroczne Sympozjum Towarzystwa Teologów Dogmatyków (Konstancin Jeziorna, 11–13.09.2023).
4. Referat: „Ojciec na ziemi i Ojciec w niebie według Trzeciego ewangelisty”, 60. Symposium Biblistów Polskich (Tarnów, 20–22.09.2023).

### Szkolenie

I Ogólnopolska Konferencja Szkół Doktorskich (Łódź 30–31.03.2023).

**Promocja pracy magisterskiej**

Ashur Temurazovi, *Wskrzeszenie córki Jaira w Mk 5, 22–24.35–43 w świetle aramejskiej tradycji tekstowej* (Lublin, KUL).

**Recenzja wydawnicza artykułu naukowego**

*Religions* (1 recenzja).

**Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL**

1. Cykl wykładów: „Ewangelie Synoptyczne”, Kolegium Filozoficzno-Teologiczne Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów (Kraków).
2. Cykl wykładów: „Historia zbawienia”, Kolegium Filozoficzno-Teologiczne Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów (Warszawa).
3. Cykl wykładów: „Wprowadzenie do Pięcioksięgu”, Kurs Formacji Biblijnej (Lublin).
4. Cykl wykładów: „Wprowadzenie do Pisma Świętego”, Studium Dominicanum (Warszawa).
5. Cykl wykładów: „Wstęp do Pisma Świętego”, Dominikańskie Studium Filozofii i Teologii (Kraków).
6. Cykl wykładów: „Ewangelia św. Mateusza”, Dominikańskie Studium Filozofii i Teologii (Kraków).

**Pełnione funkcje**

1. Dyrektor Szkoły Doktorskiej KUL.
2. Członek Senackiej Komisji ds. Nauki i Współpracy z Zagranicą.
3. Członek Senackiej Komisji ds. Dydaktyki i Wychowania.
4. Recenzent w postępowaniu habilitacyjnym dra Sławomira Zatwardnickiego (grudzień 2022).

**16. Ks. dr Krzysztof Napora SCJ****Rozdział w monografii**

„Księga Wyjścia”, M.S. Wróbel *et al.*, *Komentarz do Księgi Rodzaju, Księgi Wyjścia, Księgi Kapłańskiej, Księgi Liczb, Księgi powtórzonego Prawa* (Komentarz Teologiczno-Pastoralny do Biblii Tysiąclecia 1; Poznań: Pallottinum 2023) 95–170.

**Artykuł naukowy**

„Tradycja «nie-kapłańska» (nie-P) w Prehistorii biblijnej (Rdz 1–11)”, *Zeszyty Naukowe Stowarzyszenia Biblistów Polskich* 20 (2023) 319–333.

## Recenzja pracy licencjackiej

Patryk Pikuliński, *Deuteronomistyczna koncepcja konfrontacji Eliasza z Achabem. Studium historyczno-krytyczne 1Krl 17,1; 18,1–2.41–46* (Lublin, KUL).

## Artykuły popularnonaukowe

1. „Faryzeusz i celnik”, *Czas Serca* 174 (2022) 20–21.
2. „Czy innego mamy oczekiwać?”, *Czas Serca* 175 (2022) 20–21.
3. „A ja wam powiadam...”, *Czas Serca* 176 (2023) 20–21.
4. „Zaśpiewam pieśń o winnicy...”, *Czas Serca* 177 (2023) 20–21.
5. „Czemu zwątpilem...?”, *Czas Serca* 178 (2023) 20–21.

## Działalność sympozjalna

1. Współorganizacja Międzynarodowych Jesiennych Dni Biblijnych „The Stranger in the Bible and the Ancient Near East” (KUL, Lublin, 25–26.10.2022).
2. Referat: „Czy miłość była «na początku»? Miłość w Rdz 1–11. *Misericordias Domini in aeternum cantabo* (Ps 88,2)”, symposium biblijne z okazji wręczenia księgi pamiątkowej ks. prof. dr. hab. Stanisławowi Hałasowi SCJ (Kraków, 9.12.2022).
3. Wystąpienie pt. „Property in the Hebrew Bible” podczas spotkania Europejskiej Sercańskiej Komisji Teologicznej w Neustadt (2–5.02.2023).
4. Organizacja Symposium Biblijnego „Ekonomia w Biblii. Biblia w ekonomii” (KUL, Lublin, 22.03.2023).

## Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

1. Wykłady ze Starego Testamentu w Wyższym Seminarium Misyjnym Księży Najświętszego Serca Jezusowego w Stadnikach.
2. Wykłady z hermeneutyki biblijnej oraz archeologii i geografii biblijnej dla Szkoły Biblijnej Collegium Joanneum w Warszawie (Warszawa, 19.11.2023; 8 godzin).
3. „«Pamiętam wierność twojej młodości, miłość twego narzeczeństwa...» (Jr 2,2)”. Cykl 7 wykładów na temat Księgi Wyjścia dla Szkoły Biblijnej Archidiecezji Gdańskiej (16–18.12.2022).
4. Wykłady biblijno-pastoralne na temat Księgi Wyjścia dla Postulatu Sióstr Franciszkanek Misjonarek Maryi (Stadniki, 18–24.06.2023).

## Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Spotkania Kręgu Biblijnego w Parafii pw. Dobrego Pasterza w Lublinie.
2. Spotkania Lectio Divina dla wspólnoty Postulatu Sióstr Franciszkanek Misjonarek Maryi (Stadniki).
3. Udział w audycji „Szukając Słowa Bożego” w Radiu Maryja (13.01.2023).
4. Udział w audycji „Szukając Słowa Bożego” w Radiu Maryja (16.06.2023).
5. Cykl konferencji na temat tajemnicy Serca Boga w Biblii w ramach XIII rekolekcji Na Fali Wielbienia (Licheń Stary, 27.06 – 2.07.2023).

6. Udział w audycji „Szukając Słowa Bożego” w Radiu Maryja (11.08.2023).
7. Cykl konferencji biblijno-pastoralnych dla wspólnoty Instytutu Życia Konsekwowanego Chrystusa Króla.
8. Cykl konferencji biblijno-pastoralnych dla wspólnoty Sióstr Nazaretanek w Lublinie.

### **Pełnione funkcje**

1. Skarbnik Stowarzyszenia na rzecz Wspierania Bibliistyki „Verbum Sacrum”.
2. Członek Sercańskiej Komisji Teologicznej Europy.

## **17. Ks. dr hab. Andrzej Piwowar, prof. KUL**

### **Artykuł naukowy**

„The Sick Person’s Relationship with God in the Healing Process According to Ben Sira (Sir 38:9–11)”, *The Biblical Annals* 12/4 (2022) 473–501.

### **Działalność sympozjalna**

Referat: „«Pożyczka w nauczaniu Syracha» (Syr 29,1–7)”, sympozjum „Ekonomia w Biblii. Biblia w ekonomii” (KUL, Lublin, 21.03.2023).

### **Recenzja wydawnicza artykułu**

*Wrocławski Przegląd Teologiczny* (1 recenzja).

### **Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje**

1. Wicedaktor naczelny *Verbum Vitae*.
2. Członek Rady Programowej dla kierunku Teologia i Nauki o Rodzinie.
3. Członek Uniwersyteckiej Komisji ds. Oceny Grantów z Komponentem Międzynarodowym.
4. Członek Wydziałowej Komisji ds. Jakości Kształcenia.
5. Członek Wydziałowej Komisji Grantowej.

## **18. Ks. prof. dr hab. Stefan Szymik MSF**

### **Monografia**

*Ziemia Przymierza. Geografia i archeologia biblijna w zarysie* (Materiały Pomocnicze do Wykładów z Bibliistyki 14; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2022).



**Rozdział w monografii**

„Kobieta błogosławi kobietę. Biblijne zwiastuny kultu maryjnego (Łk 1,42; 11,27),” *Jest nadzieja, bo jest Niepokalana* (red. B. Kulik) (Pelplin: Bernardinum 2023) 25–43.

**Artykuł naukowy**

„Biblia o życiu poczętym i życiu przerwany,” *Teologia i Moralność* 18/1 (2023) 9–20.

**Recenzja książki**

Sławomir Zatwardnicki, *Biblia „po katolicku”, czyli dlaczego nie sola Scriptura?* (Pszonica i Kąkol; Warszawa – Poznań: W drodze 2023), *Verbum Vitae* 41/2 (2023) 459–463.

**Realizacja grantów naukowych**

1. Grant Regionalnej Inicjatywy Doskonałości (RID) na publikację książki: *Ziemia przymierza. Geografia i archeologia biblijna w zarysie* (Materiały Pomocnicze do Wykładów z Bibliistyki 14; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2022).
2. Grant z programu Ministerstwa Edukacji i Nauki „Doskonała Nauka” związany z angielskojęzycznym przekładem monografii *Problem polemiki antyepikurejskiej w pismach Nowego Testamentu*.

**Działalność sympozjalna**

1. Organizacja konferencji naukowej „Uczeń mądrości, ojciec Kościoła naszych czasów” z okazji 10. rocznicy śmierci ks. prof. Józefa Kudasiewicza (KUL, Lublin, 16.11.2022).
2. Referat: „Kobieta błogosławi kobietę (Łk 1,42; 11,27). Biblijne początki kultu Maryi – Matki Bożej”, konferencja naukowa z okazji 35-lecia działalności Apostolstwa Dobrej Śmierci w Polsce „Jest nadzieja, bo jest Niepokalana” (Górka Klasztorna k. Piły, 19.11.2022).

**Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych**

1. *Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia* (1 recenzja).
2. *Collectanea Theologica* (1 recenzja).
3. *Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne Śląska Opolskiego* (1 recenzja).
4. *Verbum Vitae* (1 recenzja).

**Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL**

1. Wykłady z Nowego Testamentu (Literatura epistolarna), Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne Misjonarzy Świętej Rodziny w Kazimierzu Biskupim (44 godziny).
2. Wykłady z metodologii biblijnej (Metody interpretacji Pisma Świętego), Kurs Formacji Biblijnej (archidiecezja lubelska; 16 godzin).

**Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje**

Sekretarz „Stowarzyszenia na rzecz Wspierania Bibliistyki *Verbum Sacrum*” (od 2020 roku).

**19. Ks. prof. dr hab. Henryk Witczyk****Artykuły naukowe**

1. „Fenomen profetyzmu kultycznego w Psalmach”, *Przegląd Religioznawczy* 3/289 (2023) 139–149.
2. „The Christological Dimension of Biblical Inspiration according to Gospel Testimonies”, *Biblica et Patristica Thorunensia* 16/3 (2023) 275–294.

**Recenzje rozpraw doktorskich**

1. H. Górską, *Psalmy Asafa w Psalterzu. Studium porównawcze w zakresie literacko-teologicznym* (UPJP II, Kraków).
2. R. Bogacki, *Alberta Vanoye koncepcja struktury literackiej „Listu do Hebrajczyków” i jej recepcja w latach 1964–1976* (UŚ, Katowice).

**Recenzja wydawnicza artykułu naukowego**

*The Biblical Annals* (1 recenzja).

**Działania popularyzujące Biblię**

1. Wykłady w Telewizyjnym Uniwersytecie Biblijnym (TV Trwam, Toruń, 6 wykładów).
2. Prowadzenie audycji „Szukając Słowa Bożego” (Radio Maryja, Toruń, 7 audycji).

**Inne funkcje**

Członek komisji habilitacyjnej ks. dr. Jacka Kucharskiego.

**20. Ks. dr Arnold Zawadzki****Artykuły naukowe**

1. „«Wysmaruję wam twarze gnojówką» (Ml 2,3b). Mowa Boga do kapłanów (Ml 2,1–9) jako manifest reformy Nehemiasza. Kryzys kapłaństwa i degradacja lewitów w pierwszej połowie V wieku przed Chr.», *Biblical Annals* 13/1 (2023) 37–81.
2. „«Sprawiedliwy ginie, a nikt się tym nie przejmuje» (Iz 57,1a) – obraz judejskiej elity w inwektywach Trito-Izajasza (Iz 56–57). Kryzys przywództwa w prowincji Jehud w połowie V wieku przed Chr.», *Biblical Annals* 13/2 (2023) 251–295.

### Realizacja grantu naukowego

Realizacja grantu wydziałowego. Tytuł: „Kryzys kapłaństwa lewitów w pierwszej połowie V w. przed Chr. (Ml 2,1–9)” (1.10.2022 – 30.09.2023).

### Promotorstwo obronionej pracy doktorskiej

Przemysław Kubisiak, «*Moria*» jako miejsce ofiary Izaaka («*Akeda*») i Świątyni Jerozolimskiej w świetle źródeł biblijnych i rabinicznych. *Analiza literacka, historyczna, archeologiczna i teologiczna* (Rdz 22,1–19; 2Krn 3) (KUL; Lublin 2023).

### Recenzja wydawnicza książki

P. Jaworski, *Księga Malachiasza. Wstęp, przekład, marginalia i komentarz* (Biblia Lubelska. Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu w Przekładzie z Języków Oryginalnych; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2023).

### Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

1. *Verbum Vitae* (2 recenzje).
2. *Wrocławski Przegląd Teologiczny* (1 recenzja).

### Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

1. Wykłady z Ewangelii synoptycznych – Seminarium Duchowne oo. Franciszkanów w Łodzi (II semestr).
2. Wykłady z pism mądrościowych Starego Testamentu – Instytut Teologiczny w Łodzi (I semestr).
3. Wykłady z pism Pawłowych – Instytut Teologiczny w Łodzi (I semestr).
4. Wykłady z historii zbawienia – Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne w Łodzi.
5. Wykłady z Ewangelii synoptycznych – Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne w Łodzi (II semestr).
6. Wykłady z pism Janowych – Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne w Łodzi (II semestr).
7. Wykłady z języka hebrajskiego – Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne w Łodzi (I semestr).
8. Wykłady z pism Pawłowych – Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne w Łodzi (II semestr).
9. Wykłady z Pisma Świętego z kandydatami do diakonatu stałego w Łodzi (32 godziny).
10. Seminarium magisterskie w Wyższym Seminarium Duchownym w Łodzi.
11. Seminarium magisterskie w Instytucie Teologicznym w Łodzi.

### Inne osiągnięcia

1. Zastępca redaktora naczelnego *The Biblical Annals*.
2. Redaktor sekcji „Stary Testament” w *The Biblical Annals*.
3. Sekretarz Komisji ds. Rewizji Starego Testamentu Biblii Tysiąclecia.
4. Redaktor działu „Pismo Święte” w *Łódzkich Studiach Teologicznych*.
5. Złożenie wniosku do Rady Doskonałości Naukowej o wszczęcie postępowania o nadanie stopnia doktora habilitowanego w dyscyplinie nauk biblijnych.

## **21. Ks. dr Marcin Zieliński**

### **Recenzja**

Francesco Filannino, *La fine di Satana. Gli esorcismi nel Vangelo di Marco* (Supplementi alla Rivista Biblica 67; Bologna: Edizione Dehoniane 2020), *The Biblical Annals* 12/4 (2022) 589–592.

### **Recenzja wydawnicza artykułu naukowego**

*The Biblical Annals* (1 recenzja)

### **Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL**

Wykłady na Kursie Formacji Biblijnej w Lublinie i Chełmie (16 godzin).

### **Działalność popularyzująca Biblię**

1. Wykłady w Telewizyjnym Uniwersytecie Biblijnym (TV Trwam, Toruń).
2. Audycja „Szukając Słowa Bożego” (Radio Maryja, Toruń).
3. Praca nad aplikacją Dzieło Biblijne (publikacja aplikacji 1.01.2022) oraz zredagowanie i napisanie tekstów biblijnych do 65 jednostek.
4. Organizacja Ogólnopolskiego Konkursu Biblijnego dla Kleryków (16.05.2023).
5. Organizacja Warsztatów Biblijnych dla Kleryków (11–16.09.2023).

### **Inne osiągnięcia**

1. Redaktor sekcji „Recenzje” w *The Biblical Annals*.
2. Praca w Catholic Biblical Federation jako przedstawiciel Konferencja Episkopatu Polski.

## **Podsumowanie statystyczne**

Podsumowując powyższą działalność w roku akademickim 2022/2023, można zauważyć, że w wyniku aktywności poszczególnych pracowników Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL powstały:

- 4 monografie naukowe,
- 7 książek pod redakcją,
- 11 rozdziałów w monografiach,
- 16 artykułów naukowych,
- 21 artykułów popularnonaukowych,
- 27 wygłoszonych referatów na sympozjach naukowych (zarówno krajowych, jak i międzynarodowych),
- 3 rozprawy doktorskie,
- 4 obronione prace magisterskie,
- 6 recenzji wydawniczych książek,
- 49 recenzji wydawniczych artykułów naukowych.

