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'Who Is David and Who Is – the Son of Jesse?'
The Interpretation of the Figure of King David
in the Development of Old Testament Theology

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Abstract: The article addresses the issue of the numerous inconsistencies and contradictions found in the David cycle in 1 Sam 14 – 1 Kings 2. Usually, exegetes tend to believe that the biography of the king, especially the section the 'History of David's rise to power', shows traces of two legends of different origins, regardless of whether the figure actually existed in Israel's history. However, after comparing the inconsistencies in the portrayal of the king, it can be concluded that the basis of the legends about David may have been a real historical figure of a certain warrior whose biography can be traced from 1 Sam 27 – a certain warrior from the Philistine city of Ziklag who conquered the heights of Hebron and may be considered the founder of the Judah statehood.

Keywords: King David, the 'History of David's rise', Philistines, Kingdom of Judah, the books of Samuel

King David is one of the most intriguing characters of the Old Testament also when it comes to the different ways he is perceived by the readers – from a saint in the Catholic Church and the 'great king' of the Gospels (Matt 5:35) to a cruel bandit leader, hungry for power at any cost, to which he clawed his way not sparing his relatives or closest friends. The image of David is so rich that it must be admitted that the way he is considered depends largely on the purpose of the study and the chosen interpretation strategy:

> The David the reader sees will depend on the decisions about what one is willing to look at and what questions one is willing to entertain. Are we interested in the David of Samuel or Chronicles or Psalms? Are we interested in the David of history or of the text? Are we interested in the text as it stands or the possibility of layers within the text? Do we trust the text or do we not? And while it seems certain that the text constrains our interpretation of David so that he may not mean just *anything*, it also seems clear that to many and various different readers he does in fact mean *many things*.[1]

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1   K. Bodner – B. Johnson, "David: Kaleidoscope of a King," *Characters and Characterization in the Book of Samuel* (eds. K. Bodner – B. Johnson) (LHBOTS 669; London: Clark 2020) 122.

One of the basic motifs of the David cycle, which includes the whole of the books of Samuel and the first two chapters of 1 Kings, is the apologetic motif[2] introduced to convince the reader that: David was the true king of Israel by the will of God; Saul proved unworthy of his position and, having committed the sin of disobedience, the archetypal 'original sin',[3] was, himself and all his descendants, forever deprived of the right to the throne; David was innocent of most of the crimes committed in his presence and led to his rise to supreme power.

The apologetic mood is shared by many exegetes and commentators who try to create a 'holistic' image of David as a rich and very complex personality, full of contradictions, a picture of a 'real', 'living man' with his paradoxes and weaknesses.[4] The numerous contradictions and inconsistencies found in the David cycle are usually explained in the context of the other pericopes in the cycle, regardless of the fact that these pericopes might belong to various redactions of an apologetic nature, which seek to reinterpret once commonly known events in favour of the monarch or to attribute to him what was not the case.[5] Some authors even assume that behind the badly disguised apology or legends about disputed facts of history, there is a 'grimace' on the part of the writer, who conveys them with a certain degree of irony, somehow signalling to the reader that these beautiful stories are 'merely for public consumption'[6] and that the author approaches with caution the version of events to be conveyed.[7]

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2   On apology as a leitmotif of the David cycle see K. McCarter, "The Apology of David," *JBL* 99 (1980) 489–504.

3   A concept used as a theodicy argument to explain the drastic change in the fate of the person once chosen by God, and then – the victim. First described in the scene of Adam and Eve's punishment, it is repeated in Judg 2:1–5 in the scene of Israel's rejection (V. Komarnytskyy, *"Giuda per primo": Il ruolo della tribù di Giuda nell'epoca premonarchica secondo il libro dei Giudici* [Kraków: Wydawnictwo Paweł Trzopek 2024] 85–56) and in 1 Sam 15 – in the scene of Saul's rejection. In all the scenes referring to the 'original sin', the following elements are common: the apparent disproportion of the imposed punishment to the committed crime; the surprise at the severity of the punishment; the impossibility of obtaining forgiveness (at least in the near future).

4   Considering that clue, the figure of David is presented in the works of, e.g.: W. Brueggemann, *David's Truth in Israel's Imagination & Memory* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 1985); K.L. Noll, *The Faces of David* (JSOTSup 242; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1997); B. Halpern, *David's Secret Demons: Messiah, Murderer, Traitor, King* (The Bible in Its World; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2001); B. Green, *David's Capacity for Compassion: A Literary-Hermeneutical Study of 1–2 Samuel* (LHBOTS 641; London: Clark 2017).

5   Advocates of a synchronic approach, limiting their analysis to the canonical text as the only one attested by the ancient author, are often prone to over-interpretation when certain narrative contradictions occur and attributing causes and circumstances to deeds or events that are more the products of the commentators' imagination. By ignoring the motif of the apologetic (or propagandistic) nature of the cycle's texts, diachronicity is avoided but the classic 'David-legend' image appears: 'Synchronic or literary critics solve this Gordian knot by simply stating that discourse critics are not interested in the actual authors, but rather in the image of the teller that can be reconstructed from the text' (G. Andersson, *Untamable Texts: Literary Studies and Narrative Theory in the Books of Samuel* [JSOTSup 514; New York: Clark 2009] 200).

6   D.M. Gunn, *The Story of King David: Genre and Interpretation* (JSOTSup 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1978) 96.

7   In particular, R. Polzin sees the critical attitude of the narrator in the story of the circumstances of Abner's death (*David and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomic History* [ISBL; Bloomington, IN: Indiana

The apologetic nature of the story about David is quite clear, although it should be noted that apologetic comments are only used in relation to the so-called 'David-warrior' whose deeds require an 'advocate'. By contrast, another image of David – the 'shepherd of the sheep', a somewhat naive young man – is flawless from the outset, leading many (if not most) scholars to believe that the 'shepherd' image is a later literary development of the image of the 'warrior'.[8]

The article is an attempt to present 'at least a *realistic* likeness of David'[9] (or 'Davids') using a critical analysis of his image as an alleged historical figure, acknowledging the intended apologetic nature of the texts of the cycle. That sceptical attitude separating a deed, even an alleged one, from its apologetic interpretation, will make it possible to draw a hypothetical map of the history of a person who aspires to be perceived as a historical figure in the Ir I – Ir IIA eras. Initially, it can be assumed that David, as a representative of his era, acted similarly to other rulers of that time, therefore it was a strong, cunning, charismatic and cruel leader who came to power rather than a pious young man from the provinces.

Sketching a 'coherent' picture of David always involves an attempt to overcome the contradictions in his biography. However, if one were to undertake quite the opposite approach and sketch an image of David as 'incoherent' as possible, highlight the contradictions, contrast the dividing lines of the image and adopt a critical stance, referring rather to the context of the time, one must allow for the possibility that different characters, sometimes very dissimilar to one another, would be looking out of the resulting sketch.

University Press 1993] 40–41), which K. Bodner regards as an example of the use of the literary technique of 'pseudo-objective motivation' (*David Observed: A King in the Eyes of His Court* [HBM 5; Sheffield: Phoenix Press 2005] 40–41). In a similar way, as a hidden polemic and exaggerated apology of the figures of David and Solomon, the biblical text was understood by, e.g., R. Mason (*Propaganda and Subversion in the Old Testament* [London: SPCK 1997]), Y. Amit (*Hidden Polemics in Biblical Narrative* [Biblical Interpretation Series 25; Leiden: Brill 2000]), E. Seibert (*Subversive Scribes and the Solomonic Narrative: A Rereading of 1 Kings 1–11* [JSOTSup 436; London: Clark 2006]), B. Johnson ("An Unapologetic Apology: The David Story as a Complex Response to Monarchy," *The Book of Samuel and Its Response to Monarchy* [eds. S. Kipfer – J. Hutton] [BWANT 228; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 2021] 225–242). It should be noted, however, that attributing a tinge of irony to an archaic text in its modern understanding is quite a speculative assumption and it must first be proven that such sophisticated writing techniques were used at that time, especially in religious texts.

8   Such an approach was assumed by a number of scholars, an overview of whose positions is given by J. van Seters (*The Biblical Saga of King David* [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2009] 3–39). The predominant view of exegetes on the origin of the David cycle is the hypothesis of at least one redaction (Deuteronomistic or one of its variations) in relation to some source tradition containing historical memory of the events or any older legend. Van Seters distinguishes two traditions in the David cycle (combined as a result of several Deuteronomistic redactions, *ibidem*, 27, 34–39), one of which idealises the king while the other one describes him as a typical 'oriental despot' of the time, (*ibidem*, 1).

9   S. McKenzie, *King David: A Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press 2000) 189. Apart from McKenzie, in recent years, J. Baden's attempt to reach the historical figure of David should also be (*The Historical David: The Real Life of an Invented Hero* [New York: HarperOne 2013]).

1. David vs. History

David, the son of Jesse, an Ephrathite from Bethlehem of Judah appears in 1–2 Sam and the first chapters of 1 Kings as a highly ambiguous figure: a handsome young man, full of God's fear and a merciless murderer; a faithful friend and a perfidious intriguer; a naive idealist and a cynical politician. On the one hand, the figure of King David in the books of Samuel is so dominant that one can only wonder why the books are not 'the books of David' but of 'Samuel', a character clearly secondary and possibly later than David editorially.[10] A probable reason for assigning the authorship of the books of 1-2 Sam to 'Samuel' was that the Deuteronomistic authors, 'reserved' towards the figure of David, a controversial but important personality, preferred to consider that historical period as the 'period of Samuel', the prophet, who, being the source of Israel's monarchy understood it as a deviation from the original idea of the God-king, and thus containing a certain defect that causes the monarchy, by its very nature, to strive to idolise a man, a monarch. God is replaced by a man, often a wicked one, who decides the fate of people, which sooner or later leads to disaster.

As to whether there was any semblance of statehood in Judah in the Ir I or late Ir I – Ir IIA eras, there is still considerable dispute today. The main argument in favour of David being a rather made-up character is a very widespread theory according to which there was no historical context that would serve as a setting for David as a 'king' as there was no 'Judah' in times when that historical/legendary figure is supposed to have lived. According to supporters of the so-called 'low chronology', the emergence of Judah as a political-economic unit is a derivative of the establishment of the Israeli state in the north, next to which Judah developed as 'a sort of client state',[11] existing until the time of Omri (first half of the 9th century) only within Jerusalem and its surroundings. During the period of Israel's fall, Judah became a vassal state of Assyria and only then, receiving numerous refugees from the north, it became the Judah known from the books of Samuel and Kings. It was the very Judah that, after the fall of Israel and absorbing the traditions of the North, began to create its own history and perceive itself as a great power, already at the times of David.[12]

The argument derived from the above assumption is that while the events of the Exodus and the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites did not actually take place (at least not in

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10   K. McCarter believes that the tradition of Samuel, the Ark and the rejection of Saul was a later inclusion in the original pre-Deuteronomistic redaction, containing Saul and the cycle known as the 'History of David's rise' (HDR). According to McCarter, in the 'prophetic' redaction, the story was composed from a perspective suspicious of monarchy in any form, committed to the ideal of the prophetically mediated divine election of leaders, and therefore opposed to hereditary succession and supportive of the prophetic office as an institution ("The Apology of David," 491, 503).

11   I. Finkelstein, "The Rise of Jerusalem and Judah: The Missing Link," *Levant* 33/1 (2001) 105.

12   According to Finkelstein, it is only from the time of Omri and his dynasty that one can speak of the beginnings of the statehood of Judah, first within the city-state of Jerusalem (along the lines of Amarna within the walls of the Middle Bronze Age), which after some time, with the help of Israel and Phoenicia, extended its range to the Negev and Shephelah ("The Rise of Jerusalem and Judah," 105–115).

the 'biblical' dimensions), it is quite likely that the era of the great kings, David and Solomon, presented in the same pattern of the 'golden legend', should also be regarded as a later founding myth, rather than a real chronicle of history.

Opponents of 'low chronology', accusing their antagonists of engaging in proving the insufficiency of biblical texts when confronted with archaeological data, are thus trying to move 'from excessive scepticism to a modest optimism'[13] to demonstrate that historiographic data is in favour of the fact that already in 10th century Judah was organised as a state in a way very close to the oldest texts of the Deuteronomistic History (DH) – as a network of cities – fortresses with a separate material culture: Gezer, Beit-Shemesh, Tel Masos, Jerusalem, Tell en-Nasbeh, Khirbet Qeiyafa, Tell Beit Mirsim, Be'er-Sheva etc., 'therefore on the basis of all the "witnesses" we have in this case, the claim that the kingdom of David and Solomon in Judah in the 10th century BCE did exist is true "beyond a reasonable doubt".'[14]

Thus, the very possibility that David merged the kingdom of Israel with Judah into a single superpower is challenged mainly based on archaeological data. Unlike the impressive fortresses of the densely settled territory of Benjamin and southern Ephraim of the era of Ir I (Gibeon, Bethel, Tell en-Nasbeh [Mizpah], et-Tell [Ai], Khirbet Raddana, Tell el-Ful, Khirbet ed-Dawwara) Jerusalem was quite a modest settlement at that time, ruling over a sparsely populated territory.[15] From that perspective, the idea of a 'United Monarchy' could have been created under the influence of the memory of the kingdom of Jeroboam II (2 Kings 14:23–29), who for several decades ruled over a fairly extensive territory ('from the Entrance to Hamath to the Sea of the Arabah', 2 Kings 14:25), which, later on, Judah commentators accepted as the historical boundaries of David's kingdom. Perhaps that tendency contributed to the creation of David as the ruler of Judah; the universal figure, belonging first to the court of Israel, Ephrathite and heir to Saul.

The above theory about Jeroboam II as the prototype of David[16] does not explain why that narrative describes with such tragedy the fate of the descendants of King Saul, a dynasty allegedly destroyed by David. The archaeological data attesting to the wars in the highlands of Benjamin in the second half of the 10th century, which destroyed the Israelite agglomeration, fit rather well with the pacification expedition of Pharaoh Sheshonk I in the second half of the 10th century, confirmed by independent sources. In the absence of extra-biblical evidence of Davids's take over of Saul's power in the 11th–10th centuries, it would be logical to assume that Saul's dynasty ruled the northern kingdom alongside the dynasty

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13 W. Dever, "Solomon, Scripture, and Science: the Rise of the Judahite State in the 10th Century BCE," *JJAR* 1 (2021) 104.

14 Dever, "Solomon, Scripture, and Science," 119. For more, see Y. Garfinkel, "The 10th Century BCE in Judah: Archaeology and the Biblical Tradition," *JJAR* 1 (2021) 144–146.

15 I. Finkelstein, *The Forgotten Kingdom: the Archaeology and History of Northern Israel* (Ancient Near East Monographs 5; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature 2013) 40–43.

16 I. Finkelstein, "Northern Royal Traditions in the Bible and the Ideology of a 'United Monarchy' Ruled from Samaria," *Stones, Tablets, and Scrolls: Periods of the Formation of the Bible* (eds. P. Dubovský – F. Giuntoli) (Archaeology and Bible 3; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2020) 122–126.

of David in the south for some time, until the Sheshonk invasion, which put an end to Saul's dynasty.[17] After the fall of the house of Saul, the territories north of Jerusalem could come under the rule of Jerusalem for a short time.[18] The next centre of the kingdom in the north, the beginning of which 1 Kings 11 relates to Jeroboam I, a subject of Sheshonk (the biblical Shishak, 1 Kings 11:40), would have been the city of Tirsa, the seat of the new king who would begin his reign after the Egyptian invasion (cf. 1 Kings 14:25).[19] Such a hypothesis is acceptable, especially since Jeroboam I, like David, was also depicted as an Ephrathite, the son of Zeruiah (1 Kings 11:26),[20] the founder of a kingdom in Saul's territory. The fundamental doubt, however, is that descendants blamed David for the fall of Saul's kingdom and the destruction of his house. Such a long-lasting memory of the tragic fate of the king of Gibeah from the turn of the 11th to the 10th centuries, and his entire family, testifies to the unprecedented importance of that person for representatives of certain social groups, which required apologetic efforts on the part of the supporters of the house of David.

A fundamental difficulty in reconstructing the political map of ancient Israel may be the attempt to apply modern understandings of social relationships and the idea of power being about control of territory, until antiquity, where power was based more on symmetrical (allies) or asymmetrical (patron-subordinate) relations. In those times, political power was rather about a coalition of tribes, cities, and families, which had little (if at all) control over the territories of their residence. Coalition members or elders in tribes entered into alliances with other social groups, shrine priests and private individuals for mutual gain. A Bronze Age city was only as strong as it could rely on its own army or an alliance with someone stronger, therefore the size of a city did not play a decisive role in assessing its power, since a large city, e.g., a caravan station and a centre of trade or craft, could require external defence, while a small city, in turn, having military resources, could have a 'broad power base' and make fairly distant neighbours dependent on it.[21]

As can be seen in 2 Sam 2:4 and 5:1–3, the legitimation of David's power took place through the entry into a covenant between the conqueror of Hebron and the councils of the tribes that acknowledged his authority. From then on, neither the distance nor the size of the capital mattered, as David's 'power base' was grounded in the alliance of the tribes. Rehoboam lost his authority over the North in an analogous way – the covenant of the house of David with the tribes of Israel was dissolved (1 Kings 12:16). The legitimacy of power is not unconditional, and perhaps this is why the authors, supporters of the house of David, felt compelled to fashion an apology of David towards the dynasty of Gibeah after clashing

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17   Finkelstein, *The Forgotten Kingdom*, 51.

18   I. Finkelstein, "Jerusalem in the Iron Age: Archaeology and Text; Reality and Myth," *Unearthing Jerusalem: 150 Years of Archaeological Research in the Holy City* (eds. K. Galor – G. Avni) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2011) 191.

19   Finkelstein, *The Forgotten Kingdom*, 80–81.

20   The name of Jeroboam's mother צְרוּעָה (1 Kings 11:26) is *hapax legomenon*, while the name (presumed) of the mother of the 'sons of Zeruiah' (allies and, possibly, relatives of David) is צְרוּיָה according to the BH.

21   K. Keimer, "Evaluating the 'United Monarchy' of Israel: Unity and Identity in Text and Archaeology," *JJAR* 1 (2021) 72–73.

with the historical memory of the refugees from the North. However, the best means of legitimising power is not apology but ideology,[22] therefore the writers' next task was not only to acquit David but to prove that the power of his descendants was legitimate, decent and also necessary. That attempt was so successful that it made the figure of David a symbol of national identity.

The problem with such a form of 'conquest' is that it leaves behind a rather small (if any) 'archaeological footprint,'[23] especially as neither Saul nor David had ambitions to become great builders.

The argument for the non-existence of a 'historical David' may be dealt with in the following way: David is indeed presented as a legendary figure, similar to Gilgamesh, Heracles or King Arthur; at the same time, it is also obvious that this character is so contradictory internally that the question arises as to whether it is about the same epic hero or rather about different ways of perceiving the same person, who exercised effective control over the territories of the southern part of the so-called Central Highlands,[24] occupied Hebron and conquered Jerusalem.

Also, excavations in Hebron and other archaeological sites in the Hebron Highlands do not definitely deny the possibility of the conquest/occupation of Hebron (and probably the entire Bronze Age 'tri-city' of Hebron, Debir, Anab) during the Ir I – IIA period,[25] that is, within the boundaries determined by the text of 2 Sam 2:1–3, occupied by David and his army from the Philistine Ziklag.

As for the archaeological discoveries in the excavations in Jerusalem (carried out for more than 150 years and being the subject of endless debate), one can only say with some justification that the city began to grow and the population increased in the 10th–9th

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22   Keimer, "Evaluating the 'United Monarchy' of Israel," 73–75.

23   Keimer, "Evaluating the 'United Monarchy' of Israel," 91.

24   I.e., the territory of the mountainous locality from the Hebron region in the south to the Jezreel Valley in the north.

25   Archaeological data from the excavations in Tel Rumeida (Hebron), Khirbet-Rabud (presumably Debir) and the surrounding area indicate that the cities established near the source of the waters in the Hebron Highlands saw their rise and fall during the Middle and Late Bronze Age periods: Hebron, surrounded by the cyclopean wall of the MB II era experienced a decline in the Late Bronze Age (J. Chadwick, "Discovering Hebron: The City of the Patriarchs slowly yields Its Secrets," *BAR* 31 [2005] 24–33, 70–71; A. Ofer, "Hebron," *NEAEHL* II, 608–609); the walls of Debir were erected in the Late Bronze Age, before the disappearance of Hebron and Lachish (K. Galling, "Zur Lokalisierung von Debir," *ZDPV* 70 [1954] 135–140; M. Kochavi, "Khirbet Rabûd = Debir," *TA* 1 [1974] 26–32); Anab, presumably Khirbet ʿAnab eş Şeghirah, 6 km away from Khirbet Rabûd (cf. Josh. 11:21), was part of the trio of cities dominating the area in the MB II–LB II eras, the conquest of which meant gaining control of the Hebron Hills (Kochavi, "Khirbet Rabûd = Debir," 28–29). Possibly, in the memory of generations, those three cities remained in the symbolic form of the 'three sons of Anak', mythical giants who were able to fortify their cities with a cyclopean bridge (Komarnytskyy, *"Giuda per primo"*, 488–490). After a period of decline in the Ir I era (the end of that period is generally accepted as the time associated with David's actions), Hebron starts to become again an important point on the political map of Judah in Ir IIB (D. Ben-Shlomo, "New Evidence of Iron Age II Fortifications at Tel Hebron," *The Last Century in the History of Judah: The Seventh Century BCE in Archaeological, Historical, and Biblical Perspectives* [eds. F. Čapek – O. Lipschits] [AIL 37; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2019] 63–87).

centuries, also the development expanded to include administrative buildings.[26] Due to the lack of traces of the conquest of the city described in 2 Sam 5:6–10, it can be concluded that the annexation of Jerusalem to 'Judah' took place rather by means of unknown negotiations and agreements. However, there are indications that the Judah of the Ir IIA era was already an organised social structure of a state character and Jerusalem was part of that structure.[27]

Therefore, given the above conclusions, it can be stated that a certain statehood of Judah may have already existed in the 10th century and someone must have been its founder – someone remembered by the descendants as 'David'.

2. Different Presentations of David

The question of who (for the first time?) wrote the story of David is highly debatable. It is unlikely that the author of the original 1–2 Sam text was the witness to the described events – that person was rather a compiler and an interpreter of the 'legends about the great king'. Nevertheless, if the author's interpretations are not taken into account, contained primarily in numerous speeches and odes attributed to the king, based on the described events one can conclude that the character in question was a rather cruel, ruthless and faithless man.

The above is best seen in the tragedy of the house of Saul and the fate of the Benjaminites, whose destiny the authors of 1–2 Sam did not intend to conceal. 1 Sam 9–14 contains the story of the assumption of the throne of Israel by Saul, the son of Kish, from the Benjamite city of Gibeah. The narrative of the first anointed one is rather ambiguous, since already in the first chapters one senses an ironic motive relating to Saul. Nonetheless, the story of Saul is presented with maximum plausibility[28] and it is about a ruler capable of facing not only an opponent of equal military capability[29] but also a much stronger enemy.[30] *Sitz im Leben* of Saul's brilliant victories and that of his valiant son Jonathan, who is presented as the true heir to the throne in the stories (1 Sam 14), captures quite realistically the reality of the Ir I period in the Levant, when the semi-nomadic tribes gathered in the region of Ephraim, trying to survive under pressure from the Sea Peoples and other

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26   Y. Gadot – J. Uziel, "The Monumentality of Iron Age Jerusalem Prior to the 8th Century BCE," *TA* 44 (2017) 123–140; W. Dever, *Beyond the Texts: An Archaeological Portrait of Ancient Israel and Judah* (Atlanta, GA: SBL 2017) 276–283.

27   Cf. Dever, *Beyond the Texts*, 259–382.

28   This leads some scholars to believe that there are much older traditions behind the story of Saul, based on real historical memory, perhaps even from the 10th century; BCE, N. Na'aman, "Saul, Benjamin and the Emergence of 'Biblical Israel'," *ZAW* 121/2 (2009) 342–348.

29   Such as the Ammonites at Jabesh (1 Sam 11) or the Amalekites in the south, who were also mountain dwellers and, presumably, did not have the game-changing weapons of the time, such as chariots or iron weapons.

30   For more see: Josh 10–12; 1 Sam 13:5–7; 14:1 ff., where the tactic in question is used by the mountain tribes of that historical period (LB-Ir I) in the war against an opponent owing chariots and iron weapons, which was to avoid clashes in the open space (Y. Yadin, "Military and Archeological Aspects of the Conquest of Canaan in the Book of Joshua," *JBQ* 32/1 [2004] 7–15).

hostile semi-nomadic tribes. With the technological development of the proto-Israelite tribes lagging behind the newcomers, the mountain tribes could only counter with their consolidation (consolidated military forces)[31] and the launching of a series of small-scale military attacks on terrain that was familiar to them and difficult for the opponent. Similarly, the scene of preparation for the battle in the Valley of Elah is also realistic: Goliath, whose equipment is surprisingly precisely described and fully corresponds to the details of the equipment of a Greek hoplite of that historical period (1 Sam 17:6–7),[32] looks unbeatable to the warriors, mountain dwellers without access to metal production technology (1 Sam 13:19–22).

It should be noted, however, that David's appearance on the scene of history (1 Sam 17 ff.) is preceded by two chapters (1 Sam 15–16) that interrupt the positive narrative about Saul. Chapter 15 justifies why God rejects such a valiant leader. That chapter has quite noticeable features of a later text[33] as it is inconsistent with the previous narrative: the occurrence of the Exodus motif, the presence of Samuel as superior over Saul, the use of numerous tools inappropriate to the 'battle report' genre, and finally, Saul's very presence in the southern territories not controlled[34] by him are sufficient signs that chapter 15 is not an integral part of the legend of Saul[35] but rather a literary link to the next chapter, a justification (quite debatable one) of why such a brave king was rejected by God. The next chapter, 1 Sam 16, introduces a new protagonist who brings into the story of Saul many themes absent from the earlier narrative[36] and reverses the roles of the actors in the narrative: Saul goes from being a brave warrior king to a person suffering from bipolar disorder; also Jonathan, the charismatic leader in his father's army, becomes a supporting character dominated by the charismatic David.[37]

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31 A. Faust, *Israel's Ethnogenesis: Settlement, Interaction, Expansion and Resistance* (Approaches to Anthropological Archaeology; London – New York: Routledge 2014) 227–234.

32 J. Zorn, "Reconsidering Goliath: An Iron Age I Philistine Chariot Warrior," *BASOR* 360 (2010) 1–18.

33 T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie: David und die Entstehung seiner Dynastie nach der deuteronomistischen Darstellung* (Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia/Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae: Sarja-Ser. B 193; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedakatemia 1975) 102, note 156.

34 J. van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press 1983) 258.

35 S. McKenzie, "Saul in the Deuteronomistic History," *Saul in Story and Tradition* (ed. C. Ehrlich) (FAT 47; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2006) 62–63.

36 The basic feature of the so-called 'battle report' is a certain pattern in conveying events of a military nature from the point of view of the victor, which lacks details of the battle, dialogue and dramatic tension between the characters (J. van Seters, "The Conquest of Sihon's Kingdom: A Literary Examination," *JBL* 91/2 [1972] 188). 1 Sam 17 seems to be the continuation of the narrative of 1 Sam 14, although the pericope 14:47–52 is rather a separate block-digression.

37 The positioning of two *personae* in relation to each other as protagonist and antagonist, the former being the exemplar of all virtues while the latter shown in an exclusively negative light, is typical of literary forms that are often considered to be the oldest models originating from oral traditions (A. Nahkola, *Double Narratives in the Old Testament: The Foundations of Method in Biblical Criticism* [BZAW 290; Berlin: De Gruyter 2001] 135). Starting with 1 Sam 16:14 ff., Saul is portrayed solely as an inadequate person, unworthy of his position, although in the narrative of 1 Sam 7:2–14:52 he is seen (mainly) as a hero.

But David, too, is by no means a coherent *persona*, for already in 1 Sam 17, one sees several figures in that character at the same time. The dominant image of David is that of a handsome, red-haired young man who is so small that he cannot put Saul's military armour on (1 Sam 17:38–39). According to one tradition, that young man was a musician in the king's court (1 Sam 16:18–22), according to another – he only appeared on the battlefield and Saul did not know him before (1 Sam 17:55).

The hint of the 'battle report' giving way to another literary genre after the presentation of the figure of Goliath is the abundance of extraneous motifs and the very description of the event. On the one hand, duelling leaders or leading characters in front of armies was a fairly common way of resolving disputes in ancient times, indicating that David was the best candidate in the army of Israel to face the giant, apparently the leader of the Philistines. In this way, the author presents David as the best warrior, the 'Israelite Achilles', which is indirectly confirmed by the fact that David turned out to be quite widely known in this respect by the people (1 Sam 18:6–7). On the other hand, the fact that a boy with a club faces Goliath indicates that the case in question (or in the given editorial) is more about a duel of a religious nature – a fight between gods in the persons of their representatives, with David, who is intentionally depicted as a young boy, as a symbol of the power of the Lord of Hosts, being able to defeat a giant having the hands of a child.[38]

The duel between David and Goliath contains two non-obvious but very important details that point to hidden motives in 1 Sam 17, absent in the earlier narrative about Saul. Firstly, the name 'Goliath' is, presumably, a semiticised version of the ancient Lydian name Alyattes, meaning a 'leader of an army' or 'conqueror of trophies', or the Mycenaean name Lawagetas – a commander of an army in the Mycenaean culture; similarly, the name 'David' may be a version of the Philistine name *Δαι-ϝιδ*, which indicates a person 'proficient in warfare'.[39] Thus, quite possibly, the prototype of the story of David's clash with Goliath may have been some fight between two warriors of Philistine origin, equal in prowess, similar to the famous duel between Achilles and Hector from *The Iliad*, with one warrior (perhaps) killing the other one using a catapult.

The second detail is the portrayal of Goliath as one of the mythical giants-Anakites,[40] descendants of the *Nephilim* (Gen 6:4), a race of humans born from the cohabitation of 'sons of God' and human women, which led to the radical corruption of the human race and, as a result, to the worldwide flood (Gen 6:4–7). The *Nephilim*, according to the legends, survived the flood, so the fight against them is part of the eschatological struggle of the creation, wanted by God, against that which should not, according to God's design,

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38   The scene of David's clash with Goliath in 1 Sam 17 refers to the military practices of the time as well as to mythological motifs about the duels of gods (R. de Vaux, *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* [Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1971] 128–135).

39   T. Schneider, "The Philistine Language: New Etymologies and the Name 'David'," *UF* 43 (2011), 569–576.

40   1 Sam 17:4.7, cf. Num 13:33. For traces of the tradition about the possible presence of Anakites in Gath see Josh 11:22.

have existed.[41] The use of a stone to destroy such a power leads us to the metaphor of the stone in Dan 2:34–35 being an image of the authority of God, in whose power are all the powers of this world.[42] In this presumably eschatological duel between Good and Evil, David appears as the successor of Moses, Joshua and Caleb, who fought the descendants of the Anakites as ancient evil.[43]

The above two details are independent of each other, but they show how differently a scene where a new protagonist of history is introduced can be perceived: a skilled warrior with a Philistine name and a representative of the 'world of Moses' speaking out against the 'error of creation', which 'insults the army of the living God' (1 Sam 17:10, 25, 26, 36, 45).

The second presentation of David begins in 1 Sam 17:12. He is no longer the king's harpist and 'a man of war' (1 Sam 16:18) but a shepherd of the flock (1 Sam 17:34), whom neither Saul nor his commander Abner had seen (1 Sam 17:55).[44]

In 1 Sam 18:5, after the scene of Jonathan relinquishing his priority (1 Sam 18:1–4), there appears a slightly different David – a rather experienced courtier, able to play the lyre,[45] in the king's court and – at the same time – a brave warrior, who enjoys such high authority that he can become the leader of Saul's soldiers (1 Sam 18:13–14, 27, 30), professional warriors gathered from all the tribes of Israel (1 Sam 14:52). It is difficult to imagine a 'red-haired young man' in that role. Both David's leadership of the army, his courtly status and his position as the king's son-in-law fit the image of a courtier-warrior-musician rather than

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41 The motif of the giants who survived the Flood recurs in Jewish literature as an image of antediluvian sinfulness that survived God's punishment and appears as a reincarnation of the original evil – what should not be on Earth. Therefore, the fight of Joshua, Caleb and, more importantly, David (1 Sam 17; 2 Sam 21:18–22; 23:21; 1 Kings 20:4–8) against Anak and other giants takes on eschatological features (I. Fröhlich, "Origins of Evil in Genesis and the Apocalyptic Traditions," *Apocalyptic Thinking in Early Judaism* [eds. C. Wassen – S. White Crawford] [JSJSup 182; Leiden: Brill 2018] 141–159; L. Stuckenbruck, "The Origins of Evil in Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition: the Interpretation of Genesis 6:1–4 in the Second and Third Centuries B.C.E.," *The Fall of the Angels* [eds. C. Auffarth – L. Stuckenbruc] [TBN 6; Leiden: Brill 2004] 87–118).

42 A. Rofé, "The Battle of David and Goliath: Folklore, Theology, Eschatology," *Judaic Perspectives on Ancient Israel* (eds. J. Neusner – B. Levine – E. Frerichs) (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress 1987) 138–139.

43 Deuteronomistic theology gives the event of the conquest of the Promised Land eschatological features: in Deut 9:1–3, the 'sons of Anak' are presented as a symbol of evil, and in Deut 9:5a–b one reads: 'It is not because of your righteousness or your integrity that you are going in to take possession of their land; but on account of the wickedness of these nations,' indicating that Israel's invasion is a kind of continuation of the 'flood' to annihilate sin, personified by the Anakites. Perhaps Joshua's use of חרם in reference to the Anakites (Josh 11:21) is part of the 'logic of the flood' that annihilates everything that came before (Komarnytskyy, *"Giuda per primo"*, 151–152).

44 Double accounts of the same event are common in Enneateuch texts, especially in the texts of Deut, Josh, Judg and Sam. In particular, 'double accounts' (or 'doublets') are often included in texts conveying the so-called 'battle report', which may suggest that these messages were of a certain form that later on, being written down, were combined with other oral traditions concerning the same event, resulting in the impression that a given story was told twice (D.M. Gunn, "Narrative Patterns and Oral Tradition in Judges and Samuel," *VT* 24/3 [1974] 286–288). 'It is characteristic of the legend, and oral tradition in general, that it exists in the form of variants. These variants show the adaptation of the legend "from place to place" and "age to age" according to the universal law of change' (Nahkola, *Double Narratives in the Old Testament*, 136).

45 How could a shepherd know how to play a string instrument, a tool of fortune-tellers and a hobby of the aristocracy? (McKenzie, *King David: A Biography*, 56–57).

a shepherd-teenager. The common motif in the representations of David is his origin – both 'the shepherd' and 'the warrior' are presented as the sons of Jesse, the Bethlehemite.

David-'the shepherd' seems the same person as David-'the warrior' and, starting from 1 Sam 18, the reader follows the fate of only the latter. He is still the son of his father Jesse, and his brothers join his band (1 Sam 22:1), although previously they were Saul's soldiers and David was not (1 Sam 17:13–14). In the course of the narrative, the trace of the older brothers is lost and the 'sons of Zeruiah', who according to 1 Chron 2:16 are also his relatives, come to the fore. David finds a hiding place for his father and the rest of his family in Mizpeh of Moab, at the local king's house (1 Sam 22:3–4), which may be the same city as Mizpeh in Gilead, and together with his band (1 Sam 22:2) sets out on a journey that is to take him to the throne of Israel. Thus begins the story of 'David's rise' (commonly known as the 'History of David's rise', HDR) which clearly takes the form of a monomyth – David, fleeing from royal power returns as a king, which also proves that the legend of the king was created based on a literary form popular at that time.

In the DH, David's genealogy can be found in 1 Sam 17:12: 'David was the son of an Ephrathite, the one who came from Bethlehem of Judah, and his name was Jesse, and he had eight sons.'[46] In the Old Testament, Ephrathites are often understood as 'Ephraimites', especially due to the pericope in Judg 12:1–6[47] (the war between Ephraim and Gilead), in 1 Sam 1:1 and 1 Kings 11:26, although in the texts about Jesse and Elimelech (Rt 1:2), who are also called 'Ephrathitess' (and both come from Bethlehem), there is no mention of their Ephraimite origin.[48] The suggestion here is that those individuals rather came from Ephrat, which may be a certain toponym or territory in Judah near Bethlehem.[49]

David's association with Bethlehem of Judah (not to be confused with Bethlehem of Zebulun, Josh 19:15; Judg 12:8–10) is all but emphasised by showing that location as his hometown, from which he came and to which he returned to see the graves of his ancestors (2 Sam 2:32) and to participate in family worship (1 Sam 16:4–5; 20:6). It is puzzling that

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46   Of particular note is the fact that David is the 'eighth son' according to 1 Sam 16:6–10 and 17:12–15, and the seventh son according to 1 Chron 2:13–15. In the first reference, Jesse introduces 'his seven sons' (16,10) and then the 'younger' of the 'boys'. In the passage: הֲתַמּוּ הַנְּעָרִים וַיֹּאמֶר עוֹד שָׁאַר הַקָּטָן, '[...] are those all the boys? There is still one left, a little one [...]' (16,11), Jesse calls David not בֵּן (16,10), like the others, but נַעַר. Given the symbolic nature of the number 7, one would expect Jesse in 1 Sam to have seven sons, leading some exegetes to think that in this way the authors of 1 Sam wanted to emphasise David's low position even on the symbolic plane. Emphasising the importance of the 'seventh son' would be symbolic in that culture; to be the 'eighth' literally means to be a 'nobody' (McKenzie, *King David: A Biography*, 53).

47   The tendency to translate the phrase: 'Are you an Ephraimite?' (Judg 12:5) into modern languages are evident attempts to harmonise the text with the context of the utterance, since the Hebrew text, Greek, Latin and Aramaic translations attest to the variant: 'Are you an Ephrathite?'.

48   In Rt 1:2, Elimelech and his family are called Ephrathites from Bethlehem of Judah (אֶפְרָתִים מִבֵּית לֶחֶם יְהוּדָה); Booz, the ancestor of David (according to Rt 2:3), also belongs to that family. In 1 Sam 1:1, Elkanah, a native of Mount Ephraim (הַר אֶפְרָיִם), father of the prophet Samuel, is introduced as אֶפְרָתִי. Finally, 1 Kings 11:26 depicts the first king of northern Israel, Jeroboam I, also as an Ephrathite: וְיָרָבְעָם בֶּן־נְבָט אֶפְרָתִי מִן־הַצְּרֵדָה, from the city of צְרֵדָה, of unknown location. Possibly the modern toponym ʿĒn Ṣerēda in the mountainous part of Samaria (*HALOT* III, 1053) is derived from that name.

49   A. Demsky, "The Clans of Ephrath: Their Territory and History," *TA* 13/1 (1986) 46–59.

David's father, Jesse, is introduced as Bethlehemite in the בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי form, used only four times in the BH – three times in the reference to David's father (1 Sam 16:1, 18; 17:58) and once to the father of Elchanan, who 'slew Goliath of Gath, the shaft of whose spear was like a weaver's beam' (2 Sam 21:19). From that, one may conclude that there is a tradition according to which a certain warrior – 'Bethlehemite' (בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי) defeated the giant Goliath of Gath.

Mentions of defeating Goliath or a similar mythical giant are also found in 2 Sam 21:19 and 21:20–21. In 2 Sam 21:19, Goliath of Gath is defeated by Elchanan, a Bethlehemite. Elchanan is mentioned twice in 2 Sam (21:18; 23:24) and twice in 1 Kings (11:26; 20:5). Perhaps the heroic deed of the Bethlehemite Elchanan was later attributed to David, or David was once known as 'Elchanan'[50] – before he started to use his Philistine nickname (*Δαι-ϝιδ*). Only in the case of the fathers of David (יִשַׁי) and Elchanan (יַעְרֵי אֹרְגִים) the TM uses the spelling בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי (Bethlehemite). In 2 Sam 23:24 and 1 Chron 11:26, Elchanan is the son of דּוֹדוֹ בֵּית לֶחֶם || דֹּדוֹ מִבֵּית לֶחֶם, however, his father does not appear as an independent character but the similarity of the writing of the names דּוֹדוֹ (דֹּדוֹ) and דָּוִד is puzzling. Even more weird is the verse 1 Kings 20:5: וַיַּךְ אֶלְחָנָן בֶּן־יָעוּר אֶת־לַחְמִי אֲחִי גָּלְיָת ('and Elchanan the son of Jair killed Lachmi the brother of Goliath'), in which Elchanan's father[51] is no longer called בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי (Bethlehemite), while Elchanan kills לַחְמִי, a brother of Goliath. The parallels between the scene of the fight in the Valley of Elah and the tradition about Elchanan are quite numerous: Elchanan/David – Goliath; the origin of both characters; לַחְמִי – בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי; mentions of Gath. Is it possible that the variant in 1 Kings 20:5 is the original version of the event, later corrected so that David (דָּוִד) becomes the protagonist instead of Elchanan (the son of דֹּד), and the antagonist's name לַחְמִי is understood as the city of birth of the hero (בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי)?[52]

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50   R. Klein, *1 Samuel* (WBC 10; Waco, TX: Word Books 1983) 173.

51   Bearing the name יָעוּר, which may be a variant of the name ישׁי through the ligature שׁ/עו (F. Polak, "Conceptions of the Past and Sociocultural Grounding in the Books of Samuel," *History, Memory, Hebrew Scriptures: A Festschrift for Ehud Ben Zvi* [eds. I.D. Wilson – D. Edelman] [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2015] 121, note 21).

52   The historiographical data concerning the city of Bethlehem of Judah, unlike other cities of Judah (mainly Hebron and the surrounding areas, see above), do not allow to conclude that the events described in the books of Samuel, taking place in Bethlehem, could have occurred in that city in the period referred to in Ir I – Ir IIA. Excavations of ancient cemeteries at Khalet al-Jam'a and Jebel Dhaher testify that the city experienced a decline during the LB- Ir I period, revived in Ir IIA–B (960–701) and began to develop in Ir IIC–III (701–586) (L. Nigro, "Le necropoli di Betlemme e la storia della città nel II e I millennio a.C.," *Holy Land. Archaeology on Either Side: Archaeological Essays in Honour of Eugenio Alliata, ofm* [eds. A. Coniglio – A. Ricco] [Collectio Maior 57; Milano: Edizioni Terra Santa 2020] 39–44). Such a chronology confirms the data in 2 Kings 11:6 about the expansion of Bethlehem by Rehoboam but does not confirm the existence of the city in the time of David. It is difficult to imagine that ancient Bêth-Leḥem, probably an important sanctuary of one of the Canaanite deities (Lehem?, Horon?, 'Anat?) dating back to the Bronze Age (T. Vuk, *Bibbia tra orientalistica e storiografia: una introduzione* [Analecta 91; Milano: Edizioni Terra Santa 2021] 69–76; N. Na'aman, "On Gods and Scribal Traditions in the Amarna Letters," *UF* 22 [1990] 252–254), known from the Amarna Letters as URUÉ-dNIN.URTA under the protection of the ruler of Jerusalem (9 km away from Bethlehem, Letter EA 290, W. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* [Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press 1992] 333–334), was under

Another tradition about the death of the alleged Goliath can be found in 2 Sam 21:20–21, where a certain 'man of great stature' from Gath, 'who had six fingers on each hand and six toes on each foot,' a pre-historic giant-Rephaite, is killed by 'Jonathan, son of Shimei, brother of David' (2 Sam 21:20–21).

David's relations with the inhabitants of pre-monarchical Judah are also ambiguously shown. The Judeans are rather hostile towards David, who is a fugitive: hiding in the Cave of Adullam, David receives an oracle from the prophet Gad to go to Judah (1 Sam 22:5), where he saves the city of Keilah from an invasion by the Philistines, for which he is met with great ingratitude – the inhabitants of the city were ready to hand him over to Saul (1 Sam 23:1–13); the inhabitants of the Desert of Zif betray him and he is pursued by punitive expeditions (1 Sam 23:14–24; 26:1–25); he is tracked down and handed over to Saul by the inhabitants of Ein Gedi (1 Sam 24:2).

Likewise, David does not 'remain indebted' to those who refuse to recognise his royal ambitions: Nabal, the Calebite, who does not recognise David's right to his property ('Who is David? Who is the son of Jesse?', 1 Sam 25:10) and firmly refuses his 'services' (which are similar to extortion), dies suddenly 'under unexplained circumstances' and David 'seizes' his wife, which may be an expression of taking over his property, since the seizure of the ruler's harem was a symbol of taking over the power of the one defeated by the conqueror.

The peak of that hostility can be found in chapter 1 Sam 27, where David is shown as a subject of the king of Gath, who leads punitive expeditions against the inhabitants of Judah:

> Whenever David attacked the land, he left neither man nor woman alive but took away the sheep, the oxen, the donkeys, the camels, and the apparel, and returned and came to Achish. Achish said: «Where were you today on the war expedition?» David said: «In the Negev of Judah. In the Negev of the Yerachmeelite. In the Negev of the Kenites». David left neither man nor woman alive to bring them to Gath. He stated: «Lest they should inform on us, saying: Thus David did. And thus was his behaviour all the time he dwelt in the country of the Philistines». (1 Sam 27:9–11)

The story in 1 Sam 27 does not seem connected to the tradition contained in 1 Sam 21:11–16, in which David also appeared before Achish (1 Sam 21:11–16) but, fearing for his life, had to pretend to be mad and was banished from the court. The pericope in 1 Sam 27 begins the narrative of David, a Philistine subject, ruler of the city of Ziklag, who becomes king of Judah and, in a few years, lord of the Central Highlands, the mountains of Judah and Samaria.

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the rule of the 'Judeans' or 'Ephrathites' at the time, as Jerusalem of the Jebusites bravely faced all the invaders in that period. Unless they were allies/subjects of the Jebusites at the time.

3. David vs. the House of Saul

1 Sam 27, which introduces the reader to David as a Philistine warrior, may be the oldest mention of David, additionally (if the David storyline with the omission of the later poetic additions in 1 Sam 27 – 2 Sam 5 is considered) it is the most literarily consistent one: a certain mercenary, presumably named *Δαι-ϝιδ*, a subject of King Achish of Gath, a ruler of the Philistine city of Ziklag (presumably 'τεῖχη λευκά', 'white walls'),[53] taking advantage of the fall of Saul's kingdom conquers the heights of Hebron and then, in a war with Saul's heirs, gathers Israel around him, winning the war against Abner, the former commander of the dead king's army, destroying all members of Saul's family. This is how David became unreachable to the Philistines, who had no military advantage in the mountainous area and were limited to only local fights in the western foothills.

A comparative analysis of the two pericopes of the 'doublet' about David's stay with the Philistines (1 Sam 21:11–15 ‖ 1 Sam 27) indicates that 21:11–15 is a clearly later text. The text of 1 Sam 27, although marked by features of the later redaction,[54] most closely corresponds to the realities of the 10th–9th centuries in terms of the position of the city of Gath in the political arena and the actions of David's band, similar to the bands of Habiru from the turn of the Late Bronze – Ir I eras.[55] Therefore, as Finkelstein points out, 1 Sam 27 may be one of the texts reaching back to the actual historical memory of a given period.[56]

Which 'David' is described in the scene of humbling before Achish in 1 Sam 21:11–15, especially in relation to the 'doublet' in chapter 27? It is logical to assume that 1 Sam 21 belongs to the 'shepherd' tradition, because of the humble attitude, and 1 Sam 27 fits perfectly with the image of the fugitive soldier playing the role of an 'abrek'.[57] However, David's humble attitude towards Achish rather corresponds with the apologetic behaviour of an 'abrek': ('Whom did the king of Israel go after? After whom are you pursuing? After a dead dog, after one flea?', 1 Sam 24:15). Being humble before Saul and Jonathan is associated with

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53 Schneider, "The Philistine Language," 569–576.

54 E.g. the name 'Achish' may be a later borrowing of the name of the seventh-century ruler of Ekron (G. Hentschel, "David's Flight to the King of Gath," *David in the Desert: Tradition and Redaction in the "History of David's Rise"* [eds. H. Bezzel – R.G. Kratz] [BZAW 514; Berlin: De Gruyter 2021] 229–230).

55 I. Finkelstein, "Geographical and Historical Realities behind the Earliest Layer in the David Story," *SJOT* 27 (2013) 136.

56 'Being part of the stories of David's life as an outlaw on the southern fringe of the highlands and his dealings with the king of Gath, the material about his sojourn in Ziklag (1 Sam 27,6; parts of 1 Sam 30) and the spoil of Amalek (1 Sam 30, 26–31) probably belongs to the early southern layer' (Finkelstein, "Geographical and Historical Realities behind the Earliest Layer in the David Story," 134). Finkelstein also excludes the occurrence of any religious or apologetic motifs in the oldest legends of David (dating from the 9th century at the latest), which he dates to the 9th– 8th century (*ibidem*, 134–137).

57 *Abrek* – a term derived from North Caucasian folklore to describe the figure of the noble bandit, a social phenomenon of a hero who opposes the official unjust authorities and therefore forced to hide in mountainous areas inaccessible to them. The abrek's social and religious values meet with the approval of the local population, who sympathise with him and support him, (cf. R. Gould, "Transgressive Sanctity: The Abrek in Chechen Culture," *Kritika* 8/2 [2007] 271–306). David, forced by an unjust king to flee, an honest and pious outlaw warrior, fits the character of 'abrek' more than any other culturally occurring figure of the noble highwayman.

the apologetic motif, while the attitude of a 'shepherd' is beyond reproach. Only a man as artistic as Saul's harpist could have pretended to be mentally retarded before Achish, rather than an inexperienced shepherd, who, in 1 Sam 17 appears as a 'marble-stiff' ancient hero, as if sculpted by Michelangelo. It is difficult to imagine that the hero who with the name יהוה on his lips had miraculously defeated the warrior from Gath could humiliate himself in such a way before his king (with Goliath's sword in his hand on top of that, cf. 1 Sam 21:10). In the case of the 'abrek', in turn, the attempt at an apologetic explanation of those suspicious relations is very appropriate since David's close ties with the Philistines were apparently well known to his contemporaries and posterity. Given that 1 Sam 21:12 quotes 1 Sam 18:7, one can assume that the first pericope is the product of an editor, the apologist of the 'abrek'.

1 Sam 27, however, serves one purpose only – to include in the narrative the fact of David's active participation in the pacification expeditions on the side of the Philistines.[58] That fact could have been omitted – the narrative could have proceeded directly from David in the desert to Saul's death, at most with the mention in 1 Sam 21:11–15 of a certain disgraceful episode in his biography, testifying to the hero's cunning. But 1 Sam 27, even when well integrated into the narrative, remains 'alien' to the attitude of the 'abrek', previously the wrong fugitive harpist, whose deeds from 1 Sam 27 onwards take on a military character with signs of mass genocide.

David's role in Saul's death during the battle of Gilboa is also unclear. With great enthusiasm, David accepts the proposal of Achish to participate in the war against Israel on the side of the Philistines (1 Sam 28:1–2) and accepts the opposition of the other Philistines with indignation (1 Sam 29:8). It is unclear whether the scene of the opposition of the other Philistine commanders is not a later editorial addition intended to relieve David of his duty to shed the blood of the Israelites and to compromise the life of the Lord's anointed, since later the descendants of Saul held David responsible for the king's death ('Away from me, you who are bloodthirsty! The Lord has brought back upon you all the bloodshed of the house of Saul, in whose place you have become king!', 2 Sam 16:7–8). Shimei, a Benjamite, Saul's relative and David's accuser, might have been aware of his real involvement in the death of the king of Israel thanks to his contacts with the Philistine court in Gath (1 Kings 2:39–40).[59]

A terrible fate awaited the members of Saul's family: Saul's son and successor Ishbaal was killed as a result of a conspiracy (2 Sam 4); Meribbaal, the son of Jonathan (1 Sam 9, according to 2 Sam 19:25 – Saul's son), remained with David as a hostage and was forced to humiliate himself (2 Sam 19:29), which, most likely, did not save his life – deprived of his property (2 Sam 16:4) he was murdered together with other members of Saul's family with

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58   2 Sam 21–24 and especially 23:8–39 is a sign that the writers wanted to preserve the older text as much as possible, even if it did not fit the newly arranged narrative and clearly contradicted what had been written earlier.

59   C. Ehrlich, "David and Achish: Remembrance of Things Past, Present, or Future?," *David in the Desert: Tradition and Redaction in the "History of David's Rise"* (eds. H. Bezzel – R.G. Kratz) (BZAW 514; Berlin: De Gruyter 2021) 240.

the consent (on order?) of David (2 Sam 21:8–9);[60] Shimei was also murdered by Solomon on the order of David, already on his deathbed (1 Kings 2:9). Finally, David seems to be attempting to destroy the very memory of Saul's family by taking the bones of Saul and Jonathan from Jabesh in Gilead (2 Sam 21:10–14), a city associated with the memory of Saul's glorious days (1 Sam 11), apparently allied to that dynasty, which became the resting place of his corpse (1 Sam 31:11–13) and the memorial (if not the cult) of the king of Israel.[61]

4. David vs. His Surrounding

'The king makes the court,' and David's court had little in common with the idealised image of Israel as an amphictyony of the twelve tribes of Jacob's descendants. This is particularly evident when the text departs from its usual apologetic stance and attempts to give the reader a chronicle of history and its characters.

Very telling is the scene at the bedside of the dying king, when David gives instructions to his successor: Solomon was to murder two men – Joab, the son of Zeruiah, and Shimei, a relative of Saul. Those two figures symbolise two dangers to the monarch – another dynasty that disputes the unquestionable right to the throne and an internal enemy who, although loyal, acts independently, undermining the sacredness of the king's authority.

Joab, the son of Zeruiah, David's most faithful servant, his military leader and commander of his bodyguard, according to 1 Kings 2:5, was blamed for the death of Abner and Amasa. Both characters are also quite significant for understanding the circumstances in which David came to power and ruled.

Abner, the commander of Saul's army and faithful to him even after his death, fighting in the interests of his son Ishbaal, refuses to recognise David's divine anointing, calling him the 'commander of the Calebites,'[62] i.e., of the Hebronites, since once Hebron

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60   2 Sam 21:7 and 2 Sam 21:8 mention 'Mephibosheth', although with different spellings (מְפִי־בֹשֶׁת and מְפִבֹשֶׁת, respectively), which according to widespread opinion is an alternative (pejorative?) name for Meribbaal, the son of Jonathan (M. Avioz, "The Names Mephibosheth and Ishbosheth Reconsidered," *JANES* 32/1 [2011] 11–20). Based on another theory, 'Mephibosheth' in 2 Sam 21:7–8 may be the same person as Ishbaal/Ishbosheth, Saul's son and heir, and the description of his death in 2 Sam 21:8 follows another tradition according to which Saul's heir was murdered not by vicious traitors (2 Sam 4) but by David himself (J. Bailey, "The Assassination of Mephibosheth: Royal and Redactional Intrigue in the Book of Samuel," *JSOT* 44/2 [2019] 279–289).

61   This city, faithful to Saul, was probably destroyed, traces of which can be found in Judg 21:8–14, where Jabesh in Gilead is demolished. A quite clear anti-Benjaminite motif in the second epilogue of the book of Judges (Judg 19–21), comparing Benjamin and its capital Gibeah – the capital of King Saul (1 Sam 10:26; 11:4; 15:34 passim) – with Sodom, mentions the destruction of Jabesh in Gilead for loyalty to Benjaminites, although the city was quite distant from the scene of the events and the reason for its demolition was made up. The abduction of the daughters of Jabesh of Gilead and handing them over to the surviving Benjaminites for them to become their wives may be evidence of the kinship of the inhabitants of Jabesh with Benjamin.

62   This is how the meaning of Abner's angry cry towards Ishbaal should be understood: הֲרֹאשׁ כֶּלֶב אָנֹכִי אֲשֶׁר לִיהוּדָה (2 Sam 3:8), which the Greek translates: μὴ κεφαλὴ κυνὸς ἐγώ εἰμι (the phrase אֲשֶׁר לִיהוּדָה in the LXX is omitted) and is usually (in Greek, Latin and modern translations) translated as: 'Am I a dog's head (belonging to

and the surrounding areas were given to Caleb and his family (Josh 14:6–15; 15:13–19; Judg 1:10–15, 20). Later on, Abner recognises David's authority, perhaps due to David's Ephrataean background. If the identity of the Ephrathites and Ephraimites is recognised, then Abner, a Benjaminite, and David, an Ephraimite, would both belong to the 'house of Joseph' (cf. 2 Sam 19:21). Perhaps this was the intention of presenting David as an Ephrathite in that historical situation. To both the Ephraimites (as an Ephrathite) and the people of Judah (as a Bethlehemite), he seemed to be the ideal compromise, someone able to unite both societies – the kingdom of Saul and the community of Judah emerging around Hebron:

> David belonged to one of the Ephraimite families who settled in the northern part of the Judean hills, which eventually amalgamated with the Judean population and affiliated themselves with the tribe of Judah. From a distant vantage point David could be identified as either or both, Judahite and Ephraimite. This understanding of David's origin may illuminate some aspects of his history and reign. It may explain the antagonistic attitude of some of the older and more established elements of the tribe of Judah such as Nabal the Calebite (1 Sam. 25:19) or the inhabitants of Ziph (1 Sam. 26:1), and it provides another context for his anointing by Samuel, the Ephraimite prophet. It may also explain David's appeal to the northern tribes, the relatively smooth transfer of loyalty from Saul's house to him (2 Sam. 5:1–4), and his success in establishing the united kingdom.[63]

But Abner was Saul's brother (cousin) (1 Sam 14:50), therefore he had to die.

Amasa was the commander of Absalom's army, a man from the South, a relative of Joab (2 Sam 17:25), who joined David a bit later as commander of the army of Judah (2 Sam 19:14–16). The fate of Amasa is closely linked to the metamorphosis in David's self-determination: after the uprising of the whole of Israel and Judah against David, which was suppressed mainly by mercenary forces, David understood that the compromise figure of the 'Ephrathite' had a certain weakness consisting in not offering support in the tribal elites. A strong tribe that supports a dynasty, like the Benjaminites in relation to Saul, can be an important factor in the stability of a monarchy, which is why after Absalom's defeat, David proposed a deal to the Judeans – he declared himself a Judean for them to become the royal tribe (2 Sam 19:12–13) and support David against the tribes of the North. The gesture confirming David's decision was to be, i.e., the appointment of Amasa as commander instead of the faithful and cruel Joab, the son of Zeruiah.

Judah)?'. A more coherent and contextually logical translation would be: 'Am I the commander of the Calebites?' ('Caleb' as a collective person) because after Abner is accused by the heir to the throne of usurping power by taking over the harem of the late King Saul (2 Sam 3:6–10), the leader replies that he is not like David, also a former commander of Saul's army, and now 'רֹאשׁ כֶּלֶב', who intends to take power away from the house of Saul, but the one who defends this dynasty (Komarnytskyy, *"Giuda per primo"*, 198).

63   S. Japhet, "Was David a Judahite or an Ephraimite? Light from the Genealogies," *Let Us Go Up to Zion: Essays in Honour of H. G. M. Williamson on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (eds. I. Provan – M. Boda) (VTSup 153; Leiden: Brill 2012) 305.

Prior to that, the Judeans had shown little favour towards King David, at least since his move to Jerusalem. Absalom, having undertaken a revolt against David, was immediately recognised as king in Hebron, the heart of Judah. And if in the time of Saul Hebron was not yet seen as a city of Judah,[64] during David's reign Hebron and the other cities of the Hebron Hills and the Negev, belonging to the Calebites, Kenites, Jerachmeelites and other tribes, began to form a certain cultural unity, a 'great Judah'.[65] It was this newly-formed power from the South that was chosen by David. The Judeans immediately came into conflict with the tribes of the North, i.e., with the tribes of 'Saul's Israel' (2 Sam 19:42–44), and it is to the Judeans that David turns to suppress the Israelite uprising led by the Benjaminites (2 Sam 20:4). However, Joab murders Amasa, and his army of mercenaries seemed quite self-sufficient to intimidate the Judeans (2 Sam 20:7–13) and claim victory over 'the whole Israel' (2 Sam 2:17–18; 18; 20:14–22).

Who were those mercenaries, the mysterious Kerethites and Pelethites, David's most loyal servants? The Kerethites are mentioned already in 1 Sam 30:14 as a population, inhabiting the 'Negev of the Kerethites', which together with the 'Negev of Judah' and the 'Negev of Caleb' was hostile to the Amalekites, but was not a target for David in the service of the Philistines,[66] which would prove that the Kerethites were at least allied with the Philistines. As per the prophets Ezekiel and Zephaniah, the Kerethites were people living by the sea, identified with the Philistines (Ezek 25:15–16; Zeph 2:5–7). In other passages of the historical books, the Keretites and the Pelethites appear together as a single force (2 Sam 8:18; 15:18; 20:7, 23; 1 Kings 1:38, 44; 1 Kings 18:17), who, according to one of hypotheses, may have been mercenaries from the Sea Peoples (Cretans and Philistines, respectively).[67] It is those הַכְּרֵתִי וְהַפְּלֵתִי who went into exile with David (2 Sam 15:18) and

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64 In 2 Sam 2:4, the 'men of Judah' come to Hebron (possibly controlled by the Calebites), indicating that Hebron was not seen as a city belonging to the tribe of Judah (C. Balzaretti, *1–2 Sam.* [I libri Biblici: Primo Testamento 8; Milano: Paoline 2020] 355).

65 A. Anderson, *2 Samuel* (WBC 11; Dallas: Word Books 1989) 24. Judah/Judea, becoming a confederation of tribes, will later be seen as one of the 'tribes' of Israel, the tribe of Judah, the son of Jacob-Israel. The concept of the 12 tribes is maintained in later redactions of the Enneateuch but seems to be almost completely ignored both in the Sam-Kings narrative as well as in the earlier southern traditions, where instead of the tribes – 'sons' of Israel there are tribes inhabiting those areas (some of them later identified with 'Judah', others were listed as enemies). While representatives of the northern tribes can still be found among David's guards (2 Sam 23:8–39) or Solomon's officials (1 Kings 4), the presence of representatives of the southern tribes is not emphasised. It is possible that the people in the south considered themselves as Ephrathite, Kenites or Calebites, just as those in the north considered themselves as Ephraimites, Benjaminites or Zebulonites, i.e. they had a different identity paradigm than the tribes that made up Saul's kingdom: 'In the identification of David himself, we see the echoes of an earlier Judahite system, one that did not survive. The concept of the "twelve tribes of Israel" developed from an originally smaller northern tradition that did not include the south, could accommodate these narratives in their final form, but did not completely eradicate what they had been like before.' (A. Tobolowsky, "Othniel, David, Solomon: Additional Evidence of the Late Development of Normative Tribal Concepts in the South," *ZAW* 131/2 [2019] 208–209).

66 'Achish said: «Where were you today on the war expedition?» David said: «In the Negev of Judah. In the Negev of the Yerachmeelite. In the Negev of the Kenites»' (1 Sam 27:10).

67 D.T. Tsumura, *The Second Book of Samuel* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2019) 159–160. Equally probable seems to be the hypothesis that the formula וְהַכְּרֵתִי וְהַפְּלֵתִי was a popular slogan in those days to call

gained victory for him over the united army of Israel and Judah (2 Sam 17–18). It is them who humiliated the army of Judah and pacified the rebellion in Israel (2 Sam 20). Finally, it is them who ensured Solomon's ascension to the throne, against the will of the royal family, the court elite and the priesthood (1 Kings 1). The most frequently mentioned commander of the Davidic 'janissaries' is Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, mentioned in the appendix to 2 Sam as one of David's heroes who 'killed [...] an Egyptian of enormous stature: the Egyptian had a spear in his hand, but he went down to him with a club and snatched the spear from the Egyptian's hand and killed him with his own spear'[68] (2 Sam 23:21), and who, in 1 Kings 2, is depicted as an executioner in the service of Solomon, murdering the enemies of the new king one by one: Adonijah, Solomon's brother and rival, Joab the son of Zeruiah and Shimei, a relative of Saul.

Also Joab, the son of Zeruiah, the faithful commander of David's army, had his soldiers ('אַנְשֵׁי יוֹאָב', 2 Sam 20:7). While still in David's band, when he was hiding away from Saul in the desert (1 Sam 26:6), Joab became commander of David's select army, הַצָּבָא הַגִּבֹּרִים (2 Sam 10:7), which may have included some of characters from the list found in 2 Sam 23:8–39, who were not connected by kinship or any political ties.[69] Joab contributed to many victories of David, fulfilled the order to murder Uriah, the Hittite,[70] and remained faithful to David in all the civil wars. In 2 Sam 18:2, Joab – together with his brother Abishai and Ittai of Gath (a foreigner, cf. 2 Sam 15:19) – leads an army loyal to David and defeats the united army of Israel.[71] Saul chose the bravest sons from the tribes of Israel (1 Sam 14:52), but who were the 'trustees' of David's?

The Kerethites, the Pelethites, the mercenaries of unknown origin who had a decisive influence at King David's court – they were the ones who 'made' David the king. Therefore the question arises of how it was possible for 'David from the tribe of Judah' to come to power and maintain it 'on the bayonets' of foreigners.

Philistine mercenaries – due to its rhyming sound and perhaps due to its similarity to other words meaning something alien or some force of chaos, similar to תֹהוּ וָבֹהוּ in Gen 1, 2.

68 The mention of the duel with the giant may refer to the legend of Goliath.

69 Only some of the listed soldiers were of Judean origin, the rest came from the North or from outside Israel.

70 Uriah the Hittite was certainly a foreigner, a guard of David, living next to the king's house with his wife. One may assume that the army of foreign mercenaries was willing to support Solomon, the son of Bathsheba (most likely also a foreign woman from the circle of those mercenaries), rather than Adonijah.

71 In 1 Kings 2, Joab made the wrong choice by opposing the demands of Solomon's supporters, of whom only Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, with his 'Kerethites-Peletites', was endowed with real power, therefore Joab had to die along with another pretender to the throne and a relative of Saul challenging God's choice of that bloody dynasty.

5. Δαι-ϝιδ

The mention of the 'Philistine period' in David's life in 1 Sam 21:11–15 and 1 Sam 27 may indicate that David – in the memory of the Israelites – was indeed somehow associated with Gath and its king, who was considered the main reason for the death of Saul and his family. It seems quite possible that this is an attempt to connect the figure of David, the king of Israel, with the fact of his earlier presence at the Philistine court – as a servant. From the point of view of the creator of the narrative, it would be better if that detail, i.e., David's controversial relationship with the Philistines that discredits the protagonist, was absent. The 'doublet' about David's stay in Gath, found in the cycle, is a double attempt to deal with that issue and to present it in a manner favourable to David. And while the first text (1 Sam 21:11–15) seeks to completely justify David, blaming the situation on Saul's madness, the parallel story, although accompanied by extensive apologetic commentary, provides some inconvenient but also key facts from David's biography. It is 1 Sam 27 that explains how David was able to take over the power in Israel.

Thus, the story of David's rise to power seems to contain two alternative beginnings. The first one is the 'way of the abrek' – a courtier who was lied to and who, condemned to endure the injustice of the world, reached the lowest point of his journey in the scene of humbling himself before the Philistine ruler from Gath (1 Sam 21:11–15). To the image of the 'abrek', in addition to the 'scene before Achish', belongs the pericope about the event at Nob, as well as the clashes with the local population in the desert, the run away from Saul – in a word, all the scenes in which David appears as a hero chased by external forces of evil.

However, if one takes as a starting point the scene in which David is a military leader in the Philistine city of Ziklag, the task of whom was the pacification of the border people (1 Sam 27:8–11b), it is possible to trace a somewhat different biography – of a hero who went from being a Philistine satrap to becoming the ruler of a mountainous locality with its capital in Hebron. In the final chapters of the HDR narrative, it is already impossible to distinguish which 'David' is the editor talking about: the Philistine of Ziklag or the 'abrek' of Bethlehem. Effectiveness, ruthlessness or calculating cruelty – those are not the features of the noble 'abrek' but of the 'Philistine'. A question might be posed of who was the prototype of David and why he was so important for posterity that the apologist writers chose to leave the rather unpleasant details of his biography in the text, limiting themselves only to their reinterpretation.

The hero of Ziklag does not humiliate himself in front of the Philistines, he does not run away from anyone, on the contrary: it is his army that can force all opponents to flee. While still in Ziklag, David sought to establish contacts with the people he was conquering, sending them signs of a desire to improve the relations (1 Sam 30:26–31), and in this way, he won over the tribes of the South, the territories uncontrolled by the greater powers. Taking advantage of Saul's death (irrespective of whether the protagonist participated in the event or not), David conquered (or occupied without a fight) the Hebron Highlands (the peaks of Judah or 'the mountain of Judah', cf. Josh 11:16, 21) and

gathered numerous semi-nomadic tribes around him to cut himself off from Gath and other Philistine cities.

The Philistines, unlike the mountain people, did not know how to fight in mountainous terrain, nor did they have much aspiration to conquer the Negev.[72] Taking advantage of the presence of proven 'soldiers of fortune' and Philistine mercenaries, David serves as an alternative to the declining dynasty of Saul in mountainous Judah. 'Saul's Israel' could not afford to wage war against two strong enemies at the same time – the Philistines from the west (who already partially occupied the Central Highlands, cf. 1 Sam 13–14; 2 Sam 5:18–25) and David from the south.

The most coherent literary line seems to be 1 Sam 27:5–12; 28:1–2; 29(?); 30–31; 2 Sam 2:2–4; 5:1–7 ff.., according to which a Philistine leader called David (or similar), the administrator of the city of Ziklag (or a place with a similar name), conquered the Hebron Highlands and was recognised by the local tribes as a commander. Such a hypothesis is supported, on the one hand, by an analysis of the proper names 'David', 'Ziklag' and 'Goliath' (see above) and, on the other hand, it is testified in its favour by archaeological data which indicate that the tri-city of Hebron fell into ruin and was later rebuilt during the Ir I – Ir IIA period.[73]

Starting from 1 Sam 27, David's personality changes: he is no longer a hunted fugitive who hides away in caves, being a relatively weak enemy, but becomes a leader who pacifies the surrounding peoples – the inhabitants of the Negev, the Amalekites and the Philistines. At the same time, he methodically 'removes' his opponents, both real and potential, wins several clashes with neighbouring nations (1 Kings 11:14–22) and suppresses rebellions using a professional army.

How did the 'abrek', who truly avoided confrontation with Saul's expedition, who wandered in foreign territory, become the leader of the Philistine mercenaries who were able to conquer the entire South, occupy the dominant strongholds of the Hebron Highlands, defeat the Philistines and conquer Gath (2 Sam 8)? The image of David, the lord of the southern mountains, entering into conflict with the Philistines in the west, with the Amalekites in the south, with the Ammonites in the east,[74] and waging wars with Abner over the years

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[72]   At the beginning of the 12th century, the Negev lost its importance as a commercial route within the Egyptian empire (N. Panitz-Cohen, "The Southern Levant (Cisjordan) during the Late Bronze Age," *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant* [eds. M. Steiner – A. Killebrew] [Oxford: Oxford University Press 2014] 652–653; A. Gilboa, "The Southern Levant (Cisjordan) during the Iron Age I Period," *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant* [eds. M. Steiner – A. Killebrew] [Oxford: Oxford University Press 2014] 629–631).

[73]   In the LB-Ir I era, the southern hills were sparsely settled, numbering at most 18 settlements, few of which survived the great population displacements of the Late Bronze Age collapse, which led to the disappearance of Hebron, Hormah, Arad *et al.* (Ben-Shlomo, "New Evidence of Iron Age II Fortifications at Tel Hebron," 63–87; K. van Bekkum, "Coexistence as Guilt: Iron I Memories in Judges 1," *The Ancient Near East in the 12th–10th Centuries BCE: Culture and History* [eds. G. Galil – A. Gilboa] [AOAT 392; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag 2012] 539–540).

[74]   It is not clear whether the fights with the Ammonites belong to the historical memory of the time of the founding of Judah, or whether it is rather a historical projection of later events, for example, the wars of Jeroboam II

is at odds with the image of the 'abrek' who was afraid of each of them. Was he supported by the tribes of future Judah? However, observing how willingly those people betrayed him to Saul, how gladly Hebron supported Absalom just a few years later, and how easy it was for David to capture their cities,[75] one can conclude that: (1) the local semi-nomadic people did not like David; (2) they were not a significant military force.

The authority of David the 'warlord' was so high that the Philistine troops remained loyal to him, supposedly a Judean, and turned their weapons against their compatriots. The reason could have been that David was their compatriot, only more broad-minded, like Alexander the Great and Genghis Khan, who were able to expand their territories by including local communities in their civilisation project, which in David's case was called the 'Great Judah'.

What reason is there to consider 1 Sam 27 as a separate narrative? This is indicated by the parallelism with the passage 21:11–15, which seems to be an organic part of the story of the 'abrek'. Chapter 27, on the contrary, is not part of it, because the noble 'abrek' would not serve the enemy as a murderer of his future subjects. 1 Sam 21:11–15, in turn, fits perfectly into the form of the monomyth[76] as a classic *nadir* – a humiliated David at the feet of the Philistine, who was also humiliated later on. Thus, if 27 belongs to another tradition, where is its origin? It might have been ignored and omitted by the editor or nothing was known about the origin of the David described in 1 Sam 27, or the later reader was simply spared the details of the origin of their great founder. Moreover, it is surprising that the most important person in the is deprived of the legend about his miraculous birth, and the very fact of anointing him king in 1 Sam 16 is a later, dramatically expanded editorial 'doublet' of the earlier mention in 2 Sam 2:4a–b.

When did the story of David begin to be written, and what was it based on? G. Galil believes that the first texts of the DH, such as 'The Book of Saviors', 'The Acts of Saul', 'The Acts of David' and 'The Book of the Upright' began to take shape in Jerusalem in the 10th century, during the reign of Solomon.[77] However, it seems more likely that 'The Book of Saviors', ending with the formula found in 1 Sam 7:13, contained only the sagas about the northern judges (from Ehud to Samuel; the 'most southern' judge of the cycle was

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(N. Na'aman, "Memories of Monarchical Israel in the Narratives of David's Wars with Israel's Neighbours," *HBAI* 6 [2017] 308–328).

[75] In 2 Sam 2:2–3, David moves to Hebron with six hundred soldiers, while his entire army may have numbered ca. 2,000 warriors. Together with their families, this constituted a huge number of people (according to the criteria of the Ir IIA era), for which not one city, but several, had to be freed (Anderson, *2 Samuel*, 23). This observation would indirectly confirm that the conquest was not limited to Hebron but to a minimum of the entire 'tri-city' (cf. בְּעָרֵי חֶבְרוֹן, 'in the cities of Hebron', 2 Sm 2:3), which was certainly accompanied by the expulsion or slaughter of the inhabitants. Echoes of those actions can be found in Judg 1:10–15, 20. It is likely that the inhabitants of Hebron remembered well how David's conquest was carried out and therefore willingly joined Absalom's revolt at the first opportunity.

[76] The oldest ancient narratives, e.g. *The Epic of Gilgamesh, The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* etc., were built following the monomyth model (F. Greenspahn, "From Egypt to Canaan: Heroic Narrative," *Israel's Apostasy and Restoration* [ed. K. Harrison] [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books 1988] 1–2).

[77] G. Galil, "The Formation of Judges and Samuel and the Deuteronomistic Composition," *VT* 71 (2021) 567.

Ehud, a Benjaminite) who operated in the territory controlled by Saul. Therefore, it is more likely that 'The Book of Saviors' and 'The Acts of Saul', the texts containing northern tradition (Ephraimite, Gilead, Danite, etc.),[78] were set in the north at the sanctuaries of Israel (for example, at Bethel).[79] In those legends, Saul was portrayed as a hero, as in 1 Sam 7–14. 'The Acts of David' is most likely a later imitation of 'The Acts of Saul', only the purpose of the narrative was to construct the legend of a royal dynasty reigning over Israel as a theological entity – God's saving work, acting through the institution of the monarchy. Saul was supposed to be God's first chosen one, but he did not meet the requirements of his calling. A more dignified person – David – was anointed instead. To theologically justify the editors' choice of David, Samuel was 'resurrected'[80] – first to reject Saul in 1 Sam 15, and then to choose David in 1 Sam 16.

David was created in the literature as a continuation of Saul, the heir to the anointing and all the rights of the king of Israel, once his servant, a powerful warrior who was accused of being a bandit, a mercenary of uncertain origin who – on his way to power – murdered everyone, including the king of Israel and his family. Thus arises the image of the slandered servant who requires apologia and is the image of the noble and God-fearing 'abrek'. But within that image, another character can be noticed, a more coherent one – the dark figure of the 'warlord', a valiant warrior who engages in robbery and mass murder, able to conquer strongholds, make complex political alliances and does not hesitate to use the military force of his mercenaries against all those who refuse to acknowledge him as being the first. He bears no resemblance to the inept courtier or, even in a small way, to a shepherd-teenager.

The Judeans (if, while referring to that period, one can call the inhabitants of the Hebron Highlands and the Negev as Judeans) recognised him as their ruler, but there is no evidence that he was related to them. Paradoxically, David is recognised as a relative by the representatives of Israel, who say: 'Behold, we are your bones and your flesh' (2 Sam 5:2), which, in this case, may suggest a rather rhetorical device – an expression of a desire to establish a covenant by symbolically recognising each other as relatives (cf. 1 Macc 12:5–23).

'David of Ziklag' was only recognised as a leader over Israel after the seizure of the fortress of Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:6–8), which blocked Saul's way to the south and his to the north. Hence such readiness of the northern tribes to acknowledge his supremacy over them. Being the king of both Judah and the territory once controlled by Saul, David relied for the rest of his life not on the local elite, nor even on members of his family (although, later

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78   Komarnytskyy, *"Giuda per primo"*, 204–230.

79   A. de Pury, "The Jacob Story and the Beginning of the Formation of the Pentateuch," *Farewell to the Yahwist?: The Composition of the Pentateuch in Recent European Interpretation* (eds. T. Dozeman – K. Schmid) (Symposium Series, 34; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2006) 55–62; E. Knauf, "Bethel: The Israelite Impact on Judean Language and Literature," *Judah and Judeans in the Persian Period* (eds. O. Lipschits – M. Oeming) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2006) 291–349; K. Hong, "The Deceptive Pen of Scribes: Judean Reworking of the Bethel Tradition as a Program for Assuming Israelite Identity," *Bib* 92/3 (2011) 427–441.

80   The allusion to Samuel's death can be found in 1 Sam 7:13 and 1 Sam 12.

on, he and many of his companions will be counted by the Chronicler as part of the tribe of Judah), but on Joab's bodyguard and the Philistine mercenaries of Benaiah.

It is difficult to say who David was in his first, pre-apologetic, 'Philistine' appearance – a Philistine, or rather a charismatic mercenary with the nickname of '*Δαι-ϝιδ*'?[81] Apologetic strands aside, in the story of David in the desert, there is a band, similar to the Habiru – once famous in Bronze Age literature, that terrorised the lands of the Negev and the Hebron Highlands, left alone after the withdrawal of Egypt. Perhaps that band was a problem for Saul as much as for the Philistines, so the Philistine leader from Gath (let's call him Achish) found a compromise solution by recruiting them as his mercenaries, inciting David against Saul.[82] Having pacified everyone around him, most notably the Amalekites, who had some control over the Negev, and growing in power through plunder (Nabal), David slips out of Achish's control and is recognised as king by the people he conquered. This, presumably, was the beginning of the biography of the king of Judah.

In the stories of Saul's hunt for David, the basic motif is David's innocence, the impossibility of allowing David to raise his hand against God's anointed one. Four chapters are devoted to the above (1 Sam 22–24, 26). To leave no doubt to the reader, the author-apologist puts the words about David's innocence (and even his recognition as king, 1 Sam 24:21–22) 'in Saul's mouth' and makes him repeat them several times (1 Sam 26:25), to the point of exaggeration, which raises even more suspicion, since 'there is no smoke without fire.'

The intention of the later author might have been not only to emphasise – as much as possible – that David did not participate in Saul's defeat but also that David began the conquest only after Saul's death.[83] In the pre-apologetic version of the HDR, the figure of Saul did not occupy a central position (if it occupied any). It was not the death of Saul (who did not control the South anyway), but rather the attack of the Amalekites on Ziklag (1 Sam 30) that was the reason for the conquest of the Hebron Highlands and the Negev, the territory of Amalekites (Num 13:29; 14:45). Quite possibly the original tradition was that David reigned in Hebron for seven and a half years (2 Sam 5:5) while Saul was still alive, and only took advantage of the political vacuum created in the North to extend his power over Benjamin and the mountains of Ephraim.[84]

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81   The etymology of the name דוד is a problem for scholars. In a situation where almost all other characters (even where one would not expect it, such as Uriah, Hittite) have names with a clearly Hebrew etymology, often theophoric, it is surprising that the etymology of the name דוד is still highly debatable to this day, (cf. Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*, 266–269).

82   McKenzie, *King David: A Biography*, 106–107.

83   J. Wright, *David, King of Israel, and Caleb in Biblical Memory* (New York: Cambridge University Press 2014) 35.

84   The alleged seven and a half years of David's stay in Hebron are covered in two chapters with one episode of the clash between Abner and Joab (2 Sam 2–3). After his father's death, Ishbaal 'ruled' only two years (2 Sam 2:10), and he was murdered immediately after Abner's death (2 Sam 4). N. Na'aman, analysing the verse in Num 13:22d: 'Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt' points to the possibility that the case in question refers to the transfer of the capital from Hebron in Jerusalem for seven years ('"Hebron Was Built Seven Years before Zoan in Egypt' (Numbers XIII 22)," *VT* 31/4 [1981] 488–492), which would confirm the chronology of 2 Sam 5:5 and that, most likely, the conquest of Hebron took place approximately five years

It is also possible that David contributed to Saul's death indirectly. Saul had not lost any wars and knew how to face the Philistines attacking him from the west. The battle of Gilboa shows a different tactic – the Philistines attacked Israel from the north, and if David had attacked from the south at the same time, Saul would have had to fight on two fronts. Such a prospect may have forced Saul to split his army, which ultimately led to Israel's defeat. Later on, Saul's descendants, the elite of the once prosperous Benjamin,[85] would accuse David and call him a 'bloody man' and 'wicked' (2 Sam 16:7) – for 'striking the back' of the fighting king, as a result of which all the inhabitants of the Central Highlands became hostages of David and his Philistine band.[86]

In relation to the royal house of Saul, one can see a fairly widespread practice whereby the king who assumes power eliminates all members of the previous dynasty so that no one can claim the throne in the future. All of Saul's sons are killed. Jonathan's son and all the sons of Saul's daughter Merab are killed, too. The younger daughter Michal dies childless in David's harem.[87]

David might have been anointed king of Judea long before Saul's death and this might have been part of the Philistine strategy. Over those seven and a half years, David formed an anti-Saul coalition (with the Philistines and the Ammonite king, Nachash, 2 Sam 10:1–2) that led to the defeat of the house of Saul.[88] The problem for the Philistines began when David slipped out of their control and instead of having a secured rear in the east, the Philistines received a much more dangerous enemy who, instead of protecting order on the Philistine borders, was able to unite the tribes and make them a new force.

Actual historiographic data on the first stages of the creation of a political entity called 'Judah' is still missing, but one might be tempted to hypothesise. It would be a story of a certain frontier warrior who, being an influential military figure, begins to

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before Saul's death, and that the war against Saul's shattered home after the defeat at Gilboa was initiated not by Abner (2 Sam 2:12a) but by David, who was finishing the conquest of his neighbour to the north after completely destroying the Edomites in the south (cf. 1 Kings 11:15–16).

85   Archaeological data indicate the massive development of nomadic settlements in the area of Benjamin between the 11th and the first half of the 10th century, followed by their rapid disappearance in the second half of the 10th century and their later revival in the form of fortresses. This leads to the conclusion that during this period there were clashes between Jerusalem (which by the 10th century had developed as one of the centres of the community occupying the lands north of the city) and Beniamin. Thus, the former concentration of settlements and economic activity in Benjamin became a battleground, as well as the border of two hostile states (O. Sergi, "The Emergence of Judah as a Political Entity between Jerusalem and Benjamin," *ZDPV* 133/1 [2017] 12–17).

86   McKenzie, *King David: A Biography*, 108–110.

87   One may be tempted to hypothesise on the fate of the younger daughter of the king of Israel in the specific historical context: Abner gave Michal (already married at that time, 1 Sam 25:44) to David as a guarantee of peace (2 Sam 3:13–16), the marriage with whom would legitimise David as Saul's successor in the eyes of the Benjaminites. This was likely the first meeting of David and Michal, a dynastic marriage which was not consummated on David's part, perhaps intentionally, so as not to have a descendant with her – Saul's grandson, who could be the hope for Benjaminites in the future (McKenzie, *King David: A Biography*, 138). Michal remained in David's harem as a prisoner. Thus, the claims of Saul's descendants to the throne were eliminated.

88   McKenzie, *King David: A Biography*, 116.

consolidate the semi-nomadic tribes by entering into dynastic marriages. Equally important was the adoption of their prevailing or gaining popularity religion[89] (Yahwism), which was brought from northern Arabia, probably by the tribes of Kenites or Midianites,[90] and spread thanks to nomads at caravan stations,[91] overshadowing other gods and becoming more and more universal.[92] The idea of God יהוה may have become the consolidating conception for that diverse population, and with the occupation of the dominant hill, Hebron, it acquired its first Judean temple,[93] assimilating the cults of common ancestors (or a common ancestor) as the basis for loyalty to the tribes' covenants. The creator of such a community could have been that warrior with a predisposition for a genius.

David – the 'abrek', the creation of the original Deuteronomistic redaction, already seems to be a more 'multidimensional' character. His rural origin from Bethlehem probably meant that he belonged to the landed aristocracy rather than to the proletariat (2 Sam 7:8; 18:23). Such a social status guaranteed the descendant of a noble Bethlehem family a position in the court in Gibeah.[94] The high social status of David's ancestors is confirmed by the book of Ruth – Booz was wealthy and influential in his city. His ability to play string instruments means that he was an aristocrat and/or a person associated with religious worship.[95] From the beginning, that David was recommended to Saul as a 'man of war'[96] and soon became his armour-bearer, the closest person to his master (1 Sam 16:21). That courtier charms the royal court – the charismatic figure makes everyone around him fall in love with him, including Saul's children, which is why he falls

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89   Perhaps David's reason for adopting the religion of the conquered people was an attempt to gain the favour of the gods in whose territory he was beginning to live. A political motive seems more likely: the ambitious leader saw the potential of the rapidly spreading southern religion and wanted to benefit from its consolidating power.

90   On the 'Kenite' or 'Midianite' hypothesis concerning the origin of Yahwism in northern Arabia, see T. Römer, *The Invention of God* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2015); F. Pfitzmann, *Un YHWH venant du Sud?: De la réception vétérotestamentaire des traditions méridionales et du lien entre Madian, le Néguev et l'exode (Ex-Nb; Jg 5; Ps 68; Ha 3; Dt 33)* (ORA 39; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2020); R. Miller, *Yahweh: Origin of a Desert God* (FRLANT 284; Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2021).

91   Some scholars consider the Midian culture of the 13th–11th century as the source of the worship of YHWH, which spread in Ir I–II over vast areas of southern Canaan via trade routes and first took root in the caravanserai (including Kuntillet ʿAjrud) and then, as a result of the popularisation of copper metallurgy, made its way to the Central Highlands (J.M. Tebes, "The Southern Home of Yahweh and Pre-Priestly Patriarchal/Exodus Traditions from a Southern Perspective," *Bib* 99/2 [2018] 171–175).

92   Among the supporters of the hypothesis of the 'southern' origin of Yahwism, the most noteworthy is the assumption that in the Late Bronze Age Yahwism was a kind of religion of opposition of the southern people to the culture and religion of Egypt, which may have been the source of the later 'Exodus' motif (N. Amzallag, "Who Was the Deity Worshipped at the Tent-Sanctuary of Timna?," *Mining for Ancient Copper: Essays in Memory of Beno Rothenberg* [ed. E. Ben-Yosef] [Monograph Series 37; Tel Aviv: Eisenbrauns 2018] 127–134).

93   A.C. Graham, "Hebronite Tradition behind P in Genesis," *JTS* 41/162 (1940) 149–152.

94   McKenzie, *King David: A Biography*, 57–59.

95   Klein, *1 Samuel*, 165–166.

96   יֹדֵעַ נַגֵּן וְגִבּוֹר חַיִל וְאִישׁ מִלְחָמָה (1 Sm 16:18) – literally 'skilled in the play (strings), of heroic strength, man of war' – the author of 1 Sam 16:18 might have known what '*Δαι-ϝιδ̂*' meant in Philistine, since גִּבּוֹר חַיִל וְאִישׁ מִלְחָמָה has a fairly close meaning.

victim to the king's jealousy, who wants to remain the only person who arouses universal admiration in his court. Faithful David becomes a fugitive and has to save his life by putting himself in the hands of God...

The whole story might have been created only to combine the figure of 'David of Ziklag' with Saul of Gibeah into one continuous monarchical tradition – David the 'abrek' becomes the 'warlord' of Ziklag and becomes David known to the reader from 2 Sam 5 ff. That hypothesis is supported by the fact that David's victorious deed in the Valley of Elah (and perhaps David's origin) was modelled on one of the subjects of 'David of Ziklag'. Indirect proof of the above is the description of the locality where the fugitive 'abrek' is hiding – southeast of Benjamin towards the Jordan Valley. The territory is nominally controlled by Saul-independent Jerusalem,[97] where both heroes are strangers. The 'abrek', hiding in caves from the punitive expedition that was tracking him, would have undergone quite a long internal evolution from frightened squire to strong Machiavellian-type politician.

6. Portrait of the Saint

Reading the canonical text beginning with 1 Sam 16:1 ff., one gets to know yet another David. He is a red-haired young man with 'beautiful eyes and a handsome appearance' (16:12), somewhat naive (17:26), too short to stand in line with warriors (17:28), unskilled with weapons (17:39) and unambitious (17:58). The characteristic motive for his behaviour is religious (17:45–47), he obeys his sense of justice and duty even when he does not understand God's will (1 Sam 20:8). He talks to God before any move, and God leads him by the hand, annihilating his enemies.

The author of such a picture of David wants to justify his hero as much as possible, without departing from the earlier legend about him. David is not to blame for the death of Saul and his heir to the throne. Jonathan gave David precedence over himself (1 Sam 20:13–15), and David, for the sake of the memory of Jonathan, took care of his son (2 Sam 9). It was not David who slaughtered the entire house of Saul, but the criminals who were punished, or the Gibeonites who fulfilled the will of God (2 Sam 21:8–9). David did not destroy the memory of Saul by taking his corpse from Jabesh but wanted to honour it (2 Sam 21:12–14). David is not to blame for the death of Abner, to whom he dedicates a posthumous ode (2 Sam 3:33–34), nor for the death of Amasa (which may be true, given the character of Joab). The death of Joab and Shimei is a demand for justice that is lacking for Absalom, the perpetrator of the rebellion, the cause of death of many, but whom the king mourned as the only one.

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97   H. Niemann, "Expansion Policy of the Davidic Dynasty Judah from the Late 10th to the Early 6th Centuries BCE," *Jerusalem and the Coastal Plain in the Iron Age and Persian Periods* (ed. F. Hagemeyer) (ORA 46; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2022) 63.

The religious theme develops in several directions. First, a theology of 'God's anointed' is created, whose life is holy and who is rather an instrument in God's hands. Second, the idea of a symphony of kingdom and religion is designed, where the House of God stands next to the royal palace and the priests and prophets are the most important people in the kingdom. The king is no longer a cynical ruler forcing every knee to bow in front of him, but a former shepherd dancing in front of the Ark (2 Sam 6:14) and who became who he was only by God's will (2 Sam 7:8), an intemperate and weak man who falls and rises conscious of his weakness (2 Sam 12:13). The king-'shepherd' is no longer a calculating, cynical politician, but a man full of faith and fear of the Lord.

That three visions of David in one narrative evoke an internally contradictory image of the king because David's actions, which are very natural for the rulers of that time, had to be explained by later editors to their contemporaries in a new religious context. Therefore, the creators of the Work of Chronicles carefully worked through the story of David to present the reader with a 'new David'.

David from the Work of Chronicles, which rather is a literary genre of hagiography, was mentioned by J. Wellhausen in a famous quotation:

> See what Chronicles has made out of David! The founder of the kingdom has become the founder of the temple and the public worship, the king and hero at the head of his companions in arms has become the singer and master of ceremonies at the head of a swarm of priests and Levites; his clear cut figure has become a feeble holy picture, seen through a cloud of incense.[98]

Above all, the Chronicler wants to avoid conflict in the biography of David related to his 'uncertain' origin: from the beginning, David is presented as a direct descendant of Judah, the son of Israel (Judah – Perez – Hezron – Ram – Amminadab – Nahshon – Salmon – Boaz – Obed – Jesse – David, 1 Chron 2:1–15, cf. Ruth 4:18–22).[99] Also important to the Chronicler is the rationale for David's election as king. In 1 Chron 28:4, David, in the presence of all Israel, says openly: 'Yet, the Lord, the God of Israel, chose me from all the house of my father to be king over Israel forever; for He chose Judah as leader, and from the house of Judah, my father's household, and from my father's sons, He was pleased to make me king over all Israel.' Those words were spoken rather as a justification for the king's will to build a new temple in Jerusalem, for which there were no reasons: neither historical nor related to any religious tradition. The only purpose must have been the will of God, communicated to his anointed, according to which his son Solomon was to build a new national sanctuary dedicated to the Mosaic covenant (of which the Ark was the symbol).[100]

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98 J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of IIsrael: With a Reprint of the Article 'Israel' from the "Encyclopaedia Britannica"* (Edinburgh: Black 1885) 182.

99 It was also important for the Chronicler to justify the presence of certain figures in the king's entourage: thus Joab and his brothers, the sons of Zeruiah, are mentioned as David's nephews (1 Chron 2:16).

100 M. Boda, "Gazing through the Cloud of Incense: Davidic Dynasty and Temple Community in the Chronicler's Perspective," *Chronicling the Chronicler: The Book of Chronicles and Early Second Temple Historiography* (eds. P. Evans – T. Williams) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2013) 219.

For the Chronicler, the Davidic Dynasty is a form of direct theocracy. The kingdom of Judah is the kingdom of God, in which the king rules as prince or vice-king, and the dynasty of Jerusalem is the embodiment of the covenant, and its continuation – a sign of blessing (1 Chron 17:16–27). The Chronicler perceives David on two complementary levels: on a personal level, as a figure of a repentant sinner,[101] and on a political level – as a model for all subsequent rulers.[102] Likewise, for the Chronicler and the readers, the age of David is a distant age of splendour, a 'golden age' of Israel that influenced 'all the kingdoms of the world' (1 Chron 29:30), which can only be repeated in an eschatological perspective.[103]

7. Problems of Reinterpretation

Such different images of David testify to the fact that each major era created its own 'David' or, in other words, interpreted him in different ways. David I, 'the Philistine', may have been the protagonist of the legends of the pre-Deuteronomistic era; David II, 'the Abrek-Ephrathite', probably represents the Deuteronomistic era; David III, 'the Shepherd', is the product of the following (post-Deuteronomistic) editorial stage; David IV, 'the Saint', was created by the Chronicler of the post-exilic period. Each of these 'Davids' was a response to the challenges of the era that produced the interpretation.

Any attempt to reconstruct the redaction history of a text subject to numerous influences over the centuries is highly speculative. When examining any alleged redactional 'iteration', it is essential to remember that only a more or less well-founded hypothesis can be challenged by focusing on other aspects of the studied text. Discerning interpolations or changes to the text from a narrative perspective leads to the question of why posterity reinterprets the figure of David. Usually, researchers use the historical contexts to which a text, tradition or motif might belong as a key to interpretation.

It is reasonable enough to say that the figure of King David has been reinterpreted throughout history: from the earliest, literary underdeveloped and somewhat morally ambivalent figure of the warrior, commander of the army at Ziklag of the eleventh to tenth centuries,[104] conqueror of Hebron and founder of the first lasting monarchy of the Central Highlands of the Levant, to the figure of the Ephrathite from Bethlehem of Judah at the court of Saul, who became king after him. This presumably earliest legend of 'David of

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101 Bodner – Johnson, "David: Kaleidoscope of a King," 130.

102 R.K. Duke, *The Persuasive Appeal of the Chronicler: A Rhetorical Analysis* (Bible and Literature Series 25; Sheffield : Almond Press 1990) 54.

103 Boda, "Gazing through the Cloud of Incense," 242–245.

104 The traditions associated with the memory of Ziklag refer to the ninth century BCE, at the latest, when it was a significant regional power in southern Canaan. In the late ninth century, the town was destroyed and never regained its importance (A. Maier, "The Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath Archaeological Project 1996–2010: Introduction, Overview and Synopsis of Results" *Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath*. I. *The 1996–2005 Seasons* [ed. A. Maeir] [ÄAT 69; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2012] 26–49).

Ziklag' appears devoid of any apologetic motive. This 'David' needs no justification for his power, which he won by force, reasserted by force and secured with mercenary bodyguards.

As noted earlier, when combining narratives from different traditions about the same events involving the same protagonist[105] into a single synoptic narrative, the newly created text tends to have numerous inconsistencies: 'speeches' of characters from one tradition do not match up with the events as a whole; characters' traits appropriate for one era become unacceptable for another due to changes in the moral values and priorities of the following generations in their specific political-cultural situation; details and relationships whose original meanings have been forgotten are added based on other data or literary invention; stories about a single protagonist featuring different characters are combined into a single narrative when previously non-existent narrative connections between supporting characters are added; older legends containing religious motifs are reinterpreted in the light of the subsequent radactor's theology, but may 'sneak in' some of the details specific to the religiousness of older traditions.[106]

The difference in the perception of 'David of Ziklag' and 'David of Bethlehem, the Ephrathite' involves showing and justifying David's reign over Israel and Judah not just due to conquest but also his birthright.[107] 'David the Ephrathite' is a hero in exile, a leader in the process of establishing a monarchy (as monarchies are established not by 'shepherds' but by 'heroes'). This explains his possessive behaviour in the desert towards others – he has a right to everything because he is destined to reign.

Furthermore, there may be some original oral tradition underlying the 'Ephrathite' tradition, including a collection of inconsistent historical anecdotes about the young king. These would be marked by simple morality, portraying David as merciful towards allies, lenient towards family members and ruthless towards those who did not recognise the future monarch in the fugitive from the desert. The priest Ahimelech of Nob and Abigail, Nabal's wife, recognise David's authority, while Nabal, the people of the Negev and the House of Saul do not and are severely punished for it.

The figure of 'the Ephrathite' standing in for the king of Israel and Judah was perhaps created as a reworking of the ideological and literary traditions about Saul that reached

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[105]   Only after a combination of factors, such as a similar event involving the same protagonist, can certain narratives be regarded with a high degree of probability as 'parallel' accounts of the same event. In the case of a description of a similar event involving different characters, the hypothesis that it is the same event is less likely to be valid unless, of course, it is an event as spectacular as, for example, the worldwide deluge; cf. U. Cassuto, *The Documentary Hypothesis and the Composition of the Pentateuch* (Jerusalem: Magnes 1961) 55–68; R. Whybray, *The Making of the Pentateuch: A Methodological Study* (JSOTSup 53; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1987) 61; Nahkola, *Double Narratives in the Old Testament*, 168–171.

[106]   Nahkola, *Double Narratives in the Old Testament*, 134–137.

[107]   The very fact that these states, as depicted in 1–2 Sam, ever functioned as a single kingdom seems legendary. The 'United Monarchy' motif may suggest that the tale of a single founder of both states may be equally legendary (I. Finkelstein, "A Great United Monarchy? Archaeological and Historical Perspectives," *One God – One Cult – One Nation: Archaeological and Biblical Perspectives* [eds. R.G. Kratz – H. Spieckermann] [BZAW 405; Berlin: De Gruyter 2010] 3–28.)

Judah after the fall of Israel in 722 BCE, in the context of earlier HDR traditions.[108] This resulted in the image of a young David, a charismatic courtier and warrior, Saul's successor. His journey fits the monomyth pattern: flight (separation), 'abrek' life (initiation), humbling himself before his enemy/betrayal (*nadir*),[109] recognition by Judah (return), and anointing as king after Saul (*climax*). David the 'Ephrathite' is a well-developed literary character. His story is not the chronicle of a historical actor but a legend, similar to that of Odysseus, the mythological hero.

This David, aristocrat and warrior, depicted in the older redaction of the book of Samuel, in what may have been the original 'Acts of David', is not at all the founder of Judah; according to this redaction, it was already part of Saul's kingdom, albeit separate and ten times smaller than Israel.[110] Such a David becomes king rather 'by the grace' of the tribes, first of Judah and then of Israel, being considered 'their own' (as an Ephrathite from Judah) by both communities, a gifted strategist, a representative of 'Saul's world' and a favourite of the royal court in Gibeah.[111] He creates nothing; he is just a figure of Israelite history, which originates from legends dating back to the decline of the Late Bronze Age, the disappearance of the Canaanite cities, and the legends of the patriarch Jacob–Israel, which most likely played the role of founding myth and consolidating the covenant of the northern proto-Israelite tribes. David's rule was embedded in a historical conglomeration incorporating elements of the northern narrative, and the Judah he created was introduced as 'the tribe of Judah', the descendants of Jacob's fourth son by Leah, whose four older sons (Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah) were associated with the southern tribes.

In the following redaction, the image of David, court musician and warrior, is completely obscured by the image of 'David the shepherd'. The shift from 'David the Ephrathite' to 'David the shepherd' may be based on a change in perceptions of the nature of royal power in the era of the decline of the monarchy or its complete abolition. Just as in the Mesopotamian kingdoms, perceptions of royal power changed from framing the king

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108 O. Sergi, "Saul, David, and the Formation of the Israelite Monarchy: Revisiting the Historical and Literary Context of 1 Samuel 9–2 Samuel 5," *Saul, Benjamin, and the Emergence of Monarchy in Israel: Biblical and Archaeological Perspectives* (eds. J. Krause – O. Sergi – K. Weingart) (AIL 40; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2020) 57–58.

109 The *nadir* of the monomyth is usually associated with the most challenging trial that transforms a person. In David's monomyth, the most fitting for such a trial is 1 Sam 27 – being a traitor and murderer in the service of the enemy. However, the softened version of these events in 1 Sam 21:11–15 indicates the existence of another 'parallel' *nadir* of this monomyth, as the earlier one (27) may have been deemed too drastic by the writers. However, 21:11–15 as the *nadir* occurs in the wrong place, and David continues his 'downward journey' after 21:11–15.

110 According to 1 Sam 11:8, the ratio of soldiers from Israel and Judah is ten to one, corresponding to the ten tribes separated from the House of David under Jeroboam I against the one remaining with Rehoboam (1 Kings 11:30–32). In 1 Sam 15:4, this ratio is given as twenty to one, although this verse may be contaminated.

111 One should expect that the main task of the Deuteronomistic HDR cycle is to justify the transfer of power from Saul to David rather than to give some independent tradition about David (R.G. Kratz, *Die Komposition der erzählenden Bücher des Alten Testaments: Grundwissen der Bibelkritik* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2000] 182–186).

as a hero, idolised in one way or another, to the role of 'curate' to the living god living next door in the temple, so the king of Israel becomes a 'shepherd of the people'.[112] While 'David the Ephrathite' was depicted as a king-judge in the manner of the pre-monarchical judges (saviours) of Israel, 'David the shepherd' is no longer a king-saviour but a weapon that administers God's justice. He sometimes errs, sins and repents and is judged for his actions. He has similar responsibilities towards God as a shepherd has towards the owner of the sheep ('It is I; I am he that have sinned, I have done wickedly: these that are the sheep, what have they done?', 2 Sam 24:17). 'David the shepherd' is clearly depicted as weak, often helpless in the face of the evil forming in his own house. He is completely dependent on God's support and chosen by Him not for his own merits but for his 'purity of heart' (which is hardly consistent with 'David of Ziklag'). He is merely a 'red-headed boy', dancing before the Ark and weeping over the death of his friends and enemies. In this interpretation, David is no longer a strong and ruthless warrior who 'has the right' to take whatever he pleases (like 'David the Ephrathite'), but a shepherd boy whom God leads by the hand to a throne that he has not earned: 'Thus says the Lord of Hosts: I took you from the pastures, from following the sheep, so that you would be the leader over my people Israel' (2 Sam 7:8). His entire success as a leader is merely the result of God's choice, expressed in Samuel's anointing.

David, the shepherd boy chosen by God, who 'beholds the heart' (1 Sam 16:7), is a wholly religious character. He is the one whom Samuel, the last judge in Israel, anoints as his successor – the shepherd of Israel. The scene of God's rejection of Saul as divine judgement, with Samuel present, opens the prospect for the election of another king. Henceforth, the office of the 'judge of Israel' becomes dynastic and institutionalised, like the office of the priest. The duel scene between David and Goliath in 1 Sam 17 becomes iconic, whereby a defenceless young man (David), with God's help, defeats a giant (Saul),[113] the epitome of secular power complacent in its strength. The underlined innocence of David indicates the absurdity of the accusations of regicide levelled against him, especially since institutionalised leadership in Israel is based on the notion of the sacrality of the Lord's anointed, the covenant upon which God's relationship with His people is underpinned (2 Sam 7:12–16).

This is most clearly seen in the scene of the execution of the Amalekite messenger (2 Sam 1), who brought David to Ziklag the news of the death of Saul and his successor. This narrative, too, is a double of an earlier one contained in 1 Sam 31:1–6, except that in 2 Sam 1 King Saul is assassinated by an 'Amalekite', whom the narrator portrays as David's *alter ego*[114]: the 'Amalekite', like David before him, was 'a man who came out of Saul's camp' (2 Sam 1:2); as a result of the actions of the 'Amalekite', David is given the regalia;[115] upon

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112   Balzaretti, *1–2 Samuele*, 23.
113   M. Michael, "Is Saul the Second Goliath of 1 Samuel? The Rhetoric & Polemics of the David/Goliath Story in 1 Samuel," *SJOT* 34/2 (2020) 221–244.
114   Polzin, *David and the Deuteronomist*, 6–10.
115   A possible allusion to David's war against the Amalekites, which propelled him to the throne of Judah, cf. 1 Sam 30.

noticing the Amalekite approaching, Saul asks him: 'Who are you?' This question is posed only three times in the books of the DH: מִי אַתָּה (1 Sam 17:58; 26:14; 2 Sam 1:8) and, with the exception of the last use, is addressed to David. As he did after the duel with Goliath, Saul does not recognise his soldier during the battle of Gilboa. Although this question may be more general: מִי אַתָּה was the fundamental question that the David cycle sought to answer – מִי אַתָּה, David is asked by all three of Saul, Abner and Nabal.

Nabal, performing the archetypal role of the trickster,[116] asks the central question of the narrative: מִי דָוִד, which has always troubled a society in which the memory of the 'Israel of Saul' that perished at the hands of the Philistines was still alive, a memory cultivated in the northern shrines of the patriarchs, among the elite of Samaria until its fall in 722 and the descendants of the migrants from the north fleeing the mountains of Ephraim and cherishing the memory of 'the forgotten kingdom'.[117] Later authors also have David ask the question: מִי אָנֹכִי, addressed first to the king (1 Sam 18:18) and then to God (2 Sam 7:18).

In 1 Sam 1, the author first of all wants to prove that David is not responsible for Saul's death. For how can one speak of the sacredness of the Lord's anointed when the founder of the dynasty himself made his path to the throne by shedding the blood of the Lord's anointed? If David had really played a part in the death of the king, the scene of the punishment of the messenger would have become a metaphorical scene of the punishment of himself in the guise of an Amalekite, Israel's enemy *par excellence*, which would have had a profound symbolism. If one accepts the point of view of some scholars that anti-David suggestions were consciously included by the writers (see above), that scene could be understood as a suggestion that the mercenary from the south (whoever he was, both Amalekite and David may be considered here), who murdered Saul, deserves only death.

Saul's death, like all other deaths, so favourable to David, as well as each of David's subsequent steps towards power are God's will and happen with His participation. David's enemies perish not because they are a threat to him, but because they stand in the way of God's plans. Each of them has sinned and contributed to the social corruption for which David is the remedy. David is portrayed as a rather extremely merciful character, humble towards the reigning Saul (being anointed king himself), willing to forgive his enemies (Shimei and other descendants of Saul, 2 Sam 9:1; 19:17–31), appreciate the nobility of his opponents' deeds (Jabesh, 2 Sam 2:4c–7; Abner, 2 Sam 3:33–34) and administer justice even to himself (2 Sam 12:13; 24:17). That 'David' retains his identity as a Bethlehemite. The emphasis is on the righteousness of the king that makes him the successor to Moses and Joshua, which is also felt in the later redactions of the book of Judges, where the tribe of Judah is presented

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116 In mythology and folklore, the trickster is an archetype (often a jester) who violates the will of the gods or the laws of society, leading to a game-changing moment, transforming a life situation, or undermining a commonly accepted truth. In 1 Sam 25, David's antagonist Nabal (נָבָל – 'fool') ironically asks the key question of the narrative regarding David's identity. The David cycle, in all its complexity, is the sum total of the redactors' efforts to answer this question.

117 Finkelstein, *The Forgotten Kingdom*, 47–49, 159–164.

as their rightful continuation,[118] ruling out the possibility that the successor was a non-Israelite, non-Judean and, certainly, a Philistine.

The main idea of the redaction transforming a calculating commander into a naive shepherd is the idea of the all-embracing will of God, which guides the characters like pawns on a chessboard: Saul recognises David as righteous and himself as guilty, acknowledges his right to the throne and steps down from the scene of history. David, in turn, although anointed king, being a fugitive in the wilderness shows no royal ambition but allows God to lead him. It is God who saves David from shedding Nabal's blood by putting him to death himself. David's enemies perish before him if not by the hand of God, then by the hand of robbers against the generous will of David, who calmly treads over the bodies of his enemies towards his destiny according to the words of the psalm:

> The Lord said to my Lord: "Sit in the place of honor at my right hand
> until I humble your enemies, making them a footstool under your feet".

It is the Lord of Hosts who is the true king of Israel. David-the conqueror recedes into the shadows in favour of God-the conqueror. It is Him, the God-creator, who defeats Goliath, the symbol of antediluvian chaos, and David is merely the tool God uses to finally give His people possession of the Promised Land. David's wars take on a 'cosmic' dimension – wars of the 'Sons of Light' against the 'Sons of Darkness',[119] of the psalmist and prophet against the forces of chaos.

If one can speak of a tendency to 'divinise' the person of David, as a result of which he becomes the key religious figure of a certain tradition, which some propose to call 'Davidism',[120] in the figure of David – 'the shepherd' one can already notice the first steps in that direction, and in the work of the Chronicler such 'Davidism' crystallises in full.

In the last interpretation, contained in the books of Chronicles, the time of David is portrayed as the 'golden age' of Israel, and his figure becomes a legend of a powerful king whom no one could resist, the founder of Jerusalem worship and a psalmist, a shining example of a leader and saint.

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Although many scholars note the fundamental difference between David's deeds and his image of the 'God-fearing flock boy', most tend to view the narrative beginning with 1 Sam 16:14 as referring to one image – a courtier, a robber, a mercenary, a ruler of Judah, etc. In my view, however, those are quite different images that arise from the multi-layered apologia of a man who first comes to be seen as the founder of the kingdom of Judah and

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118   Komarnytskyy, *"Giuda per primo"*, 364–370.
119   P. Porzig, "David in the Judean Desert: Beobachtungen an ausgewählten Qumrantexten," *David in the Desert: Tradition and Redaction in the "History of David's Rise"* (eds. H. Bezzel – R.G. Kratz) (BZAW 514; Berlin: De Gruyter 2021) 28–29.
120   J. Kisch, *King David: The Real Life of the Man Who Ruled Israel* (New York: Ballantine Books 2000) 5.

the lasting Jerusalem dynasty, and in the following centuries – as one of the key religious figures, the founder of the dynasty, City and Temple that over the centuries begin to be recognised as beings of an eschatological nature. It is in that final interpretation of the image that the figure of the first king of Jerusalem appears before us.

There are, however, several indications that make it possible to reach the 'original' identity of David. First, in the pre-monarchic period, Judah was not so much a nation as a territory. Second, the name David is probably of Philistine origin. Third, the series of deaths of his rivals rather supports the hypothesis that the perpetrator of their destruction was the one who benefited from it. Fourth, the hatred of the Bethlehemites towards David testifies indirectly that, at least by certain circles associated with the previous dynasty, David was considered a usurper. Fifth, the ethnic nature of David's surroundings, which included too few Judeans and too many foreigners. Finally, a number of apologetic attempts can be observed to portray David in a more positive light. 'In reality', however, David was a man of unknown origin, perhaps a Philistine, who conquered a fairly extensive area of the southern Levant from Phoenicia to northern Arabia and established a lasting dynasty in Jerusalem. It is his descendants who are responsible for creating other, more easily acceptable images of David, ignoring his flaws or excusing his ambiguous deeds.

One can trace at least three apologetic 'iterations' in the biblical text. The first one is the integration of the image of the 'warlord' into the Israelite context by endowing him with the biography of Bethlehemite-Ephrathite, a courtier and subject of Saul. The next one makes him a holy, innocent young man, guided by God towards his destiny. Finally, in the Chronicler's work, the image of the king is rewritten – as a hagiography of a great ruler, devoid of the literary 'tensions' of the DH.

'Historical David' left little material for historiographical research – the phenomenon of that person lies in the colossal impact he has had on the culture of humanity over the past three millennia. This is why, despite his various alleged morally questionable deeds, David has always remained a fascinating religious phenomenon.

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Hapax Legomenon διχοστασία in 1 Macc 3:29 and in Ancient Greek Literature

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Abstract: The First Book of Maccabees contains many hapax legomena, including διχοστασία mentioned in the title of this article, recorded in 3:29. The author attempts to answer what role this term plays in the divinely inspired text and why it was used there. Is it a mere lexical enrichment of the author's writing, or does it have a deeper theological meaning? Does it contain something that privileges it over other related terms since it was used? An analysis of the role of the term in question in 3:29 will help address the questions above. When writing about discord or rebellion, does the hagiographer employ other Greek concepts that he could also use in 1 Macc 3:29? Finally, what does Greek extra-biblical literature contribute to the understanding of the noun διχοστασία potentially influencing its intentional use in the verse under examination.

Keywords: Old Testament, Septuagint, First Book of Maccabees, *hapax legomenon*, exegesis

The First Book of Maccabees is packed with words that appear only once. Suffice it to say that chapters 1 to 6 alone have 116 such words. They occur either independently or in various syntactic combinations. One such *hapax legomena* is διχοστασία, appearing in the Septuagint only in 1 Macc 3:29. It is usually translated as 'discord, strife, rebellion,'[1] resulting in 'detachment, separation'.[2] The noun is worth analysing to determine its role in the divinely inspired text and why it was used there. Is it only as a lexical enrichment of the author's writing, or does it have a deeper theological meaning that privileges it over other related terms since it was used in 1 Macc 3:29? To address the above, it is necessary to

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1   Cf. Z. Abramowiczówna, *Słownik grecko-polski* (Warsaw: PWN 1958) I, 589; 'dissension,' T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain – Walpole, MA: Peeters 2009) 173; 'dissension, sedition,' H.G. Liddell – R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon. Revised and Augmented throughout by H.S. Jones with a Revised Supplement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1996) 439; 'dissent, discord, sedition,' F. Montanari, *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek* (Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2013) 541. J.R. Bartlett translates it as 'disaffection,' *The First and Second Books of the Maccabees* (CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1973) 49. In Rom 16:17 and Gal 5:20, this noun takes the meaning 'the creation of discord, a split, a dispute, discord', R. Popowski (trans.), *Septuaginta* (PSBibl; Warsaw: Vocatio 2017) 82.

2   'Dissension, discorde, séparation, sédition' (M.A. Bailly – H. Chávez [ed.], *Dictionnaire grec-français. Nouvelle édition dite Bailly 2020 – Hugo Chávez* [2023] 680, https://www.academia.edu/45681853/Anatole_Bailly_Dictionnaire_Grec_Fran%C3%A7ais_2020_1894_ [access: 27.11.2024]).

consider a few problems that will allow us to formulate a final answer about the meaning of this noun in the cited verse:

a) How does this term function in verse 3:29 itself?
b) When writing about discord or rebellion, does the hagiographer use other Greek terms that could also be used in 1 Macc 3:29?
c) What does Greek extra-biblical literature add to the understanding of the noun διχοστασία that could influence its use in the main verse?

1. διχοστασία in 1 Macc 3:29

καὶ εἶδεν ὅτι ἐξέλιπεν τὸ ἀργύριον ἐκ τῶν θησαυρῶν
καὶ οἱ φόροι τῆς χώρας ὀλίγοι χάριν τῆς διχοστασίας καὶ πληγῆς,
ἧς κατεσκεύασεν ἐν τῇ γῇ τοῦ ἆραι τὰ νόμιμα,
ἃ ἦσαν ἀφ᾽ ἡμερῶν τῶν πρώτων.[3]

He then found that this exhausted the money in his treasury;
moreover the income from the province was small, because of the dissension (διχοστασίας) and distress
he had brought upon the land by abolishing the laws
which had been in effect from of old.[4]

A detailed exegesis of the text is not required here because it has already been done in the latest commentary by J. Nawrot, although quite cursorily and briefly. In fact, διχοστασία was the result of an ill-considered policy of uniform worship of the deities of the Seleucid Empire, forcibly imposed on the entire state by Antiochus IV Epiphanes. This is why local communities ultimately rejected it in the name of loyalty to the ancient religious traditions of their own countries.[5] Following F. Gryglewicz, it should be emphasised that the author of 1 Macc has in mind only the tense relations between Judea and the empire in tax matters, as indicated by the context of the narrative. The ruler ordered that a large army be formed, choosing to pay all soldiers their wages in advance (vv. 27–28). However, he was entirely taken aback by the shortage of funds flowing from Judea into the state treasury exactly as a result of the διχοστασία and πληγή elicited by his attack on the Jewish religion (v. 29).

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3   A. Rahlfs – R. Hanhart (eds.), *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, 2 ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2006) 1048.

4   The official version of *The New American Bible* authorised by the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, https://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0839/__P1.HTM [access: 15.11.2024].

5   J. Nawrot, *Pierwsza Księga Machabejska. Rozdziały 1,1–6,16* (NKB.ST 14.1; Częstochowa: Edycja Świętego Pawła 2016) 584–585. This thesis should probably be corrected slightly due to 1 Macc 1:41–42 describing the general approval of pagan communities towards the famous royal decree ordering the unification of worship in the empire. Even if this sentence is considered a literary exaggeration, the historical openness of pagan beliefs and their susceptibility to accepting occasional deities into the existing pantheon of their own deities is known (R. Doran, *The New Interpreter's Bible. A Commentary in Twelve Volumes* [Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press 1996] IV, 60).

Gryglewicz does not mention the possible weakness of the local official apparatus in fulfilling royal guidelines.[6] It is also known – as noted by researchers – that a large part of the money collected for maintaining the army was spent, among others, on expensive games, plays and performances for the king, known for his extravagance, and for the common people.[7] All this meant the need to forcefully collect taxes, and the overall maintenance of the army was forced onto the inhabitants of the province. It is known that the Seleucid kings eagerly and enviously looked at the temple treasuries as a possible source of new financial resources for the state treasury.[8]

At this point, the meaning of the two Greek words needs to be made more precise in the literary context in which they appear. The noun πληγή appears in 1 Macc only in the singular and a strictly military sense, as a defeat in specific battles (1:30; 5:3; 8:4),[9] and in the general sense, as the sum of misfortunes brought upon the country and its inhabitants by wicked conduct which violated customs, Mosaic law and probably also material well-being and state independence (7:22; 13:32; 14:36; 15:29, 35).[10] The context of 3:29 indicates the second meaning of πληγή, as a summing up of everything that the inhabitants of the country had to suffer from the invaders. It seems that the noun διχοστασία also takes on the same general meaning, according to the logical sense of the sentence. There is no particular circumstance or event that could be presented as διχοστασία. It is worth adding that in two cases of the New Testament use of this term in the Pauline writings, these are always generalising procedures. Thus, in Rom 16:17, διχοστασίας, preceded by the definite article τὰς, indicates specific ways of destroying unity among believers known to readers.[11] Similarly, in Gal 5:20, διχοστασίαι are listed in the catalogue of vices of people living according to the flesh, not the spirit. The fact that they appear in the plural allows us to discover several specific but unnamed actions that undermine the spiritual way of Christian life. In the opinion of some exegetes, διχοστασίαι with political overtones suggests cultivating the spirit of party favouritism or elitism in the Church. In such cases, the unity and coherence

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6   F. Gryglewicz, *Księgi Machabejskie* (PŚST 6.4; Poznań: Pallottinum 1961) 81.

7   E.g. W. Fairweather – J. Sutherland Black, *The First Book of Maccabees. With Introduction and Notes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1897) 94; J.A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* AB; New York Doubleday 1976) 251.

8   1 Macc 1:21–24a; 6:1–3a, 12b; 2 Macc 1:14; 3:6–7, 13; Polybius, *The Histories*. IV. *Books 9–15* (trans. W.R. Paton) (LCL 159; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2011) 184–185; Polybius, *The Histories*. VI. *Books 28–39* (trans. W.R. Paton – S. Douglas Olson) (LCL 161; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2012) 194–195; Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*. IX. *Books 21–32* (trans. F.R. Walton) (LCL 409; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1957) 228–229; Strabo, *Geography*. VII. *Books 15–16* (trans. H.L. Jones) (LCL 241; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1930) 220–221; Justin, *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus*. II. *Books 21–44* (trans. L.C. Yardley) (LCL 558; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2024) 144–145..

9   In these cases, the location of the specific battle was mentioned, as well as the verb πατάσσω, 'hit, beat, stab, shock'.

10   In these texts, the verb ποιέω, 'do', in a general context, without any specific circumstances of the event, is predominant.

11   It is possible that apostates are setting traps for unwary neophytes in order to lure them into believing false doctrines and following schismatic practices inconsistent with the teachings of the Church (R.H. Mounce, *Romans: An Exegetical and Theological Exposition of Holy Scripture* [NAC 27; Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman 1995] 278).

of the body of Christ is broken every time. Very quickly, backbiting, slander and mutual undoing destroy the spiritual life and threaten the authenticity of the witness of God's people.[12] In both cases, however, it does not refer to military actions but is limited to attacks on the individual spiritual life or the community life of believers. Another question is whether, in the times of Paul the Apostle, the religious meaning of διχοστασία evolved from the earlier context of the religious struggle waged, among others, by Judah Maccabee or was it transferred from another area where it initially operated. This problem will be solved based on texts of extra-biblical literature.

2. Synonyms of διχοστασία in 1 Macc

The search for synonyms of the discussed noun in 1 Macc aims to answer the question of whether διχοστασία only enriches the book's vocabulary or is used for a particular purpose by the hagiographer. There is a wide variety of terminology relating to disagreement in Greek literature.[13] It shows the considerable breadth of the semantic field, generally expressed by 'disagreement', both in the specific sense, as a hand-to-hand clash of opponents in combat and as a general state of permanent disagreement, confrontation, misunderstanding or conflict.

   Of the terms mentioned above, only two appear in 1 Macc: ἔχθρα as 'hostility, hatred' (11:12, 40; 13:6, 17) and στάσις, but it is used in the sense of 'permanence, state, position, agreement' (7:18; 10:72). In 11:12, it is the arbitrary taking away of Alexander Balas's wife, Cleopatra Thea, by the pharaoh Ptolemy VI Philometor and offering her hand to Demetrius II Nicator, in exchange for complete obedience to his father-in-law. In this way, ἐφάνη ἡ ἔχθρα ('hostility appeared') between Alexander Balas and Ptolemy, i.e. a permanent state of war, finally ending with the death of both in battle. In 11:40, the hagiographer presents a similar situation of deep discontent felt (ἤχθραναν, v. 38) by Demetrius II's soldiers who had also served under his father's command. Once the situation in the kingdom had calmed down, Demetrius dismissed most of them from service, depriving them of their pay and sustenance. This was exploited by Tryphon, a general of the royal army and opponent of the monarch, in his plot against the ruler. He achieved this with the help of an Arab sheikh, Imalkue, to whom he presented the situation in the empire as ἔχθρα of royal troops against

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12   T. George, *Galatians: An Exegetical and Theological Exposition of Holy Scripture* (NAC 30; Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman 1994) 396.

13   The following synonyms appear in the *English-Greek Dictionary. A Vocabulary Of The Attic Language*: ἀγωνισμός, 'rivalry, strife', ἆθλος, 'rivalry, contestation, struggle', ἀμάχη, 'enmity, hostility, quarrel', ἀναρμοστία, 'discord, dissonance', ἀνομολογία, 'disagreement', δῆρις, 'fight, conflict', διαμάχη, 'conflict, dispute, controversy, quarrel', διάστασις, 'discord, opposition, rivalry', διαφορά, 'disagreement', διχόνοια, 'difference of belief, discord', δυσαρμοστία, 'disharmony, breakdown of unity', ἔρις, 'discord, quarrel, skirmish, tension', ἔχθρα, ἐχθρότητα, ἐχθροπραξία, 'hatred, hostility enmity, antagonism', νεῖκος, 'discord, quarrel, conflict', στάσις, 'discord, rebellion, revolt', τρῖψις, 'clash, attack', cf. S.C. Woodhouse (ed.), *English-Greek Dictionary. A Vocabulary of the Attic Language* (Milton Park: Routledge 1910), *passim*.

the monarch. In 13:6, ἔχθρα was triggered by some specific event, although the text reports on the hostility of the Gentiles towards the Jews in general.[14] Finally, 13:17 reports that, in order not to stir up the ἔχθραν of the people against himself, the high priest Simon sent Tryphon his sons as hostages. In this case, this specific act should be considered as a way to prevent a prolonged state of enmity.

The brief review of the texts above leads to the conclusion that ἔχθρα between the two parties occurs in particular situations and in 3:29 is not only the cause of διχοστασία but its decisive component. However, this does not support the idea that διχοστασία in 3:29 could be substituted with ἔχθρα since disagreement as a *status situationis* encomapasses a broader meaning than hostility, which primarily pertains to human emotions. Consequently, in this verse, διχοστασία cannot be regarded merely an element that enriches the inspired text; rather, its use must be justified by the deliberate intent of the biblical author. The context and meaning of the noun will be explored further using texts from ancient Greek literature, which will aid in uncovering the hagiographer's true intention.

3. Extra-Biblical Literature

Among the nearly thirty texts containing διχοστασία in ancient Greek literature, several are noteworthy, as they may illuminate the intended meaning of this noun in 1 Macc 3:29.[15]

a) The first is Ode 11, 64–68 from the Epinicians series of Bacchylides, which contains the following verse:

> Overmastering strife
> had sprung up from a feeble beginning
> between the brothers Proetus and Acrisius,
> and they were wrecking their people with their unrighteous quarrels (διχοστασίαις)
> and miserable battles.[16]

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14   S.C. Berguig sees this hostility as a consequence of the anger of later Seleucid rulers triggered by Demetrius II's fiscal concessions to Judea in exchange for possible ad hoc assistance in difficult political and military situations, (*Commentaire littéraire et historique du Premier Livre des Maccabées* [Paris 2019] https://www.academia.edu/39813788/1_Maccabees_in_french_litterary_and_historical_analysis_1_Maccab%C3%A9es_Analyse_litt%C3%A9raire_et_historique [access: 3.10.2023] 79). If in the protocanonical books ἔχθρα occurs most often in relationships between individuals, in the deuterocanonical books it is transferred to the social field, to relationships between entire communities, even nations (W. Foerster, "ἐχθρός, ἔχθρα," *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* [trans. G.W. Bromiley] [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1964] II, 815).

15   Those whose authors appeared later than the proposed date of the text 1 Macc, i.e. the second half of the 2nd century BC, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Philostratus the Athenian, then Eusebius of Caesarea, John Damascus, and most poetic texts, more distant from the type of historical text, will not be discussed. On the other hand, two texts by authors later than 1 Macc will be added due to important parallels with the inspired text, enriching the semantic content. These will be excerpts from historical books by Plutarch and Appian of Alexandria.

16   Bacchylides, *Corinna*, *Greek Lyric*. IV. *Bacchylides, Corinna, and Others* (trans. D.A. Campbell) (LCL 461; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1992) 180–181. All subsequent source texts are cited from the

This Greek author recalls the ancient myth about two twin brothers, Proetus and Acrisius, constantly arguing and fighting with each other already in their mother's womb until adulthood.[17] By the will of their father, Abas, king of Argos, they would take turns ruling the city-state after his death. The fight between the brothers intensified when Acrisius did not want to give up the throne to his brother after the end of his reign. This resulted in the initiation of specific military actions because Proetus went to the court of King Jobates in search of help and, marrying his daughter, entered his country as the commander of a large army. The bloody battle between the brothers brought no definite outcome. Therefore, Proetus and Acrisius finally agreed to divide their father's kingdom into two parts: Acrisius received Argos, and Proetus received Tiryns and the coast of Argolis.[18]

In this text, διχοστασία has its specific cause, which is probably the failure to keep the terms of the agreement between the brothers.[19] It introduces an extended conflict between the parties, none of which could secure a decisive victory. This situation is quite similar to the conflict between the Jews and the pagan Seleucid government described in 1 Macc 3:29. However, unlike the Greek heroes after their battle, this conflict only escalated to its culmination in the battles of Judah Maccabee during the reign of Antiochus IV.

b) An important legal connotation is introduced by Demosthenes' speech about the wicked embassy directed against Aeschines:[20]

> Ye men of Athens, listen while I show
> How many ills from lawless licence flow.
> Respect for Law shall check your rising lust,
> Humble the haughty, fetter the unjust,
> Make the rough places plain, bid envy cease,
> Wither infatuation's fell increase,
> Make crooked judgement straight, the works prevent
> Of insolence and sullen discontent (διχοστασίης),
> And quench the fires of strife. In Law we find
> The wisdom and perfection of Mankind.[21]

Loeb Classical Library series, which does not always adopt the designations commonly found in earlier studies and analyses.

17 D. Nardo, *The Greenhaven Encyclopedia of the Greek and Roman Mythology* (Detroit, MI – New York – San Francisco – New Heaven, CT – Waterville, ME – London: Greenhaven 2009) 62.

18 D. Cairns, "Myth and the Polis in Bacchylides' Eleventh Ode," *JHS* 125 (2005) 38–39, https://www.pure.ed.ac.uk/ws/portalfiles/portal/11874310/Myth_and_the_Polis_in_Bacchylides_Eleventh_Od.pdf [access: 27.11.2024].

19 According to the record of the *Library* of Apollodorus (2,4.1), the reason for the feud was Proetus's seduction of Acrisios's daughter, Danae.

20 The judicial and political speech was delivered in 343 BC.

21 Demosthenes, *Orations*. II. *Orations 18–19: De Corona, De Falsa Legatione* (trans. C.A. Vince – J.H. Vince) (LCL 155; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1926) 412–413. General characteristics of the orator's speeches (E.M. Harris, "Speeches to the Assembly in Public Prosecution," *The Oxford Handbook of Demosthenes* [ed. G. Martin] [Oxford: Oxford University Press 2019] 365–388).

During the conflict between Athens and Macedonia, two meetings between legations took place, in which both Demosthenes and Aeschines participated, representing Athens (347–346 BC).[22] After the second message had ended, there was a conflict between the two speakers. Demosthenes accused Aeschines of accepting a bribe from Philip II, which was supposed to result in significant concessions to the Macedonian king, which Aeschines agreed to.[23]

Demosthenes, in his speech before the Athenian Ecclesia, quotes Solon's Elegy lamenting the state of lawlessness and its consequences within the city's community. Solon argued that many misfortunes afflicting the city stem from chaos and anarchy, particularly in legal matters. He maintained, that only legitimate, socially recognised governments can establish law and order, where criminals are punished, injustices disappear, arrogance is curbed, and pride is humiliated. Such authority removes intransigence, straightens distorted laws and arrogant actions, mitigates and eliminates discord, and finally assuages the anger arising in heated quarrels. The last verse of Demosthenes' speech praises the justice of righteous government, under which what is right and wise prevails among the community. Διχοστασία appears here in the legal context of law as one of the effects contributing to its further weakening. Διχοστασία likely describes the dispute between the two speakers regarding the obligations assigned to the deputies by the Athenian Ecclesia. However, this term formally refers in the text to a general statement of discord resulting from a lack of respect for the law.

A similar historical context is also included in 1 Macc 1:41, reporting on the arbitrary introduction by Antiochus IV of the notorious decree ordering the uniformity of religious worship in the empire, which particularly affected the Jews, who rejected any forms of idolatry. In 6:59, one can find a speech by the advisers of the young Antiochus V about all the evil caused by the proclamation of ordinances inconsistent with the eternal religious principles of the Jews, which is also consistent with verse 3:29. In this context, διχοστασία takes on a distinctly legal tone.

c) Strabo's *Geography* accurately presented the meaning of διχοστασία in 10.4.16:

> As for their constitution, which is described by Ephorus, it might suffice to tell in a cursory way its most important provisions. The lawgiver, he says, seems to take it for granted that liberty is a state's greatest good, for this alone makes property belong specifically to those who have acquired it, whereas in a condition of slavery everything belongs to the rulers and not to the ruled; but those who have liberty must

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22   For the political and social background and consequences of various alliances and enmities, see N. Sawada "Allies and Foes (I): Aeschines, Hyperides, Lycurgus," *The Oxford Handbook of Demosthenes* (ed. G. Martin) (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2019) 327–352. For a critical presentation of speech, see Demosthenes, *Selected Speeches* (trans. R. Waterfield) (Oxford World's Classics; Oxford: Oxford University Press 2014) 136–213.

23   The broader political background of the dispute between both characters is outlined, among others, by W. Lengauer, "Ajschines i jego czasy, wstępy," *Ajschines: Mowy* (Biblioteka Antyczna; Warsaw: Prószyński i S-ka 2004) 118–120, and R. Turasiewicz, "Wstęp," *Demostenes. Wybór mów* (Arcydzieła kultury antycznej; Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich 2005) XLV–XLVI. On the extent of corruption in ancient Greece, N.J. Nichols, "Corruption," *The Oxford Handbook of Demosthenes* (ed. G. Martin) (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2019) 167–178.

guard it; now harmony ensues when dissension (διχοστασίας), which is the result of greed and luxury, is removed; for when all citizens live a self-restrained and simple life there arises neither envy nor arrogance nor hatred towards those who are like them.[24]

Describing his observations about the landscape of Crete, Strabo cites the opinion about the governance of the island by Ephoros of Kyme, a historian famous in antiquity who lived around 400 to 330 BC.[25] The geographer apparently agrees with his predecessor's comments regarding the best form of government, which guarantees states freedom as the best way of living and social peace. This has a significant impact on the management of property acquired by citizens, which they are free to dispose of on their own. This right is not available to slaves. However, this freedom must be protected not only against external threats but – perhaps even more so – against those from within the community. Disputes and discord (διχοστασίας), which destroy unanimity and disturb social peace, should be avoided at all costs. This discord must disappear if the social fabric is to be maintained. It comes from greed and luxury, probably understood as the desire for luxury and prosperity at all costs.[26] From Strabo's description, it is difficult to conclude whether these two fundamental causes of διχοστασία are also taken from Ephoros or whether it is his own idea.[27] Suffice it to say that Strabo perceives it this way, as probably in the next statement that agreement can last when a community lives in self-moderation and simplicity, i.e. no one forcibly seeks wealth in order to exalt above the other, thus introducing social divisions. Perhaps the most fundamental ones are based on material differentiation and the attitude of contempt and disregard for the poorer members of society. This is why διχοστασία is entirely incompatible with peace and social order, which Strabo strongly emphasises when he writes that it must disappear if governments want to perpetuate order in the communities over which they exercise their power.

This undoubtedly fully matches the situation outlined in 1 Macc 3:29. The author of 1 Macc states that internal social peace is impossible in the Seleucid Empire, issuing such absurd decrees as those imposed on the Jews by Antiochus IV Epiphanes according to 1:41. Worth mentioning is the allegedly lavish lifestyle of the king known for his extravagance. Regardless of the historical basis for this assessment, the biblical record is guided by its own evaluation of the ruler's reign, of which the record 3:29 is also a part.

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24   Strabo, *Geography*. V. *Books 10–12* (trans. H.L. Jones) (LCL 211; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1928) 144–145.
25   L. Schmitz, "Ephorus," *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*. II. *Earinus-Nyx* (ed. W. Smith) (Oxford: Murray 1880) 26–27.
26   R. Gorman – V.B. Gorman, *Corrupting Luxury in Ancient Greek Literature* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press 2014) 284–285.
27   Researchers tend to believe that Strabo continued to quote Ephoros (T. Hakan, *Plato's Counterfeit Sophists* [Hellenic Studies 44; Washington, D.C.: Center for Hellenic Studies 2011] 73).

d) Another critical insight for understanding the meaning of διχοστασία is given by Dio Cassius in his *Roman History* 5:22.3:

> By tribuneship not disheartened, but they were actually the more emboldened. To this state was the populace brought by the patricians. They would not obey the summons to go on a campaign, though refusing to go on a campaign unless they obtained in each instance the objects for which they were striving, and by contending listlessly whenever they did take the field, they accomplished all that they desired. Meanwhile, as a matter of fact, not a few of the neighbouring tribes, relying on the dissension (διχοστασία) of their foes more than on their own power, kept revolting.[28]

The story described in book five of *Roman History* is not easy to define historically. However, it probably takes place in the 5th century BC because the figures depicted are from this period of Roman history. First, we are dealing with Gnaeus Marcius Coriolanus, who besieged and conquered the Volscian city of Corioli in 493 BC but later joined the Volsci fighting against Rome.[29] Next, Dio writes about the patrician family of the Fabii, known especially for their tragic fate in the Battle of the Cremera in 477 BC.[30] Next, the historian mentions Titus Menenius, probably Titus Menenius Lanatus, a Roman consul in 477 BC who fought in the Battle of the Cremera, also mentioned by Livy.[31] The Roman historian likely describes events from around 455 BC.[32] In doing so, he highlights the constant quarrels and feuds between patrician families and the plebs, which significantly weakened Rome's defence capabilities.[33] The people took advantage of various political situations for their own purposes, posing a constant threat to the city, wanting to force multiple concessions from the rich patricians, especially through the activities of the people's

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28 Dio Cassius, *Roman History*. I. *Books 1–11* (trans. E. Cary – H.B. Foster) (LCL 32; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1914) 164–165. The same motive of the other side taking advantage of the situation of quarrel between opponents is also shown, among others, by Plutarch: 'Callisthenes began his palinode, and spoke long and boldly in denunciation of the Macedonians, and after showing that faction among the Greeks was the cause of the increase of Philip's power, added: "But in a time of sedition (διχοστασίη), the base man too is in honour"' (*Lives*. VII. *Demosthenes and Cicero. Alexander and Caesar* [trans. B. Perrin] [LCL 99; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1919] 378–379). See also Apollonius Rhodius: 'like any people bereft of their king, they will be divided by bitter disagreements (ἀργαλέῃσι διχοστασίης). And so with their forces divided in two, our route would be easier when we make our way back later on' (*Argonautica* [trans. W.H. Race] [LCL 1; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2009] 368–369).

29 *The Encyclopaedia Britannica. A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature and General Information*, 11 ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1910) VII, 154. Particularly famous here is the visit of the mother, wife and son of the leader before the attempt to take Rome by Coriolanus and the Volsci, described in Shakespeare's tragedy, *Coriolanus*.

30 *The Encyclopaedia Britannica. A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature and General Information*, 11 ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1910) X, 113–114.

31 *Ab Urbe condita* II, 51.

32 Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 165.

33 A very good analysis of this topic was published in 1901 by F.F. Abbott in the chapter "A Struggle between the Orders," *A History and Description of Roman Political Institutions* (Boston, MA – New York – Chicago – London: Ginn & Company – The Athenaeum Press 1901) 41–62.

tribunes,[34] while reluctantly fighting to defend the city. For this reason, the battles with the Italian tribes surrounding Rome intensified, trusting more in the division (διχοστασία) of the inhabitants into different political factions than in their own bravery and battle.

What is important in Dio's description is that a society living in discord becomes easier prey for invaders. Effective defence is impossible if there is no sincere will to fight. Therefore, διχοστασία in 1 Macc 3:29 can also be understood as the weakening of the Seleucid Empire, torn by internal conflicts due to the irresponsible policy of autocratic rulers. The fact that the inspired author is not particularly concerned about this situation does not prevent a proper assessment of the situation from the point of view of the durability of the Seleucid monarchy.

e) Ancient Greece also experienced problems with governance similar to those experienced by Rome in the 6th century BC, as Herodotus writes in his *Histories* 5:75:

> When the armies were to join battle, the Corinthians first agreed among themselves that they were doing unjustly, and so changed about and departed; and presently Demaratus son of Ariston, the other king of Sparta, did likewise, albeit he had come with Cleomenes from Lacedaemon in joint command of the army and had not till now been at variance with him. From this disunion (διχοστασίης) a law was made at Sparta that when an army was despatched both kings should not be suffered to go with it (for till then they had both gone together); thus one of the kings being released from service, one of the sons of Tyndarus too could be left at home; for before that time, both of these also were entreated to aid and went with the army.[35]

The account of the great Greek historian describes the turbulent period of introducing the reforms of Cleisthenes, an Athenian politician and reformer of the city's social system, who lived in the late 6th and early 5th century BC. His reforms to increase democracy[36] were met with hostility from the tyrant of Athens, Isagoras, supported by a small army of the king of Sparta, Cleomenes. As a result, Cleisthenes and his supporters were removed from the city, his reforms were stopped, and an oligarchy of 300 families was established. This, however, was met with a city-wide uprising, and the Spartans ultimately left the Acropolis. Despite another attempt to take over the city by the humiliated Cleomenes, Athens won in the 507/506 BC campaign. It happened as described by Herodotus: the Corinthians, as allies of Sparta, but supported by Demaratus, its second king, next to Cleomenes, refused to fight for the restitution of the tyrannical office in Athens. Other commanders who were

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34 J.T. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c.1000–264 BC)* (The Routledge History of the Ancient World; London – New York: Routledge 1995) 242–271; D. Gwyn, *The Roman Republic: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2012) 18.

35 Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*. III. *Books 5–7* (trans. A.D. Godley) (LCL 119; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1922) 82–83.

36 For more, see among others: E. Wipszycka – B. Bravo, *Historia starożytnych Greków*. I. *Do końca wojen perskich* (Warsaw: PWN 1988) 249–257; T. Buckley, *Aspects of Greek History 750–323BC. A Source-Based Approach* (London – New York: Rutledge 2010) 52–54.

part of the Spartan invading army, seeing the decision of the Corinthians and Demaratus, gave up further fighting against Athens and no longer supported Cleomenes.[37] Thanks to this coincidence, Athens saved its system and emerged from Sparta's tutelage, becoming the first power of ancient Greece over time.[38] Another consequence of the differences between the monarchs was the introduction of a new law in Sparta, ordering one to stay in the country while the other went to war. According to beliefs, one of the two sons of Tyndareus, the king's divine guardians, also stayed in the house.

It was this discord between the two rulers of Sparta that Herodotus called διχοστασία. The meaning of the term was determined by the context of the historian's statement. This is undoubtedly a specific, single decision of one of the kings, which caused a crisis in the management of the army and the conduct of a previously prepared campaign. Almost exactly the same consequences in the description of 1 Macc were caused by the arbitrarily introduced decree of Antiochus IV against the Jews, causing discord in the Seleucid state and a lack of funds to conduct campaigns on the eastern borders of the monarchy.[39]

f) At the end of this analysis, it is worth quoting Plato's *Laws* 1.630α, which is difficult to interpret but important for the discussed problem:

> In the day of grievous feud (χαλεπῇ... διχοστασίη), O Cyrnus,
> the loyal warrior is worth his weight in silver and gold.[40]

In parts 1.624α–632δ, the philosopher promotes the most generally understood human good as the main goal of law-making, thus criticising the narrow, militaristic approach to law in Sparta and Crete. He supports an expanded interpretation of the law that provides opportunities for holistic human development.[41] In the text above, he quotes a poem by an ancient poet, Theognis of Megara, Sicily, placing it in the context of his own general reflections on virtue, particularly courage. To properly understand Plato's sequence of arguments, for the purposes of the article, we must turn to passage 1.629δ, which contains the thesis about two types of war. The first, in the arguments of a fictional Athenian, Plato calls στάσις 'civil [war],'[42] adding that it is δὴ πάντων πολέμων χαλεπώτατος, 'of all wars the

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37   Buckley, *Aspects of Greek History*, 79–81.

38   A. Ziółkowski, *Historia powszechna. Starożytność* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN 2011) 424–425.

39   According to the rules of historical writing in ancient Greece, describing the arbitrariness, despotism and authoritarianism of rulers, Antiochus IV was presented as a tyrant (J.A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 251).

40   Plato, *Laws*. I. *Books 1–6* (trans. R.G. Bury) (LCL 187; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1926) 20–21.

41   For an analysis of the problem, see, e.g. J. Annas, "Virtue and Law in Plato," *Plato's Law. A Critical Guide* (ed. C. Bobonich) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2010) 71–91.

42   As rendered in the translation by R.G. Bury (Plato, *Laws*, 19). F. Montanari gives the general meaning of 'dispute, dissent, quarrel, point of contention' (*The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek* [Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2013] 1955).

most bitter'.[43] The second type is a war against external enemies, even when disputes occur within the attacked community. This one is considered milder than the first one. Earlier, in the conversation between the same fictional Athenian and two listeners, another poet was mentioned, Tyrtaeus, who praised above all bravery in the battles of ancient Greece. The interlocutors agreed that the poet commended the courage of soldiers fighting in the second type of war, i.e. against an external and foreign enemy (1.629ε). However, the Athenian argues that those who are more worthy of praise are those who prove bravest in the first type of war, that is, internal rebellion. To support his thesis, he quotes Theognis of Megara's poem in the form of advice addressed to Kyrnos, a young aristocrat. Well, a faithful soldier is worth as many kilograms of gold and silver as he weighs during a quarrel (διχοστασίη), provided he is on the side of the law that allowed him to practice the broadly understood virtue. Plato supports his argument by putting into the Athenian's mouth the words that a soldier who fights this way is braver than one who loses his strength in a war with an external enemy. This advantage is expressed in the statement that 'the union of justice, prudence and wisdom with courage is better than courage by itself.'[44] Faithfulness and steadfastness during a civil war are impossible on their own. However, they must be extended to include the entire scope of the virtue, i.e. other virtues supporting it. In the first type of war, praised by Tyrtaeus, mercenaries can also fight bravely, but they are also prone to brawls, often devoid of principles and reason. However, only a truly virtuous soldier will persevere when internal conflict lasts. This attitude is based on legislation designed to reveal all virtues of the soldier during the most trying times. Therefore, the law that strives to strengthen all the virtues, not only partially, occasionally and opportunistically, is more valuable (1.630ε).

In light of Plato's considerations, the actions of Antiochus IV are thoroughly reprehensible. He introduces a law that not only discourages virtues but also puts them to the severest test.[45] This leads to chaos, internal tensions and fights between various communities belonging to one Seleucid Empire, as shown in 1 Macc 3:29. However, if Plato mentions law in the most general way, pointing to its most important goal, which is to build a community that pursues recognised virtues, the author of 1 Macc proves that regulations that violate religious freedom are certainly not such laws.

The last cited text dates approximately two centuries later than the First Book of Maccabees. However, looking at it will significantly broaden the sense of the noun in question by adding an element absent in the earlier texts.

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43   In the sense of conflicts between citizens of the same country due to violations of the rights of one group by another. Plato's negative opinion about such conflicts is probably based on the fact that what is being fought for then is not the common good but each group's own. And this undermines the strength of the community as a whole.

44   R.F. Stalley, *An Introduction to Plato's Laws* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett 1983) 36.

45   Even though the result of the ruler's actions in 1 Macc 3:29 (i.e. διχοστασία) gives the opportunity to act virtuously in the face of it. Such a possibility, however, was not recorded by the hagiographer.

g) Plutarch draws attention to the important – but rarely emphasised – meaning of διχοστασία in his *Life of Pyrrhus* 22.1:

> While he was involved in such perplexities, new hopes once more inspired him, and projects which divided his purposes (πράγματα διχοστασίαν ἔχοντα τῆς γνώμης).[46]

The Battle of Ausculum in 279 BC, won by King Pyrrhus of Epirus in a war against the Romans, is an example of a victory achieved at too great a cost. The gains achieved do not offset the losses suffered. Hence the famous phrase 'Pyrrhic victory'.[47] After winning it, he fell into an internal dilemma after receiving two almost equivalent offers of submission: one from the city of Syracuse, Sicily, and the other from his native Greece. The first proposed to give him the cities of Agrigentum, Syracuse and Leontini, asking him to help them expel the Carthaginians and free the island from tyrants. The other group informed him that the ruler of Macedonia, Ptolemy Keraunos,[48] and his army had perished at the hands of the Gauls and Dardans, so now it was time for him to go to Macedonia, which needed a new ruler. Pyrrhus understood that with the two excellent opportunities, he would have to choose one, which meant losing the other, so he hesitated for a long time. Ultimately, he chose the proposal of the people of Sicily, who seemed to offer better opportunities to implement his plans.[49] With this rather short mention, Plutarch points to the inner conflict of the man torn by contradictions resulting from opposing arguments and hesitant to make a choice quickly. The noun γνώμη used by Plutarch is significant. Dictionaries render it as 'faculties of knowing and judging, intellect, intelligence, thought, reason, disposition, will, inclination, intention, considered judgment', i.e. 'opinion, proposal, motion, intention, purpose, decision'.[50] In the writings of ancient authors, it appears frequently and in many different contexts, and its semantic field includes both a rational judgment and a decision to act based on an identified situation.[51] This very well reflects the meaning of διχοστασία, which introduces confusion and hesitation in the judgment, decisions made and will to act. This does not mean, of course, the weakness of Pyrrhus's character, but emphasises, above all, the fact that frequently διχοστασία begins in the mind and will of a person, which later turns into one or another external action with lesser or greater consequences for the people around that person.

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[46]   Plutarch, *Lives*. IX. *Demetrius and Antony. Pyrrhus and Gaius Marius* (trans. B. Perrin) (LCL 101; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1920) 416–417.

[47]   An analysis of the events has been carried out by M. Engerbeaud, "La bataille d'Ausculum (279 av. J.-C.), une défaite romaine?," *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* LXXXVII/1 (2013) 61–80.

[48]   He was the son of Ptolemy I Soter, ruler of Egypt. In 280 BC, he wickedly murdered Seleucus I Nicator and became king of Macedonia and Thrace.

[49]   *Pyrrhus* 22, 2–3.

[50]   Montanari, *The Brill Dictionary*, 436.

[51]   The problem of hesitation in decision-making among ancient heroes was taken up by T. Ziolkowski, *Hesitant Heroes Private Inhibition, Cultural Crisis* (Ithaca, NY – London: Cornell University Press 2018), especially in the introduction to his work, 1–8.

In their works, Polybius[52] and Livy[53] draw attention to the unstable character of Antiochus IV, a man – it seems – strongly influenced by emotions, acting unpredictably. In situations similar to that of Pyrrhus and often faced with contradictory options, Antioch may have displayed all the more inner dilemmas and indecision. This was because he wanted to keep the treasury intact, which must have resulted in the imposition of continuous taxes. However, Antioch must have been aware that this could stir up social discontent and even revolts among his subjects. This was all the more likely since he had previously attacked their religious traditions. This assessment must be objectively verified, considering the smooth functioning of the entire Seleucid Empire under his rule.[54] However, we cannot rule out internal contradictions that tore at the king's heart. Having considered all the arguments for and against, he finally chose the path of confrontation with the Jews. He felt it would be more advantageous for him to stifle any attempts at resistance with the promise of pay for his army. On the other hand, the expected lack of money could have aroused a revolt of his own troops, without whom he could not reign at all.

However, some doubt may be expressed regarding the meaning of διχοστασία in 1 Macc 3:29 since, strictly speaking, the noun does not describe the conduct of the ruler, but what he κατεσκεύασεν ἐν τῇ γῇ 'had brought upon the land', i.e. upon the inhabitants of his empire. Thus, it is more about the effect of the king's actions on his subjects. One must remember, however, that there is no smoke without fire and no effect without cause. Διχοστασία, as a concrete situation of discord arising in the Seleucid Empire, could not have arisen without the intention of its creator, in this case the king. It was in his mind that the idea of collecting taxes was born, given that such a skilled monarch had to immediately perceive the consequences of his action and account for their impact on the attitude of his subjects towards him and the monarchy.

In this light, 1 Macc 3:29 may describe the ruler introducing not thoroughly thought out, overbearing, arbitrary decrees, revealing his internal struggle and causing discord and chaos in the monarchy.[55]

Summary

The analysis of the representative examples of the the term διχοστασία in the Bible and ancient Greek literature yields several valuable insights, enabling us to address the core question of its meaning and intentional use in 1 Macc 3:29. In this verse, the noun pertains to the realm of politics and social dynamics, depicting conflicts arising from specific attitudes

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52   *Hist. rom.* 26, 1.
53   *Urb. con.* 41, 20.
54   For more, see J. Nawrot, *Pierwsza Księga Machabejska*, 43–44.
55   1 Mac 1:21–23 mentions the plundering of the temple's treasury and its devastation, arguing that there were many more moments when the ruler stated the lack of funds for the broadly understood functioning of the monarchy (W. Fairweather – J. Sutherland Black, *The First Book of Maccabees*, 94).

or legal measures. This explains why the author opted not to use ἔχθρα – a term closely related in meaning but primarily focused on the emotional hostility between parties – when describing the objective state of discord between the Jewish community and the pagans under Seleucid monarchy. While ἔχθρα appears four times in the 1 Maccabees, it typically denotes enmity as either oucome of specific actions by monarchs (11:12, 40; 13:17) or, in one instance, the motive for fighting pagan enemies harbouring hatred toward the Jews (13:6). Similarly, in 3:29, διχοστασία underscores a profound antagonism stemming from both the hostile decisions of a monarch – namely Antiochus IV – against the Jewish community and the fundamental clash in religious practices. Thus, διχοστασία can be interpreted as both a consequence of Antiochus IV's ἔχθρα toward his Jewish subjects and a reflection of the Jews' resistance to the ruler's unjust and oppresive laws, which undermined their material, social and religious well-being.

A deeper examination of ancient Greek literature further illuminates the hagiographer's intent. In these texts, διχοστασία emerges primarily as a political concept, describing a protracted state of conflict between factions unable to secure a decisive resolution. Such discord often arises from legal anarchy, arbitrary legistlation, or disregard for established laws. Incompatible with peace and social harmony, διχοστασία must be eradicated for rulers to maintain order within their communities. Moreover, it weakens nations by exacerbating internal divisions, often due to the reckless policies of autocratic leaders. In a military context, διχοστασία does not refer to a single battle but to a broader condition fuelled by conflicting political aims and personal ambitions, leading to unrest and the erosion of a nation's prior achievements. Notably, every instance of διχοστασία originates in an internal conflict – whether of the heart, mind or will – before manifesting outwardly, with varying degrees of impact on the surrounding community. This stands in opposition to the primary aim of law-making: fostering a virtuous community, which, for the author of 1 Maccabees, includes upholding religious freedom.

The observations lead to the conclusion that the use of διχοστασία in 1 Macc 3:29 is neither arbitrary nor a mere stylistic substitute for ἔχθρα. Rather, it reflects the inspired author's deliberate political, social and religious reflection. The hagiographer appears to expand the term's semantics beyond its typical usage in extra-biblical literature, where the religious dimension is absent, thereby enriching its significance in the context.

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The New Covenant Rhetoric in Ezekiel 11:14–21 and 36:16–38

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Abstract: In the Book of Ezekiel, the new covenant is announced in 11:14–21 and 36:16–38. Crucial to these prophecies is the future renewal of the heart and spirit of Israel. While the two prophecies share numerous similarities at the level of form and content, there are also fundamental disparities between them. These are not only due to differences concerning the inner renewal but also to the rhetorical dynamic of the new covenant. To describe this dynamic, we first examine the place of the announcement of inner renewal in these prophecies. Then we analyse the rhetorical structure of Ezek 11:17–20 and 36:24–28. Finally, on the basis of these analyses, we ask the question to what extent Daniel I. Block's thesis of resumptive exposition in the Book of Ezekiel can be applied to establish the rhetorical relationship between the prophecies in question. Rhetorical analysis allows us to conclude that they are part of a work-in-progress logic. Accordingly, various affirmations of the new covenant, announced in different historical contexts, are preserved in the book. Considering other Ezekiel prophecies on the new covenant, especially those on the covenant of peace in 34:25–30 and 37:26–28, one can speak not so much of a single covenant theology as of multiple covenant theologies in the Book of Ezekiel.

Keywords: Book of Ezekiel, new covenant, covenant of peace, resumptive exposition, Ezek 11:17–21, Ezek 36:16–38

Among prophetic texts announcing the new covenant, two of them deserve special attention – the one of Jeremiah that speaks directly of the new covenant (Jer 31:31–34) and of Ezekiel, whose prophecy does not use the term 'covenant' but associates it with the gift of a 'new heart' and a "new spirit" (Ezek 36:24–28). Since Ezekiel's oracle in chapter 36 is one of biblical texts read out at the Easter Vigil (Ezek 36:16–17a, 18–28) and its key passage (Ezek 36:25–27) is read on the 2nd Sunday of the Ordinary Time in the Liturgy of the Hours, one may overlook the fact that there is a twin prophecy in the Book of Ezekiel, or at least that is the impression one can get at the first glance, in 11:14–21. When these two prophecies are compared, especially the parallel parts that directly foretell the covenant renewal (11:17–20 and 36:24–28), the following question arises as to the relationship between these oracles: to what extent are they similar, and how are they different? It is not only about the repetition of individual words, phrases, or sentences, but about the rhetorical structure of these two prophecies. If 'form is the door to meaning'[1] then noticeable

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1   Paul Beachaump in the introduction to R. Meynet, *L'analisi retorica* (Biblioteca Biblica 8; Brescia: Editrice Queriniana 1992) 7.

differences in their composition may account for different dynamics of the new covenant outlined in these prophecies. It also seems reasonable to ask about how they relate to each other. In the diachronic approach, the aim is to determine which of the two prophecies precedes the other and thus is the source of the other. However, when looking at it from a synchronic perspective – a proper biblical rhetoric – it is necessary to examine how the oracle in chapter 11 is modified in the later chapter 36: whether it is a correction of the earlier covenant announcement or its further development. In this context, it is reasonable to question the coherence of the concept of the new covenant in the Book of Ezekiel.

To resolve this research problem biblical rhetoric will be used.[2] In the first stage, we will carry out rhetorical analysis of the oracles of Ezek 11:14–21 and 36:16–38, both of which contain an announcement of the new covenant. Having established the rhetorical position of these prophecies in both oracles, we will proceed to rhetorical analysis of the prophecies of the new covenant in 11:17–20 and 36:24–28. An examination of their rhetorical dynamics will allow us to verify not only the relationship between these prophecies, but also the rhetorical – and consequently also theological – coherence of the new covenant oracle in the Book of Ezekiel.

1. The Rhetorical Position of Proclamation of the New Covenant in Ezek 11:14–21 and 36:16–38

The promise of the new covenant, associated with the gift of a new heart and new spirit, occurs in two different oracles in the Book of Ezekiel – 11:14–21 and 36:16–38. A rhetorical analysis of these oracles will reveal not only Israel's role in the inner renewal of the new covenant, but also the reason why the renewal of the covenant is so crucial.

1.1. Rhetorical Analysis of Ezekiel 11:14–21

The basis of this analysis is the Masoretic text Ezek 11:14–21. The following translation departs from the MT in v. 15, which quotes the people of Jerusalem speaking about the exiles. Changing of the imperative רַחֲקוּ ('go away') into the perfectum form רָחֲקוּ ('they are far away') is supported by the next sentence, in which God speaks of 'scattering' (הִרְחַקְתִּים) the exiles among the nations (v. 16).[3] There is no difficulty in delimiting the oracle. Its boundaries are set by conventional prophetic formulas: the initial term is the word event formula in v. 14, and the extreme term is the formula נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה in v. 21.

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2   The methodology for this exegetical tool was developed by Roland Meynet. Cf. R. Meynet, *Treatise on Biblical Rhetoric* (International Studies in the History of Rhetoric 3; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2012).

3   The imperative form רַחֲקוּ in the Masoretic text is taken up by the Targum and the Vulgate. The Septuagint translation ἀπέχετε is not so unambiguous, since the form can be translated both as indicative and imperative. Most commentators favour the indicative translation, taking into account the above-mentioned context as well (Zimmerli, Eichrodt, Allen, Block, Pohlmann, Joyce, Pettigiani among others).

1.1.1. Structure of the Oracle

The following translation of Ezek 11:14–21 highlights elements that are significant to the rhetoric of the text. The analysed oracle consists of four parts: v. 15, v. 16, vv. 17–20, and v. 21. Apart from the third rhetorical unit, the others correspond to the piece in size, therefore in further rhetorical analysis we will go straight to the discussion of the relationship between individual parts of the oracle.

The division into four parts stems from the expressions used in Ezek 11:14–21, that function as initial terms. The first part opens with a description of a prophet as 'son of man', the one who God speaks to (v. 15), which is typical for the Book of Ezekiel. The beginning of the second (v. 16) and third part (v. 17) is marked by the command formula ('therefore say'), followed by the messenger formula. The end term of the third part is expressed in the Covenant formula of mutuality (v. 20). The recognition of v. 21 as a separate rhetorical unit is supported by a noun phrase וְאֶל־לֵב ('and as for the heart'). It remains related to the sentence that follows it, however, as a *casus pendens* it is independent of it and pre-empts the subject of the statement that follows.[4]

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¹⁴And there was a word of Yahweh to me saying:

¹⁵Son of man: your brothers, your brothers, your kindred, the whole house of Israel, all of them, are those of whom the inhabitants of Jerusalem say, "They ARE FAR AWAY from Yahweh, to us the **land** is GIVEN for a possession".

¹⁶Therefore say: Thus said the Lord Yahweh: Though I SENT them FAR AWAY among the nations, and though I SCATTERED them among the **lands**,I have been a sanctuary to them for a little while in the **lands** *where they have gone to*.

¹⁷Therefore say: Thus said the Lord Yahweh: I will gather you from the peoples, and I will assemble you from the **lands** where you have been SCATTERED, and I will GIVE you the soil of Israel. ¹⁸ And **they will go there** and remove all its detestable things and all its **abominations** from it. ¹⁹ And I will GIVE them one heart, and a new spirit I will GIVE within you, and I will remove the heart of stone from their flesh, and GIVE them a heart of flesh, ²⁰ so that they may **walk** in my statutes, and keep my laws, and do them. And they shall be my people, and I will be their God.

²¹ And as for the heart – after their detestable things and their **abominations** their heart **walked**, their ways on their heads I will GIVE,

the declaration of the Lord Yahweh.

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4   Cf. A. Niccacci, *Sintassi del verbo ebraico nella prosa biblica classica. Seconda edizione riveduta e ampliata a cura di Gregor Geiger* (SBFA 88; Milano: Terra Santa 2021) § 119.

1.1.2. The Dynamics of the Oracle of Ezek 11:14–21

The oracle structure in Ezek 11:14–21 is largely determined by its literary genre. Adrian Graffy points out elements typical for disputation speech: the initial thesis of people of Jerusalem about exiles expressed as quotation in v. 15, which is then refuted by Yahweh in two statements, one addressed to the people of Jerusalem (v. 16) and the other to the exiles to Babylonia (v. 17).[5] Rhetorically, the oracle ends in v. 21, which is why the above structure requires correction that will consider, first and foremost, the position of v. 21 in relation to the initial thesis quoted in v. 15. The distinguished four parts of the oracle form a chiastic structure of ABB'A', in which parts A (v. 15) and A' (v. 21) concern a relation of the people of Jerusalem to Yahweh, and parts B (v. 16) and B' (vv. 17–20) – a relation of the exiles to Yahweh.

1.1.2.1. The Relationship between Parts A (v. 15) and B (v. 16)

The two parts are connected by the verb רחק: Jerusalemites express the conviction that the exiles 'are far away' from Yahweh (v. 15), which is confirmed by God who admits that he has 'scattered' them into exile (v. 16). That scattering has a geographical dimension expressed by the word אֶרֶץ ('land, country'). In part A, the people of Jerusalem are convinced that it was to them that Yahweh gave ownership of הָאָרֶץ – the land of Israel (v. 15), which is confirmed by Yahweh's statement in part B that he scattered the exiles בָּאֲרָצוֹת – 'among the lands' (v. 16). At the same time, God refutes the idea that the banishing would break off his relationship with the 'scattered among the lands', for it was the 'lands where they went' that Yahweh would be 'a sanctuary to them for a little while' (מִקְדָּשׁ מְעַט, v. 16).[6]

1.1.2.2. The Relation between Parts A (v. 15) and B' (v. 17–20)

These two parts are connected by the verb נתן, which is complemented by a noun describing the land of Israel: the conviction of people of Jerusalem that it was to them that 'the land (הָאָרֶץ) was given' (v. 15) is refuted by Yahweh's announcement that he will give 'the soil of Israel (אַדְמַת יִשְׂרָאֵל)' to the exiles (v. 17). At the same time, the scope of God's gift declared by the verb נתן in part B' is expanded: in addition to the gift of land, there is also a promise of the gift of new heart (defined as 'one heart', 'a heart of flesh') and a 'new spirit' (v. 19).

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5   A. Graffy, *A Prophet Confronts His People* (AnBib 104; Rome: Biblical Institute Press 1984) 49–52.

6   The term מְעַט, which specifies the nature of the divine 'sanctuary', does not seem to detract from the importance of this form of God's availability in Babylonia. Exegetes arguing for a depreciating value cite Dan 11:34 with the phrase עֵזֶר מְעָט, which would suggest a translation of the Ezekiel syntagma as 'a little sanctuary' (meaning 'a shadow of that which was before'), or to 2 Kgs 10:18 and Zech 1:15, in which מְעַט functions as an adverb 'to a limited extent, to some extent; a little'. The immediate context of v. 16, however, argues for the temporal meaning of מְעַט: 'for a brief while, temporarily', as suggested by v. 17, in which God announces new exodus to end the Babylonian exile. Cf. a discussion of the meaning of expression עֵזֶר מְעָט in W. Pikor, *The Land of Israel in the Book of Ezekiel* (LHBOTS 667; New York – London: Clark 2018) 98–99.

1.1.2.3. Relationship between Parts B (v. 16) and B' (vv. 17–20)

These two parts form a chronological sequence noting the displacement of the exiles,[7] which is indicated in both units by the verb פוץ ('to scatter', vv. 16, 17). Their situation changes dramatically: the 'lands' are no longer places of dispersion, but of assembling and gathering (קבץ and אסף in v. 17). The repetitive phrase 'they went there' (verb בוא + adverb שָׁם) has a different purpose: in part B it is the land of exile (v. 16), in part B' it is the land of Israel (v. 18). The return from exile will bring about change in the exiles' relation to Yahweh, expressed by the verb היה with two objects introduced by the prepositions לְ: in the land of exile, Yahweh 'was a sanctuary to them for a little while' (וָאֱהִי לָהֶם לְמִקְדָּשׁ מְעַט, v. 16), in the land of Israel 'he will be God to them' (אֶהְיֶה לָהֶם לֵאלֹהִים, v. 20).

1.1.2.4. Relationship between Parts B' (vv. 17–20) and A' (v. 21)

Both parts are connected by the verbs הלך ('to walk') and נתן ('to give') and the noun לֵב ('heart'), but their use indicates opposition of subjects with which these terms should be associated. Part B' refers to the exiles who will return to the land of Israel from Babylonia: they will 'walk' according to the statutes of Yahweh (v. 20), who will 'give them' 'one heart', 'a heart of flesh' (v. 19). In part A', the subject is not explicitly named, but his 'heart walks' after the 'detestable things' and 'abominations' (v. 21) of which the land of Israel will be cleansed, as foretold in v. 18. This allows us to assume that part A' refers to the people of Jerusalem. To them too, Yahweh will make a gift ('giving'), yet, it will be not a new heart, but a punishment because of the ways their heart 'walks'.

1.1.2.5. Relationship between Parts A (v. 15) and A' (v. 21)

The parallelism between parts A and A' assumes that in v. 21 God addresses the people of Jerusalem, whose utterance was quoted earlier in v. 15. In both parts there is the verb נתן and the verbs of movement: רחק ('to move far away', v. 15) and הלך ('to walk', v. 21), which build the opposition between these parts. The truth that the dwellers of Jerusalem expressed in v. 15 about their relationship to Yahweh is finally called into question in v. 21. They are convinced that it is the exiles who 'are far away from Yahweh' (v. 15), while they themselves are far from Yahweh, since 'their heart walks after their detestable things and their abominations' (v. 21). Their claim to the gift 'given' to them by Yahweh is also wrong: it is not 'the land' but the punishment that will fall on their heads for their 'ways'.

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7   Graffy, *A Prophet Confronts His People*, 52.

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The above rhetorical analysis of Ezek 11:14–21 can be rendered in the following scheme:

Word event formula		14
A	Conviction of the people of Jerusalem of their exclusive relationship with Yahweh	15
	B Yahweh on his relationship with the exiles in Babylonia	16
	B' Yahweh on renewing his relationship with the exiles after their return to Israel	17–20
A'	Yahweh on his relationship with the people of Jerusalem	21

1.2. Rhetorical Analysis of Ezekiel 36:16–38

As in Ezekiel 11:14–21, the analysis of the parallel oracle in chapter 36 is based on the Masoretic Text. The translation, which is the basis for further analysis, respects the tensions present in the MT.

The delimitation of the oracle is not difficult. It opens with the word event formula in 36:16, which introduces a new prophecy in relation to the earlier one addressed to the mountains of Israel in 36:1–15. Rhetorically, the preceding oracle begins with the command to prophesy to the mountains of Israel (36:1) and is followed by the messenger formula (36:2); the end is marked by double occurrence of the conclusion formula נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה (36:14, 15). Although the oracle 36:16–38 is not framed by terms in extreme position, nor does it have a term in conclusive position for the oracle as a whole, its conclusion in 36:38 is obvious because in 37:1 a new rhetorical unit begins: the vision of the dry bones.

1.2.1. Structure of Oracle

The translation of oracle 36:16–38 with its significant rhetorical elements is as follows:

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¹⁶ And there was a word of Yahweh saying to me:

¹⁷ Son of man, the **house of Israel**, when it ***dwelt*** in its land, *defiled* it with its ways and its deeds, as an *impurity* of menstruation were their ways before me. ¹⁸ And I poured out my wrath upon them for the blood they had shed upon the land, and the idols with which they had *defiled* it. ¹⁹ And I *scattered* them among the nations, and they were *dispersed* among the lands. According to their ways and their deeds I have judged them.

²⁰ And they came to the nations *where they came*, and *profaned* **my holy name**, when it was said of them: These are the people of Yahweh, and they had to *leave* his land. ²¹ And I had concern for **my holy name**, which they the **house of Israel** had *profaned* among the nations *where they came*.

²² Therefore say to the **house of Israel**: Thus says the Lord Yahweh: **It is not for your sake**, O **house of Israel**, that I am about to act, but for the sake of **my holy name**, which you have *profaned* among the nations, *where you came*. ²³ And I will **sanctify my great name** *profaned* among the nations that you have *profaned* in their midst, and **the nations shall know that I am Yahweh**, *the declaration of the lord Yahweh*, when **I sanctify myself in you** before their eyes.

²⁴ And I will *take* you from the nations, and I will *gather* you from all lands, and *bring* you into your soil. ²⁵ And I will sprinkle you with clean water, and you will be clean from all your *impurities*, and from all your idols I will cleanse you. ²⁶ And I will give you a new heart, and a new spirit I will give within you, and I will remove the heart of stone from your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh. ²⁷ And my spirit I will give within you, and I will do that in my statutes you will walk, and my laws you will keep and do them. ²⁸ And you shall ***dwell*** in the land which I gave to your fathers, and you shall be my people, and I will be your God.

²⁹ And I will deliver you from all your *impurities*, and I will summon the grain, and multiply it, and I will not bring a famine on you. ³⁰ And I will multiply the fruit of the tree and the produce of the field, that you may never again suffer the disgrace of famine in the nations.

³¹ And you will remember your evil ways and your deeds that were not good, and you shall loathe yourselves on account of your iniquities and your abominations. ³²**It is not for your sake** that I do, *the declaration of the lord Yahweh*, **let it be known to you**. Be ashamed and confounded for your ways, O house of Israel.

³³ Thus says the Lord Yahweh: On that day that I cleanse you from all your iniquities, I will cause the cities to be ***inhabited*** and the ruins will be rebuilt. ³⁴ And the desolate land shall be cultivated, instead of being a desolation in the sight of all passing by. ³⁵ And they will say: "This desolate land has become like the garden of Eden, and the ruined, desolate and destroyed cities are now fortified and ***inhabited***". ³⁶And **the nations** that are left around you **will know**, that I, Yahweh, have rebuilt what was destroyed, and have replanted what was desolate, I, Yahweh, have said, and will do it.

³⁷ Thus says the Lord Yahweh, This also, I will let the **house of Israel** ask me to do unto them, and I will multiply them like a human flock. ³⁸ Like a **consecrated** flock, like the flock of Jerusalem during her appointed feast, so will the ruined cities be filled with human flocks and **they will know that I am Yahweh**.

Oracle 36:16–38 consists of eight parts (vv. 17–19, vv. 20–21, vv. 22–23, vv. 24–28, vv. 29–30, vv. 31–32, vv. 33–36, vv. 37–38), which in turn form three passages: vv. 17–21, vv. 22–32, and vv. 33–38. The second passage, which is introduced by the command and messenger formula (v. 22), has the clearest rhetorical limits. The extreme term is לֹא לְמַעַנְכֶם אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה ('it is not for your sake that I do') in vv. 22, 32. A similar inclusive function is expressed by 'house of Israel' (vv. 22, 32) and the formula נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה (vv. 23, 32).

Consequently, the first passage is contained in vv. 16–21. In terms of content, this unit is distinguished by the accumulation of verbs describing the exile of the house of Israel: its dispersion (פוץ and זרה in v. 19) and its arrival in the land of exile (בוא in vv. 20, 21; cf. יצא in v. 20).

As for the last two parts, which form the final passage, their beginnings are indicated by the messenger formula (v. 33 and v. 37). The divine recognition formula (extended in v. 36 and in the basic form in v. 38) occurs as the end term in both units. The conclusive function in v. 36 should also be attributed to the identification formula אֲנִי יְהוָה דִּבַּרְתִּי וְעָשִׂיתִי ('I, Yahweh, have said and will do it').[8]

1.2.1.1. Structure of Passage A (vv. 16–21)

The first passage consists of two parts: vv. 17–19 and vv. 20–21. In the first part, the pair of nouns דֶּרֶךְ ('way') and עֲלִילוֹת ('deeds') takes the extreme position, indicating the conduct of the house of Israel. It is defined by the root טמא used in the verb טמא ('to defile') in vv. 17, 18 and the noun טֻמְאָה ('impurity', v. 17). In the second part, the phrase אֲשֶׁר־בָּאוּ שָׁם ('where they came there') serves as an extreme term (vv. 20, 21). The coherence of the second part is also affirmed by the repetition in vv. 20, 21 of the verb חלל ('to profane') with the direct object שֵׁם קָדְשִׁי ('my holy name').

The first passage brings a double accusation against Israel. In the first part (vv. 17–19) it refers to the deeds with which they defiled their land where they dwelt. The object of accusation in the second part (vv. 20–21) is profanation of Yahweh's holy name committed by the house of Israel when he was sent to the land of exile as punishment (cf. v. 19).

1.2.1.2. Structure of Passage B (vv. 22–32)

It is difficult to determine the parts that make up passage B due to the limited presence of rhetorical signs (formal criteria). These are clearly noticeable in the first part of vv. 22–23: in the initial term there is the command formula[9] ('therefore say to the house of Israel') and the messenger formula in v. 22, while the end term in v. 23 is marked by the formula נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה and the extended divine recognition formula.

The limits of the next unit, describing God's action toward the house of Israel, is a disputable matter. The only formal rhetorical element is the covenant formula of mutuality

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8   This formulation is found also in Ezek 17:24; 22:14; 37:14. On the conclusive function of this formula see, cf. S. Bretón, *Vocación y mission. Formulario profético* (AnBib 111; Roma: PIB 1987) 230–232.

9   This is how Bretón (*Vocación y mission*, 116) identifies it.

in v. 28b. In the Book of Ezekiel, it occurs elsewhere in 11:20; 37:23, 27. In all of these oc-
currences, it takes a conclusive position[10] regarding the previously described God's action
toward Israel in pursuit of the restoration of the covenant. The rhetorical significance of
this formula in 36:28 also stems from the fact that it is the only place in the Book of Eze-
kiel where the long form of the pronoun 1sg אָנֹכִי is used. The short form of this pronoun
אֲנִי appears 169 times in the book, including other occurrences of the covenant formula.
The attribution of a similar function to the conclusive covenant formula in 36:28 is sup-
ported by the occurrence of motion verbs in v. 24 and v. 28, which rhetorically take the ex-
treme position as terms describing, on the one hand, the beginning of new exodus of Israel,
whom God will 'assembly', 'gather' and 'bring' to their land (the verbs לקח, קבץ and בוא in
v. 24), and on the other, indicating the finale of this exodus in the form of 'dwelling' in the
land given to the fathers (the verb ישב in v. 28a).

   Delimitation of the second part within vv. 24–28 raises a question of the rhetorical po-
sition of v. 29, especially its first member that continues describing God's action toward his
people: 'and I will deliver you from all your impurities' (v. 29a), followed by the rhetorically
coherent description of God's action toward the land of Israel (vv. 29b–30). The verb ישע
in *hiphil* ('to save, to deliver'), which is complemented by the noun טֻמְאוֹת ('impurity'),
plays the key role. It is not a duplication of the acts of God mentioned in v. 25, when God
announced the 'cleansing' (verb טהר) of Israel from their 'impurity'. Two different actions
are indicated by the occurrence of both verbs in 37:23: the verb ישע in *hiphil* is used to an-
nounce liberating Israel from 'all the places where they had sinned', i.e. from places of idola-
try worship, while the verb טהר indicates necessary cleansing of the people so that they
can be pure and ready to worship Yahweh. Thus, in 36:29–30, God foretells a double act
towards the land where his covenant people shall dwell: first, to deliver it from idolatrous
places of worship (v. 29a), and then to renew it, which the two parallel segments v. 29b and
v. 30 comprise. This parallelism of segments is demonstrated by the repetition of the verb
רבה ('to multiply'), complemented by products of fertile soil ('grain', 'fruit of the tree', 'pro-
duce of the fields'), and the noun רָעָב ('famine').

   The final part of the oracle's second passage is vv. 31–32. Despite the absence of initial
terms in v. 31, the subject changes in this verse: in the previous part, the subject was Yah-
weh, now it is the house of Israel. Although v. 32 speaks of God's actions ('it is not for your
sake that I am about to act'), it then returns to Israel as the subject. The part is coherent
also because of the nature of Israel's deeds: their previous conduct (the verb זכר in v. 31)
would make them ashamed of what they had done (the verbs בוש and כלם in *niphal* in
v. 32). The term דַּרְכֵיכֶם ('your ways') takes an inclusive position as the object of these verbs
(vv. 31, 32).

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10   Cf. F.-L. Hossfeld, *Untersuchungen zu Komposition und Theologie des Ezechielbuches* (FB 20; Würzburg: Echter
     1977) 298.

1.2.1.3. Structure of Passage C (vv. 33–38)

As mentioned earlier, the first part of this passage (vv. 33–36) is delimited by conventional prophetic formulas: the messenger formula (v. 33) as initial term, and the divine recognition formula combined with identification formula (v. 36) – both functioning as the final term. The verb יָשַׁב ('to dwell') should also be considered an extreme term, with which God announces the dwelling of Israel in his cities (v. 33), which is then verified by eyewitnesses of these events ('dwelt' in v. 35). The rhetorical coherence of this part is also evident with verbs referring to construction and cultivation, respectively – בנה ('to build' in vv. 33, 36) and עבד ('to cultivate', v. 34) and נטע ('to plant', v. 36). They are complemented by terms built on the roots: חרב ('to ruin', vv. 33, 35), הרס ('to destroy', v. 35) and שמם ('to desolate', vv. 34[x2], 35[x2]).

The last part of the oracle (vv. 37–38) is rhetorically determined by the messenger formula as the initial term (v. 38) and by the divine recognition formula (v. 37). With regard to the content, the coherence of this unit is supported by four comparisons of the house of Israel to צֹאן, including twice to the 'human flock' (צֹאן אָדָם as extreme term in vv. 37, 38) and the 'consecrated flock' (צֹאן קֳדָשִׁים, v. 38) and the 'flock of Jerusalem' (צֹאן יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם, v. 38).

1.2.2. The Dynamics of the Oracle of Ezek 36:16–38

The analysed text is the oracle of salvation, which begins in the first passage (vv. 16–21) by presenting the profanation of the land and God's name by the house of Israel. Then there is the announcement of the future salvific intervention of Yahweh on two temporal planes: the near and the more distant future. The nearer temporal perspective, corresponding to the present, is in the second passage (vv. 22–32), in which God will bring about the rebirth of Israel as the covenant people. A further temporal perspective is introduced in the third passage (vv. 33–38) by the adverbial clause of time: 'on the day that I cleanse' (v. 33). Considering the chronology of events presented in the oracle, it forms the ABC figure, in which passage A (vv. 16–21) presents the history of Israel, passage B (vv. 22–32) describes God's present action toward Israel, and passage C (vv. 33–38) foretells God's further intervention in the future.

1.2.2.1. Relationship between Passage A (vv. 16–21) and B (vv. 22–32)

The relationship between these two passages is built by the motif of God's 'holy name': in view of Israel's 'profanation' of it (vv. 20, 21), God desires to 'sanctify' it (v. 23) by 'sanctifying himself in you', that is, in Israel (v. 23). For the house of Israel, this means a transformation that will occur on several levels, identified by terms that connect the two passages.

Firstly, Israel contributed to defiling the land by its actions (noun טֻמְאָה in v. 17), including idols (noun גִּלּוּל in v. 18), and God intends to deliver Israel from its uncleanness (טֻמְאָה in vv. 25, 29), idols included (גִּלּוּל in v. 25). Secondly, Israel, having been banished, had to leave 'the land' in which they 'dwelt' (אַדְמָתָם and יָשַׁב in v. 17). God will bring the house of Israel back to 'their land' (אַדְמַתְכֶם in v. 24), where they will 'dwell' (יָשַׁב in v. 28). Thirdly, if Yahweh judges his people according to their 'ways' and 'deeds' with which they

have 'defiled' their land (דֶּרֶךְ and עֲלִילוֹת in vv. 17, 19), then as a result of God's inner trans-formation, Israel will agree to God's evaluation of their conduct: it will remember their evil 'ways' and 'deeds' (דֶּרֶךְ and מַעֲלָל in v. 31) and feel shame about their 'ways' (דֶּרֶךְ in v. 32).

Also, if Israel's actions have led to a misperception of Yahweh by foreign nations (as ex-pressed in v. 20), then it is through God's sanctification in their people that foreign nations will 'know' Yahweh (ידע in v. 23). Finally, Israel will contribute to this change of percep-tion; they will 'know' the real motive of Yahweh's action (ידע in v. 32).

1.2.2.2. The Relationship between Part B (vv. 22–32) and C (vv. 33–38)

These two passages are connected by the verbs ישב ('to dwell') and טהר ('to cleanse'). The purification of the people announced in part B (v. 25) is assumed in part C to have been done ('on the day that I cleanse you,' v. 33). The final act of new exodus in passage B was the 'dwelling' of covenant people in the promised land (v. 28). Passage C describes the situation after the restored Israel had 'inhabited' it (vv. 33, 35), foretelling the restoration of both cultivated and urbanised land.

The description of restored Israel in passage C is not reduced to a quantitative category only, but has its qualitative transformation in mind, thus deepening the characteristics of the house of Israel in passage B. Restored Israel is presented in passage B as the people of Yahweh – the covenant people (the covenant formula of mutuality in v. 28). The inner change of heart and spirit results in a new memory for Israel (v. 31), who is ashamed of their past deeds (v. 32). In passage C, repentance turns into an act of petition addressed to Yah-weh (v. 37). The petition is not only to increase the numbers of men in the house of Israel, but also to make it like a 'consecrated flock' (v. 38). The term used in this phrase evokes the 'holy name' of Yahweh in v. 22, whose holiness was the motive for God's action toward Israel in passage B. Yahweh announced that he would 'sanctify himself in them' (v. 23), bringing holiness to Israel, at least in the cultic dimension, as suggested by the expression 'consecrated flock' (v. 38). In both passages, the divine recognition formula occurs but its subject changes. In passage B, it is the foreign nations through the 'sanctification' of Yahweh in his people who are to come to know Yahweh (v. 23), then in passage C the subject that is sanctified remains implied. It is the house of Israel, which, as a 'consecrated flock', will come to know Yahweh (v. 38).

1.2.2.3. The Relationship between Part A (vv. 16–21) and C (vv. 33–38)

Passage C reverses the initial situation outlined in passage A. The house of Israel is back in its land (v. 17 contrasted with vv. 33, 35), which is cleansed from iniquities previously committed by the people (vv. 17, 18 versus v. 31). In both passages, external observers are quoted. They are identified with foreign nations directly in passage A and indirectly in pas-sage C, and they change their opinion of Yahweh as the patron of the land of Israel: accord-ing to them, the exile was to prove that Yahweh could not protect the land of Israel (v. 20), but the return from exile is possible thanks to creating the land of Israel anew, and making it like the garden of Eden (v. 35).

Passage C also describes how the house of Israel has changed compared to the initial situation in passage A. It is not only about the material dimension of Israel that returns after being dispersed among nations (vv. 19–20) and is 'multiplied' in numbers by God (v. 37). What is more important is the change in the quality of their relationship to Yahweh. The exile resulted from being 'judged' by God (v. 19) who distanced himself from his people as from 'menstrual impurity' (v. 17). This distance is bridged upon Israel's return from exile, and Yahweh looks favourably upon the requests of his people (v. 37), who are now allowed into God's holy space as the 'consecrated flock' received by God with gladness in the Jerusalem cult (v. 38).

The analysis of rhetorical dynamics of Ezek 36:16–38 allows us to schematically render its structure as follows:

Word event formula	16
A Past relationship between Yahweh and Israel – the exile	17–21
Israel's land defiled	17–19
Israel's desecration of Yahweh's name	20–21
B Announcing a new relationship between Yahweh and Israel – the new exodus	22–32
Announcing sanctification of Yahweh in his people	22–23
Rebirth of the people	24–28
Rebirth of the soil	29–30
The people's response to the action of Yahweh	31–32
C God's future action towards Israel	33–38
Final rebirth of the soil	33–36
Final rebirth of the people	37–38

1.2.3. The Changing Context of the New Covenant

The promise of covenant renewal in the analysed oracles occurs in two different contexts that influence the understanding of the new covenant dynamics.

Firstly, the promise of the new covenant is addressed to various subjects. In chapter 11, the promise is made to the Judeans deported to Babylonia after 597 BCE. They are juxtaposed to the dwellers of Jerusalem, who deny the exiles the title to the land of the covenant because the latter distanced themselves from Yahweh. However, it is this group of exiles that remains in God's eyes 'the whole house of Israel, all of them' (11:15).[11] The oracle in

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11   Some commentators believe that the three designations of the oracle in 11:15 are inclusive, gradually widening the circle of exiles, including those deported from the Northern Kingdom by the Assyrians in the second half of the eighth century BCE, as well as those from Judah deported by the Babylonians. Cf. Graffy, *A Prophet*

chapter 36 refers to the period after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 BCE, when at least some of the people of Jerusalem mentioned in 11:15 were deported. The 'dwellers of ruined' Jerusalem (cf. 33:34) are no longer adversaries of the exiles recalled in 36:20, but foreign nations; they are both Babylonians and Assyrians, amongst whom the Israelites were deported over the centuries.

Secondly, there are specific reasons why Yahweh wants to renew the covenant. This is indicated by two different statements by the adversaries of the exiles quoted in these oracles. At first glance, it might seem that God is reacting to the situation of the exiles negatively; the people of Jerusalem are convinced that the exiles have lost their relationship with Yahweh and therefore the land belongs to those who remained in Jerusalem (11:15); foreign nations question the status of the exiles as Yahweh's people because of their loss of land (36:20). The second oracle, however, is not primarily concerned with the status of the exiles, but with the honour of Yahweh, whose holy name was profaned by Israel in the eyes of the nations because his people were exiled. The oracle of chapter 11 answers the question about the identity of the people of the covenant, while the oracle in chapter 36 provides the answer to the question about the character of Yahweh as the God of the covenant.

Thirdly, the promise of the new covenant in chapter 11 combines the salvation oracle (for the exiles: vv. 16–20) with the judgement oracle (for the dwellers of Jerusalem: v. 21). No such differentiation is present in the second prophecy, in which the announcement of the new covenant (36:22–28) is fully positive and addresses the entire house of Israel. Divisions within Israel will eventually be overcome by Yahweh in the new covenant.

Additionally, the two oracles foretell two different types of covenant. The prospect of salvation and punishment in the prophecy of chapter 11 assumes the conditional nature of the covenant, the fulfilment of which depends on the right response of the people. In the oracle of chapter 36, the covenant appears as a unilateral, unconditional action of God on behalf of Israel.

Furthermore, parallel announcements of Israel's inner transformation hold a different rhetorical position in the analysed oracles. The first prophecy of the new covenant is essentially limited to the promise of Israel's restoration (11:17–20). In the second oracle, the promised renewal of the people (36:24–28) is the first thing in renewing the covenant, followed by other acts of God that change the status of the covenant people and the land. Thus, in the light of the second prophecy, the inner transformation of the covenant people, albeit based on Israel's new relationship with Yahweh, is not exhaustive to what the new covenant is and how it is fulfilled.

Moreover, the oracles present a different view of the land of Israel. They are united by the motif of a new exodus so that the exiles can reinhabit their country. If the first oracle voices concern of the exiles for the purity of the land of Israel (11:18), then in chapter 36 the land is God's own concern, and he will not only purify it (see 36:29) but will restore

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Confronts His People, 49; M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 22; Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1983) 189.

and rebuild it (see 36:29–30, 33–35). First, however, God must cleanse his people (36:25), which only confirms that the land bore the brunt of Israel's iniquities (see 36:17). Still, in the second oracle, the land of Israel transcends ethnic categories, for its restoration is an act of new creation that will make it like the garden of Eden (36:35).

Another point is that, in the first oracle, the covenant is a purely national issue, a matter of dispute between the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the exiles. The presence of foreign nations in the second oracle makes the promise of the new covenant in chapter 36 universalistic. Although the covenant is further defined by the covenant formula of mutuality, it has theophanic value leading foreign nations to recognise the truth about Yahweh (cf. 36:23, 36).

Finally, these two announcements of the new covenant present the temple in Jerusalem differently. The first promise of the covenant renewal occurs in the narrative of the vision of Yahweh's glory, which ends with Yahweh leaving the temple in Jerusalem (cf. 10:18–22; 11:22–23). In this context, God makes a promise to the exiles that he will 'be a sanctuary for a while' in the land of exile (11:16). In this way, one of the pillars of Israel's faith, the temple of Jerusalem as a visible sign of God's presence with his people, is called into question. The situation of exile is temporary, as affirmed by the second oracle. It is not just a matter of returning to the land of Israel, but to Jerusalem, which we can deduct from the promise to multiply the covenant people in 36:38. Comparing the restored covenant people to 'the flock of Jerusalem during her appointed feast' indirectly points to the restoration of Jerusalem as a religious and cultic centre that once again becomes pleasing to God, his 'holy mountain' (20:40). It is here that the new covenant people will become like a 'consecrated flock' (36:38), a 'sweet fragrance' (20:41) to God, who will 'sanctify himself in them' in the eyes of the nations (20:41; 36:23).

2. What Kind of New Covenant?

The changing context of the new covenant announcement in the Book of Ezekiel raises the question to what extent the promises of covenant renewal in 11:17–20 and 36:24–28 have the same meaning.

2.1. Rhetorical Analysis of Ezek 11:17–20

As part of Yahweh's disputation with Jerusalem dwellers in 11:14–21, the second response brings the promise of the new covenant (vv. 17–20). The basis for further delimitation of this rhetorical unit is the change of subject in subsequent verses and the repetition of synonymous terms. The repetitions are parallelisms that make the four pieces coherent in the second part of the oracle: v. 17, v. 18, v. 19, and v. 20a–c. In the conclusion, the covenant formula is present (v. 20d–e) and functions as the conclusive formula for the entire announcement.

¹⁷ I will *gather*	you	from the **peoples**,	
and I will *assemble*	you	from the lands	where you have been scattered,
and I will GIVE	you	the soil of Israel.	
¹⁸ And they will **go**	there		
and **remove**	all its detestable things,		
and all its abominations	from it.		
¹⁹ And I will GIVE	them	**a heart**	a new one,
and a *spirit*	a new one	I will GIVE	within you,
and I will **remove**	the **heart**	of stone	from their flesh,
and GIVE	them	**a heart**	of flesh,
²⁰ so that	in my *statutes*	they may **walk**,	
and **keep**	my *laws*,		
and **do**	*them.*		
And they shall be	for me	**people**,	
and I	will be	form the	God.

The subject of actions foretold in the first piece (v. 17) is Yahweh speaking in the 1st person singular. Parallelism of the first two members (v. 17a, b) is evident; there are synonymous verbs describing the gathering of exiles by Yahweh (אסף and קבץ) completed with an object indicating the place of dispersion (הָעַמִּים and הָאֲרָצוֹת, respectively). The third member (v. 17c) has an identical syntactic structure (verb + object concerning a specific place), which makes it parallel to the previous two. It proclaims the granting of the land of Israel to those gathered from exile, so one can say that all terms appearing in the parallel members of v. 17 belong to the semantic field of exodus.

In v. 18 there is a change of subject: the exiles, referred to in the 3rd person plural, are active. Chronologically, the promise refers to the exiles setting forth to the land of Israel, as indicated by a combination of the verb בָּאוּ ('they will go') with the adverb indicating the direction of שָׁמָּה ('to that place') in v. 18a, and then it continues to describe the exiles' activity after their return to the land of Israel. Their act of cleansing the land is expressed in two members, and this parallelism is evident from the synonymous, metaphorical designations of clearing it of idolatrous worship: שִׁקּוּצֶיהָ ('their detestable things', v. 18b) and תּוֹעֲבוֹתֶיהָ ('their abominations', v. 18c).

In v. 19 Yahweh returns as a subject in the 1st person singular and promises inner renewal of the returning exiles. The first two members form a chiastic arrangement in which the gift of 'one heart' (v. 19a) is parallel to the gift of 'new spirit' (v. 19b). In the last two members, however, antithetical parallelism occurs: the act of 'removing' (v. 19c) is the opposite to the act of 'giving' (v. 19d), whereas the 'heart of stone' (v. 19c) is opposed to the 'heart of flesh' (v. 19d). The promise of the heart in the first member (v. 19a) is repeated in

the fourth one (v. 19d), so that the noun 'heart' serves as extreme term to the third piece. The coherence of v. 19 is thus reinforced rhetorically by the occurring parallelisms.[12]

Syntactically, v. 20 is introduced by a conjunction לְמַעַן ('so that') indicating purpose. It is composed of three parallel members announcing the future observance of laws by the restored Israel: it is the subject in 3rd person plural of the parallel verbs שמר, הלך and עשׂה, which are complemented by the synonymous terms of law as חֻקוֹת and מִשְׁפָּטִים (in the third member rendered by the particle of the accusative אֹתָם). Apart from the syntactic construction of the sentence of purpose, the last part of v. 20 remains within the covenant formula of mutuality. Rhetorically, v. 20d–e should be considered a separate literary unit.

Oracle 11:17–20 form a parallel structure of ABA'B'C, which can be rendered schematically as follows:

A God: initiative for new exodus	17
B Exiles: new entry into the land of Israel and its cleansing	18
A' God: Inner renewal of the exiles on their return	19
B' Restored exiles: keeping the laws	20a–c
C Covenant formula	20d–e

The initiative to renew the covenant comes from God, to which the exiles respond. God initiates a new exodus, gathering the scattered exiles (A), but what he needs is the exiles responding and taking a path to the land of Israel that is given to them (B). God also desires to bring about the inner rebirth of his people (A'), but this transformation of the exiles means guiding them to keep the laws (B'). The covenant formula, which assumes mutuality of the relationship between Yahweh and Israel (C), can only happen if the people respond properly to God. The exiles are therefore beneficiaries of God's action, but at the same time, God expects their adequate response to his initiative.

The presence of the verb נתן in the parallel pieces A and A' accentuates that the gift of the covenant happens on two levels: externally, as the gift of the land of Israel (v. 17c), and internally as the gift of the new heart and new spirit (v. 19a, b, d). Consequently, the exiles' response in the parallel pieces B and B' is two-dimensional: external, by removing all signs

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12 Finally, one can argue that the four members of v. 19 form the chiasm of abb'a'. The parallelism of the extreme terms a and a' – noted above – raises no doubts. The relationship between b (the gift of the new spirit) and b' (removing of the stone heart) can be discussed. Assuming the parallelism between them (a consequence of the abb'a' type chiasm), the 'new spirit' remains in relation to the 'heart of stone', which metaphorically records a heart devoid of רוּחַ – vitality, energy, strength, will, and constancy, which are metaphorically rendered by the term רוּחַ. Unlike the parallel prophecy of Ezek 36:26–27a, the gift of the 'new spirit' in chapter 11 would not be associated with the spirit of Yahweh, but would be related to the 'new heart', bringing new vitality into it.

of idolatrous worship from the land of Israel (v. 18b–c), and internal, by observing the laws (v. 20). The execution of the law is manifested by specific actions, but these depend on the obedience of the heart to God's laws.

At the same time, what the exiles do with regard to the land (B) is correlated with what God does with regard to the inner self (A'). In both cases, the same verb סור is used (vv. 18b, 19c): the mere removal of idolatrous installations from the land of Israel by the exiles is insufficient if God does not 'remove' the heart of stone out of them first (v. 19c).

Outside the parallel arrangement of the oracle, there remains the last single segment piece, which is the covenant formula (v. 20d–e). The essence of the covenant is the formula of mutuality between Yahweh and his people. The formula affirms the need for God and the exiles to cooperate in the process of renewing the covenant, which in fact concludes the entire oracle and not just the segment that precedes it (that fulfilment of the covenant depends only on the people keeping God's law).

2.2. Rhetorical Analysis of Ezek 36:24–28

In chapter 36, a parallel text to the new covenant prophecy in chapter 11 is the part 36:24–28. It consists of five pieces: v. 24, v. 25, vv. 26–27a, v. 27b–c, and v. 28. Their delimitation is based on the repetition of synonymous terms and is characteristic for the unit's semantic field, which is marked graphically in the translation of the analysed fragment given below.

24 And I will *TAKE*	you	from the NATIONS,	
and I will *GATHER*	you	from all LANDS,	
and *BRING*	you	into your SOIL.	
25 And I will sprinkle	you	with **clean**	water,
and you will be **clean**	from all	your impurities,	
and from all	your idols	I will **cleanse**	you.
26 And I will **give**	you	a heart	a new one
and a SPIRIT	a new one	I will **give**	within you,
and I will remove	the heart	of stone	from your flesh,
and I will **give**	you	a heart	of flesh.
27 And my SPIRIT	I will **give**	within you,	
and I will DO	that	in my statutes	you will <u>walk</u>,
and my laws	you will <u>keep</u>	and DO them.	
28 And you shell *DWELL*	in the LAND,		
which	I gave	*to your fathers*,	
and you shall be	for me	the people,	
and I	shall be	for you	*God*.

The first piece (v. 24) consists of three parallel members in which there are verbs from the semantic field of translocation (בוא, קבץ, לקח) in combination with the same direct object אֶתְכֶם ('you') and with the indirect object indicating the direction of translocation (אַדְמַתְכֶם, הָאֲרָצוֹת, הַגּוֹיִם). The coherence of the second piece is determined by the repetition of terms built on the root טהר in three consecutive members (the verb 'to cleanse' in v. 25b, c; the adjective 'clean' in v. 25a). In the third piece (vv. 26–27a) there is a parallelism between the members using the verb נתן ('to give') and terms לֵב ('heart') and רוּחַ ('spirit'). The unity of this piece is strengthened by the presence of the noun לֵב in the central member. The position of the extreme term in the fourth piece (v. 27b–c) is occupied by the verb עשׂה ('to do'). The coherence of this piece is also provided by the parallelism between the synonymous expressions 'to walk in my statutes' and 'to keep my laws'. The delimitation of the fifth piece (v. 28) is a consequence of delimitations of the previous units. It consists of two segments in which the terms determining Israel's identity as a covenant people appear: 'fathers' as ancestors of Israel, and 'God' as partner in the covenant.

The five pieces of the analysed oracle form a concentric structure, which can be schematically rendered as follows:

A Exodus and return to the land of Israel	24
B Cleansing Israel of uncleanness	25
C Gift of new heart and new spirit	26–27a
B' Israel's ability to obey the laws	27b–c
A' Dwelling in the land of the covenant people	28

In the light of the above, the external transformation that will come about through the gift of new heart and new spirit announced in the central piece C is the foundation of the new covenant. The outermost pieces A and A' remove the external cause of desecration of Yahweh's name – Yahweh's people in exile. Exodus (A) alone is not enough; they need to 'dwell' in the land promised to the fathers (A'). The new exodus is not just a change in Israel's dwelling place; it needs the very fabric of Israel to be transformed from within. Pieces B and B' frame this transformation in juridical terms: God will cleanse Israel of its impurities (B) and will then enable it to keep the statutes (B'), which also include Israel's previously violated worship laws. This obedience will result from the new inner disposition of the house of Israel (C). The very centre of piece C, and thus the centre of the analysed oracle, announces the 'removing of heart of stone' (v. 26c.). It will be replaced by the 'heart of flesh', which symbolises Israel's new rational, volitional, and emotional centre. It needs the 'new spirit', the spirit of Yahweh himself that will guarantee the constant and faithful

relationship of the restored Israel with Yahweh in his covenant. The gift of a new heart and new spirit is the essence of the new covenant.

2.3. The Changing Rhetoric of the New Covenant

Comparing the two oracles, 11:17–20 and 36:24–28, one notices a similarity between them, although their rhetorical dynamics are different.

First, oracles have a different rhetorical structure: unit 11:17–20 is built on a parallel structure, while unit 36:24–28 presents a concentric structure. Thus, the promise of inner transformation of the people occupies a central place in the oracle in chapter 36 (vv. 26–27a), while in the prophecy in chapter 11 (v. 19) it is only one of God's initiatives.

In literary terms, the Masoretic text 36:24–28 is coherent, its rhetoric composition is more elaborate than that in the text 11:17–20. It is enough to compare concentric structure of the central piece in 36:26–27a with the parallel structure of the analogous announcement in 11:19. That structure is distorted by the lack of direct parallel to the gift of 'new spirit' in 11:19b. In addition, this gift in 11:19b is addressed to the exiles in the 2nd person plural, while the gift of new heart in 11:19a, c–d is addressed to the exiles in the 3rd person plural.

Secondly, the new covenant in 11:17–20 is announced as the result of cooperation between God and the exiles: the initiative comes from God but people need to respond to it appropriately. In contrast, the promise of the covenant in 36:24–28 is the result of God's action entirely. In 11:18, it is the exiles who 'go' to the land of Israel (בָאוּ), while in 36:24, it is God who will 'bring' them to the land (הֲבֵאתִי). In 11:18, the exiles cleanse the land of idolatrous worship, but in 36:25, it is the exiles themselves who are cleansed by God of their impurities. In 11:20, now restored Israel is able to keep the laws, however in 36:27b, an additional divine act is needed ('and I will do that') so the people would act upon the laws.

Thirdly, the interaction between God and the exiles in oracle 11:17–20 presupposes a conditional nature of the covenant. The realisation of its purpose, expressed in the formula of the covenant, requires a proper response on the part of the people to the gift of the new exodus and the gift of regeneration of the heart and spirit. The covenant foretold in 36:24–28 is one-sided: the initiative comes from God, as does the fulfilment of its individual elements. Even if the last act of the covenant, which is to dwell in the land, has the exiles as its subject, it is also emphasised that this is only possible because of Yahweh, who 'gave this land to their fathers' (36:28b).

Furthermore, the inner transformation of Israel that Yahweh will accomplish in the new covenant is much deeper and more radical in 36:24–28 than in 11:17–20. First, it assumes the cleansing of those returning from exile of all their impurities and all their idols. It is not the uncleanness of the land that is an obstacle, needed to be removed from the covenant way, as in 11:18, but the uncleanness of the people. In both oracles, the gift of a new heart is announced, which, despite its different specifications ('one heart' in 11:19a; 'new heart' in 36:26a) involves a kind of transplanting of a 'heart of stone' with a 'heart of flesh'. Behind this metaphor lies the ability of the people to open themselves to a relationship with

Yahweh, above all in terms of obedience to his word, as can be inferred from the following motive of observing the laws. However, the gift of the 'new spirit' is only specified in the second oracle, in which Yahweh identifies it with 'his spirit' (36:27a). In this way, the ambivalence of this gift, which in the first oracle could only refer to the regeneration of the human spirit, is no longer there, whereas the new covenant requires an entirely new spirit, the spirit of Yahweh, which will give the restored Israel a new perseverance and constancy in the covenant relationship.

Finally, the oracles differ as to the role of land in Yahweh's covenant with Israel. In the oracle of chapter 36, the land is shown as constituting the covenant that Yahweh made with the patriarchs (36:28b). The covenant renewal is therefore a result of God's faithfulness to this original gift. In the oracle of chapter 11, the gift of land is made to the exiles (11:17c), without mentioning the origin of the gift. In the rhetorical structure of this oracle, the land appears only in the context of a new exodus (11:17c), while in the second, the land of Israel occupies a strategic position as an extreme term. Thus, the land is not only associated with the exodus (36:24c) but is the foundation of a new covenant that will be finally fulfilled by 'dwelling in the land given to the fathers' (36:28b).

3. The New Covenant in the Book of Ezekiel: From Rhetoric to Theology

Rhetorical analysis of Ezekiel's prophecies of the new covenant in 11:14–21 and 36:16–38 confirms similarities between the two, especially in the context of the promise of Israel's inner renewal in 11:17–20 and 36:24–28. At the same time, the comparative analysis of the rhetorical structure of the two prophecies makes it possible to grasp their different rhetorical dynamics which indicate certain changes in the understanding of this covenant.

Proponents of the diachronic approach see these differences result from the work of different editors creating these oracles. When narrowing the scope only to the announcement of Israel's inner transformation, some scholars believe that verses 11:19–20 were taken from 36:26–27,[13] or at least that the promise of 'giving a new spirit into you' in 11:19a comes from 36:26a.[14] At the same time, some commentators consider the oracle 36:22–38 to be a kind of anthology or compendium of prophetic teachings of Ezekiel.[15] In their view, this

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[13]   Walther Eichrodt (*Ezekiel. A Commentary*, 5 ed. [OTL; London: Westminster John Knox 1996] 111) speaks of a 'careless and simplified repetition of 36:26f'. See also: Graffy, *A Prophet Confronts His People*, 48–49; S. Ohnesorge, *Jahwe gestaltet sein Volk neu. Zur Sicht der Zukunft Israels nach Ez 11,14–21; 20:1–44; 36:16–38; 37:1–14.15–28* (FB 64; Würzburg: Echter 1991) 147–148.

[14]   Cf. D. Baltzer, "Literarkritische und literarhistorische Anmerkungen zur Heilsprophetie im Ezekiel-Buch," *Ezekiel and His Book. Textual and Literary Criticism and Their Interrelation* (ed. J. Lust) (BETL 74; Leuven: Peeters 1986) 169; K.-F. Pohlmann, *Der Prophet Hesekiel/Ezechiel. Kapitel 1–19* (ATD 22.1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1996) 168.

[15]   Cf. D.I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel. Chapters 25–48* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1998) 337; T. Renz, *The Rhetorical Function of the Book of Ezekiel* (VTSup 76; Leiden: Brill 1999) 110.

is true especially when the renewal of Israel is announced in 36:26–27a, which would be taken from 11:19(–20).[16] Others say it refers to Ezek 18:31 and 37:14 and Jer 31:31–34.[17] With such differing opinions, resolving the question of dependence of the analysed oracles on one another using diachronic tools remains hypothetical.

Hebrew rhetoric, although it proposes a synchronic reading of biblical texts, allows us to see how the promises of the new covenant in the Book of Ezekiel are related to one another. One criterion used in textual criticism is the principle of 'lectio difficilior praestat facili', according to which a more difficult variant of a text is probably the original one unless it makes no sense. If we apply this principle to a rhetorical analysis of two texts concerning the same subject, similar in form and content, then it can be assumed that the announcement of the new covenant in Ezek 11:14–21 is prior to that in 36:16–38. One only needs to compare the rhetorical figure of speech concerning the promise of Israel's inner renewal to see that the concentric structure in 36:24–28 is a more thoughtful and rhetorically orderly composition than the parallel structure of the oracle 11:17–20. This is not an isolated case in the Book of Ezekiel, where it is possible to infer from the figure of speech that two similar texts are dependent on each other. This is the case, for example, with the vision of Yahweh's glory in 1:4–28 and 10:1–17: the second one refers to the first, proposing a more coherent and harmonious picture of Yahweh's glory.[18]

Then, how can we explain the occurrence of 'twin' prophecies in the Book of Ezekiel, the second of which appears later in the book and is rhetorically more elaborate? Daniel I. Block, who proposes a synchronic reading of the Book of Ezekiel, sees this phenomenon, after Michael Fishbane,[19] as a kind of inner-biblical exegesis, which he refers to as resumptive exposition.

> The present canonical book displays a remarkable tendency to reuse in later contexts motifs that had been introduced in early chapters. [...] A variation of the pattern involves the early brief introduction of a theme, which is then dropped immediately, without further development, and often without full integration into the context.[20]

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16   Cf. Pohlmann, *Der Prophet Hesekiel/Ezechiel. Kapitel 1–19*, 488–489; A. Klein, *Schriftauslegung im Ezechielbuch. Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Ezek 34–39* (BZAW 391; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2008) 96; J.M. Abrego, *Ezequiel* (Comentarios a la Nueva Biblia de Jerusalén 21; Henao: Desclée De Brouwer 2011) 200.

17   Cf. L.C. Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48* (WBC 29; Dallas, TX: Word Books 1990) 177–178; F. Markter, *Transformationen. Zur Anthropologie des Propheten Ezechiel unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Motivs Herz* (FB 127; Würzburg: Echter 2013) 508; W.A. Tooman, "Covenant and Presence in the Composition and Theology of Ezekiel," *Divine Presence and Absence in Exilic and Post-Exilic Judaism. Studies of the Sofja Kovalevskaja Research Group on Early Jewish Monotheism* (eds. N. MacDonald – I.J. Hulster) (FAT 2.61; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2013) II, 176–177.

18   Cf. W. Pikor, "Retoryka Chwały Jahwe w Ez 10," *Więcej szczęścia jest w dawaniu aniżeli w braniu. Księga pamiątkowa dla Księdza Profesora Waldemara Chrostowskiego w 60. rocznicę urodzin* (ed. B. Strzałkowska) (Warszawa: Vocatio 2011) III, 1206–1210.

19   M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon 1985) 10–12.

20   D.I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel. Chapters 1–24* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1997) 24.

Such a case, according to Block, is the promise of the new covenant in 11:17–20, which is later developed in 36:16–38. The only question is to what extent this phenomenon is the result of the deliberate action of the book's editor. Block does not rule out the possibility that it was Ezekiel himself who edited his oracles, which he integrated into a complete and rhetorically coherent collection by frequently inserting cross-references.[21]

However, an attempt to explain the interdependence between the promises of the new covenant in the Book of Ezekiel through resumptive exposition requires some correction. Rhetorical analysis has shown that, despite the similarities between 11:17–20 and 36:24–28, they do not provide identical promises of the new covenant. The dynamics of the covenant renewal are different, especially when one considers the implicit action of Israel: while in 11:17–20 there is a kind of interaction between God and the exiles who respond with certain actions to God's initiative, in 36:24–28 the renewal depends entirely upon God. These differences become unambiguous when one looks at the entire oracles, of which both texts are an integral part. The prophecies 11:14–21 and 36:16–38 have (1) different addressees (the first prophesy is addressed only to the exiles of 597 BCE seen entirely as the house of Israel, while the second one actually refers to all the exiles from Israel); (2) different motivation for the covenant renewal on God's part (in the first one it is about the situation of the exiles in the land of exile discredited by the inhabitants of Jerusalem, in the second it is about the situation of God, whose holy name was profaned in the eyes of foreign nations by the Israelites being exiled); (3) different understanding of the covenant renewal (the first prophecy is about the inner restoration of Israel bringing about the renewal of the covenant relationship with Yahweh, while the second prophesy also assumes the renewal of the land of Israel). Therefore, it is difficult to say that the relationship between these prophecies is reduced to the category of resumptive exposition, since both prophecies contain a different covenant promise addressed to different subjects. Considering the changing literary context of the oracle, with a different historical context in the background, one could rather speak of a rereading of the new covenant prophecy, which is adapted to the new situation of exile. Such a solution, however, does not fully respect the covenant rhetoric in the Book of Ezekiel.

Firstly, in addition to the two oracles examined, the Book of Ezekiel contains other prophecies of the Covenant renewal: 16:59–63, 34:25–30 and 37:26–28. Secondly, although the gift of a 'new heart' and 'new spirit' plays a key role in the covenant renewal, the covenant in the Book of Ezekiel is not exactly termed as new. Instead, other terms for the renewed covenant appear: 'everlasting covenant' (16:60; 37:26) and 'covenant of peace' (34:25; 37:26). Thirdly, the 'everlasting covenant', which will be the renewal of Yahweh's covenant with Jerusalem, is equated in 37:26 to the 'covenant of peace'. However, if we examine the prophecy of the everlasting covenant of 16:59–63 with the later prophecies of the covenant of peace, it is difficult to identify any common elements other than just the comparison of the two covenant names in 37:26.

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21   D.I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel. Chapters 1–24*, 25.

Moreover, respecting the rhetorical structure of the Book of Ezekiel, the last of the covenants foretold in the book will be the covenant of peace (37:26). It is characterised by three elements: removing of wild animals, restoring of soil fertility, and deliverance from enemies.[22] The source of peace thus heralded will be the dwelling of Yahweh himself in the renewed land (cf. מִשְׁכָּנִי in 37:27), whose permanent and definitive presence among his people will be the source, essence, and guarantee of the eternal covenant of peace.

Considering these various covenant promises in the Book of Ezekiel, the thesis of resumptive exposition regarding the prophecies of the new covenant in 11:14–21 and 36:18–38 needs to be adjusted. The differences between oracles do not necessarily result from the work of editors but may come from Ezekiel himself, who repeatedly foretold the renewal of the covenant during his prophetic activity. There are many cross-references between these prophecies but each offers a different view of the new covenant. Steven S. Tuell, in his analysis of prophecies of Ezekiel concerning the king of Tyre, refers to the Book of Ezekiel as a work in progress: it collects the prophet's various sayings on the same subject (in this case, Tyre) that were edited after his death.[23] A rhetorical analysis of Ezekiel's prophecies about the restoration of the covenant does not allow us to draw conclusions about redactional criticism, but it allows us to conclude that these oracles subscribe to the work in progress logic. From a rhetorical (and narrative) point of view, it is possible to demonstrate elements of continuity between the two, but the comparing and contrasting them in one book is a testimony to Ezekiel's (and later editors' prophecies) seeking an understanding of what Yahweh's covenant with Israel was. As a result, instead of a single covenant theology, we have different statements about the covenant, which allow us to talk about multiple covenant theologies in the Book of Ezekiel.

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22 Cf. an analysis of the covenant of peace in W. Pikor, "Dynamika «przymierza pokoju» w Księdze Ezechiela," *VV* 30 (2016) 68–73.

23 Cf. S.S. Tuell, "The Book of Ezekiel as a Work in Progress. Indications from the Lament over the King of Tyre (28.11–19)," *Ezekiel. Current Debates and Future Directions* (eds. W.A. Tooman – P. Barter) (FAT 112; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2017) 67.

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Zacchaeus' Encounter with Jesus (Luke 19:1–10): An Embodiment of the Paschal Mystery

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Abstract: Scholars have overlooked the significance of Zacchaeus' movements in Luke 19:1–10. They are generally understood as a means of circumventing the crowd, a demonstration of his eagerness, an expression of his desire to see Jesus from a safe distance, or as a humorous scene. However, the captivating details of his ascent and descent from the tree call for a more satisfying explanation. The characterisation of the rich toll collector carries pejorative overtones but afterwards he is counted among the lost who are saved. This transformation occurs through his participation in Jesus' paschal mystery as represented by his climbing and coming down the tree.

Keywords: Zacchaeus, ἀναβαίνω, καταβαίνω, Sycamore Tree, Paschal Mystery, Chariton

Zacchaeus' encounter with Jesus (19:1–10)[1] has attracted a lot of attention in commentaries and scholarly literature. This passage focuses on Zacchaeus, who, seeking to see Jesus, runs ahead and climbs a sycamore tree (19:3–4), and then hastily comes down when Jesus commands him to do so (19:5–6). His conspicuous actions, especially the ascent and descent of the tree, are motivated indirectly (19:3) and directly (19:5) by Jesus. The fact that the initiative comes from Jesus is confirmed when he says that 'the Son of Man has come to seek and to save the lost' (19:10). Few authors have commented on these Jesus-inspired actions, emphasising instead a later section of the passage (19:7–10), in part because the mere presence of the crowd which hides Jesus from view (19:3) is as nothing compared to the formidable grumbling hostility of everyone present (19:7). However, Jesus has invited himself (19:5) and come to the home of Zacchaeus (19:6), which not only fulfils but also exceeds the latter's desire to see Jesus and results in his transformation (19:8). This resolution results in the grumbling of all present (19:7) and is later commented on by Jesus (19:9–10). The conspicuous actions instigated by Jesus deserve close examination, especially given Zacchaeus' transformation which is strongly emphasised in the passage.

A recent article explored how Levi embodies the paschal mystery through his actions in response to Jesus' call (5:27–29).[2] Scholars often note multiple connections between

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1   Only chapter and verse numbers are indicated for references to Luke's Gospel.
2   L. Macnamara, "Levi's Call: An Embodiment of the Paschal Mystery," *Bib* 104/1 (2023) 78–92.

the Levi and Zacchaeus episodes: both feature named toll collectors (5:27; 19:2), both respond to Jesus (5:28; 19:5–6a) and provide him with hospitality (5:29; 19:6b), which elicits grumbling (5:30; 19:7) followed by Jesus stating the purpose of his mission (5:32; 19:10). Links are also highlighted between the raising of the paralytic (5:17–26) and the Zacchaeus episode: the vertical movements to overcome the obstacle of the crowd involving the roof (5:18–19) and tree (19:3–6), the objection to Jesus' response (5:21; 19:7), and the Son of Man speaking of the forgiveness of sins (5:22–24) and of saving the lost (19:10).[3]

Zacchaeus' movements are most often understood as a means of circumventing the crowd, but also as a demonstration of his eagerness,[4] a desire to see Jesus from a safe distance,[5] or, according to most recent interpretations, as a humorous/undignified scene.[6] Some scholars have postulated that Luke is drawing from the account of Abraham's hospitality in Genesis 18:1–16,[7] but this only applies to the running ahead, the haste, and the tree, not the vertical movements.[8] Others have viewed the hospitality of Rahab to the two spies in Joshua 2 as forming the background to the text, but it does not account for the movements either.[9] Here, a literary theological interpretation is adopted based on the linguistic cues provided by Luke in the text. The full import of Zacchaeus' actions which result in Jesus and His salvation coming to Zacchaeus' house have been overlooked. Through the vertical movements, he, in a similar manner to Levi, embodies the death and resurrection, which again, like in the Levi episode, is followed by a post-resurrection meal where salvation and new life for the lost are celebrated.

1. Zacchaeus – A Complex Character

Readers' attention, summoned from the outset in the command ἰδού, is sustained through the elaborate introduction of Zacchaeus (19:2). A double formula indicates the name (ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι and καλούμενος) and two further attributes are each introduced by an emphatic καὶ αὐτός. Readers are to take note of this character, his profession, and his status. The name is

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3   R.C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts. A Literary Interpretation*. I. *The Gospel of Luke* (Philadelphia, PA: Eerdmans 1986) 104–105, 112–113.

4   Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity*, 122; J.B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Fortress 1997) 669.

5   M. Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium* (HNT 5; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2008) 612.

6   A.-J. Levine – B. Witherington III, *The Gospel of Luke* (NCBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2018) 511; A.R. Solevåg, "Zacchaeus in the Gospel of Luke: Comic Figure, Sinner, and Included 'Other'," *Journal of Literary & Cultural Disability Studies* 14/2 (2020) 234.

7   A.C. Mitchell, "Zacchaeus Revisited: Luke 19:8 as a Defense," *Bib* 71/2 (1990) 168–172; A.E. Arterbury, "Zacchaeus: 'A Son of Abraham'?," *Biblical Interpretation in Early Christian Gospels*. III. *The Gospel of Luke* (ed. T. Hatina) (LNTS 376; London – New York: Clark 2010) 18–31.

8   A. Landi, *Luca. Introduzione e commento* (Commentarii biblici; Brescia: Queriniana 2024) 559.

9   J. Drury, *Tradition and Design in Luke's Gospel* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd 1976) 72–74; Mitchell, "Zacchaeus," 164–165. Drury's position has been strongly challenged. See J. O'Hanlon, "The Story of Zacchaeus and the Lukan Ethic," *JSNT* 12/4 (1981) 6–9.

Jewish (2 Macc 10:19) and is the equivalent of the Hebrew name Zakkai (Ezra 2:9; Neh 7:14; cf. Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai), a name which means 'pure' or 'innocent'. The root זָכָה is often used in parallelism to צַדִּיק (Psa 51:6; Job 15:14; 25:4).[10] The name suggests an impeccable character, righteousness, and purity. This contrasts with the profession (chief toll collector) and (in Luke's perspective) with the status (wealthy), a contrast emphasised by the double καὶ αὐτός.[11]

1.1. A Chief Toll Collector – ἀρχιτελώνης

Despite deploying the only occurrence of ἀρχιτελώνης in the extant Greek literature up to the time of Luke, the Gospel mentions many toll collectors.[12] They first occur among those who seek baptism from John and whom he castigates as a brood of vipers (3:7, 12). They and the soldiers are the only two named groups mentioned among the crowds who question John as to what they should do (3:12, 14). His response suggests that they are guilty of fraud and extortion (συκοφαντεῖν [3:14]). The Pharisee's self-assessment in the parable: 'God, I thank you that I am not like other people: thieves (ἅρπαγες), rogues (ἄδικοι), adulterers, or even like this toll collector' (18:11) points to the extreme iniquity of toll collectors, a point of view shared widely in antiquity. Zacchaeus seems to exemplify this negative portrayal, when he later promises to reimburse anyone whom he may have defrauded (19:8). Furthermore, his profession situates him within the oppressive imperial taxation regime of a foreign occupier and likely provokes the opprobrium of his fellow Jews.

The universality of this pejorative view of toll collectors has been challenged recently by El Mansy, who, while acknowledging the broadly negative profile of toll collectors in the ancient literature, edicts, inscriptions and papyri, notes that the sources contain some positive depictions of individual toll collectors.[13] Drawing principally from the Nemesios archive at Philadelphia (Egypt 30–60 C.E.) she argues that toll collectors were often well integrated into their communities and frequently had business dealings with those they were expected to exact tolls from. While many practiced extortion, others were advocates for the local population.[14]

The Lukan portrayal is also not uniform. Toll collectors seek out John to be baptised (3:7, 12; 7:29) and seek Jesus (15:1–2) as Zacchaeus does (19:3–4). Although viewed as sinners by many characters (Pharisees and Scribes [5:30], Pharisees [15:2], the wider public [7:34], the toll collector of the parable [18:13]), the narrator tends to distinguish toll collectors from sinners (5:29; 15:1). This trend is followed in the Zacchaeus episode, where the crowd identifies Zacchaeus as a sinner (19:7), while the narrator simply states that

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10 J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke* (AB 28; Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1981) 1223.

11 Some Old Testament passages promise wealth as a reward for wisdom and observance of the law (e.g. Prov 8:18) or simply as a gift of God (Prov 10:22).

12 Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke*, 1223.

13 A. El Mansy, *Τελῶναι im Neuen Testament. Zwischen sozialer Realität und literarischem Stereotyp* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2024) 350–351.

14 A. El Mansy, "Levi, Zachäus & Co: Der τελώνης als Stereotyp," *EvTh* 84/2 (2024) 85–94, esp. 90–92.

he is a rich toll collector (19:2). Prior to Zacchaeus, readers encounter the toll collector in the parable (18:9–14) where he goes down to his home justified (18:14). This might be viewed as an anticipation of the outcome for Zacchaeus to whose home salvation also comes (19:9). While readers are likely to have a negative perception of toll collectors, Luke encourages a reconsideration of that image, viewing them as being open to salvation and often becoming recipients of it (3:12; 5:27–32; 7:29; 15:1; 18:10–14). Zacchaeus however is a chief toll collector.[15] The risks associated with his profession are therefore magnified.[16]

1.2. Rich – πλούσιος

The initial introduction of Zacchaeus concludes with the observation that he is rich. The order of the information regarding Zacchaeus, that he is a toll collector and then that he is rich, both emphasises his wealth and suggests that it is a result of his professional activity. The income of toll collectors derives from the surplus charges on tolls which are levied on the people, many of whom live at subsistence level. Toll collectors are generally known to be rapacious and greedy. Zacchaeus' wealth provides an objective indictment. His greater wealth as a chief toll collector would evoke stronger opprobrium from the general population and from the established elite who would view him as a *parvenu* since his wealth was acquired rather than inherited.

Wealth and possessions have strongly negative associations for Luke. God favours the poor rather than the wealthy (1:53; 4:18; 6:20, 24–25; 7:22; 16:22) and Jesus' disciples are to be generous to the poor and needy (6:30; 12:33; Acts 4:32–35; 6:1–6) and to be wary of possessions (12:15), since excessive attachment to wealth can prove fatal (parables of the rich farmer [12:16–21] and of the rich man and Lazarus [16:19–31]; account of Ananias and Sapphira [Acts 5:1–11]). A choice must be made between serving God or wealth (16:13). Shortly before the account of Zacchaeus, the potential dangers of wealth are strongly emphasised: a rich ruler's great wealth results in great sadness as Jesus commands him to sell all his possessions, distribute them to the poor and then follow him (18:18–23). Jesus, observing him, teaches that entry into the kingdom of God is very difficult for the wealthy (18:24–25). There is no record of the rich ruler's response, which is somewhat ominous.[17] Zacchaeus, who is both a ruler (chief toll collector) and a rich man, resembles all too closely the sad ruler. These expectations recently emphasised by Luke are overturned when Zacchaeus proves to be a model of generosity (19:8). His transformation requires an explanation.

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15   The chief toll collector would have opportunities (legal or otherwise) for a good income from the toll station at Jericho at the border of Judea and Perea. See C. Riedo-Emmenegger, *Prophetisch-messianische Provokateure der Pax-Romana. Jesus von Nazaret und andere Störenfriede im Konflikt mit dem Römischen Reich* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2005) 137.

16   For a fuller discussion of Luke's portrayal of toll collectors and the inherent dangers of the profession, see Macnamara, "Levi's Call," 79–81.

17   T.M. Troftgruben notes that while Matthew and Mark report the rich man's departure, Luke reports only that he is sad. The lack of closure leaves the possibility of a response open. See "Unanswered Invitations to the Way of Jesus: Open-Ended Stories in Luke's Travel Narrative (Luke 9:51–19:44)," *CurTM* 51/4 (2024) 12.

1.3.   Zacchaeus Seeks to See Jesus

Readers are given insight into Zacchaeus' inner thoughts as it is twice reported that he wishes to see Jesus (19:3–4), presumably because he has heard reports about Jesus (4:14, 37) and more specifically that he is passing through Jericho (19:1). The first mention indicated by the conative imperfect ἐζήτει (19:3) implies that his attempts to see Jesus are repeatedly frustrated. It is striking that an official with authority to levy tolls is powerless to circumvent the crowd. He runs ahead and climbs a tree so that he might see Jesus as he passes by on the road. Zacchaeus might stand on the road which Jesus is about to take and meet him in person. Given his official position, it is unlikely that the crowd would push him aside. Instead, Zacchaeus chooses a good vantage point which is hidden from view, so that while he can see everything, no one can see him. This is an unusual way of encountering Jesus in the Gospel.

Characters encounter Jesus in a variety of ways. Jesus comes and heals (the man with unclean spirit [4:33–37]; leper [5:12–15]; man with withered hand [6:6–11]; son of widow of Nain [7:11–15]; crippled woman [13:10–17]; man with dropsy [14:1–6] etc.) or recruits disciples (Simon Peter, sons of Zebedee [5:1–11]; Levi [5:27–28]; the twelve [6:13–16]). More often crowds come to Jesus (4:42; 5:1; 6:17; 9:11, 37; 11:14, 27, 29; 12:1 etc.). Some of those who come ask Jesus to heal their loved ones (Simon's mother-in-law [4:38–39]; Jairus' daughter [8:40–42, 49–56]; father's possessed son [9:38–43]; etc.) or bring loved ones to Jesus (those ill at Capernaum [4:42]; paralytic [5:17–26]; etc.), or request Jesus' assistance via intermediaries (Centurion [7:2–10]). Some come to seek healing for themselves (the sinful woman [7:36–50]; the haemorrhagic woman [8:42b–48]; the ten lepers [17:12–19]; the blind man [18:35–43]) and their faith is commended, but others seek Jesus out and the encounter fails to bring about their transformation (Herod [9:7–9; 13:31; 23:7–12]; those unable to assume the role of disciple [9:57–62]; the rich ruler [18:18–25]).

Zacchaeus seeks to see Jesus for himself, but unlike others who engage him directly, he seeks to see him from afar and remain hidden from view. At this point, he may be simply curious about Jesus in a manner initially very much resembling Herod (9:7; 19:3). He shares the clandestine approach of the haemorrhagic woman who touches Jesus from behind under the cover of the crowd to obtain her healing (8:44), but he maintains a safe distance. Unlike the chasm that separates the rich man from Abraham and Lazarus (16:26), the gulf between Zacchaeus and Jesus is somehow to be bridged.

1.4.   Small in Stature – τῇ ἡλικίᾳ μικρὸς

Zacchaeus is unable to see Jesus ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου (19:3). The preposition may be accompanied by a partitive genitive, i.e. 'from the crowd' or may indicate causality, 'because of the crowd'.[18] A more precise reason for his inability to see is τῇ ἡλικίᾳ μικρὸς which can be translated as either being 'small in stature' (short) or 'small in years' (young). The fact that he faces a physical obstruction from the crowd and chooses to circumvent it by climbing the tree

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18   BDF §164.1c; §210.

suggest that he may be of small stature. Although early interpreters such as Theodore of Mopsuestia and Ephrem the Syrian view Jesus as being short,[19] commentators traditionally understand the short stature here to refer to Zacchaeus (19:3). However, it has recently been persuasively argued that the referent is ambiguous and that it is possible to understand the phrase as referring to Jesus.[20] This remains unlikely, given that no physical descriptors for Jesus are provided in the Gospel.

In antiquity, personal physical characteristics were believed to reflect personality and moral quality. These associations were studied within the framework of a science known as physiognomy. Parsons explored the associations with short stature in ancient literature, namely smallness in spirit, understood as low self-expectation and greediness, and provided some examples from ancient literature, where it is often employed as part of a rhetoric of ridicule.[21] This interpretation has been challenged, as it was noted that the physiognomy manuals are not consistent in their interpretation of the significance of short stature and that the selective negative portrayal serves Parsons' purpose to showcase Zacchaeus' later transformation.[22] However, as evidenced by the examples from ancient literature, readers might well draw negative associations from the short stature reference, especially given the earlier characterisation of Zacchaeus as a rich chief toll collector. The ambiguity in the manuals regarding the significance of short stature leaves open the assessment of the true character of Zacchaeus.

Although this has been rarely noticed, in the context of Luke, short stature is portrayed positively. Those of short stature are not to be concerned about their size for they cannot add one cubit to their height (ἡλικία [12:25]). The greatest is the least (μικρότερος [9:48]), children are welcomed by Jesus, and it is as children that his hearers will enter the kingdom (18:15–17).[23] Green understands the term both as referring to Zacchaeus' youthfulness and as reflective of his compromised status as a despised toll collector so that the crowd does not grant him access.[24] This speculation falters since Zacchaeus as a chief toll collector is unlikely to be in the first flush of youth. Furthermore, as he has authority to levy tolls, he can enforce public respect of his person.

Despite the ambiguity as to who is short, not being sufficiently tall renders it impossible for Zacchaeus to see Jesus over the crowd. Now, he must take special measures to get sight of Jesus. While the short stature and the resourcefulness to overcome the limitation emphasise Zacchaeus' persistence in seeking to see Jesus (cf. 18:1–8), the tree and the unusual movements call for a further explanation.

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19   J.R. Harris, "On the Stature of Our Lord," *BJRL* 10/1 (1926) 114–120.

20   I.T. Soon, "The Little Messiah: Jesus as τῇ ἡλικίᾳ μικρός in Luke 19:3," *JBL* 142/1 (2023) 151–170.

21   M. Parsons, "'Short in Stature': Luke's Physical Description of Zacchaeus," *NTS* 47/1 (2001) 50–57.

22   See Aristotle, [*Physiogn.*] 813b; Polemon, *Physiogn.*, Ch.60, B56, 57; Soon, "Little Messiah," 161–165.

23   W.P. Loewe, "Towards an Interpretation of Lk 19:1–10," *CBQ* 36/3 (1974) 325.

24   Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 669–670.

2. The *ficus sycomorus*– συκομορέα – Fig Mulberry Tree

The tree which Zacchaeus climbs is commonly rendered as 'sycamore', a rough transliteration that leads to confusion, for the *ficus sycomorus* is a type of fig tree. Galen suggests that the συκομορέα is so named because its fruit resembles both συκῆ (fig) and μόρον, which designates the berry fruit of many plants.[25] The tree resembles the συκῆ (fig tree) which supplied the fig leaves for Adam and Eve to sew garments to cover their nakedness (Gen 3:7) after they ate the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil (Gen 2:17; 3:1–6). Furthermore, the hiding of Zacchaeus in the tree evokes the hiding of Adam and Eve among the trees of the garden when they hear the sound of the Lord God approaching (Gen 3:8–10). Zacchaeus has characteristics considered suggestive of sin (his profession, wealth, and short stature) and he too decides to hide when he hears that the Lord Jesus is coming along the road and to view him from the leafy fig tree. The aftermath of the fall involves the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the garden that they may not have access to the tree of life (Gen 3:22–24). The allusions to Genesis 3 initially cast a pall over the figure of Zacchaeus.

However, there are several references to fig trees in Luke, with their expected figs symbolising spiritual virtues of good works (6:43–44) and repentance (13:6–9), whereas when the fig tree of the later parable sprouts leaves, eschatological redemption is at hand (21:28–30).[26] The account of the cursed fig tree with no fruit (Matt 21:18–20; Mark 11:12–14, 20–21) is absent from Luke's Gospel. Instead, this tradition is taken up by Luke into a parable of a fig tree which has no fruit for three years in a row but gets a reprieve for another year and so may yet bear fruit (13:6–9). For Luke's readers a fig tree elicits expectations of a positive response to imminent salvation.

For ancient readers fig trees may have other associations. In the *Iliad*, the wild fig tree, although the term used is ἐρινεός, is a lookout point outside the walls of Troy (*Il.* 22.145).[27] Zacchaeus' fig tree also serves as a lookout. Ominously, the tree is mentioned during the final battle between Achilles and Hector, whose fate will shortly be sealed with Zeus' scales (*Il.* 22.208–213). This tree, ἐρινεός, has more positive associations in the *Odyssey*. During a fierce storm from Zeus, Odysseus saves himself from drowning by clinging to the tree trunk.[28] This look-out tree appears at pivotal moments where life is either lost (Hector) or saved (Odysseus).

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25 Galen, *Galeni De alimentorum facultatibus* (ed. G. Helmreich) (CMG 5.4.2; Leipzig: Teubner 1923) 2.35.

26 For a fuller discussion, see J.L. Magness, "Who Cares That it Was a Sycamore? Climbing Trees and Playing on Words in Luke 19.1–10," *Leaven* 5/2 (1997) 6.

27 E.S. Forster, "Trees and Plants in Homer," *ClR* 50/3 (1936) 100.

28 Homer, *Od.* 12.432–436. Interestingly, Odysseus clings to the tree like a bat (12.433). Later, bats are used as a metaphor for the souls of the dead (24.6–10), so Odysseus' life appears also to hang in the balance. See C. Anghelina, "Clinging to the Fig Tree: A Note on Od. 12.432–6," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 158/1 (2015) 12–15. For other possible allusions in Luke-Acts to Homer, see D.R. MacDonald, *The Gospels and Homer. Imitations of Greek Epic in Mark and Luke-Acts* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield 2014).

The later use of συκοφαντέω (defraud [19:8]) is suggestive of a word play with συκομορέα. Such word plays are not infrequent in Greek literature, particularly comedy.[29] The 'defraud' vocabulary frequently occurs with 'righteous' vocabulary as its antonym in the LXX (Lev 19:11–13; Amos 2:6–8; Job 35:7–8; Psa 119:121–122, 134–138; 72:1–4; Prov 14:31–32; 28:1–3, 16; Eccl 5:8).[30] The link between the tree and the action of defrauding evokes one possible interpretation of the chief toll collector, but his name suggests otherwise. Zacchaeus may live up to his name.

There is a hesitancy among the textual witnesses around the spelling of συκομορέα with a significant minority reading συκομωρέα.[31] Ancient translations usually opt for a transliteration, but the Syriac tradition opts for an etymological gloss, namely 'tasteless fig tree'. This implies the omega spelling συκομωρέα with the latter part understood as derived from the adjective μωρός. Although usually it denotes 'foolish', when applied to food it signifies 'dull' or 'tasteless' (cf. cognate verb in 14:34).[32] Cyril of Alexandria develops the foolish etymology in his reading of Luke 19:1–10.[33] The 'foolish' etymology emerges in recent comedic readings of the passage.

There are additional resonances for Luke's readers. Three times the cross of Jesus' crucifixion, in an allusion to Deut 21:23, is referred to as a tree (Acts 5:30; 10:39; 13:29).[34] This association is already popular in the early second century: Barnabas and Polycarp refer to the cross as a tree (*Barn.* 5:13; Phil 8:1); Barnabas views the tree as a type of the cross (*Barn.* 8:1, 5; 12:1, 7) and this is further suggested in the *Letter to Diognetus* when it asks hearers to 'bear the tree [of the λόγος]' (*Diogn.* 12:8) especially given the context of the Passover (*Diogn.* 12:9).[35] The mention of a tree, particularly with someone suspended on the tree, evokes the cross. There are only four characters found on trees in the Gospel: Jesus, the two evildoers, and Zacchaeus. Jesus is crucified (σταυρόω) with one evildoer at either side (23:32–33). Later Luke indicates that the two evildoers (23:39), as also Jesus (Acts 5:30; 10:39), were suspended (κρεμάννυμι). Jesus dies (23:46), as presumably do the two others although this is not narrated. However, the story takes an unexpected turn. Firstly, Jesus promises entry into παράδεισος to one of the evildoers who asked: 'Jesus,

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29   Aristophanes, *Av.* 1699; *Plut.* 935.946–947; *Vespes* 145.

30   Magness, "Who Cares That it Was a Sycamore?," 3.

31   A helpful list is supplied by I.N. Mills, "Zacchaeus and the Unripe Figs: A New Argument for the Original Language of Tatian's Diatessaron," *NTS* 66/2 (2020) 211.

32   The Hebrew noun תָּפֵל can signify tasteless thing (Job 6:6) or folly (Lam 2:14).

33   Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarius in Lucam* (ed. J.P. Migne) (Patrologia Graeca 72; Paris: Imprimerie Catholique 1864) 865.

34   The term ξύλον is also used for trees on which Pharaoh will hang his baker (Gen 40:19), on which Haman is hung (Esther 5:14; 6:4; 7:9–10) and on which Joshua hangs the bodies of the five Canaanite kings (Josh 10:26). Josephus rereads the hangings in Genesis and Esther as crucifixions. Paul (Gal 3:13) and Philo (*De Spec. Leg.* 3.152) show that Luke is not alone in rereading Deut 21:23 as referring to crucifixion. See T.C.G. Thornton, "Trees, Gibbets, and Crosses," *JTS* 23/1 (1972) 130–131.

35   For a fuller discussion of ξύλον as a type of the Cross in the Apostolic period see G.Q. Reijners, *The Terminology of the Holy Cross in Early Christian Literature. As Based upon Old Testament Typology* (GCP 2; Nijmegen: Dekker & Van de Vegt NV 1965).

remember me when you come into your kingdom' (23:42–43). The term παράδεισος is employed thirteen times in the Septuagint to indicate the garden of Eden (Gen 2:8, 9, 10, 15, 16; 3:1, 2, 3, 8 [2], 10, 23, 24). Access to the garden, which had been closed off, is now opened through the events at the cross. This becomes clearer when Jesus rises from the dead, as foretold, on the third day (Luke 24). The accounts in Acts of the death by hanging on the tree incorporate accounts of God's raising of Jesus (5:30; 10:40; 13:30) and his new role as judge and forgiver of sins (5:31; 10:42; 13:38). The image of someone suspended on a tree is strongly associated with death. However, the outcome is now uncertain.[36] While three men die on trees, Jesus rises from the dead and one of the evildoers has life in paradise, with the other confined to a deathly silence.

3. Zacchaeus' Movements

Apart from Rhoda (Acts 12:13–16), Zacchaeus is perhaps the most quickly moving character in Luke-Acts. The first movement occurs on a horizontal axis, namely running ahead along the road, preceding Jesus on his final journey to Jerusalem. The later movements of climbing and coming down the συκομορέα occur on a vertical axis, with the tree functioning as the axis, suggestive of the Cross at the end of Jesus' journey. The movements are inspired by Jesus and accomplished through him.[37] The narrator never reports that Zacchaeus sees Jesus despite his persistent desire to do so (19:3–4). Instead, it is Jesus who looks up at him and, presumably, it is Jesus who initiates contact between them (19:5a). Later, Jesus commands him to come down (19:5b), which Zacchaeus immediately obeys (19:6a). While Jesus is clearly the initiator of the actions, there is no obvious explanation of why Zacchaeus has changed, welcoming Jesus joyfully to his house (19:6b) and providing alms to the poor and ample compensation to anyone he had defrauded (19:8).[38] Yet, the overlooked movements inspired by Jesus may hold the answer to the process of Zacchaeus' transformation.

3.1.   Runs Ahead – προδραμών

Zacchaeus, having failed in his attempts to view Jesus over the crowd, adopts a new strategy and tries to see him by running on ahead. The image of the toll collector with his short legs working wildly falls well short of the Graeco-Roman ideal of masculinity. The perfect male should move slowly with a long stride and thereby demonstrate possession of noble

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36   The three references to the cross as tree in Acts (and Deut 21:23) each use the term ξύλον, which features prominently in Genesis 1–3, especially for the tree of life (Gen 2:9; 3:11, 12, 17, 22, 24) and the tree of knowledge of good and evil (Gen 2:9, 17; 3:3, 6). While the latter tree is associated with death, the former is associated with life. The tree designating Jesus' cross may allude to both trees of the garden, since it is the instrument of Jesus' death but it is also followed by his resurrection.

37   C. Broccardo, "'È andato ad alloggiare da un peccatore' (Luca 19,7). Zaccheo e la prassi problematica di Gesù," *Sul sentiero dei sacramenti. Scritti in onore di E.R. Tura nel suo 70° compleanno* (ed. C. Corsato) (Padova: Messaggero di Sant'Antonio 2007) 165–168.

38   Broccardo, "'È andato ad alloggiare da un peccatore'," 167.

qualities: *fides*, *sinceritas*, *magna efficacia*, *animus elatus et irae absentia*.[39] The rushed walk suggests that such qualities are lacking and entails the risk of association with the demeaning comic figure of the *servus currens* as observed in the figure of Rhoda (Acts 12:12–17).[40] He falls far short of the Aristotelian ideal: καὶ κίνησις δὲ βραδεῖα τοῦ μεγαλοψύχου δοκεῖ εἶναι. The man of great soul moves slowly, has a weighty voice and steady speech, does not hurry (οὐ σπευστικός).[41] The physiognomic associations of his short stature seem to be confirmed by his undignified haste.

However, the running Rhoda is viewed more positively when contrasted with the sluggish response of Peter and the household, and she is seen also as a fulfilment of Acts 2:18.[42] There is a reversal of roles, with the servant proving to be the model disciple.[43] Other characters who run in the Gospel do so in a positive context; the father of the prodigal son runs to welcome his son (15:20) and Peter who, though he disbelieves the testimony of the women, is the only disciple to rush to the tomb (24:9–12). The intensity and eagerness of Zacchaeus' attempts to see Jesus, in response to what he has been told about him, is emphasised by his running, but whether it is incipient belief or curiosity is not yet clear.

The running ahead is complemented by the phrase εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν which is commonly understood as pleonastic. It may hint at Zacchaeus' point of departure, a place where Jesus is but cannot be seen by him, and his destination, where Jesus has yet to come and might be seen by him. The adverbial phrase hints at the distance covered and emphasises the effort the toll collector makes to see Jesus.

There are some movements that can be compared to the episode (18:35–43) immediately preceding the Zacchaeus story in Luke. The blind man draws Jesus' attention by shouting and comes from the roadside to the centre and, after encountering Jesus, follows him. Zacchaeus precedes Jesus and finds a secluded location from which to view him. Nevertheless, both display an eagerness, the first to receive mercy from Jesus, the second at this stage merely to see who Jesus is.

3.2.   He Climbs – ἀνέβη

Zacchaeus climbs the συκομορέα. While the action is unexpected, this is the regular verb for going up in Luke-Acts (roof ([5:19; Acts 10:9]); mountain ([9:28]); upper room

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[39]   Taken from the Physiognomy of Pseudo Aristotle and that of Polemon. See J. Bremner, "Walking, Standing, and Sitting in Ancient Greek Culture," *A Cultural History of Gesture* (eds. J. Bremner – H. Roodenburg) (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1991) 17–20.

[40]   For examples from ancient literature, see J.A. Harrill, "The Dramatic Function of the Running Slave Rhoda (Acts 12.13–16): A Piece of Greco-Roman Comedy," *NTS* 46/1 (2000) 150–157.

[41]   Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 4.3.34. See D.H. Sick, "Zacchaeus as the Rich Host of Classical Satire," *BibInt* 24/2 (2016) 234.

[42]   K. Chambers, "'Knock, Knock—Who's There?' Acts 12.6–17 as a Comedy of Errors," *A Feminist Companion to the Acts of the Apostles* (eds. A.-J. Levine – M. Blinkenstaff) (FCNECW 9; Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press 2006) 92; W.D. Shiell, *Reading Acts. The Lector and the Early Christian Audience* (BIS 70; Leiden: Brill 2004) 180–181.

[43]   P.E. Spencer, "'Mad' Rhoda in Acts 12: 12–17: Disciple Exemplar," *CBQ* 79/2 (2017) 295.

[Acts 1:13]); heaven [Acts 2:34]; boat [Acts 21:6]). When used with respect to Jerusalem and the Temple (2:42; 18:10, 31; 19:28; Acts 3:1; 11:2; 15:2; 21:12, 15; 24:11) the verb either indicates pilgrimage or has a quasi-liturgical overtone.

It is striking that the verb ἀναβαίνω, often used for a journey from Galilee to Jerusalem (Luke 2:42; John 2:13; 5:1; 7:8, 10; 11:55; 12:20; Acts 11:2; 15:2; 18:22; 21:12, 15; 24:11; 25:1), is only employed once thus far to indicate the journey in the travel narrative. (The occurrence of the verb within the parable of the Pharisee and toll collector [18:10] does not reference the journey to Jerusalem.) The single use referring to the journey shortly before the story of Zacchaeus is particularly prominent. Jesus takes his disciples aside and introduces his most explicit teaching about his passion, death, and resurrection with an inclusive first-person plural use of the verb: ἰδοὺ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ιερουσαλήμ (18:31). Up until this point, the journey to Jerusalem has been marked by the verb πορεύομαι especially at the outset of the journey (9:51, 53, 56, 57), but also throughout (10:38; 13:33; 17:11; 19:28, 36 and 13:22 [διαπορεύομαι]). In none of these instances is the first-person plural employed. Through the first-person plural form of the verb ἀναβαίνω, disciples (and readers) are closely associated with this movement. The verb takes on strong paschal allusions with the mention of Jerusalem, the destination of Jesus' final journey, as has been repeatedly recalled through the travel narrative (9:51, 53; 13:22, 33; 17:11; 19:11, 28), and especially because of the most detailed anticipation of Jesus' passion, death, and resurrection within the Gospel (18:31–33) that it introduces. The associations between the tree and the cross are amplified by this verb with such strong and recent paschal allusions in the narrative.

The story of Zacchaeus may recall that of Pentheus in Euripides' *Bacchae*.[44] Unable to see the crowd of women, Pentheus suggests that if he climbed a tall (lit. 'high necked') fir tree, he could see clearly (ἀμβὰς ἐς ἐλάτην ὑψαύχενα ἴδοιμ ἄν ὀρθῶς [1059–1060]). The stranger bends the tree down and places Pentheus carefully on the top, returning it to its upright position. Here he is seen more than he sees. When Dionysus calls upon the Maenads to punish him, they eventually pull down the tree and tear him apart limb from limb (1063–1139). With such associations, Zacchaeus' perch in the tree points to potential danger and death.

3.3.   Come Down – κατάβηθι; Came Down – κατέβη

The verb καταβαίνω occurs twice, employed in Jesus' command to Zacchaeus (19:5) and in the narrator's report of his response (19:6). This verb commonly indicates descent from earthly heights (mountain [6:17]; roof [17:31]; face of Jesus [22:44]) but also descent

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44   There are a number of broad thematic similarities between Euripides' *Bacchae* and the Acts, including especially the theme of θεομαχία (*Bacch.* 45; 325; 635–636; 1255–1256; Acts 5:39). There is also a quote, 'kicking against the goad' (*Bacch.* 794–795; Acts 26:14). See D.R. MacDonald, "Classical Greek Poetry and the Acts of the Apostles: Imitations of Euripides' Bacchae," *Christian Origins and Greco-Roman Culture: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament* (eds. S. Porter – A. Pitts) (Leiden: Brill 2013) 463–496. Luke and Theophilus, the addressee of his writings (Luke 1:1–4; Acts 1:1–2), appear to have a broad familiarity with the contemporary 'canon' of Hellenist literature. This familiarity does not necessarily imply rigorous study of the literature but may have come from attending public readings and theatre performances, etc.

from the heavens often associated with a theophany (Holy Spirit [3:22]; storm [8:23]; fire [9:54]; sheet with animals [Acts 10:11; 11:5], mistaken assumption of divine origin of Paul and Barnabas [Acts 14:11]). The theophanic associations are not immediately evident here, given that Zacchaeus is coming down from a tree. However, if the tree as shown above may be understood to evoke the cross, then such associations are possible.

The verb is the antonym of ἀναβαίνω and is employed to indicate the journey down from Jerusalem (2:51; 10:30, 31; Acts 8:15, 26; 18:22; 24:1; 25:6, 7) and from the temple (18:14). It is this last use that resonates most with Zacchaeus, who mimics the movements of the toll collector in the parable, who goes up to the temple and goes down justified to his house afterwards (18:14). This allusion and the link to justification bode well for Zacchaeus.

The verb καταβαίνω is absent from the crucifixion scene in Luke. The verb is used twice in Matthew and Mark in the reported speech of those who mock Jesus. Those who happen to pass by Jesus while on the cross deride him by ordering him to come down (κατάβηθι [Matt 27:40]; καταβάς [Mark 15:30]). Shortly after that, the chief priests, scribes (and elders [only Matt]) mock Jesus and call on him to come down (καταβάτω [Matt 27:42; Mark 15:32]). The absence of this verb at the crucifixion in Luke is perhaps more surprising given that the repeated command to Jesus to save himself is preserved (Matt 27:40, 43; Mark 15:30, 31; Luke 23:35, 37). Luke does not include the charge in the mockery at the cross (Matt 27:40; Mark 15:29) that Jesus said he would destroy the temple, but along with the charges at the trial (Matt 26:61; Mark 14:58) transposes this to the trial of Stephen (Acts 6:13–14). This strongly binds Stephen's trial and passion to that of Jesus, showing the continuity of the work of salvation through the first martyrdom. A similar transposition may be at work with the verb καταβαίνω.

Luke reports the mocking command that 'he [Jesus] saved others, so let him save himself' (23:35). The action of saving others is here exemplified in his positive command to Zacchaeus to come down from the tree (19:5) and is later doubly confirmed by Jesus who notes that salvation has come to his house (19:9) and that the Son of Man has come to save the lost (19:10). This command of the passion narrative is transposed with the effect not only of showing that Jesus saves others and in this instance Zacchaeus, but that through ascent and descent of the tree/cross salvation is accomplished.

Later at the cross, in response to the appeal by one of the evildoers crucified at either side of him to be remembered, Jesus promises that σήμερον he will be with him in paradise (23:43). This σήμερον of salvation occurs also for Zacchaeus (19:5, 9). The saving power of Jesus' cross is already anticipated: Zacchaeus' coming down from the tree anticipates the descent from the cross and life in paradise for the repentant evildoer.

3.4. Hurry and Necessity – σπεύσας and δεῖ

The command of Jesus for Zacchaeus to come down is accompanied by an adverbial use of the participle σπεύσας which means 'hurriedly'. The first Lukan use of the verb indicates the manner of the shepherds' journey to Bethlehem. They have just recognised among

themselves that it is the κύριος (Lord) who has revealed everything to them through the angel (2:15). The verb is used to indicate the fulsome response of the shepherds to the Lord's revelation, as they go with haste to find the infant (2:16). So Jesus commands Zacchaeus to come down hurriedly too, and this is precisely what he does. The narrator invokes Jesus' name (19:3, 5, 9) but once refers to him as κύριος (19:8). This immediately precedes the quotation of Zacchaeus' speech in which he addresses Jesus as κύριε. With the preceding use of κύριος by the narrator, readers expect that this use of κύριε signifies at least in part a recognition of Jesus' divine identity. The fulsome response by Zacchaeus which follows is a confirmation of this (19:8).

Luke also employs the associated adverbial phrase μετὰ σπουδῆς (1:39) to indicate the manner of Mary's journey to her cousin Elizabeth, again in response to earlier divine revelation (1:26–38). This is traditionally rendered as 'with haste', but it has been shown recently that the word may also indicate 'care', 'attention to detail', or 'accuracy'.[45] While the verb also carries these semantic possibilities, they are unlikely in the case of Zacchaeus. Nevertheless, both the verbal participle and adverbial phrase are associated with eager responses to divine revelation.

The impersonal verb δεῖ is particularly prominent in Luke. Here, Jesus indicates his divine mission to save the lost (19:10) by his insistence on staying (μένω) at the home of Zacchaeus (19:5).[46] The verb δεῖ is frequently employed to indicate the necessity of Jesus' passion (9:22; 13:33; 17:25; 22:37; 24:7, 26, 44 [cf. 24:46]; Acts 17:3) and hints at the paschal salvific action of God in Jesus, through the command to descend from the tree/cross and to do so speedily. The dynamic of Jesus' death and resurrection is necessarily already at work as Jesus approaches Jerusalem.

3.5. Ascending and Descending the Cross in Chariton

Crucifixions are commonplace in literary works in antiquity.[47] The person crucified is usually either the object of the active forms of σταυρόω, πήγνυμι, or equivalent, or the subject of an intransitive verb κρεμάννυμι, or passive forms of σταυρόω, or equivalent. The descent from the cross when indicated is usually in the passive voice. There is usually no agency from the moment the prisoner is at the site of crucifixion. *Callirhoe*, a romance novel by Chariton,[48] has several crucifixion scenes (the pirate Theron [3.4.18]; the sixteen rebel

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45   D.P. Muller, "Helping the Expectant Mother Elizabeth. The Nature and Purpose of Mary's Journey in Luke 1:39," *CBQ* 85/2 (2023) 290–291.

46   C.H. Cosgrove, "The Divine Δεῖ in Luke-Acts," *NT* 26/2 (1984) 175.

47   See J.G. Cook, *Crucifixion in the Mediterranean World*, 2 ed. (WUNT 2/327; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2019).

48   The dating of the novel is much debated. Most commentators favour a mid-first century C.E. date. See S. Tilg, *Chariton of Aphrodisias and the Invention of the Greek Love Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010) 36–79; K. De Temmeran, "Chariton," *Characterization in Ancient Greek Literature. Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative* (eds. K. De Temmerman – E. van Emde Boas) (Mn.S 411; Leiden: Brill 2018) IV, 561–577; E. Bowie, "The Chronology of the Earlier Greek Novels since B.E. Perry: Revisions and Precisions," *Ancient Narrative* 2 (2003) 57; B.P. Reardon, "Chariton," *The Novel in the Ancient World* (ed. G.L. Schmeling) (Mn.S 159; Leiden: Brill 1996) 312–317. Others favour a later dating based on linguistic grounds (Hernández Lara and

prisoners [4.2.6–7; 4.3.5]). A principal protagonist, Chaereas, comes close to crucifixion alongside the sixteen prisoners (4.3.5–6): he is mounting (ἐπιβαίνοντα) his cross when given a reprieve and commanded to come down (κατάβηθι) and he does (κατέβαινε). Chaereas later reports his mounting (ἀνέβην) of the cross in a letter to Callirhoe (4.4.10) and again references his mounting (ἀνέβαινον) of the cross when he prepares to hang himself (5.10.6), but when he addresses the people of Syracuse the story alters slightly, as he describes being taken down (καθαιρεθῆναι) from the cross already near death (8.8.4).

The reality of death is not hidden and the sixteen prisoners with Chaereas die on their crosses. The active verbs ἀναβαίνω and καταβαίνω, with the person hung or to be hung as subject, point to the living status of the individual, albeit precarious in the case of ascent. When associated with the climbing of a tree in an allusive paschal context, the verb suggests a sharing in the destiny of Jesus, who is to mount his cross. The descent signifies the rescue from death.

3.6.   Zacchaeus Lost (τὸ ἀπολωλός) and Found

Although not an action, Zacchaeus' lost status is the result of actions, suggested especially by the conjunction of his profession as chief toll collector and his wealth. If we assume that Zacchaeus is hiding in the tree, like Adam and Eve after the fall (Gen 3:8–10), then his state of being lost is elevated as he climbs the tree. While Adam and Eve are hiding, Zacchaeus is both hiding and trying to see who Jesus is (19:3). His mixed reaction – knowing himself to be lost and yet looking for a saviour – likens him to Peter, the sinner, who tells the Lord, 'Depart from me,' while falling to Jesus' knees (5:8). What is key here, however, is his status of being lost. Jesus states that he, the Son of Man, comes to save what is lost (τὸ ἀπολωλός [19:10]). Zacchaeus is then like the lost sheep (τὸ ἀπολωλός [15:4]). Jesus, the shepherd, will ultimately climb the tree of the cross to save the lost sheep.[49]

The status of being lost and the use of the verbs of ascent and descent are found together in the episode of the boy Jesus in the temple (2:41–51). Jesus, when he goes up (ἀναβαινόντων [2:42]) on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, gets lost. His parents search for him (ἀναζητέω [2:44, 45]; ζητέω [2:48, 49]) and eventually find him after three days (2:46), when he asserts that ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου δεῖ εἶναί με (it is necessary for me to be among my Father's things/house [2:49]). He then goes down (κατέβη) with them to Nazareth. From his first appearance,

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Ruiz-Montero) or connections between Chariton's Demetrius and Demetrius the Cynic (Laplace) or Chariton's Dionysius and the Hadrianic sophist Dionysius of Miletus (Jones and Morgan). See C. Hernández Lara, *Estudios sobre et aticismo de Caritón de Afrodisias* (ClByM 29; Amsterdam: Hakkert 1994); C. Ruiz-Montero, "Aspects of the Vocabulary of Chariton of Aphrodisias," *CQ* 41/2 (1991) 489; M. Laplace, "Pour la datation du roman de Chariton: la figure de Démétrios le Cynique, envers du vrai philosophe," *EM* 79/2 (2011) 341–356; C.P. Jones, "La personnalité de Chariton," *Le monde du roman grec, Actes du colloque international tenu à l'École normale supérieure (Paris 17–19 décembre 1987)* (eds. M.-F. Baslez – P. Hoffmann – M. Trédé) (Paris: l'École normale supérieure 1992) 161–167; J.R. Morgan, "Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus," *The Oxford Handbook of the Second Sophistic* (eds. D.S. Richter – W.A. Johnson) (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2017) 389–403.

49   I wish to acknowledge the contribution of Dr Sławomir Szkredka to this paragraph.

as has often been noted, Jesus prefigures his passion, death, and resurrection. However, he also prefigures the Zacchaeus episode, climbing and taking up the position of the lost, and then coming down. Jesus comes to ζητῆσαι καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός (19:10) by assuming the lost state of Zacchaeus in his passion and death. He has come to save others (23:35) rather than himself (23:35, 37, 39).

3.7.   Zacchaeus Welcomes Jesus Joyfully

When Jesus looks up at Zacchaeus in the tree, he addresses him by name, although he has not yet met him. While Zacchaeus has sought to see Jesus (19:3–4), he now discovers that Jesus is seeking him. As often in Luke's writings, what seems like a chance encounter has been carefully prepared for both parties.[50] Jesus speaks of needing to come and stay in Zacchaeus' home today (19:5b). This today (σήμερον) signals the present time of salvation (2:11; 4:21; 5:26; 13:32–33; 23:43). Zacchaeus obeys Jesus' command to come down from the tree and welcomes (ὑποδέχομαι) him joyfully to his home. The *dénouement* of the resolution plot with Zacchaeus hosting Jesus and the coming of salvation in the person of Jesus to his home is overlooked because of the later revelation of the identities of Jesus as Lord and Zacchaeus as a son of Abraham (19:8–10).[51] Most commentators situate the transformation of Zacchaeus as occurring from his speech onwards (19:8). They overlook the significance of his ascent and descent of the tree, through which he embodies Jesus' paschal mystery, which in turn concludes the two quests of this episode: Zacchaeus' seeking to see Jesus (19:3–4) and Jesus' search for Zacchaeus (19:5, 10). Zacchaeus' joyful welcoming of Jesus and the salvation he brings already confirms his transformation.

In his speech Zacchaeus addresses Jesus as Lord and promises to give half of his belongings to the poor and declares that he will return fourfold the amount to those he has defrauded (19:8). He does not deny the accusation that he is a sinner, but his situation has changed. His participation in Jesus' death and resurrection results in him receiving the fruits of this mystery, namely the forgiveness of sins (24:46–47) and restoration to life, which is described as the finding of the lost (15:24, 32; 19:10). This finding of the lost and entry into a new existence has already occurred on the roadside (19:5–6a).

Zacchaeus is one of many Lukan characters who embody the paschal mystery.[52] Often this embodiment is observed in the return to life from death or a death-like existence (paralytic [5:17–26]; Centurion's slave [7:1–10]; widow's son [7:11–10]; Gerasene demoniac

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50   B. Standaert, "Luc, maître narrateur de la rencontre," *Raconter, interpréter, annoncer: parcours de Nouveau Testament: mélanges offerts à Daniel Marguerat pour son 60ème anniversaire* (eds. E. Steffek – Y. Bourquin) (MdB 57; Genève: Labor et fides 2003) 282–295.

51   For an exposition of the revelation of the identities of Zacchaeus and Jesus, see: J.-N. Aletti, *L'art de raconter Jésus Christ. L'écriture narrative de l'évangile de Luc* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil 1989) 17–38, esp. 27–33.

52   Dennis J. Horton has demonstrated the prominence of this motif in Acts. See: *Death and Resurrection. The Shape and Function of a Literary Motif in the Book of Acts* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers 2009). The motif is shown through Peter's imprisonment and release narratives (Acts 4:1–21; 5:17–41; 12:1–19), Stephen's death and anticipated resurrection (Acts 7), Paul's dying and rising with Christ (Damascus experience [Acts 9:1–19]; stoning and recovery at Lystra [Acts 14:1–20]; shipwreck and rescue [Acts 27:1–44]) and

[8:26–39]; Jairus' daughter [8:40–42, 49–56]; haemorrhagic woman [8:43–48]). Interestingly, as in the case of Zacchaeus (19:9–10), salvation terminology accompanies these accounts: paralytic (ἀφίημι [5:20–24]); Centurion's slave (διασῴζω [7:3]); widow's son (ἐπισκέπτομαι [7:16]); Gerasene demoniac (σῴζω [8:36]); haemorrhagic woman (σῴζω [8:48]); daughter of Jairus (σῴζω [8:50]). The speeches of Peter and Paul (Acts 2:14–36; 3:12–26; 13:16–41) reveal that 'Jesus' death and resurrection constitute the decisive cause for salvation.'[53] This salvation is already accessible through the ministry of Jesus as seen in these minor characters and in Zacchaeus.

The embodiment of the paschal mystery frequently results in celebrations for the salvation received, either with thanksgiving to God, or as in the case of Zacchaeus, with a meal (Levi [5:29], the lost son [15:23–32], Lazarus [16:25]). Often, murmuring arises from Pharisees, Scribes and others (5:30; 15:2, 25–32; 16:24, 27–28). While Levi, and the lost son and Lazarus of the parables have all passed from death or a death-like situation to life, the observers often have yet to do so.[54] At Jericho, Zacchaeus is already transformed when he hosts Jesus (19:6). All murmur at Jesus accepting the hospitality of a sinner (19:7). The speeches of Zacchaeus and of Jesus (19:8–10) offer all such doubters proof that Zacchaeus is now to be counted among the righteous and saved. The rich toll collector was originally more closely associated with the sad rich ruler (18:18–23) and with the rich man of the parable (16:19–31). However, now identified as a son of Abraham (19:9b), he is counted among the saved with Lazarus.

4. A New Perspective on the Zacchaeus Episode

Zacchaeus is an ambiguous character, whose name suggests probity, but whose occupation and wealth raise questions for Luke's readers. His short stature, his running, his furtive approach, and especially his climbing and descending of the tree all complicate the portrayal. Interpreters are split regarding the Zacchaeus story as to whether it is a story of conversion or of vindication, with the focus falling heavily on Zacchaeus' speech (19:8). Many view the present tense as having a future aspect and view the episode as a conversion. Others understand an iterative aspect to the present tense and view the episode as a vindication of Zacchaeus.[55] Interpreters who opt for conversion tend to emphasise the negative possibilities of the various ambiguous traits staining Zacchaeus' character, in order to then highlight

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the minor characters (Tabitha [Acts 9:36–42]; Eutychus [Acts 20:7–12]; the lame [Acts 3:1–4:31; 9:32–35; 14:8–11]; Cornelius' conversion [Acts 10:1–48]).

53   T. Jantsch, "Salvation and the Fate of Jesus in Luke-Acts," *Sōtēria: Salvation in Early Christianity and Antiquity. Festschrift in Honour of C. Breytenbach on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (eds. D. du Toit – C. Gerber – C. Zimmermann) (Leiden: Brill 2019) 212–216, esp. 215.

54   Troftgruben exposits the rhetorical impact of such open endings. See "Unanswered Invitations," 12.

55   For the two sides of the debate see F. Bovon, *L'évangile selon St Luc* (CNT IIIc; Genève: Labor et fides 2001) 234, 242; Broccardo, "È andato ad alloggiare da un peccatore," 153–170.

the transformation, whereas conversely, more benevolent possibilities are apt to be chosen by those who read the episode as Zacchaeus' vindication.

Among the many elements of the episode, the movements of Zacchaeus have been overlooked. Luke's narrative economy urges readers to explore the reasons for such detailed attention to the movements and the tree. If the climbing and coming down from the tree at Jesus' instigation are viewed as Zacchaeus' participation in Jesus' paschal mystery, then something more than conversion is at stake, namely the salvific power of Jesus, as is so strongly emphasised in Jesus' final response to Zacchaeus (19:9–10). This saving power derives from the death and resurrection, symbolised by the upward and downward movements on the tree. The mimetic participation of Zacchaeus in the mystery of Jesus' death and resurrection results in his transformation and new life.

Zacchaeus' first response was to act upon what he heard about Jesus and run ahead and climb the tree. His second response was to act upon Jesus' direct command to him: he comes down from the tree. The transformation occurs in contact with Jesus' word, at first indirectly and then directly. The effect of the transformation is visible on his descent. After coming down, he welcomes (ὑποδέχομαι) Jesus joyfully into his home (19:6), which is paradoxically confirmed by the grumbling of the crowd that Jesus has gone to stay (καταλύω) with a sinner (19:7). It is striking that Zacchaeus is reported to be σταθείς (standing) when he addresses Jesus, here designated as Lord (19:8). The participle derived from ἵστημι evokes ἀνίστημι, the most common verb used for the resurrection in Luke (8:55; 9:8, 19; 16:31; 18:33; 24:7, 46; Acts 2:24, 32; 9:40, 41; 10:41; 13:33, 34; 17:3, 31) and the related noun ἀνάστασις indicating the resurrection (14:14; 20:27, 33, 35, 36; Acts 1:22; 2:31; 4:2, 33; 17:18, 32; 23:6, 8). With this participle, Zacchaeus is shown to adopt the posture of one who has risen. In the preceding episode of the healing of the blind man, this participle indicates Jesus' posture when he stops on the road and summons the man (18:40).

Zacchaeus' participation in the mystery of the death and resurrection is Christological. To the disciples' amazement, when Jesus spoke of the difficulty of the rich accessing the kingdom of God, Jesus replied 'what is impossible for humans, is possible for God' (18:27). The rich toll collector now exemplifies one such person who overcomes this human impossibility through his participation in the mystery of Jesus' death and resurrection. Zacchaeus, as a son of Abraham (19:9b), resembles no longer the rich man of the parable, but Lazarus (16:19–31). The later meal in the home of Zacchaeus is a celebration of the new life and salvation that Jesus brings, as he did earlier for Levi (5:29–32). The verb 'stay' (μένω [19:5]) is used again when the risen Jesus is invited to stay at Emmaus (24:29). This paschal setting is further suggested by the narrator choosing to refer to Jesus as κύριος (19:8a) and by the change in Zacchaeus' perception, from one who first sought to seek Jesus (19:3) but who now addresses him as κύριε (19:8b).

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Ancient and Rare Readings in the Syriac Harklean Version of the Gospel of John and their Significance for its Interpretation: A Contribution to the Narrative Textual Criticism of the Fourth Gospel

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Abstract: This paper analyses four intriguing variant readings that are ancient, rare, and unexpectedly transmitted by a relatively late translation of the NT, the Syriac Harklean version. Although the existence of these readings is not a recent discovery, the broader picture emerging from their joint presentation is hoped to encourage a new, less biased perspective from which to approach the Harklean text of the gospels and an enhanced understanding of how the Gospel of John was read and interpreted by its early audiences. This different approach to textual criticism than the traditional quest for one 'original' text appreciates even secondary readings exploring their place within larger patterns and is called 'narrative textual criticism'.

Keywords: textual criticism, Gospel of John, Syriac, Harklean version, reception history, Vetus Latina, Greek MS א

Historically, the majority of scholars underestimated the value of the Syriac Harklean version of the NT to New Testament textual studies. This position was based on the common assumption that the Harklean text represents the Byzantine text and is, therefore, not a witness of primary importance. New editions of the Harklean version, which demonstrate the complexity of its textual character, mean that this bias can now be corrected. In fact, the Harklean version of the gospels, despite being close to what has long been called the Byzantine text-type, preserves several rare and ancient readings. Although the importance of these readings and their consequent inclusion in modern studies will not affect critical editions of the NT, an awareness of their existence may provide new insights into the reception history of the related sections and enrich understanding of these. This 'narrative textual criticism' approach, which appreciates even secondary readings and explores their place within larger patterns, has recently gained more recognition.

1. The Harklean Version: A Witness to the Byzantine Text?

The question of the textual character of the Harklean version eludes simple answers. As often, the picture is more complex than widespread and broad generalisations suggest. Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Hort, authors of the seminal 1882 edition of the NT, argued: 'Taken altogether, this [the Harklean Syriac] is one of the most confused texts preserved: but it may be rendered more intelligible by fresh collations and better editing.'[1] Almost 150 years later, this rendering is yet to be fully accomplished. The first necessary step of critical research into the textual character of the Harklean version of the NT is to acknowledge the confusion mentioned above, and the second is to prepare accurate editions. A critical edition of the Gospel of Mark, prepared by Samer S. Yohanna, appeared in 2015[2]; my edition of the Gospel of John should soon be available in the Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium series (Peeters Publishers).[3]

In this context, it is crucial to avoid superficial stereotypes, some of which are very common. First, the 'Byzantine' label usually given to the Harklean NT is not sufficiently precise. While the general textual character of the Harklean version is close to the Byzantine text-type, numerous readings transmitted by the Harklean version are not. Second and more generally, textual critics have tended to almost automatically reject all Byzantine readings as secondary. However, recent discoveries show that numerous readings considered Byzantine may be ancient. This throws new light on the evaluation of the Byzantine text-type and its value for New Testament textual criticism.[4] For this reason, the Editio Critica Maior 'grants the Byzantine tradition a full hearing, featuring many Byzantine readings that have never appeared before in an apparatus.'[5]

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[1] B.F. Westcott – F.J.A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek. Introduction and Appendix* (New York: Harper 1882) 156. See also J.D. Thomas, *The Harclean Margin. A Study of the Asterisks, Obeli, and Marginalia of the Harklean Syriac Version with Special Reference to the Gospel of Luke* (Ph.D. Diss. University of St. Andrews; St. Andrews 1973) 34: 'We need most of all a thorough, systematic collation of each and every manuscript which will yield to us the full limit of their contents. Someone will someday have to do for these manuscripts what Pusey and Gwilliam did for the Peshitta ones. Until this happens, we cannot come to grips with this version. Nor can we wrestle with its problems on a sure footing.'

[2] S.S. Yohanna, *The Gospel of Mark in the Syriac Harklean Version. An Edition Based upon the Earliest Witnesses*, (BibOr 52; Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press 2015).

[3] P. Jutkiewicz, *The Gospel of John According to the Syriac Harklean Version* (CSCO 709 – Scr. Syr. 273; Louvain: Peeters 2025) (forthcoming).

[4] K. Wachtel, "Early Variants in the Byzantine Text of the Gospels," *Transmission and Reception. New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies* (ed. J.W. Childers – D.C. Parker) (Texts and Studies, Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature 3.4; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press 2006) 28–47; P.J. Gurry, "The Harklean Syriac and the Development of the Byzantine Text. A Historical Test for the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM)," *NovT* 60 (2018) 189: 'Where the Byzantine text is rejected as later and derivative, its unique readings are likewise rejected; where this same text is viewed as an accumulative development with early roots, its unique readings may be accepted as original particularly when the internal evidence warrants.'

[5] J. Hernández Jr., "Modern Critical Editions and Apparatuses of the Greek New Testament," *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research. Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (eds. B.D. Ehrman – M.W. Holmes) (NTTSD 42; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2013) 706. See also: K. Wachtel, "Notes on the Text of the Acts of

This updated approach should also be applied to the Harklean version, and its unique and rare readings should be studied in greater depth. First, perhaps more can be done to determine the Greek Vorlage available to Thomas of Harkel. Recent research on the Harklean text of the Catholic and Pauline epistles has yielded promising results.[6] The family of Greek minuscules known as Family 2138 (MSS 1611, 1505, 2138, and 2495) reveals a textual form close to the Harklean version.[7] There are, however, questions remaining. The relationship cannot be direct: Since the four manuscripts of Family 2138 are relatively late (tenth to fifteenth centuries), any connection to the Harklean version (created at the beginning of the seventh century) presumes the existence of earlier common ancestors. Also, no source has been identified for the marginal variant notes. Finally, for the gospels, only two of the Family 2138 manuscripts contain them, and no relationship has been found between these texts and the Harklean text of the Gospel of John.[8] In this context, it is hoped that new studies based on digital analysis and comparison of texts will yield better results.

Second, since the precise method applied by Thomas of Harkel in preparing his edition, described in the colophon,[9] is not totally clear; his precise Greek sources are perhaps unreachable; and the meaning of the Harklean signs still remains under discussion;[10] it may be best for now to study individual cases of textual variations one by one.[11]

2. Narrative Textual Criticism

It is beneficial to consider this topic from yet another perspective. Textual criticism in the twenty-first century is turning from the quest to identify a single original text to an acknowledgement and appreciation of textual diversity.[12] Textual variation is no longer

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the Apostles," *Novum Testamentum Graecum. Editio Critica Maior.* III. *Acts of the Apostles* (eds. H. Strutwolf *et al.*) (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2017) [part 1.1] 30*–31*.

6   A. Juckel, "Introduction to the Harklean Text," *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels. Aligning the Sinaiticus, Curetonianus, Peshîṭtâ and Ḥarklean Versions* (ed. G.A. Kiraz) (NTTSD 21; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press 2004) I, xxxiv.

7   A. Juckel, "Die Bedeutung des Ms. Vat. Syr. 268 für die Evangelien-Überlieferung der Harklensis," *OrChr* 83 (1999) 45; A. Juckel, "La version harqléenne du Nouveau Testament: forme, intention, tradition," *Le Nouveau Testament en syriaque* (ed. J.-C. Haelewyck) (Études syriaques 14; Paris: Geuthner 2017) 165. See also C.-B. Amphoux, "La parenté textuelle du sy^h et du groupe 2138 dans l'épître de Jacques," *Bib* 62/2 (1981) 259–271.

8   MS 1505 (Mt. Athos, Lavra B' 26, twelfth century) and MS 2495 (Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, Gr. 1992, fourteenth/fifteenth century) contain the gospels, but a survey of the unique and rare readings of the Harklean text of the Gospel of John has not revealed any relationship.

9   Jutkiewicz, *The Gospel of John,* 167–172 (forthcoming).

10   Jutkiewicz, *The Gospel of John*, 139–147 (forthcoming).

11   As proposed by Juckel in "La version harqléenne," 154–155, where he studied the usage of the Harklean critical signs and marginal notes in a few particular cases (John 4:52; 7:20; and 9:28).

12   See the breakthrough article in this regard: E.J. Epp, "The Multivalence of the Term 'Original Text' in New Testament Textual Criticism," *HTR* 92 (1999) 245–281.

'a dross' to be discarded once 'pure gold' has been extracted;[13] it is a field worth studying on its own. David C. Parker expresses this accurately:

> So the textual variation remains significant for two reasons: first, because it provides important primary material in the study of early Christianity; secondly because the quest not only for the original text of the Gospels but also for the *ipsissima vox Iesu* cannot be made on the basis of a modern eclectic text such as the Nestle-Aland, but must continue to engage with the real multiplicity of forms in which the tradition survives.[14]

This new approach to the textual criticism of the NT has developed in recent decades in the broader context of the New Philology movement and reception history studies. It is sometimes called 'narrative textual criticism', indicating an attempt to place variant readings within a larger 'narrative' context. Once more, in Parker's words, it 'represents a move away from the traditional atomizing of texts into variant readings, towards a reconstitution of the fragments into an intelligible whole.'[15] Such an approach encourages careful analysis of what, from the traditional perspective, would be called secondary variant readings, treating them as a window into a better understanding of how the early audiences of Christians grasped their foundational texts.[16] Perhaps the two approaches (traditional and narrative) should be regarded not as opposed and irreconcilable extremes but as separate, equally legitimate goals of textual criticism that remain in dialogue. Holmes argues for

> a fuller understanding of the goal of New Testament textual criticism: both identifying the earliest text and also studying all the variant readings for the light they shed on how particular individuals and faith communities adopted, used, and sometimes altered the texts that they read, studied, and transmitted.[17]

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13 See F.H.A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 4 ed. (London: Bell & Sons 1894) I, 5.

14 D.C. Parker, "The Future of the Critical Edition," *The Future of New Testament Textual Scholarship. From H.C. Hoskier to the "Editio Critica Maior" and Beyond* (ed. G.V. Allen) (WUNT 417; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2019) 400.

15 D.C. Parker, "The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament," *JTS* 45 (1994) 704. Parker describes two forms of this method. The first, represented by E.J. Epp, studies a particular manuscript from an exegetical or theological perspective. The second, developed by Bart D. Ehrman, takes a broader view of theological tendencies as motives for creative corrections of the Scripture within a particular period of time.

16 For an example of this approach for particular Coptic readings in the Gospel of John, see H. Förster, "Textual Criticism and the Interpretation of Texts: The Example of the Gospel of John," *Early Readers, Scholars and Editors of the New Testament: Papers from the Eighth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (ed. H.A.G. Houghton) (TS 11; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press 2014) 163–187.

17 M.W. Holmes (ed.), *The Greek New Testament: SBL Edition* (Atlanta, GA – Bellingham, WA: Society of Biblical Literature 2010) viii. The various approaches may be described along a continuum rather than as a binary choice; see M.C. Parsons – G.M. Barnhill, "Textual Criticism and Lukan Studies: The (Dis)Connection between the Two," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 24 (2019) 1–2, with note 4.

The following examples represent a handful of intriguing variant readings that are ancient, rare, and unexpectedly transmitted by a relatively late translation of the NT, the Syriac Harklean version.[18] The existence of these readings is not a recent discovery. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the broader picture emerging from their joint presentation will encourage:

1) a new, less biased perspective from which to approach the Harklean text; and
2) an enhanced understanding of how the Gospel of John was read and interpreted by its early audiences.

In this sense, it is hoped that this contribution to narrative textual criticism will bridge what has sometimes been considered a wide gap between textual critics and exegetes.[19]

3. Examples

The Greek text of the Gospel of John is quoted according to the Nestle–Aland 28th edition.[20] The Vetus Latina manuscripts are quoted according to Jülicher's edition, and the most up-to-date online edition.[21] The Harklean version is quoted according to my forthcoming edition of the Gospel of John. The sigla of the Harklean manuscripts are also given according to my edition, based on 22 manuscripts.[22]

	Shelfmark	*Date*
A	Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Or. 74	eleventh/twelfth century
B	Beirut, American University of Beirut, 220.43/B58s/c.1	twelfth century
C	Ankawa, Chaldean Antonian Order of St. Hormizd, Chaldean 25	eleventh/twelfth century
D	Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Syc 703	1177 CE
F	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 1.40	757 CE
H³	Cambridge (MA), Houghton Library, Harvard University, Syr. 176	probably 991/2 CE
L¹	London, British Library, Add. 7163	ninth/tenth century
L²	London, British Library, Add. 14469	936 CE
L³	London, British Library, Add. 17124	1233/4 CE
O¹	Oxford, New College Library, MS 333	thirteenth/fourteenth century

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18   There is no specific rationale for selecting these readings other than that all of them are ancient, rare, and significant for interpretation.

19   See Parsons – Barnhill, "Textual Criticism and Lukan Studies: The (Dis)Connection between the Two," 1–16.

20   E.E. Nestle – B.K. Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28 ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2012).

21   A. Jülicher, *Itala. Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung.* IV. *Johannes-Evangelium* (Berlin: De Gruyter 1963) and P.H. Burton *et al.* (eds.), *Vetus Latina Iohannes. The Verbum Project. The Old Latin Manuscripts of John's Gospel* (2007), https://itseeweb.cal.bham.ac.uk/iohannes/vetuslatina/index.html [access: 1.07.2024].

22   For the full description of the manuscripts, see Jutkiewicz, *The Gospel of John*, XXXI–LXX (forthcoming).

	Shelfmark	*Date*
O²	Oxford, New College Library, MS 334	twelfth/thirteenth century
P¹	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Syriaque 52	1164/5 CE
P²	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Syriaque 54	1192 CE
P³	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Syriaque 362	twelfth/thirteenth century
R¹	Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Or. 227	1011 or 1061 CE
R²	Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1700	1169/70 CE
S¹	Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Mingana Syr. 124	ninth/tenth century
S²	Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Mingana Syr. 42	twelfth century
V¹	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 267	eighth century
V²	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. sir. 268	858/9 CE or earlier
Z¹	Damascus, Syriac Orthodox Patriarchate, Dam 12–9	994 CE
Z²	Damascus, Syriac Orthodox Patriarchate, Dam 12–8	1055 CE

3.1. John 2:1 (2:3)

NA28:

2:1: Καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ γάμος ἐγένετο ἐν Κανὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ ἦν ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Ιησοῦ ἐκεῖ·
On the third day there was a wedding in Cana of Galilee, and the mother of Jesus was there.

2:3: καὶ ὑστερήσαντος οἴνου λέγει ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Ιησοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν· οἶνον οὐκ ἔχουσιν.
When the wine gave out, the mother of Jesus says to him, 'They have no wine.'

Harklean version:

ܘܚܡܪܐ ܠܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܛܠ ܕܐܬܓܡܪ ܠܗ ܚܡܪܐ ܕܡܫܬܘܬܐ·

And they had no wine because the wedding's wine was consumed.

The variant reading in some Harklean manuscripts appears in the lemma (MSS V², Z¹, Z², L², and P²) or in the margin (MSS V¹, C, S¹, D, P³, and O¹). Only in MS V¹ does the sign in the lemma place the addition at the beginning of John 2:3, as in the Greek witnesses. In other Harklean manuscripts, the addition is placed in the middle of John 2:1, just before 'and the mother of Jesus was there.' In some Harklean manuscripts, various signs or notes mark the reading as unexpected.[23]

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23   In MS L², the reading is circled; in MSS Z² and O¹, there are notes by later hands to explain that this phrase is an addition. The note in MS O¹ (f. 107r) reads: ܗܠܝܢ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܠܐ ܐ̈ܢܕܘܬ ܒܚܕ ܡܢ ܟܬܒܐ̈ ܕܝܠܢ ܕܐܢܝ̈ܢ. ܕܝܢ ܐܠܐ ܒܚܕ ܣܕ ܡܢ ܟܬܒܐ̈ ܝܘ̈ܢܝܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ· (This couplet is not extant in any of our Harklean manuscripts. However, it is found in a few Greek codices). The note in MS Z¹ (f. 259v) reads: ܗܠܝܢ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܡܠܝܢ. ܕܐܝܬܝܗܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܨܠܝܒܐ̈ ܗܠܝܢ ܗܘ ܗܟܢ × ܐܝܬܝܗܝܢ ܬܘܣܦܬܐ· (This couplet of words, which is between the crosses [which are as this sign +], is an addition). The sign in the manuscript that is mentioned in this note is challenging to represent. It is substituted here by an *asteriskos*.

The Harklean reading in John 2:1 (2:3) reflects a reading that appears in one Greek manuscript and several Vetus Latina manuscripts. This reading also appears in Ethiopic (families of manuscripts Ab, Cabc, and 12').[24]

Greek MS ℵ*

οινον ουκ ειχον οτι συνετελεσθη ο οινος του γαμου· ειτα
They had no wine because the wedding's wine was consumed. Then...

VL MSS 3 (fragmentary), 4, 8, 14, 22, 47 (with some minor variants):

et vinum non habebant, quoniam finitum est vinum nuptiarum
And they had no wine because the wedding's wine was consumed.

Two Vetus Latina manuscripts have a similar yet different reading.
VL MSS 2 and 11:

et factum est per multam turbam vocitorum vinum consummari
It happened that, because of the great crowd of those who had been invited, the wine was finished.

Of the variant readings studied in this paper, the reading in John 2:1 (2:3) is the best known. Metzger calls this addition a 'paraphrase'.[25] Other scholars have seen this variant as the possible original; if that is the case, what is usually chosen as the standard text would be an attempt to smooth the clumsy original.[26] Still other commentators have treated the variant as a gloss, arguing that the addition contains no new information.[27] However, the apparent redundancy serves to focus attention on a crucial element in the narrative: the wine. One of the most essential components of the feast, and a symbol of joy, the wine had unexpectedly run out at the wedding.[28] The standard text of the gospel refers to the absence of wine almost casually, as though it were a regular occurrence at a wedding. In contrast, the variant reading highlights this tragic moment, thereby enhancing the miraculous act performed by Jesus and making it seem even more remarkable.

The transposition of this addition from John 2:3 to 2:1 in most of the Harklean manuscripts must have happened either by mistake or in an attempt to save the standard wording of John 2:3. The addition certainly makes less sense in John 2:1, the introduction to the story, where it anticipates the story's crucial moment. Yet it must have appeared to the

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24   M.G. Wechsler, *Evangelium Johannis Aethiopicum* (CSCO 617 – Scriptores Aethiopici 109; Louvain: 2005) 9.
25   B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament. A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament*, 2 ed. (London: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft – United Bible Society 1994) 201.
26   R. Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, 21 ed. (KEK 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht 1986) 80, note 6; T. Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Edinburgh: Clark 1909) III, 345.
27   C.K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John. An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text*, 2 ed. (London: Westminster John Knox 1978) 190.
28   The alternative Vetus Latina (MSS 2 and 11) reading further explains the problematic situation, giving a reason for it: It happened because of the great crowd present at the wedding.

copyists of the Harklean version to be an essential part of the textual tradition, such that it was preserved in most of the manuscripts, in the margin or even in the lemma (for example, in MS V², considered to be the best witness to the Harklean text of the gospels).[29]

3.2. John 2:9

NA28:

ὡς δὲ ἐγεύσατο ὁ ἀρχιτρίκλινος τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον γεγενημένον καὶ οὐκ ᾔδει πόθεν ἐστίν, οἱ δὲ διάκονοι ᾔδεισαν οἱ ἠντληκότες τὸ ὕδωρ, φωνεῖ τὸν νυμφίον ὁ ἀρχιτρίκλινος

When the steward tasted the water that had become wine, and did not know where it came from, but the servants who had drawn the water knew, the steward called the bridegroom [...]

Harklean version:

ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܛܥܡ ܗܘ ܪܒ ܣܡܟܐ ܡܝܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܗܘܘ ܚܡܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܟܐ ܐܢܘܢ܂ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܝܕܥܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܡܠܘ ܡܝܐ ܠܗܘܢ: ⁕ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܗܘܐ ܐܬܕܡܪܘ⁕܂ ܩܪܐ ܠܚܬܢܐ ܗܘ ܪܒ ܣܡܟܐ

When the steward tasted the water that had become wine, and did not know where it came from, but the servants who had drawn the water knew <u>and when they saw what had happened, they were amazed,</u> the steward called the bridegroom [...]

This addition appears in all studied Harklean manuscripts immediately after, 'but the servants who had drawn the water knew.' In the Harklean manuscripts, multiple *asteriskoi*, used in various ways, mark this reading as worthy of attention. (The signs above are presented according to MS C.) This reading is also extant in three Vetus Latina manuscripts.

VL MSS 3, 4, 14:

videntes factum mirabantur

Modern commentators do not mention or tackle this variant reading in any way. Yet, as in the first reading above, the addition subtly shifts the narrative's focus. First, it informs the reader that the servants not only 'knew' where the wine came from but they also 'saw what happened'. Although their presence at the miracle is evident from the narrative, this rendering makes the scene and the servants' role in it more vivid. Second, the addition emphasises the servants' reaction: their amazement at witnessing the miracle. While the reader might expect this amazement, a more explicit description of their reaction underscores the servants' significance in the story. The standard text already contains a degree of irony: while

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29   Since this addition appears in the lemma of MS V², it was included in the Gospel of John volume of the Comparative Edition of Syriac Gospels (an edition prepared by G. Kiraz with the Harklean text edited by A. Juckel). This is the Harklean text that scholars usually quote. However, the situation is more complex, as explained here. This addition is a valuable example of the need for critical editions of the texts. Editions based only on one witness (even the one considered the best for many reasons) are insufficient for understanding any branch of the New Testament tradition and its development.

the most important person at the table is unaware of what happened, the servants know exactly how the miracle occurred. Thus, the lowest-ranking individuals are portrayed as the more knowledgeable.[30] The variant reading, by enhancing their active role in the miracle, makes this irony even more pronounced.

From a narrative flow perspective, the comment about the servants in the standard text functions as an interjection (in some translations, the comment is placed in brackets). The servants' 'amazement' is not mentioned at the moment of the miracle (2:7–8), but is highlighted only later. The variant reading extends this interjection, making it appear even more unnatural in this place.

3.3. John 3:36

This reading is an addition that appears after the standard text of John 3:36.

> NA28:
>
> ὁ πιστεύων εἰς τὸν υἱὸν ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον· ὁ δὲ ἀπειθῶν τῷ υἱῷ οὐκ ὄψεται ζωήν, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ μένει ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν.
>
> Whoever believes in the Son has eternal life; whoever disobeys the Son will not see life, but God's wrath rests upon him.

> Harklean version:
>
> ܘܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܝܘܚܢܢ
>
> And after these [things], John was handed over.

In most of the Harklean manuscripts (V¹, V², S¹, Z¹, Z², S², D, and O¹), the addition appears in the margin; however, at a later stage of the transmission of the Harklean version, it was inserted at the end of the verse (MSS C, P³, and L³).

This reading appears only in two other manuscripts, one Latin and one Greek.

VL 2 (fifth century, Trento National Museum):

et post haec traditus est Iohannis

Greek minuscule 1195 (eleventh century, Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, Gr. 158)[31]:

και μετα ταυτα παρεδοθη ο ιωαννης

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30 The theme of the world's ignorance appeared earlier in the prologue (1:10). See C.S. Keener, *The Gospel of John. A Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Hendrickson 2003) I, 514–515.

31 Greek MS 1195 agrees more often that other manuscripts with unique Harklean readings. These instances are not highly numerous, yet are worth notice. See Jutkiewicz, *The Gospel of John*, 188–189 and the following section.

Although commentators are not usually interested in this addition to the standard text, it is significant, and the reason for its appearance is understandable. The Gospel of John has a gap concerning John the Baptist's end. Details about his imprisonment and death are provided only by the Synoptics. In the Gospel of John, John the Baptist appears for the last time in 3:23–30; after this, he is only mentioned (in 4:1; 5:33; 10:40–41). In 3:24, there is a narrator's comment on the chronology of the events involving John: 'he had not been yet thrown (βεβλημένος) into prison.' This addition in 3:36, just after the last appearance of John (and the ambiguous section 3:31–36 where it is uncertain who is speaking) and the climax of the chapter in 3:35–36,[32] has two effects. First, it refers back to the comment in 3:24 ('he had not been yet thrown into prison'), now providing firm information about John's disappearance. Second, the term used (παρεδόθη in Greek) is significant. In the Gospel of John, the verb παραδίδωμι is almost a technical one: it describes the mystery of evil at work against Jesus and becomes practically a nickname for Judas, the traitor. In this sense, the addition in 3:36 somehow marks John's resemblance to Jesus in a way that goes beyond the original picture of the Gospel of John, in which John the Baptist's inferiority and his merely intermediary role are highlighted (see John 1:8–9; 1:20; 1:30; 3:28–30; 10:41).[33] It is unclear whether a scribe (and others who transmitted this reading) intended this effect or if it happened by coincidence. The addition after John 3:36 must be directly influenced by Matt 4:12: 'Now when Jesus heard that John had been handed over (παρεδόθη), he withdrew to Galilee.' The movement of Jesus to Galilee is mentioned in John 4:3. Also Dionysius bar Salibi, a famous Syriac commentator from the twelfth century, commented on the meaning of this addition in the Harklean version, which is absent in the standard Peshitta translation.[34]

3.4. John 4:24

NA28:

πνεῦμα ὁ θεός, καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας αὐτὸν <u>ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ</u> δεῖ προσκυνεῖν.
God is spirit, and those who worship him should worship <u>in spirit and truth</u>.

Harklean version:

ܘܪܘܚܐ ܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܠܗܢܘܢ ܕܣܓܕܝܢ ܠܗ: ܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܗܘ ܠܡܣܓܕ.
God is spirit, and those who worship him should worship <u>in the spirit of the truth</u>.

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32   Barrett, *John*, 227.

33   See also R.E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John (I–XIII). Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 29; Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1966) lxvii–lxx.

34   N. Akçay, *The Commentary on the Gospels by Dionysius Jacob Bar Salibi Metropolitan of Amid (†1171)* (Istanbul: Department of Syriac Studies – Syriac Orthodox Patriarchate 2019) 870 (author's translation): 'This phrase is absent in the Peshitta gospel. From the beginning of the gospel up to here, John [the Evangelist] wrote before John [the Baptist] fell into prison. Nevertheless, his companions [the evangelists] did not write about these [things]. However, from here and beyond, John wrote about these [things] that his companions [the evangelists] left out and about these [things] that happened after the slaughter of the Baptist.'

This reading appeared first in the margin (MS V¹ is among the oldest Harklean manuscripts); later it remained in the margin in some manuscripts (Z¹ and O¹) and in the others (C, B, P³, and L³) was inserted into the lemma. Apart from the Harklean version, this reading is unique to the Greek Sinaiticus.

Greek MS א:

εν πνευματι αληθειας

The Greek reading most probably was created from a harmonisation with πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας that appears three times in the Fourth Gospel (14:17; 15:26; 16:13) and once in 1 John 4:6. At first sight, the reading is compelling, but it is essential to evaluate the significance of the difference in meaning between ἐν πνεύματι ἀληθείας and ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ. In this section, Jesus describes the manner of worship for 'true worshippers' (4:23). The use of the genitive in this construction in the Harklean version makes a single expression out of two. However, in no Harklean manuscript (as in the Greek MS Sinaiticus) is there a variant for the same expression (ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ) in the preceding verse, 4:23. This means that for the copyist who created this reading (and those who transmitted it), the expression with the genitive (ἐν πνεύματι ἀληθείας) was intended as a synonym for the double reference (ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ) rather than a construction with a new meaning.[35] This passage might result from a simple error or a scribe's attempt to vary the style slightly.

The text-critical treatment of this reading deserves further comment. In 'The Initial Collation for the *Editio Critica Maior* of John,'[36] the Greek Sinaiticus reading has been divided into two: the omission of καί and the variant ἀληθείας. The latter has been marked for regularisation (that is treated as an error).[37] However, it is worth noticing that this procedure is a significant interpretative intervention of the editors. The result is not helpful for two reasons. First, two obviously connected elements are more difficult for the reader of the apparatus to notice. Second, the Greek Sinaiticus reading appears as disconnected from the Syriac witnesses for this reading. The existence of this reading in the later tradition, represented by the Syriac Harklean version, confirms that it is a real variant and not a reading that should be regularised and, thus, eliminated from the apparatuses.

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35   However, when the phrase ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ is treated as a hendiadys (that is, a figure of speech used for emphasis), one could argue that the more original and plain sense is transmitted in ἐν πνεύματι ἀληθείας. This point of view could have influenced (even unconsciously) the change introduced by some scribes.

36   Edited for "The International Greek New Testament Project" by D.C. Parker with M.B. Morrill and U.B. Schmid (Version 1.0: August 2016). See John 4:24 in the positive apparatus https://itseeweb.cal.bham.ac.uk/iohannes/ECMGreek/positive/index.html and in the negative apparatus https://itseeweb.cal.bham.ac.uk/iohannes/ECMGreek/negative/index.html.

37   In the ECM edition of Mark the regularisation is described: 'Die Handschrift bezeugt zwar eindeutig die Lesart, bei der sie steht, gibt sie aber fehlerhaft wieder' (H. Strutwolf *et al.* [eds.], *Novum Testamentum Graecum. Editio Critica Maior.* I/2.2. *Markusevangelium. Begleitende Materialien* [Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2021] 1.)

4. Conclusion

The four readings in the Gospel of John according to the Harklean version that have been analysed above appear in the following Greek and Latin manuscripts as detailed in the table below. Their existence in these manuscripts does not seem connected in any way. Several Harklean manuscripts and three Vetus Latina manuscripts (3, 4, and 14) contain the additions in 2:1 (2:3) and 2:9, but there is no apparent connection between the two.

John	Greek MS ℵ	VL 2	VL 3	VL 4	VL 14	VL 8, 14, 22, 47	Greek MS 1195
2:1 (2:3)	yes		yes	yes	yes	yes	
2:9			yes	yes	yes		
3:36		yes					yes
4:24	yes						

Of course, tracing any direct dependence between these texts and the Harklean version is impossible. The readings must have existed earlier in other Greek manuscripts, given that they gained sufficient authority to be transmitted in many manuscripts throughout the Harklean tradition. For the Harklean version, known for its extreme fidelity to transmit readings otherwise unknown in the Syriac tradition, these rare readings must have been known from other sources and sufficiently widely attested. Still, these other sources probably represent very limited streams of the tradition since no Greek witness from the period between the most ancient witnesses for these readings and the creation of the Harklean version has been preserved (the reading in 3:36 is an exception in this regard). This situation poses an intriguing question about how much has been lost within the transmission process of these texts and again teaches humility in approaching the text-critical study of the NT. It is always necessary (though difficult) to assume that we know less than we would like to, and we must acknowledge that other readings preserved in late witnesses may also have ancient origins.

Furthermore, the Harklean version of the NT functioned for generations of Syriac Christians as the 'Greek' text, sometimes different from the standard Peshitta translation. Various commentators (for example, Dionysius bar Salibi and Barhebraeus) have commented on these differences treating textual plurality as an abundance worth appreciation. Although the readings presented in this paper are not sufficiently spectacular to entirely change our understanding of the gospels, it is fascinating to wonder how much (even minor) impact they, and other similar readings, have had on exegesis, theology, and human beliefs. This is a place where textual criticism interacts with ordinary life.

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The Character and Function of the Temple Metaphor (ναός) in the Corinthian Correspondence

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Abstract: Applying the term of conceptual metaphor, the author examines Paul's use of the temple metaphor to describe individual believers and the community of the Church in 1 Cor 3:16–17, 6:19, and 2 Cor 6:16. He begins with a concise overview of the numerous Pauline texts in which the temple-related vocabulary is applied to describe Christ and the Christian. Turning to the Corinthian correspondence, in which the term ναός occurs, the author places 1 Cor 3:16–17, 6:19, and 2 Cor 6:16 in their argumentative context and points to their common features. Among them, he mentions problems in Corinth, the individual and communal character of the temple metaphor, the apostle's appeals for unity in the Church, for the Church to break with sin, and embrace his gospel. The correlates of the temple that Paul applies to believers are God's saving presence, holiness, purity, worship, and the punishment that awaits those who destroy God's temple. Finally, the author examines Paul's use of the temple metaphor to shape the new identity of believers, comparing it to the use of the temple metaphor in Qumran writings.

Keywords: temple, Old Testament, Paul, ναός, conceptual metaphor, Corinthian correspondence, Qumran

The temple is undoubtedly one of the most important institutions of the Old Testament.[1] Therefore, it should come as no surprise that Paul frequently draws on the imagery of the sanctuary and the sacrifices associated with it, using them to describe Christ, but also the mission and life of the Christian. Among the many terms the apostle borrows from the semantic field of the temple, there is ναός, appearing particularly frequently in the Corinthian correspondence (1 Cor 3:16–17; 6:19; 2 Cor 6:16; see also Eph 2:21). What is the purpose of Paul's use of the temple metaphor (ναός), and how does it fit into the argumentative context of 1–2 Corinthians? What correlates of the temple does the apostle apply to believers,

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[1] On the temple and its theology in the Old Testament, see M. Ottoson, "הֵיכָל" *TDOT* III, 382–388; D. Kellermann, "מִשְׁכָּן," *TDOT* IX, 58–64; M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 1985); R.E. Friedman, "Tabernacle," *ABD* VI, 292–300; C. Meyers, "Temple, Jerusalem," *ABD* VI, 350–369; H.D. Preuss, *Old Testament Theology* (OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox 1995–1996) II, 39–51; G.K. Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission. A Biblical Theology of the Dwelling Place of God* (New Studies in Biblical Theology 17; Downers Grove, IL – Leicester: InterVarsity – Apollos 2004) 31–169; W. Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament. Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy*, 2 ed. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2005) 654–679.

and how do they serve him to shape their identity, moral conduct, and attitude toward the world? To answer these questions, we will make use of conceptual metaphor, which has already been successfully applied to the study of Paul's letters.[2] While calling the believers in Corinth the temple of God (ναός θεοῦ, 1 Cor 3:16–17; 2 Cor 6:16) and the temple of the Spirit (ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματός, 1 Cor 6:19), the apostle solves the problems of the community and teaches them about their new life in Christ. He draws on the traditions of the Second Temple period Judaism, reshaping them in a creative way by making references to Christ and his Spirit. All these phenomena will interest us in this paper, which we will begin with an overview of the vocabulary related to the temple in Paul's letters, read through the lens of conceptual metaphor. Subsequently, we will take a closer look at the three texts in 1–2 Corinthians where the term ναός appears, to see what correlates of the temple the apostle applies to believers. We will conclude with the question of continuity and novelty of Paul's temple metaphor in comparison to the Qumran texts, where similar figurative imagery is applied to the community.

1. The Temple and Temple-Related Vocabulary in Paul's Letters

Reading Paul's letters, one finds a number of references to the temple and worship.[3] First, the apostle uses the vocabulary associated with the temple to describe Christ, applying to

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2   On the history of research on Paul's temple metaphor and on various research approaches, see N.K. Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul. A New Approach to the Theology and Ethics of Paul's Cultic Metaphors* (BZNW 175; Berlin: De Gruyter 2010) 9–26. On the metaphor in Paul, see e.g. H.M. Gale, *The Use of Analogy in the Letters of Paul* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster 1964); J.R. Lanci, *A New Temple for Corinth. Rhetorical and Archaeological Approaches to Pauline Imagery* (New York: Lang 1997); D.J. Williams, *Paul's Metaphors. Their Context and Character* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson 1999); J. Byron, *Slavery Metaphors in Early Judaism and Pauline Christianity. A Traditio-Historical and Exegetical Examination* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2003); M.K. Birge, *The Language of Belonging. A Rhetorical Analysis of Kinship Language in First Corinthians* (Leuven: Peeters 2004); J.H. Kim, *The Significance of Clothing Imagery in the Pauline Corpus* (London: Clark 2004); S. Finlan, *The Background and Content of Paul's Cultic Atonement Metaphors* (Society of Biblical Literature Academia Biblica 19; Leiden: Brill 2004); J.S. Tsang, *From Slaves to Sons. A New Rhetoric Analysis on Paul's Slave Metaphors in His Letter to the Galatians* (New York: Lang 2005); T.J. Burke, *Adopted into God's Family. Exploring a Pauline Metaphor* (New Studies in Biblical Theology 22; Nottingham – Downers Grove, IL: Apollos – InterVarsity 2006); A.L.A. Hogeterp, *Paul and God's Temple. A Historical Interpretation of Cultic Imagery in the Corinthian Correspondence* (Leuven: Peeters 2006); E. Regev, *The Temple in Early Christianity. Experiencing the Sacred* (AYBRL; New Haven, CT – London: Yale University Press 2019) 53–95; L.T. Johnson, *Constructing Paul. The Canonical Paul* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2020) I, 237–246.

3   On the temple in Paul, B.E. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament. A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament* (SNTSMS 1; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1965) 47–71; M. Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul* (SNTSMS 53; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985) 52–114; P.W. Comfort, "Temple," *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* (eds. G.F. Hawthorne – R.P. Martin – D.G. Reid) (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity 1993) 923–925; Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission*, 245–292; Finlan, *The Background and Content of Paul's Cultic Atonement Metaphors*, 70–224; J.D.G. Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways. Between Christianity and Judaism and Their Significance for the Character of Christianity* (London: SCM 2006) 100–115; T.R. Schreiner, *Paul, Apostle of God's Glory in Christ. A Pauline Theology* (Westmont, IL: IVP

him the term ἱλαστήριος, which can be translated as place of atonement, instrument of atonement, or propitiatory sacrifice (Rom 3:23–25).[4] Further, the Lord is portrayed by the apostle as our πάσχα, sacrificed for us (1 Cor 5:7).[5] He is also referred to as ἀπαρχή, the first fruits of those who have died (1 Cor 15:20–23).[6] Paul goes on to call him ἁμαρτία, a sin offering (2 Cor 5:21; Rom 8:3),[7] while in the Ephesians Christ is προσφορά, θυσία and ὀσμὴ εὐωδίας, a sacrifice and a fragrant offering to God (Eph 5:2).[8] Temple language appears, of course, in Paul's account of the Eucharist, the banquet of the Lord in 1 Cor 11:23–26 and in 1 Cor 10:16–18, where he makes a connection between the sharing of Christ's body and blood and the eating of sacrificial gifts and the altar in the Jewish tradition.[9] Temple worship and sacrifices also help the apostle to describe his ministry of preaching the gospel, in which he relies on the gifts of the community (1 Cor 9:13), serves God (λατρεύω) (Rom 1:9; Phil 3:3), and ministers like a priest (ἱερουργέω) at the offering of the Gentiles (προσφορά), sanctified (ἁγιάζω) by the Spirit (Rom 15:16).[10] Paul, preaching the gospel, spreads the fragrance (ὀσμή) and aroma (εὐωδία) of the Lord (2 Cor 2:14–16) and is ready

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Academic 2006) 342–344; Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*; K.Y. Lim, "Paul's Use of Temple Imagery in the Corinthian Correspondence. The Creation of Christian Identity," *Reading Paul in Context: Explorations in Identity Formation. Essays in Honour of William S. Campbell* (eds. K. Ehrensperger – J.B. Tucker – M. Goodacre) (LNTS 428; London: Bloomsbury 2013) 189–207; Regev, *The Temple in Early Christianity*, 53–95; D.J. Moo, *A Theology of Paul and His Letters. The Gift of the New Realm in Christ* (BTNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Academic 2021) 580–581.

4   On the hilasterion in Paul, see D.A. Campbell, *The Rhetoric of Righteousness in Romans 3.21–26* (JSNTSup 65; Sheffield: JSOT 1992) 102–137; Finlan, *The Background and Content of Paul's Cultic Atonement Metaphors*, 123–162.

5   Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 68–70.

6   Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 78–81; J. Thiessen, "First Fruits and the Day of Christ's Resurrection. An Examination of the Relationship between the 'Third Day' in 1 Cor 15:4 and the 'Firstfruit' in 1 Cor 15:20," *Neot* 46/2 (2012) 379–393; S.F. Kató, "Resurrection on the Day of the Omer? Interpreting 1 Corinthians 15:20 in the Light of Leviticus 23:9–15 and Menaḥot 10:2–3," *Neot* 56/1 (2022) 71–86.

7   V.P. Branick, "The Sinful Flesh of the Son of God (Rom 8:3). A Key Image of Pauline Theology," *CBQ* 47/2 (1985) 246–262; M.D. Greene, "A Note on Romans 8:3," *BZ* 35/1 (1991) 103–106; N.T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant. Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (London – New York: Clark 1991) 220–225; Finlan, *The Background and Content of Paul's Cultic Atonement Metaphors*, 98–101, 114–116.

8   P. Garuti, "La cohérence des images sacrificielles dans l'Épître aux Éphésiens (Ep 2,16; 5,2)," *RB* 122/4 (2015) 592–608.

9   G. Bornkamm, "Herrenmahl und Kirche bei Paulus," *ZTK* 53/3 (1956) 312–349; P. Sigal, "Another Note to 1 Corinthians 10:16," *NTS* 29/1 (1983) 134–139; W.A. Sebothoma, "Kononia in 1 Corinthians 10:16," *Neot* 24/1 (1990) 63–69.

10 S. Lyonnet, "Rom 1,9 et la terminologie cultuelle du N.T.," *Études sur l'épître aux Romains* (ed. S. Lyonnet) (AnBib 120; Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico 1990) 36–42; J. Ponthot, "L'expression cultuelle du ministère paulinien selon Rm 15,16," *L'Apôtre Paul. Personnalité, style et conception du ministère* (ed. A. Vanhoye) (BETL 73; Leuven: Leuven University Press – Peeters 1986) 254–262; D.J. Downs, "'The Offering of the Gentiles' in Romans 15.16," *JSNT* 29/2 (2006) 173–186; R.J. Gibson, "Paul the Missionary, in Priestly Service of the Servant-Christ (Romans 15.16)," *Paul as Missionary. Identity, Activity, Theology, and Practice* (eds. T.J. Burke – B.S. Rosner) (LNTS 420; London – New York: Clark 2011) 51–62; J. Murphy-O'Connor, "God's Priestly Gospel. Preaching as Sacrifice (cf. Rom 15:16)," *The Word Is Flesh and Blood. The Eucharist and Sacred Scripture* (ed. V. Boland) (Dublin: Dominican Publishing 2011) 88–96.

to be poured out as a libation (σπένδω) over the sacrifice and offering (θυσία and λειτουργία) for the Philippians' faith (Phil 2:17).[11]

Not only the apostle, but also the Christian can be described with reference to temple sacrifices. Believers are sanctified by the Lord (ἁγιάζω) in all dimensions of their existence (body, spirit, and soul) (1 Cor 1:2; 6:11), becoming a blameless gift (ἀμέμπτως) (1 Thess 5:23) and first fruits (ἀπαρχή) to God (1 Cor 16:15; Rom 16:5).[12] The baptised enjoy continual access to the Lord (προσαγωγή) (Rom 5:2; Eph 2:18; 3:12), reminiscent of the priests in the Jerusalem temple, offering their bodies, that is the whole person, as a living sacrifice (θυσία), holy and pleasing to God, an expression of their spiritual worship (τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν) (Rom 12:1).[13] Also, material goods, specifically the gift made to Paul by the church in Philippi, function as a fragrant offering (ὀσμὴ εὐωδίας), a sacrifice (θυσία) acceptable and pleasing to God (Phil 4:18).[14] In the same way, Paul calls the Jerusalem collection and supplying the needs of the saints a "ministry" (λειτουργία) (2 Cor 9:12), pointing to its public and cultic significance.[15]

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11   H.W. Attridge, "Making Scents of Paul. The Background and Sense of 2 Cor 2:14–17," *Early Christianity and Classical Culture. Comparative Studies in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe* (eds. J.T. Fitzgerald – T.H. Olbricht – L.M. White) (NovTSup 110; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature 2003) 71–88; Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 87–90; D.A. Kurek-Chomycz, "Spreading the Sweet Scent of the Gospel as the Cult of the Wise. On the Backdrop of the Olfactory Metaphor in 2 Corinthians 2:14–16," *Ritual and Metaphor. Sacrifice in the Bible* (ed. C. Eberhart) (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature 2011) 115–133; T. Novick, "Peddling Scents. Merchandise and Meaning in 2 Corinthians 2:14–17," *JBL* 130/3 (2011) 543–549; J. Assaël, "'Entre ma mort et votre mort, l'odeur du Christ' (2 Co 2,16)," *RTL* 44/2 (2013) 244–255; G.H. Guthrie, "Paul's Triumphal Procession Imagery (2 Cor 2.14–16a). Neglected Points of Background," *NTS* 61/1 (2015) 79–91.

12   The term ἀπαρχή carries cultic connotations, describing the first fruits, crops, and harvests offered to deity in Greco-Roman and Jewish culture. See BDAG, "ἀπαρχή," 98; LSJ, "ἀπαρχή," 180; G. Delling, "ἀπαρχή," *TDNT* I, 484–486; Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 81–83, 133–134.

13   K.L. Schmidt, "προσαγωγή," *TDNT* I, 133–134; N. Walter, "Christusglaube und heidnische Religiosität in paulinischen Gemeinden," *NTS* 25/4 (1979) 422–442; D. Peterson, "Worship and Ethics in Romans 12," *TynBul* 44/2 (1993) 271–288; H.D. Betz, "Das Problem der Grundlagen der paulinischen Ethik (Röm 12,1–2)," *Paulinische Studien. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (ed. H.D. Betz) (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1994) III, 184–205; M. Thompson, "Romans 12.1–2 and Paul's Vision for Worship," *A Vision for the Church. Studies in Early Christian Ecclesiology in Honour of J.P.M. Sweet* (eds. M.N.A. Bockmuehl – M.B. Thompson) (Edinburgh: Clark 1997) 121–132; N. Kiuchi, "Living Like the Azazel-Goat in Romans 12:1B," *TynBul* 57/2 (2006) 251–261; Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 111–127; D. Jodoin, "Rm 12,1–2. Une intrigue discursive: de l'offrande des membres à l'offrande des corps," *ETR* 85/4 (2010) 499–512; E.J. Schnabel, "Lives That Speak. ἡ λογικὴ λατρεία in Romans 12,1," *The Earliest Perceptions of Jesus in Context. Essays in Honor of John Nolland* (eds. C.A. Evans – D. Wenham – A. White) (London: Clark 2018) 280–296; I.W. Scott, "'Your Reasoning Worship'. ΛΟΓΙΚΟΣ in Romans 12:1 and Paul's Ethics of Rational Deliberation," *JTS* 69/2 (2018) 500–532.

14   G.W. Peterman, *Paul's Gift from Philippi. Conventions of Gift Exchange and Christian Giving* (SNTSMS 92; Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press 2005); Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 49–51; D. Briones, "Paul's Intentional 'Thankless Thanks' in Philippians 4.10–20," *JSNT* 34/1 (2011) 47–69; D.H. Bertschmann, "Sacrifice – the Gift That Hurts? Exploring the Costly Gift as Part of Christian Discipleship," *The New Perspective on Grace. Paul and the Gospel after Paul and the Gift* (eds. E. Adams *et al.*) (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2023) 283–300.

15   On the cultic meaning of λειτουργία in 2 Cor 9:12, see S. Joubert, "Religious Reciprocity in 2 Corinthians 9:6–15. Generosity and Gratitude as Legitimate Responses to the χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ," *Neot* 33/1 (1999) 85–86;

Finally, the apostle uses the temple metaphor to describe the fragile bodies of believers, which resemble the perishable tent/tabernacle (οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους) in which God dwelt with Israel (2 Cor 5:1). The tent and tabernacle were subject to destruction, reflecting the story of the human body, which also falls apart to be replaced by a building from God (οἰκοδομὴν ἐκ θεοῦ), a house not made with human hands, eternal in the heavens (οἰκίαν ἀχειροποίητον αἰώνιον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς) (2 Cor 5:1).[16] According to Paul, Christians are not only similar to the temple in its various aspects. They are God's temple (ναός) in which the Spirit and God dwell (1 Cor 3:16–17; 6:19; 2 Cor 6:16). Ephesians develops this metaphor, describing believers as a holy temple in the Lord (ναὸν ἅγιον ἐν κυρίῳ), the dwelling of God in the Spirit (κατοικητήριον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν πνεύματι), a building (οἰκοδομή) established on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, with Christ as the cornerstone (Eph 2:20–22).[17]

2. Paul and the Temple Metaphor

As can be observed, the temple and the worship associated with it are a frequent point of reference for Paul to describe the sacrifice of Christ, the apostle's own mission and the identity of Christians. Why does Paul reach for the temple-related imagery? The simplest answer is because his audience, both Jews and pagans, are well acquainted with this phenomenon. Although some authors, e.g. Lanci and Lim, refer to the ubiquitous pagan temples inspiring Paul's language (Corinth in Pausanias' description had at least 25 of them), most exegetes argue for the apostle drawing his inspiration from the worship in Jerusalem.[18]

Much more difficult to answer is the question of Paul's attitude to the Jewish cult and temple institutions. In this question, we enter the eye of the cyclone, as some say, which is the apostle's attitude to the Law and Judaism of his time.[19] Here, the views of biblical scholars have evolved over the last hundred years. From Paul spiritualising and rejecting the temple institutions, a position that prevailed until the 1960s, we have moved to

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B.B. Bruehler, "Proverbs, Persuasion and People. A Three-Dimensional Investigation of 2 Cor 9.6–15," *NTS* 48/2 (2002) 219–220.

[16]   Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 90–96.

[17]   R.F. Collins, "Constructing a Metaphor. 1 Corinthians 3,9b–17 and Ephesians 2,19–22," *Paul et l'unité des Chrétiens* (ed. J. Schlosser) (Benedictina 19; Leuven: Peeters 2010) 193–216; J. van Nes, "Under Construction. The Building of God's Temple according to Ephesians 2,19–22," *Paul's Graeco-Roman Context* (ed. C. Breytenbach) (BETL 277; Leuven – Paris – Bristol, CT: Peeters 2015) 631–644.

[18]   As for representatives of the majority approach, see e.g. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament*; R.J. McKelvey, *The New Temple. The Church in the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1969); Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul*; Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission*; Finlan, *The Background and Content of Paul's Cultic Atonement Metaphors*; Regev, *The Temple in Early Christianity*, 66–67. On the reference to Greco-Roman temples in Paul, see Lanci, *A New Temple for Corinth*, 7–23; M. Vahrenhorst, *Kultische Sprache in den Paulusbriefen* (WUNT 230; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2008) 334, 339; Lim, "Paul's Use of Temple Imagery in the Corinthian Correspondence," 189–207.

[19]   H. Räisänen, "Das Gesetz des Glaubens (Röm. 3.27) und das Gesetz des Geistes (Röm. 8.2)," *NTS* 26 (1979) 101–117.

the apostle immersed in Judaism, who values the temple and participates in the temple worship (Acts 21:20–27).[20] Does Paul argue for the inadequacy of temple sacrifices, rendered obsolete by Christ's sacrifice? Does he perceive the Christian community as a new temple that replaces the old one, in Jerusalem?[21] The answers to these questions are among the still debated issues of the apostle's theology and would require a separate article. In this paper, we are primarily interested in answering the question of how Paul uses the temple metaphor to describe the phenomenon of new life in Christ.

The object of our interest is the figurative language and rhetoric used by the apostle. Drawing on the phenomenon well known to himself and to the first Christians, Paul applies the temple metaphor to describe the experience of new life in Christ. According to Aristotle's classic definition, a metaphor is 'the application of a word that belongs to another thing: either from genus to species, species to genus, species to species, or by analogy' (*Poet*. 1457b, 6–7).[22] Thanks to its nature, metaphor can express truth and expand our knowledge: paradoxically, metaphor reveals by obscuring and explains by covering. Creating good metaphors is, according to Aristotle, equivalent to discerning similarities: τὸ γὰρ εὖ μεταφέρειν τὸ τὸ ὅμοιον θεωρεῖν ἐστιν (*Poet*. 1459a, 8). Finally, and importantly for us, according to Aristotle, metaphor not only adorns but also teaches (*Rhet*. 3.10.2–3, cf. also 3.11.6).[23]

What Aristotle claims about the cognitive function of metaphor is reflected in the modern theory of conceptual metaphor, popularised by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson.[24]

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20   On Paul's observance of the Law, see D.J. Rudolph, *A Jew to Jews. Jewish Contours of Pauline Flexibility in 1 Corinthians 9:19–23* (WUNT 304; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2011). On Paul's reverence for worship and the institution of the temple, see Lanci, *A New Temple for Corinth*; C. Böttrich, "Ihr seid der Tempel Gottes. Tempelmetapliorik und Gemeinde bei Paulus," *Gemeinde ohne Tempel/Community without Temple. Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (eds. B. Ego *et al.*) (WUNT 118; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1999) 411–425; Hogeterp, *Paul and God's Temple*; F.W. Horn, "Paulus und der Herodianische Tempel," *NTS* 53/2 (2007) 184–203; P. Fredriksen, "Judaizing the Nations. The Ritual Demands of Paul's Gospel," *NTS* 56/2 (2010) 250. See also A. Pereira Delgado – P.A. Díez Herrera, "Paul and Jewish Sacrifices. Perspectives and Arguments," *ZNW* 115/1 (2024) 90–113.

21   For an overview of different approaches, see Lim, "Paul's Use of Temple Imagery in the Corinthian Correspondence," 192–197; Regev, *The Temple in Early Christianity*, 53–55. Regev (57–60), analysing concisely the temple metaphor (ναός) in the Corinthian correspondence, concludes that its generality and contextualisation indicate that Paul is not arguing here for the replacement of the Jerusalem temple by the Christian community.

22   Aristotle, *Poetics. Longinus: On the Sublime. Demetrius: On Style* (trans. S. Halliwell *et al.*; revised by D.A. Russell) (LCL 199; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1995) 105.

23   On metaphor in Aristotle, see Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 28–29.

24   G. Lakoff – M. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press 1980). On the cognitive character of metaphor, see P. Wheelwright, *Metaphor & Reality*, 2 ed. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press 1964); M. Black, *Models and Metaphors. Studies in Language and Philosophy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1962); M. Johnson, *Philosophical Perspectives on Metaphor* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press 1981); J.M. Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language* (Oxford: Clarendon – Oxford University Press 1985); M. Johnson, *Moral Imagination. Implications of Cognitive Science for Ethics* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press 1993); Z. Kövecses, *Metaphor. A Practical Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press 2002).

According to their theory, metaphors arise by combining two conceptual domains, one of which can be defined as the source and the other as the target domain. Through mapping, that is, projecting the source domain (usually more concrete and accessible to our senses) onto the target domain (more abstract), the latter opens up cognitively for us. Metaphors are cognitive and creative in nature, allowing us to approximate complex concepts we use not only in science, but also in everyday life. Metaphors, according to Lakoff and Johnson, are characteristic of our reasoning and communicating, in which we constantly try to relate different phenomena to each other, reading them through the lens of our experience. We live by creating metaphors and this way we learn about the world around us.[25]

3. The Temple Metaphor (ναός) in the Corinthian Correspondence

How does Paul apply the temple metaphor to believers, and what does it imply? It would be impossible to examine all his references to the temple, which, as we saw, are quite numerous. In this paper, we will focus on the term ναός, further narrowing our study to the proto-Pauline letters. The noun appears in three texts of the Corinthian correspondence: 1 Cor 3:16–17; 1 Cor 6:19; and 2 Cor 6:16.[26] On their basis, we will see how Paul uses the temple metaphor in his arguments, which features of the temple he transfers to believers, and how he shapes the identity and moral conduct of his communities.

The first passage, 1 Cor 3:16–17, is part of a larger argumentative unit, 1 Cor 1–4, where the apostle confronts the problem of divisions. The antidote to them is 'the word of the cross' (1 Cor 1:18), in which the subversion of the values of this world took place and which should shape the lives of believers in Corinth. According to Paul, the paradoxical wisdom of the cross is manifested in God's plan of salvation (1 Cor 1:19 – 2:5), which includes Christ (1 Cor 1:19–25), the Corinthians (1 Cor 1:26–31), and the apostle (1 Cor 2:1–5). The one who reveals the wisdom of the cross is the Spirit (1 Cor 2:6 – 3:4). Finally, the paradoxical wisdom of the cross is embodied in the Church (1 Cor 3:5–17), which Paul describes with a threefold metaphor as God's field (1 Cor 3:6–9), God's building (1 Cor 3:9–15), and God's temple (1 Cor 3:16–17). According to Beale, the metaphor of the building in 1 Cor 3:9–15 is already an allusion to the temple (see 1 Cor 3:12 and 1 Chr 29:2 [LXX]), and the whole argument in 1 Cor 3:6–17 alludes to the garden of Eden, which combines the images of planting and the temple.[27] The author finds such a combination also in *Pss. Sol.* 38:17–21, to which Newton adds a Qumranic description of the community in 1QS 8:5 and 11:8.[28] Thus, the apostle in his argument could draw on the

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25   On conceptual metaphor and its use in Paul, see Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 31–35; Regev, *The Temple in Early Christianity*, 55–56, 304–305.

26   On the broader set of texts in the Corinthian correspondence where references to the temple, liturgy, and worship appear, see Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 60–105.

27   Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission*, 246–247.

28   Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul*, 54 n. 9.

motifs popular in Second Temple literature, which have their roots in the Old Testament. However, the temple metaphor seems to be a crowning of Paul's thought in 1 Cor 3:5–17, and it does not need to be forcibly linked to the image of the building. By way of rhetorical *gradatio*, it illustrates Paul's thesis in 1 Cor 3:5 that the apostles are merely servants of God's plan of salvation, which they were given to announce in Corinth. The community is not their property. It is not only God's field and building, but a holy place that belongs to the Lord alone.

　　The second passage is 1 Cor 6:19, where Paul applies the temple metaphor to the bodies of believers. This text is usually interpreted as referring to an individual, although the plural is used here: 'Do you not know (οἴδατε) that your (ὑμῶν) body is a temple of the Holy Spirit within you (ἐν ὑμῖν), which you have (ἔχετε) from God, and that you are not your own? (ἐστὲ ἑαυτῶν).'[29] In this passage, which belongs to the larger unit of 1 Cor 5–6, Paul criticises sexual immorality (1 Cor 5:1–13; 6:9–20) and the court cases the Corinthians pursue against one another before pagans (1 Cor 6:1–8). 1 Cor 6:19, which belongs to the unit of 1 Cor 6:9–20, is preceded by a warning against sexual sins, which are incompatible with the kingdom of God and destroy new life in Christ (1 Cor 6:9–11). The Christian's body should serve the Lord and is destined to be raised from the dead (1 Cor 6:12–14). It is one with the body of Christ, which precludes using it for sexual immorality (1 Cor 6:15–18). The link between 1 Cor 6:18 and 6:19 makes Kempthorn and Newton qualify the ἴδιον σῶμα (v. 18) and the σῶμα ὑμῶν (v. 19) as the body of Christ, that is the Church, with which the body of the Christian is united.[30] Even without accepting this interpretation, the Christological and ecclesiological argumentation sets the tone here, making it impossible to separate the body of an individual from the body of the community. The temple, which implies both the individual and the Church, demands respect for the body, which is the dwelling of the Spirit. The temple metaphor, taking on both an individual and communal character in 1 Cor 6:19, crowns the section of 1 Cor 6:9–20 and again constitutes the climax of Paul's argument, leading to the closing statement: 'For you were bought with a price; therefore glorify God in your body' (1 Cor 6:20).[31]

29　　On the reference to the individual, see A.C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians. A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, MI – Carlisle: Eerdmans – Paternoster 2000) 474; Hogeterp, *Paul and God's Temple*, 340; Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 74–75; C.R. Campbell, *Paul and Union with Christ. An Exegetical and Theological Study* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 2015) 291. On the collective interpretation of the metaphor, see R. Kempthorne, "Incest and the Body of Christ. A Study of 1 Corinthians 6:12–20," *NTS* 14/4 (1968) 568–574; McKelvey, *The New Temple*, 104; Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul*, 57–58. On the history of research and attempts to move beyond the dichotomy of individual and communal readings of 1 Cor 6:19, see N.K. Gupta, "Which 'Body' Is a Temple (1 Corinthians 6:19)? Paul beyond the Individual/Communal Divide," *CBQ* 72/3 (2010) 518–536.

30　　Kempthorne, "Incest and the Body of Christ," 573; Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul*, 57–58.

31　　On 1 Cor 6:20 and the connection between the temple and the liberation of slaves that took place at ancient sanctuaries, see G.A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East. The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World* (London: Hodder & Stoughton 1910) 322–333. On the critique of Deissman's reading of 1 Cor 6:19 and the interpretation related to the transfer of ownership, see H. Conzelmann,

Finally, the last passage, 2 Cor 6:16, is part of the unit of 2 Cor 6:11 – 7:3, structured by Paul's three appeals to the community to open up to him (2 Cor 6:11–13), to cleanse themselves of sin (2 Cor 6:14 – 7:1), and to open up to the apostle again (2 Cor 7:2–3). The mention of believers being the temple of God is found in the middle exhortation, 2 Cor 6:14 – 7:1, which is characterised by a compact composition based on antitheses: there is no partnership between righteousness and lawlessness, light and darkness, Christ and Beliar, believer and unbeliever, temple of God and idols (2 Cor 6:14–16a). The concluding antithesis sets in motion a statement supported by a quote from Scripture: 'For we are the temple of the living God; as God said, "I will live in them and walk among them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people"' (2 Cor 6:16bc). In this quotation, Paul links Lev 26:12 (LXX) ('I will walk among them') with a paraphrase of Ezek 37:27 ('I will live in them'), illumining the identity of the Christian community as God's temple with a reference to the Law and the Prophets.[32]

Lev 26:1 begins with a call to abandon idols, which resonates strongly with Paul's argument in 1 Cor 6:16 and further in 1 Cor 8:1 – 11:1. The holiness of the community, perceived as God's temple, depends on the covenant with God and implies the rejection of pagan lifestyle. Ezek 37:27, on the other hand, contains a reference to the New Exodus and the New Covenant, emphasising God's presence in believers and giving it an eschatological meaning. A similar context characterises the subsequent quotations from Isa 52:11 and Ezek 20:34 in 1 Cor 6:17, where the apostle calls on the community to abandon what is unclean. In this way, they can enjoy the status of God's sons and daughters, as illustrated by the quote from 2 Sam 7:14 / 1 Kgs 7:14 in 1 Cor 6:18.[33] Paul, probably following Isa 43:6 (LXX), adds 'sons and daughters' to the promise made to David, following again the Isaianic

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1 Corinthians. A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians (Hermeneia; Philadelphia, MA: Fortress 1975) 113; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 476–479.

32 C.D. Stanley (*Paul and the Language of Scripture. Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* [SNTSMS 69; Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press 1992] 219–221) considers 1 Cor 6:16 to be Paul's reworking of Lev 26:11–12, not a conflation of Leviticus 26 and Ezek 37:27. W.J. Webb (*Returning Home. New Covenant and Second Exodus as the Context for 2 Corinthians 6.14–7.1* [JSNTSup 85; Sheffield: JSOT 1993] 33–40) on the other hand, considers the text of Ezekiel to be primary. Both texts contain a covenant formula, and both may have been an inspiration for Paul.

33 On the Old Testament quotations in 2 Cor 6:16–18, which in addition to Lev 26:11–12 and Ezek 37:27 also include Isa 52:11; Ezek 20:34; and 2 Sam 7:14, see V.P. Furnish, *II Corinthians. Translated with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary* (AB 32A; New Haven, CT – London: Yale University Press 1984) 373–375; D.E. Garland, *2 Corinthians* (NAC 29; Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman 1999) 336–341; E.E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock 2003) 178–179, 186; Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 217–230; J.W. Aernie, *Is Paul also among the Prophets? An Examination of the Relationship between Paul and the Old Testament Prophetic Tradition in 2 Corinthians* (LNTS 467; London – New York: Clark 2012) 223–231; F.J. Matera, *II Corinthians. A Commentary* (NTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox 2013) 164–167; P. Han, *Swimming in the Sea of Scripture. Paul's Use of the Old Testament in 2 Corinthians 4:7–13:13* (LNTS 519; London: Bloomsbury 2014) 90–107; G.H. Guthrie, *2 Corinthians* (BECNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2015) 353–359; S. Moyise, *Paul and Scripture. Studying the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2020) 91–92.

idea of the New Exodus and the New Covenant.[34] According to the apostle, the Law and the promises of the Prophets are fulfilled in the Church, God's eschatological temple, although it does not necessarily mean that it replaces the synagogue, as Newton postulates.[35]

Because of the compact structure of 2 Cor 6:14 – 7:1 and the numerous *hapax legomena* that appear here, it has been suggested that this passage is a digression or interpolation, a foreign body in Paul's argument.[36] It was argued that the cumulative quotation in 2 Cor 6:16–18 contains Qumran thought and resembles the Qumranic methods of quoting the Scripture.[37] In response to this, one can point at Rom 3:10–18 or 9–11, where we find quotations from the Old Testament that are much more elaborate than their Qumranic counterparts and that are distinguished by greater thematic consistency.[38] The passage in 2 Cor 6:14 – 7:1 fits well with the argumentative strategy of the apostle, who in 2 Cor regularly urges the community to open up to his teaching for their own edification.[39] The figure of Satan, called Beliar in 2 Cor 6:15, is also no stranger to the apostle's argumentation in 2 Cor, where he is always referring to his opponents (see 2 Cor 2:11; 11:14; 12:7). The metaphor of the temple in 2 Cor 6:16, in conjunction with Paul's argument in 2 Corinthians, serves to emphasise the relationship with God that the Corinthians enter through their relationship with the apostle, their faithfulness to his instructions and the gospel he preached.[40]

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34   Webb, *Returning Home*, 58; M.J. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians. A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2005) 510.

35   Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul*, 55.

36   On the research history and the discussion regarding the authenticity and origins of 2 Cor 6:14 – 7:1, see R.P. Martin, *2 Corinthians* (WBC 40; Waco, TX: Word 1986) 355–360; Webb, *Returning Home*, 16–30; 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: Leuven University Press – Peeters 1994) 551–570; Garland, *2 Corinthians*, 315–327; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 14–25 (see also pp. 492–497 on the structure of the text and thematic links to 2 Corinthians).

37   Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament*, 52–54; J.A. Fitzmyer, "Qumrân and the Interpolated Paragraph in 2 Cor 6:14–7:1," *CBQ* 23/3 (1961) 271–280; J. Gnilka, "2 Cor 6:14–7:1. In the Light of the Qumran Texts and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *Paul and Qumran. Studies in New Testament Exegesis* (ed. J. Murphy-O'Connor) (London: Chapman 1968) 48–68; H.-J. Klauck, *2 Korintherbrief* (NEchtB 8; Würzburg: Echter 1986) 60–73.

38   On the use of Scripture in Rom 3:10–18 and 9–11, see J.-N. Aletti, *God's Justice in Romans. Keys for Interpreting the Epistle to the Romans* (SubBi 37; Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press 2010) 85–87; B.J. Abasciano, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9:1–9. An Intertextual and Theological Exegesis* (LNTS 331; London – New York: Clark 2005); B.J. Abasciano, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament in Romans 9:10–18. An Intertextual and Theological Exegesis* (LNTS 317; London – New York: Bloomsbury 2012). On the differences between Paul and Qumran in quoting and integrating the Old Testament texts, see J.M. Scott, "The Use of Scripture in 2 Corinthians 6:16c–18 and Paul's Restoration Theology," *JSNT* 17/56 (1995) 77–78; Han, *Swimming in the Sea of Scripture*, 93–94.

39   See 2 Cor 2:14–17; 3:1–5; 4:1–6; 5:11–12; 6:1–2, 11–13; 7:1–3, 8–12; 8:6–8, 13; 9:8–15; 10:7–8; 11:1–4; 12:19; 13:1–10.

40   For more arguments on the relationship between 2 Cor 6:14 – 7:1 and 2 Corinthians, see M.E. Thrall, "Problem of II Cor. 6:14–7:1 in Some Recent Discussion," *NTS* 24/1 (1977) 132–148; J.D.M. Derrett, "2 Cor 6:14. A Midrash on Dt 22:10," *Bib* 59/2 (1978) 231–250; G.K. Beale, "The Old Testament Background of Reconciliation in 2 Corinthians 5–7 and Its Bearing on the Literary Problem of 2 Corinthians 6:14–7:1,"

4. The Correlates of the Temple Transferred to Believers in 1 Cor 3:16–17, 6:19, and 2 Cor 6:16

The three passages, 1 Cor 3:16–17, 6:19, and 2 Cor 6:16, appear in different argumentative contexts. However, they show some common features that allow us to understand how Paul uses the temple metaphor in the Corinthian correspondence. First, it serves the apostle to emphasise that God dwells in the community and in individuals not only in a spiritual sense but in an embodied manner, encompassing the whole person. This is implied by Paul's use of the term ναός, which, according to many commentators, should be distinguished from another Greek term, ἱερόν. While the latter generally describes the temple and all that belongs to it, ναός would refer to the 'Holy of Holies' in the Jerusalem temple, where the Ark of the Covenant rested.[41] In pagan temples, it was the area that belonged to a deity, where the deity resided and where its image was placed (from Gr. ναίω, 'to dwell', 'to inhabit').[42] Whether in a Jewish or Greek context, therefore, ναός would mean a particular place of the temple that belonged to and was inhabited by a deity.

Even if, as Nijay Gupta argues, the distinction between ναός and ἱερόν is untenable on philological grounds, since ναός often simply denotes a temple in the LXX, it is possible to say that this place points to a divine, saving presence.[43] The post-exilic prophets and the psalmists often describe ναός, the temple, as the place from which the Lord grants retribution to Israel's enemies (Isa 66:6), listens to the cry of the oppressed and moves to their aid, rescues them from danger, rewards them for righteousness (Ps 17:7; 27:2–9), preserves their life, and sets them on a rock (Ps 26:4–5). The Lord reigns as a king from his temple, grants power to his people, blesses and gives them peace (Ps 28:9–11), issues righteous judgments, shows favour, leads (Ps 47:10–15), satisfies believers with the goods of his house and the sanctity of the tabernacle (Ps 64:5), as well as shows his power and dominion over the nations (Ps 67:30).

NTS 35/4 (1989) 550–581; Webb, *Returning Home*; D.A. DeSilva, "Measuring Penultimate against Ultimate Reality. An Investigation of the Integrity and Argumentation of 2 Corinthians," *JSNT* 16/52 (1993) 41–70; 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: Leuven University Press – Peeters 1994) 531–549; Scott, "The Use of Scripture in 2 Corinthians 6:16c–18 and Paul's Restoration Theology," 73–99; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 21–25; Aernie, *Is Paul also among the Prophets?*, 215–233; P.J. Tomson, "Christ, Belial, and Women. 2 Cor 6:14–7,1 Compared with the Ancient Judaism and with the Pauline Corpus," *Second Corinthians in the Perspective of Late Second Temple Judaism* (ed. R. Bieringer) (CRINT 14; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2014) 79–131.

41 Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament*, 53; Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul*, 54; Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 367; G.D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI – Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans 1987) 147; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 505; Han, *Swimming in the Sea of Scripture*, 91; P. Gardner, *1 Corinthians* (Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 2018) 179.

42 LSJ, "ναός," 1160; O. Michel, "ναός," *TDNT* IV, 880.

43 Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 65–66. See also Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 315–316; R. Corriveau, "Temple, Holiness, and the Liturgy of Life in Corinthians," *Letter & Spirit: Temple and Contemplation. God's Presence in the Cosmos, Church, and Human Heart* 4 (2008) 146–147.

When Paul reaches for the temple metaphor (ναός), applying it to the Christian community in 1 Cor 3:16, 6:19, and 2 Cor 6:16, he transfers to it the connotations of God's active, saving presence, known from the prophetic literature and the Psalms. Additionally, the apostle reinforces the idea of God's presence in believers with the verbs οἰκέω and ἐνοικέω, which appear in 1 Cor 3:16 and 2 Cor 6:16, respectively. The former, οἰκέω, means to dwell permanently, to live, to settle, as well as to manage and direct (1 Cor 3:16; see also Rom 8:9). The synonymous ἐνοικέω in Paul's epistolary always occurs in the context of God or spiritual entities dwelling in a person (2 Cor 6:16; see also Rom 8:11; Col 3:16; 2 Tim 1:5,14).[44] In 1 Cor 6:19, the verb is missing altogether, but the forms 'to dwell', 'to be' or 'to abide' can be inferred from the context.

Just as temple is called the place where God dwells, so the baptised can be called a temple because God (2 Cor 6:16) and his Spirit (1 Cor 3:16; 6:19) dwell in them. In the Old Testament, this indwelling is never expressed with the simple forms οἰκέω or ἐνοικέω, with which human dwelling is described, but it is illustrated by intensifying compounds such as κατοικέω and κατασκηνόω.[45] They suggest remaining and dwelling in some place, which would support the thesis that among various social and cultic functions performed by the Jerusalem temple, the most important one consisted in introducing believers into the experience of God's saving presence. Solomon, in his dedicatory prayer, states that he built an exalted house, a place for God to stay in forever (1 Kgs 8:13). Then, in the spirit of Deuteronomistic theology, he asks whether God will indeed dwell on the earth, and whether he, whom the whole world cannot contain, will live in the house built with human hands (1 Kgs 8:27; see also 2 Kgs 6:18; Acts 7:48; 17:24). Although God resides in heaven (1 Kgs 8:30, 34, 39, 43, 45, 49), he listens to the prayers and acts on behalf of his people in the temple (1 Kgs 8:30–45), where his name is present (1 Kgs 8:16, 23). In a similar sense, Trito-Isaiah, strongly emphasising God's transcendence, describes the Lord who sits on his throne in heaven, and at the same time is close to the one who worships his word with trembling (Isa 66:1–2). Although the Most High inhabits (κατοικέω) eternity, the high and holy place, he pours out his graces on the contrite and humble in spirit from his holy temple (Isa 57:15).

It is hard to imagine God's physical presence in the temple, which is foreign to the Old Testament theology. This mistake is made by Newton, who argues for a transfer of God's physical dwelling in the temple to the Christian community in 1 Cor 3:16, 6:19, and 2 Cor 6:16.[46] Further, the author also speaks of the 'real' temple, referring to Jerusalem, of which the Christian community is only a 'metaphor'.[47] In doing so, he makes another mistake – metaphor is not the opposite of reality. Rather, it contains an entire spectrum of

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44   LSJ, "οἰκέω," 1203; O. Michel, "οἰκέω," *TDNT* V, 135–136; BDAG, "ἐνοικέω," 338.

45   The first verb means to live, dwell, settle, also to manage, administer. See BDAG, "κατοικέω," 534; O. Michel, "κατοικέω," *TDNT* V, 153–155. The second verb means to set up a camp, to settle, to inhabit. See W. Michaelis, "κατασκηνόω," *TDNT* VII, 387–389. On the vocabulary associated with God's dwelling in the temple, see T.W. Mann, *Divine Presence and Guidance in Israelite Traditions. The Typology of Exaltation* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press 1977) 252–261.

46   See Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul*, 55.

47   Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul*, 58.

literal (physical-spatial) and non-literal (e.g. spiritual) meanings.[48] God dwells in the tabernacle in the form of his name, listening to the prayers addressed to him and granting his forgiveness (1 Kgs 8:29–30; Ezra 6:12; Neh 1:9). On the other hand, the Ark of the Covenant is his visible throne and an extension of his palpable presence (1 Kgs 28:2; Ps 99:5; 132:7). The Old Testament attests to God's real and experiential dwelling in the tabernacle, which combines both physical and spiritual correlates.[49] The same applies to believers, in whom God dwells both in a spiritual-intellectual and bodily manner, guiding them and raising them from the dead (Rom 8:5–11).

If we have focused so much on God's presence in the temple, it is because it appears to be a fundamental aspect of the source domain, i.e. the temple, which Paul transfers to the target domain, that is believers.[50] Using Aristotle's language, God's presence is the main similarity on which Paul builds the analogy between the temple and Christians. Two additional correlates connected to it are holiness and purity. In 1 Cor 3:17 Paul states: 'The temple of God is holy,' which in this argumentative context means that it belongs exclusively to the Lord, not to any of the apostles or preachers. In 1 Cor 6:19, the statement 'your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit' is combined with the message: 'you are not your own.' Here, belonging to the Lord forms an imperative to break with sexual immorality and prostitution (πορνεία). Finally, the statement in 2 Cor 6:16 about being the temple of the living God implies a rejection of idols and all that is unclean: 'come out from them, and be separate from them, says the Lord, and touch nothing unclean; then I will welcome you' (2 Cor 6:17) (quotation from Isa 52:11).

In the three texts of the Corinthian correspondence, Paul transfers to believers the concept of the holiness and purity of the sanctuary, its artifacts and offerings, and those who participate in worship. It appears with particular intensity in Leviticus, but not only. The psalmists also frequently speak of the temple of God's holiness (Ps 5:8; 10:4, 17:7; 27:2; 64:5; 78:1; 137:2) (LXX). It is similarly described in wisdom literature that speaks of a temple on a holy mountain (Wis 9:8), or a holy temple destined for everlasting glory (Sir 49:12). Also for the prophets, the temple of the Lord (Hag 2:15, 18; Jer 7:4; 24:1; Ezek 8:16) is holy and full of his glory (Isa 6; Dan 3:53; Jon 2:5, 8). Everything in the tabernacle is holy (ἅγιος), because it belongs to the Lord. What is holy has been transferred from the realm of the profane to the sacred, which excludes all impurity.[51]

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48 On such a reading of metaphor, see D.H. Aaron, *Biblical Ambiguities. Metaphor, Semantics, and Divine Imagery* (BRLAJ 4; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2001).

49 For more on this topic, see M. Kowalski, *The Spirit in Romans 8. Paul, the Stoics, and Jewish Authors in Dialogue* (Lublin Theological Studies 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2024) 278–285.

50 Hogeterp, *Paul and God's Temple*, 327–331; C.R. Campbell, "From Earthly Symbol to Heavenly Reality. The Tabernacle in the New Testament," *Exploring Exodus. Literary, Theological and Contemporary Approaches* (eds. B.S. Rosner – P.R. Williamson) (Nottingham: Apollos 2008) 184; Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 66–67; E. Regev, "Community as Temple. Revisiting Cultic Metaphors in Qumran and the New Testament," *BBR* 28/4 (2018) 615.

51 On the meaning of holiness, see W. Kornfeld – H. Ringgren, "קדשׁ," *TDOT* XII, 521–545. Also Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 149.

Purity (ἀκαθ-), which accompanies holiness (2 Cor 6:17), is a correlate with strong liturgical-ritual overtones. The terms ἀκαθαρσία and ἀκάθαρτος ('uncleanness, unclean') appear frequently in Leviticus, where they are used to describe the ritual condition contracted by touching something unclean (Lev 5:2–3; 7:20–21; 17:15), animals whose consumption is forbidden (Lev 11:4–8, 24–33; 20:25), a condition caused by bodily leaks (Lev 12; 15), disease (Lev 13–14), the sin of incest (Lev 20:21), and uncleanness in the general sense of Israel's sin that desecrates the tabernacle (Lev 16:16, 19).[52] Uncleanness is associated with pagan worship (2 Kgs 29:16; 1 Macc 4:43) and the sins of pagans, which Israel must not imitate (Ezra 6:21; 9:11; 1 Macc 1:48). The Book of Proverbs (LXX) connects various types of sins of a social and moral nature to uncleanness, stating that they are abhorrent to God.[53] Uncleanness also appears as a synonym for sin in the prophetic literature, including a wide range of offenses related to idolatry, religious formalism and betrayal of the covenant.[54] In the gospels, the terms ἀκαθαρσία and ἀκάθαρτος primarily describe unclean spirits and in one case the sins of the Pharisees (Matt 23:27). Finally, in Paul, uncleanness generally refers to sexual immorality, but also to insincerity (1 Thess 2:3), a state contrary to holiness (1 Cor 7:14; 1 Thess 4:7) and anything associated with a pagan lifestyle (2 Cor 6:17).[55] The term describes the conduct that excludes fellowship with God and other people.[56] 'Uncleanness' in the Old and New Testaments has both a cultic and moral character. It defines sin in its essential aspect of breaking bonds with God and the other.

In addition to the correlates of God's presence, holiness and purity, believers are also to worship God (δοξάζω) in the temple of their own bodies (1 Cor 6:20).[57] In the Song of Miriam, the verb δοξάζω describes the glory given to the Lord after crossing the Red Sea (Exod 15:1, 2, 6, 11, 21 LXX), further referring to honouring God through temple sacrifices (1 Sam 2:29–30; Ps 49:23; Mal 1:6, 11 LXX). In Paul's case, the term signifies the praise that a person should give to God by respecting his laws (Rom 1:21), glorifying the Father and the Son by believers in their mutual love and concern for one another (Rom 15:6; 2 Cor 9:13), and in response to the mercy shown to them by God (Rom 15:9). God's glory characterises the New Covenant (2 Cor 3:10) and accompanies Paul's preaching of the gospel (Gal 1:24; 2 Thess 3:1). The Christian worships God without giving away his own body to the prey of sexual immorality. In the correlate associated with praise in 1 Cor 6:19, the individual and communal dimensions of the temple metaphor are clearly intertwined. The entire community of the Church participates in the praise given to God by believers in their own bodies.

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52   In the sense of ritual impurity, the term appears predominantly in the Book of Numbers: 5:2; 9:6–7, 10; 19:7, 8,10, 11, 13–17, 19–22.

53   See Prov 3:32; 6:16; 16:5; 17:15; 20:10; 21:15; 24:9. Also Job 15:16; Wis 2:16.

54   See Hos 8:13; Mic 2:10; Nah 3:6; Isa 6:5; 64:5; Ezek 9:9; 22:5, 15; 24:11, 14; 36:17, 26, 29; 39:24.

55   See Rom 1:24; 6:19; 2 Cor 12:21; Gal 5:19; Eph 4:19; 5:3, 5; Col 3:5.

56   F. Hauck, *"ἀκάθαρτος," TDNT* III, 428.

57   On this correlate, see Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission*, 252; Corriveau, "Temple, Holiness, and the Liturgy of Life in Corinthians," 164–165; Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, 76.

There is yet another correlate linking the temple to the community of the Church that Paul emphasises in 1 Cor 3:17, namely, the punishment for the one who destroys the temple of God: 'If anyone destroys God's temple, God will destroy that person.' The Old Testament is full of prophetic woes, announcing punishment for pagan nations that raised their hands against the chosen people and their temple (see, for example, the Book of Obadiah and the punishment for Edom, but also Jer 50:28, 51:11; Ezek 25:3 and Ps 74). Harsh chastisement for sacrilege is also mentioned in Jewish texts of the Second Temple period (Jub. 3:14–14) and rabbinic literature (m.Sanh. 9:6).[58] It is also a motif known in Greco-Roman culture, in which the destruction of the temple was considered a crime and deserved the most severe punishment.[59] Newton connects the warning in 1 Cor 3:17 with 1 Cor 5:5, interpreting the destruction of the sacrilegious person as removal from the community, which, however, seems to be too weak an interpretation.[60] The universal theme of punishment is closely linked to the understanding of the temple as God's special belonging and the place of his presence. The Lord himself punishes the one who destroys his temple and breaks up the unity of the Church community (1 Cor 3:16). The term φθείρω that Paul uses to describe God's punitive action appears also in Isa 24:3–4 where it denotes God's eschatological judgment.

Thus, we already have a nearly complete list of correlates between the source domain of the temple and the target domain of believers. Paul maps on them the features of the sanctuary, such as God's saving presence, holiness, purity, glory, and the punitive intervention that the destruction of God's temple entails. In the final step, we will consider how Paul uses these correlates to shape the new identity that believers obtain in Christ.

5. The Temple Metaphor and the Shaping of Believers' New Identity

The way Paul presents the identity of believers, illustrating it with the temple metaphor, confirms that for the apostle the Jerusalem sanctuary did not lose its value. On the contrary, it is an institution that Paul finds the most suitable to describe new life in Christ. Just as the temple defines the identity of the covenant people, the code of their moral conduct, and the boundaries between them and the pagan world, so it is with being the temple of God in Paul. It, too, serves to define a new identity, a code of moral conduct and an attitude toward the outside world in the life of the Christian.[61] The correlates we saw in the previous

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58   Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul*, 133 n. 33.

59   See the inscription from the shrine of Athena Alea at Tegea: 'and for a murderous stroke let a murderous stroke be paid' (Aeschylus, *Cheophori*, 312–313). Cf. J.A. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 32; New Haven, CT – London: Yale University Press 2008) 203. M. Bonnington, "New Temples in Corinth," *Heaven on Earth* (eds. T.D. Alexander – S.J. Gathercole) (Carlisle: Paternoster 2004) 156 sees in 1 Cor 3:17a a warning against the "pneumatics" who destroy the unity of the Corinthian community.

60   Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul*, 56.

61   On the connection between Paul's use of the temple metaphor and the shaping of believers' identity, see Lim, "Paul's Use of Temple Imagery in the Corinthian Correspondence," 198–199.

paragraph emphasise significant similarities and continuity between the Old Testament idea of the temple and the character of the Christian community. There are also interesting differences that highlight the creative use of the temple metaphor by the apostle.

Paul's novelty primarily concerns the first and fundamental correlate, which is God's dwelling in believers. God's or the Spirit's permanent presence in Christians differs from what we find in the Jewish tradition. According to the Old Testament, God's Spirit can reside only in a group of select few, such as Joseph, Moses, Joshua, the Messiah, the Servant of the Lord, or Daniel.[62] Only in the end time, the Spirit is to be deposited in or poured out upon believers to remain with them forever, enabling their transformation and abiding by the covenant with the Lord (Ezek 36:26–28; Joel 3:1–2). In the same vein, the literature of the Second Temple period limits the presence of God's Spirit to the great characters of salvation history, such as Joseph (*Jos. Asen.* 4:7; 19:10; Jub. 40:5), Moses (Philo, *Gig.* 24–27, 47–49; 53–55), and the Messiah.[63] Philo devotes an essential part of *De gigantibus* to explain that the Spirit cannot dwell in mere mortals, who are too immersed in the affairs of this world (*Gig.* 19–55).[64]

An interesting similarity in this respect can be observed between Paul and Qumran, where we find both the image of the temple and the Spirit's dwelling applied to the community. Gärtner spots several ideas in common here: the identification of the community with God's temple, the indwelling of the Spirit in believers, the need for separation from sinners, a similar use of Scriptures, and an emphasis on holiness and purity of the community.[65] Indeed, what is striking in Paul and Qumran is not only the use of the temple metaphor but also the idea of the Spirit's presence, guiding believers to a close union with God.[66] Paul's exhortations in 2 Cor 6:14, not to be mismatched with unbelievers, sound similar

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62   See Num 11:17; 27:18; Isa 11:2; 59:21; Dan 5:12; 6:4 (LXX).

63   See *1 En.* 49:3; 62:1; 4Q161 frag. 8–10 col. 3:12; 4Q521 frag. 2 col. 2:6; *T. Levi* 18:7, 11; *T. Jud.* 24:1–3; *Pss. Sol.* 17 and 18.

64   For more on this issue, see M. Kowalski, "An Individual as a Dwelling Place of God's Spirit in Philo and Paul (Rom 8:9–11)," *Bib* 103/3 (2022) 381–403. On the S/spirit in Philo, see also G. Verbeke, *L'évolution de la doctrine du pneuma du stoïcisme à S. Augustin. Étude philosophique* (Bibliothèque de l'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie de l'Université de Louvain; Paris: Desclée de Brouwer 1945) 236–260; A. Laurentin, "Le pneuma dans la doctrine de Philon," *ETL* 27/2 (1951) 390–437; H. Leisegang, *Der Heilige Geist. Das Wesen und Werden der mystisch-intuitiven Erkenntnis in der Philosophie und Religion der Griechen* (Leipzig: Teubner 1919) 19–136; M.E. Isaacs, *The Concept of Spirit. A Study of Pneuma in Hellenistic Judaism and Its Bearing on the New Testament* (Heythrop Monographs 1; London: Heythrop College 1976) 24–64, 150–153; J.R. Levison, "Inspiration and the Divine Spirit in the Writings of Philo Judaeus," *JSJ* 26/3 (1995) 271–323; C. Bennema, *The Power of Saving Wisdom. An Investigation of Spirit and Wisdom in Relation to the Soteriology of the Fourth Gospel* (WUNT 148; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2002) 71–83; V. Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul. Transformation and Empowering for Religious-Ethical Life* (WUNT 283; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2010) 67–78, 149–155; Kowalski, *The Spirit in Romans 8*, 170–188.

65   Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament*, 50–60.

66   On the S/spirit in Qumran, see A.E. Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruaḥ at Qumran* (SBLDS 110; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press 1989); A.A. Anderson, "The Use of 'Ruah' in IQS, IQH and IQM," *JSS* 7 (1992) 293–303; R.P. Menzies, *Empowered for Witness. The Spirit in Luke-Acts* (London – New York: Clark 2004) 71–82; M. Wenk, *Community-Forming Power. The Socio-Ethical Role of the Spirit in Luke-Acts* (London – New York: Clark 2004) 97–111; Kowalski, *The Spirit in Romans 8*, 140–162, 293–297.

to the Qumran laws of strict separation from sinners (1QS 2:5–18; 9:8–9; 1QM 1:5; 1QHa 15:15; CD-A 6:14–19). Some also argue for a parallel to Lev 19:19 or a midrash on Deut 22:9–11 in 2 Cor 6:14.[67] The antitheses righteousness-lawlessness, light-darkness, and God-Beliar in 2 Cor 6:14–16 also bear many parallels to Qumran thought and to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.[68]

Equally important, however, are the differences between the Pauline and the Qumranic vision of community depicted with the temple metaphor.[69] First, the Essenes define themselves as a temple in which, unlike the desecrated Jerusalem temple, they offer a holy and pure sacrifice of their lives and prayers.[70] Their conception is born out of a radical separation from the Jerusalem temple that cannot be compared to the Christian praxis (Acts 2:46; 3–5; 21:26–29) and the path of the slow emergence of the Christian community from among the synagogue. Significantly, the role of the Qumran community is to propitiate for the sins of Israel (1QS 5:5–6; 8:5–10; 9:3–6). This is not the function Paul attributes to Christians, because the only effective atoning sacrifice is the one offered by Christ (Rom 3:25–26).[71] The temple that an individual and the community constitute in 1–2 Cor is characterised by giving glory to God (1 Cor 6:20), but not by expiation or sacrifice comparable to that of Christ.[72]

Second, according to Regev, in Qumran writings there is no equivalent of the term ναός referred directly to the community. The terms like the 'holy house (בית קודש)', the 'holy dwelling (מעון)', and the 'most holy (קודש קודשים) community' should not be taken simply as synonyms for the temple (1QS 8:5-8).[73] This, however, does not prevent the Essenes from systematically portraying themselves as God's temple, with a special cultic function of propitiating for the sins of Israel. Such a systematic application of the temple metaphor to the

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67 See Derrett, "2 Cor 6:14," 231–250; M.E. Thrall, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians*. V. *1- Introduction and Commentary on 2 Corinthians 1–7* (ICC; Edinburgh: Clark 1994) 472–473; Harris, The Second Epistle to the Corinthians, 498–499.

68 In addition to the previously mentioned Fitzmyer, Gnilka, and Klauck (n. 36), see also G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament* (SUNT 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1971) 167–96, 210–11; Aernie, *Is Paul also among the Prophets?*, 221–225; Tomson, "Christ, Belial, and Women," 85–90.

69 On this topic see, Regev, "Community as Temple," 604–631 and in a more concise manner, Regev, *The Temple in Early Christianity*, 62–66.

70 On the differences between the Pauline and the Qumranic vision of the temple, see Corriveau, "Temple, Holiness, and the Liturgy of Life in Corinthians," 192–193 n. 28.

71 E. Schüssler Fiorenza, "Cultic language in Qumran and in the NT," *CBQ* 38/2 (1976) 171; Regev, "Community as Temple," 627–628; Regev, *The Temple in Early Christianity*, 64–65. In this aspect, at least, the Old Testament temple seems to have been replaced by Christ. However, it is difficult to conclude, following Newton, that Paul respected the Jerusalem temple only for the sake of his compatriots and because it provided a model for the new worship of the Christian community, but he considered it devoid of God's presence. See Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul*, 58–59.

72 4Q174 frags. 1, col. 1, 21, 2:7 speaks of the 'works of thanksgiving' to be offered to God in a 'temple of man', which brings the text close to 1 Cor 6:20, but the Pauline aspect of glorifying God 'in the body' of believers still remains unparalleled.

73 Regev, "Community as Temple," 607–610, 625–627; Regev, *The Temple in Early Christianity*, 63–64.

community is missing in Paul, who uses it contextually, in response to the problems of the Corinthian community, thus reinforcing his call for holiness and unity among believers.[74]

Third, Paul universalises both the gift of the Spirit and the idea of the temple, which the Qumranites applied only to a narrow group of the Yahad members. In Paul, the prophetic predictions of Joel about the Spirit 'being poured out on all flesh' (3:1–2) and Ezekiel, speaking about the 'new Spirit' that God is depositing within his people (Ezek 36:26–27), are fulfilled (see quotes from Ezek 37:27 in 2 Cor 6:16, as well as Isa 52:11 and Ezek 20:34 in 2 Cor 6:17).[75] The temple, which is the Church, opens to the Gentiles and closes to impurity understood as everything that destroys the relationship with God and the other. Paul, in 2 Cor 6:18 alludes to 2 Sam 7:14, speaking of believers becoming sons and daughters of God. In the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period this passage served to describe the new eschatological covenant between God and Israel (4Q174, frags. 1, col. 1, 21, 2:11; *Jub.* 1:24; *T. Jud.* 24:3).[76] Jewish texts such as 4Q174, frags. 1, col. 1, 21, 2:18–19, speak of Israel, not of a covenant extended to all nations, and emphasise punishment for the enemies of the chosen people. In Paul, the theme of the covenant and consequently the image of the temple are clearly 'democratised'. The covenant promises of 2 Sam 7:14, referring to a descendant of David, now apply to all the sons and daughters of God in Christ (2 Cor 6:17).[77] In Christ, the barrier existing in the Jerusalem temple, separating Gentiles from Israelites, disappears, as confirmed by Eph 2:14: 'in his flesh he has made both groups into one and has broken down the dividing wall, that is, the hostility between us.'[78]

Fourth, Christians are to glorify God in the temple of their bodies (1 Cor 6:20). Here comes another specific and original Pauline idea. His temple metaphor has an embodied character, referring to the whole person, in his or her somatic and spiritual dimensions. Not only the community as such (1 Cor 3:16; 2 Cor 6:16), but also the body of each Christian is the temple of God, the instrument and space for his worship. In Qumran, for example, the adept's body is, despite possessing the Spirit, still the dwelling place of sin and impurity (1QHa 5:30–37; 9:23–25). The Greco-Roman philosophers and Philo, on the

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74   Schüssler Fiorenza, "Cultic Language in Qumran and in the NT," 172; Regev, "Community as Temple," 610–624, 628–629. Regev, *The Temple in Early Christianity*, 65.

75   In 1 Cor 3:16; 6:19 and 2 Cor 6:16, Wright argues for Paul's elaboration of the Jewish monotheism, the realization of promises related to God's return to Zion and dwelling in his temple. See N.T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God* (Christian Origins and the Question of God 4; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2013) 711–715. Others speak of the eschatological dimension of the temple of the Spirit in Paul. See C.K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (London: Black 1968) 90; Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 77; Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 147.

76   J.M. Scott, *Adoption as Sons of God. An Exegetical Investigation into the Background of Huiothesia in the Pauline Corpus* (WUNT 48; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1992) 116–117; Aernie, *Is Paul also among the Prophets?*, 229–230.

77   D.H. Juel, *Messianic Exegesis. Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress 1988) 108 n. 34 (democratization of messianic promises); Webb, *Returning Home*, 54 (a new reading of the Davidic covenant in light of the New Covenant). See also Han, *Swimming in the Sea of Scripture*, 105; Matera, *II Corinthians*, 167; Guthrie, *2 Corinthians*, 358.

78   On the temple metaphor in Eph 2:21–22, see Campbell, *Paul and Union with Christ*, 292–294.

other hand, may speak of the divine spirit dwelling in a person, but they place it in the reason, never in the body; nor do they ever speak of the body as a temple of the deity.[79] Only in Paul the body is viewed in such a positive manner that it may become God's dwelling, the place of new life in Christ, and the temple in which believers give glory to the Lord (1 Cor 6:19–20; Rom 8:4–13).[80]

Finally, the purity of believers that Paul speaks of in 2 Cor 6:17 moves away from the cultic concept, characteristic of the Jerusalem temple and the post-exilic Israel. Purity in the Second Temple period literature implies, of course, ethical issues organically linked to the ritual ones.[81] Still, the laws of ritual purity and separation occupied a very prominent place in the religious system of the post-exile Israel, which is confirmed e.g. by the ubiquity of *miqvaot* in the first century Palestine.[82] In Qumran, ritual washings were combined with the demand to separate from pagans, but also from all those who did not share the sect's religious views (1QS 5:1, 10, 18; 9:20; CD-A 6:15).[83] For Paul, being the temple of God implies believers' new life, in which they do not imitate pagan sins.[84] It does not imply separation from the Gentiles as such (see 1 Cor 5:10; 10:27), but rather a call not to share with them their life of sin (2 Cor 6:14) and impurity (2 Cor 6:17), which Paul understands in a moral way.[85] The ritual element is not totally absent in Paul (see 1 Cor 5:1–13), but it is significantly reduced in comparison to the Second Temple period Judaism.

The foundation of Paul's vision is the work of Christ. The Spirit that dwells in believers is Christ's gift, determining their belonging not only to God, but also to the Son. It can be said that believers are Christ's temple. They belong to him, having been built on the foundation that is the Lord (1 Cor 3:11), purchased at the price of his blood (1 Cor 6:20) and in him acknowledged as God's people (2 Cor 6:16). Their holiness is the work of the Spirit, who, starting from the moment of their baptism, actualises the work of Christ in them (1 Cor 6:11). Belonging to Christ implies that divisions should cease among them, since the Church does not belong to any of the apostles, but to the Lord. They are one body with him and therefore cannot expose their bodies to sexual immorality (1 Cor 6:15–20). Belonging to God in Christ, being his sons and daughters, and stipulating covenant with him, should also motivate Christians to turn away from pagan lifestyle and the impurity

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79 Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 152–153; Corriveau, "Temple, Holiness, and the Liturgy of Life in Corinthians," 161.

80 Kowalski, *The Spirit in Romans 8*, 278–285.

81 Corriveau, "Temple, Holiness, and the Liturgy of Life in Corinthians," 152–153.

82 S. Freyne, "Jewish Immersion and Christian Baptism. Continuity on the Margins?," *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism. Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity* (eds. D. Hellholm *et al.*) (BZNW 176; Berlin – Boston, MA: De Gruyter 2011) 230–237.

83 On purity and separation at Qumran, see Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul*, 10–19.

84 Aernie, *Is Paul also among the Prophets?*, 224.

85 Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 361; Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 499–503; Corriveau, "Temple, Holiness, and the Liturgy of Life in Corinthians," 154.

of sin (2 Cor 6:16–18). The New Covenant in Christ is the most effective motivation and force for the moral conduct of believers, described as God's temple.[86]

Conclusions

Paul's letters contain many references to the temple with its sacrifices, worship and festivals, applied both to the work of Christ and the life of the Christian. Such frequent references to the temple suggest the apostle's reverence for this institution, which serves him well to describe the reality of new life in Christ. The apostle himself, like many Judeo-Christians, attended the temple, praying there (Acts 21:26–27), which altogether means that for him it did not lose its function of mediating God's saving presence.

In our analysis, we focused exclusively on the use of the term ναός in 1 Cor 3:16–17, 6:19, and 2 Cor 6:16. The mentioned texts appear in different argumentative contexts, but they also exhibit important common features. The temple metaphor present there enables the apostle to respond to believers' specific problems. It takes on both an individual and communal character, reinforces appeals to build the unity of the Church (1 Cor 3:16–17), break with sin, as well as adhere to Paul and his gospel (1 Cor 6:19; 2 Cor 6:16). The category of conceptual metaphor allowed us to trace the correlates of the temple that Paul applies to believers. These include God's saving presence, holiness, purity, worship, and the punishment awaiting those who destroy God's temple.

The conceptual metaphor employed by the apostle serves to shape the new identity, moral conduct and attitude to the world that should characterise believers in Christ. The novelty of Paul's approach manifests itself primarily in the permanent indwelling of God and the Spirit in all believers, not only in outstanding individuals, as suggested by the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period. Interesting parallels can be drawn between Paul and the Essenes, who also define themselves as God's temple indwelt by the Spirit, emphasising separation from sinners and placing great emphasis on the holiness and purity of the community. At the same time, differences between the apostle and Qumran should be stressed, which include a radical departure of the latter from Jerusalem and a much more systematic elaboration of the temple metaphor with reference to the Qumran community. In Paul's case, we additionally see a democratisation of the temple metaphor applied to all believers, appreciation for its somatic aspect and downplaying of the cultic character of purity. The conceptual metaphor of the temple in the apostle's creative approach expresses both the continuity and radical newness of Christian life. Rooted in the Second Temple period Judaism, it takes on a new meaning by incorporating Christ and his Spirit, who are the foundation of identity and the deepest motivation for the moral conduct of believers.

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86   G.D. Fee, "II Corinthians 6:14–7:1 and Food Offered to Idols," *NTS* 23/2 (1977) 160; Scott, "The Use of Scripture in 2 Corinthians 6:16c–18 and Paul's Restoration Theology," 84; Aernie, *Is Paul also among the Prophets?*, 228.

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Ewangelie i Epistoły Jakuba Wujka z 1593 r. i ich rewizja (ok. 1594–1595). O genezie wczesnonowożytnego katolickiego zbioru czytań liturgicznych w języku polskim

The 1593 *Gospels and Epistles* by Jakub Wujek, and Their Revision (c. 1594–1595). On the Origins of the Early Modern Catholic Collection of Liturgical Readings in Polish

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Abstract: The paper explores the textual and translatory origins of *Gospels and Epistles*, a Polish lectionary collection by Jakub Wujek, first published in 1593, revised around 1594–1595, and reprinted over 90 times throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. After discussing (in section 1) the basic context of the creation of the successive editions of the so-called Wujek's Bible (Gospel pericopes included in his homiletic collection, the New Testaments of 1593 and 1594, and the Old and New Testament Bible of 1599), the corpus of material and the methodology of analysis, section 2 presents a general characterisation of the lectionary collection's *editio princeps*, section 3 shows the relationship of the NT pericopes to the successive editions of "Wujek's Bible" and the sources of translation – as well as Wujek's translation method – whereas section 4 examines the OT pericopes. Part 5 analyses the revision of the 1593 *Gospels and Epistles* carried out c. 1594–1595 based on the 1594 New Testament. The summary gathers conclusions and poses research questions arising from the analyses presented.

Keywords: Jakub Wujek, Andrzej Piotrkowczyk's printing house, Society of Jesus, Bible translations, Gospels and Epistles, lectionary, Mass pericopes, history of censorship, Renaissance humanism, Vulgate

Słowa kluczowe: Jakub Wujek, drukarnia Andrzeja Piotrkowczyka, Towarzystwo Jezusowe, tłumaczenia Biblii, Ewangelie i Epistoły, lekcjonarz, perykopy liturgiczne, historia cenzury, renesansowy humanizm, Wulgata

Polski przekład Pisma Świętego, nazywany współcześnie „Biblią Wujka" został opracowany w kilku redakcjach w końcu XVI w. i używano go w Kościele katolickim do czasu opracowania Biblii Tysiąclecia[1]. Mimo bogatego stanu badań długa historia żywej obecności „Biblii Wujka" w kulturze polskiej – mowa tu przecież o okresie ponad 350 lat – wciąż skrywa

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1 Konwencjonalna nazwa „Biblia Wujka" ujęta jest w cudzysłów ze względu na nieostrość kategorii obejmującej w istocie kilka redakcji przekładu o nietożsamym tekście oraz nieoczywistą atrybucję finalnej redakcji – Biblii z 1599 r. (zob. sekcja Powstanie „Biblii Wujka" – zarys historyczny. Materiał i metodyka studium).

wiele tajemnic. Jedną z nich są zapoznane dzieje *Ewangelii i Epistoł*, zbioru czytań liturgicznych o charakterze lekcjonarzowym. Jak dotąd poświęcono mu pojedyncze wzmianki na marginesie innych zagadnień[2]. Tymczasem w XVII i XVIII w. ukazało się ponad 90 (!) edycji zbioru wywodzących się z „Biblii Wujka"[3]. Dla porównania: w tym samym czasie Nowy Testament opublikowano pięć razy (1605, 1617, 1621, 1647, 1772), Biblię Starego i Nowego Testamentu – wyłącznie dwukrotnie (1740, 1771) i to poza granicami Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej, we Wrocławiu[4]. Liczby te świadczą dobitnie, że to właśnie *Ewangelie i Epistoły* były najważniejszym źródłem umożliwiającym katolikom dawnej Polski poznanie pisanego słowa Bożego w ich matczynym języku.

Ze względu na tę kluczową rolę *Ewangelii i Epistoł* Jakuba Wujka w rozpowszechnianiu polskojęzycznego Pisma Świętego, w artykule opisano tekstowo-translatoryczne aspekty genezy czytań zawartych w *editio princeps* z 1593 r. (EiE1593)[5]. Przedmiotem badań były relacje zawartych w zbiorze perykop liturgicznych z redakcjami Nowego Testamentu z lat 90. XVI w. oraz źródłami wykorzystywanymi przez Wujka. Ich korpus oraz metodykę studium omówiono w pierwszej sekcji artykułu. Sekcja druga przynosi ogólną charakterystykę lekcjonarzowego zbioru. Trzecia i czwarta dotyczą zawartych w nim czytań z Nowego i Starego Testamentu. W sekcji piątej opisano rewizję EiE1593 przeprowadzoną ok. 1594/1595 r. na podstawie NT1594. W jej wyniku powstał typ tekstu nazwany tutaj EiE/NT1594, przedrukowywany w późniejszych wydaniach XVII- i XVIII-wiecznych.

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2   Zob.: X.S.Ch [S. Chodyński], „O Biblji w przekładzie polskim ks. Wujka", *Przegląd Katolicki* 32/18 (1894) 273–276; T. Sinko, „Nowy przekład Ewangelii [recenzja]", *Czas* 164/70 (1917) 1–2; J. Archutowski, „*Vetera et nova*. Odnowienie tekstu Wujkowego i nowe przekłady Ksiąg Świętych", *Ateneum Kapłańskie* 9–10 (1917) 3–5, 18–20; W. Smereka, „Zarys bibliograficzny ważniejszych wydań Biblii ks. Wujka (1593–1950)", *Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny* 3/1–2 (1950) 71–72; M. Kossowska, *Biblia w języku polskim* (Poznań: Księgarnia św. Wojciecha 1968) II, 119–121, 327; K. Rutkowska, „O tekście polskim *Punktów kazań* Konstantego Szyrwida", *Leksikografija ir Leksikologia* 3 (2013) 208–210. Wydania *Ewangelii i Epistoł* do 1638 r. rejestrował R. Pietkiewicz, nie badał jednak pochodzenia ich tekstu, zob. *Biblia Polonorum. Historia Biblii w języku polskim* (Poznań: Pallotinum 2016) I, 647–648.

3   W zdecydowanej większości pod tytułem *Ewangelie i Epistoły*. Zob. *Centralny Katalog Kartkowy Poloników XVII–XVIII wieku*, Lav-Lego, fisze [364–579]. *Katalog* dostępny jest on-line, https://polona.pl/preview/e7628944–9348–4de7-a785-bdda412baabd [dostęp: 20.07.2024]. Trudno stwierdzić, jak bardzo niepełna jest liczba 20 wydań zbioru lekcjonarzowego w XVII i 50 w XVIII w., a do tego – ponad 20 edycji *Ewangelii polskich i litewskich tak niedzielnych, jako i wszystkich świąt* […] (pierwodruk: [tłum. lit. J. Jaknavičius], Wilno: [b. dr.] 1637). Wielość edycji poświadczonych pojedynczą kopią, a także uszkodzonych egzemplarzy o nieustalonej przynależności wskazuje, że niektóre nakłady musiały zostać bezpowrotnie utracone, a inne czekają na odnalezienie. K. Estreicher odnotował „jedynie" ok. 30 edycji z tego okresu, zob. *Bibliografia polska* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 1939) XXXIII, 383–386.

4   Zob. np. Smereka, „Zarys bibliograficzny", 68–72.

5   Skróty i konwencjonalne nazwy wydań wprowadzane są w toku wywodu i zebrane w bibliografii (1.1–3) o układzie chronologicznym.

1. Powstanie „Biblii Wujka" – zarys historyczny. Materiał i metodyka studium

Polskojęzyczny zbiór lekcjonarzowy (EiE1593 i następnie edycje typu EiE/NT1594) wywodził się z dwóch redakcji Nowego Testamentu Wujka (NT1593, NT1594), na podstawie których powstała z kolei pełna Biblia opublikowana po śmierci jezuity (B1599). Dlatego należy przypomnieć okoliczności powstania tych wersji[6].

Pierwsze próby przekładu Wujka ukazały się w jego zbiorze homilii, *Postylli katolickiej mniejszej* (1579–1580). Tłumacz opowiadał się za humanistyczną zasadą: „nie broni Kościół *ad fontes recurrere* [powracać do źródeł] i z nimi *conferre* [porównywać – tekstu Wulgaty]"[7]. Jezuita trojako wykorzystywał grecki NT – wprowadzał oparte na nim korekty tekstualno-krytyczne, poprawiał Wulgatę jako jego nie w pełni adekwatne tłumaczenie (reprezentowane z kolei w polszczyźnie) oraz interpretował jej trudne miejsca, w których grecki NT był jaśniejszy. Ponadto Wujek przekładał bardzo dosłownie, narzucając polskiemu tłumaczeniu strukturę łacińskich (rzadziej – greckich) zdań i konstrukcji gramatycznych. Taka koncepcja przekładu pokrewna była nowoczesnym tłumaczeniom interlinearnym.

Prace nad translacją pełnego NT (ST miał powstać w dalszej kolejności) Wujek rozpoczął najpewniej na początku 1589 r. i ukończył w krótkim czasie, latem 1591 r. trwał już bowiem druk edycji. Przerwano go jednak po interwencji Lodovica Masellego, wizytatora polskiej prowincji Towarzystwa Jezusowego, który został poinformowany, że wyznaczeni cenzorzy nie współpracowali z Wujkiem, co naruszało warunki zgody udzielonej wcześniej przez Grzegorza XIII za pośrednictwem generała Claudia Aquavivy. Prawdopodobnie dodatkowym powodem wstrzymania druku była publikacja Wulgaty sykstyńskiej (1590), której egzemplarz krakowscy jezuici otrzymali w lipcu 1591 r. Zgodnie z postulatem Soboru Trydenckiego edycja sfinalizowana przez Sykstusa V miała przynieść katolikom jednolity tekst, który – jako autorytatywny – należało przyjąć zgodnie z zawartą we wstępie klauzulą *ne varietur*[8]. Wokół Wulgaty sykstyńskiej pojawił się szereg kontrowersji, w związku z którymi po śmierci papieża, jeszcze w końcu 1590 r., wstrzymano dystrybucję. Jezuici w Polsce musieli jednak zdawać sobie sprawę, że tłumaczenie NT Wujka z elementami krytyki tekstu Wulgaty na podstawie greckiego „oryginału" narusza krystalizujące się zasady[9].

Aby wypełnić warunek zgody Grzegorza XIII na dokonanie polskiego przekładu Biblii, Maselli, mający na dniach objąć urząd polskiego prowincjała, na przełomie sierpnia i września 1591 r. wyznaczył w Krakowie komisję cenzorów mających pracować z Wujkiem:

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6   Za: T. Rubik, *Biblia Wujka, Rabba i Grodzickiego. Historia powstania jezuickiego przekładu (ok. 1579–1599) w kontekście kulturowo-konfesyjnym epoki* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa 2024) 380–679.

7   J. Wujek, „Przedmowa", *Postylla katolicka mniejsza* [...] (Kraków: w drukarni Andrzeja Piotrkowczyka 1590)):(3v. W artykule pisownia polskojęzycznych źródeł z XVI–XVII w. została dostosowana do współczesnej, jednakże bez ingerowania w dawne formy fleksyjne, słowotwórstwo i archaizmy leksykalne.

8   Zob. Sykstus V, „Aeternus ille", Wulgata sykstyńska [5r-v] nieliczbowane.

9   Klauzulę *ne varietur* wprowadzono ponownie w Wulgacie syksto-klementyńskiej z 1592 r., zob. *3r-4v nieliczbowane.

Stanisława Warszewickiego, Łukasza Zelasciusa i Justa Rabba. Kilka tygodni później pustosząca miasto zaraza zabiła jednak Warszewickiego i Zelasciusa, w związku z czym Wujek współpracował wyłącznie z Rabbem – wykształconym grecystą o humanistycznej formacji – przynajmniej do momentu, kiedy Maselli uzupełnił skład zespołu o akurat dyspozycyjnych Jakuba Safarniusa i Szymona Frideliusa (prawdopodobnie blisko końca prac komisji). Owocem tej współpracy było wprowadzenie szeregu zmian do niedoszłego wydania NT. Zmiany te można rekonstruować na podstawie porównania najpierw perykop ewangelicznych w kolejnych wydaniach *Postylli mniejszej*, a następnie – odpowiednich partii tekstu w NT1593.

W *Postylli* z końca 1590 r. Wujek zaktualizował bowiem perykopy (względem wcześniejszych edycji homiletycznego zbioru), dlatego można założyć, że do pewnego stopnia odzwierciedlają gotowy przekład Ewangelii sprzed współpracy z Rabbem. Tekst perykop ewangelicznych w *Postylli* zmienił się nieznacznie (przekształcenia w ok. 13% wersetów względem poprzedniej edycji, z 1582 r.), a główną modyfikacją strategii translatorskiej był nieco mniejszy nacisk na literalizm.

Zestawienie perykop z *Postylli* z 1590 r. (do pewnego stopnia poświadczających ukończony przekład Ewangelii Wujka) z NT1593 świadczy zaś, że przekład Nowego Przymierza przygotowany z Rabbem został gruntownie przekształcony: ponad 90% wersetów reprezentowanych w *Postylli* z 1590 r. ma w NT1593 inną postać. Dążenie do dosłowności ustąpiło miejsca staraniom o humanistyczną elegancję stylu (*elegantia*) – jej wyznacznikiem była zgodność języka przekładu z systemem i uzusem polszczyzny, tak aby przetłumaczony tekst był jednoznaczny i zrozumiały dla czytelników. Wciąż obowiązywała zasada *ad fontes*: współpracujący jezuici uważnie lustrowali tekst grecki, choć względem perykop z *Postylli* zmniejszyła się nieco liczba tekstualno-krytycznych korekt na nim opartych. Wydanie zaopatrzone jest przy tym w obszerny i złożony aparat krytyczny – marginesy wypełniają setki not wskazujących różnice między podstawami przekładu: Wulgatą lowańską i greckim tekstem Poligloty antwerpskiej.

Jeszcze podczas prac nad przekładem NT Stanisław Grodzicki, kanclerz Akademii Wileńskiej, wystąpił przeciw takiej koncepcji tłumaczenia. Dnia 31 marca 1592 r. przesłał do Aquavivy list oskarżający Wujka o wykroczenie przeciw trydenckiemu dekretowi *Przyjęcie wydania Biblii zwanego Wulgatą*. W ocenie Grodzickiego tłumaczenie niedosłowne równało się indywidualnej interpretacji Biblii wbrew wykładni Kościoła (zawartej w literalnym sensie Wulgaty), wykorzystywanie tekstu greckiego jako źródła do emendacji jej tekstu miało zaś naruszać koncepcję jej autentyczności.

Jednakże list Grodzickiego dotarł do Rzymu z opóźnieniem, dlatego na tamtym etapie nie wpłynął na przekład. Dopiero na przełomie 1592 i 1593 r. prowincjał Maselli odniósł się w korespondencji do wątpliwości generała wzbudzonych przez wiadomości od Grodzickiego. Pisał, że druk NT1593 był na tyle zaawansowany, iż trudno byłoby go wstrzymać, a Wujek pracował w pośpiechu i ponaglał wydanie. Prawdopodobnie, jak można wnioskować, chciał uprzedzić publikację autorytatywnej Wulgaty syksto-klementyńskiej, która miała zamknąć możliwość działań o charakterze tekstualno-krytycznym (ze względu na

klauzulę *ne varietur*). Inne źródła świadczą, że przynajmniej od końca 1591 r. tłumacz wiedział o planach jej rychłej publikacji.

W wyniku tych kontrowersji Maselli – choć nie przerwał finalizowanego już druku NT1593 – zakazał Wujkowi publikować powstający *Psałterz*. Zastrzeżenia względem Wujkowej koncepcji przekładu Biblii miała rozważyć prowincjalna kongregacja w lipcu 1593 r. Zachowana dokumentacja nie zawiera wprawdzie informacji o dyskusjach nad tłumaczeniem PŚ, jednakże notatka Jana Konarskiego (rektora kolegium w Poznaniu) świadczy, że w tym okresie szersze grono jezuitów zaczęło podzielać wątpliwości Grodzickiego. On i Wujek zostali oddelegowani na kongregację generalną do Wiecznego Miasta, gdzie przy udziale jezuickich superiorów i uczonych wypracowano najpewniej jakąś formę kompromisu. Świadczy o tym – przy braku innych źródeł – wydanie Nowego Testamentu z 1594 r. (NT1594) opublikowane po powrocie delegatów. Istotnie, po ukazaniu się Wulgaty syksto-klementyńskiej Wujek dostosował do niej tekst tłumaczenia (do edycji z 1593 r.), jednakże nie uwzględnił sformułowanego przez Grodzickiego postulatu skrajnego literalizmu. W istocie modyfikacje, jakie Wujek wprowadził, dotyczyły wyłącznie 4% wersetów. Co więcej, pojawiły się nowe wyraziste przykłady odejścia od litery Wulgaty: skoro NT1594 w odróżnieniu od NT1593 nie zawierał aparatu krytycznego, który pozwalał wyklarować na marginesach trudne terminy i frazy przekopiowane z języków biblijnych, należało zrobić to w samym tekście (zob. przykłady w sekcjach 3. i 5. artykułu).

Przekład ST powstał w latach 1593/1594–1596, w dużej części na terenach dzisiejszej Rumunii, gdzie Wujek zarządzał misją siedmiogrodzką. Pracowity duchowny nie doczekał zwieńczenia wiekopomnego dzieła: publikacji Biblii Starego i Nowego Testamentu. Kilka miesięcy po powrocie do Krakowa, 27 lipca 1597 r. „opuścił to życie nie bez wielkiej opinii świętości", jak pisał o nim młodszy o pokolenie Jan Wielewicki[10].

Ojcowie zebrani w sierpniu 1597 r. na prowincjalnej kongregacji zdecydowali o ponownej rewizji całego tłumaczenia Biblii. W tym celu powołano zespół pod kierownictwem Grodzickiego. W ciągu niespełna roku on, Jan Brant i Adrian Radzimiński (być może również Rabb oraz Marcin Łaszcz), pracując w kolegium w Poznaniu, na podstawie NT1593 i rękopisów ST Wujka zrewidowali polską Biblię do litery Wulgaty syksto-klementyńskiej (1593). Równolegle do korekty polscy jezuici z pomocą kardynała Jerzego Radziwiłła uzyskali dla publikacji aprobatę Klemensa VIII – niezbędną ze względu na obostrzenia zawarte w nowym *Indeksie ksiąg zakazanych* (1596).

B1599 z formułą „z dozwoleniem Stolice [= Stolicy][11] Apostolskiej" ukazała się w Krakowie. Literalne oddawanie Wulgaty, postulowane przez Grodzickiego i opisane we wstępie do publikacji, stało się podstawą strategii translatorskiej (zob. przykłady w 3. i 4.). Edycja była jednak niedopracowana, co wynikało między innymi z pośpiechu i niekonsekwencji rewizji. Cenzorzy podzielili się bowiem pracą, ale nie ustalili szczegółowych zasad.

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10   Tłum. własne za: J. Wielewicki, *Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego OO. Jezuitów u św. Barbary w Krakowie* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności 1881) I, 239: „ex hac vita migravit non sine magna sanctitatis opinione".

11   Wszystkie wyjaśnienia i uzupełnienia w nawiasach [] pochodzą od autora.

Istotnie analiza NT wskazuje, że nie modyfikowali niektórych miejsc (zapewne w wyniku ich przeoczenia), w których przekład NT1593 oddawał lekcje Wulgaty niezgodne z edycją syksto-klementyńską lub był zależny od tekstu greckiego.

Postylle mniejsze Wujka
(perykopy ewangeliczne)
1579–1580
↓
1582
↓
1590

przekład ewangelii
Wujka (koniec 1590)

NT1593

** NT1594

*** B1599

Wulg. lowańka (1574)

Wulg. syksto-klementyńska (1593)
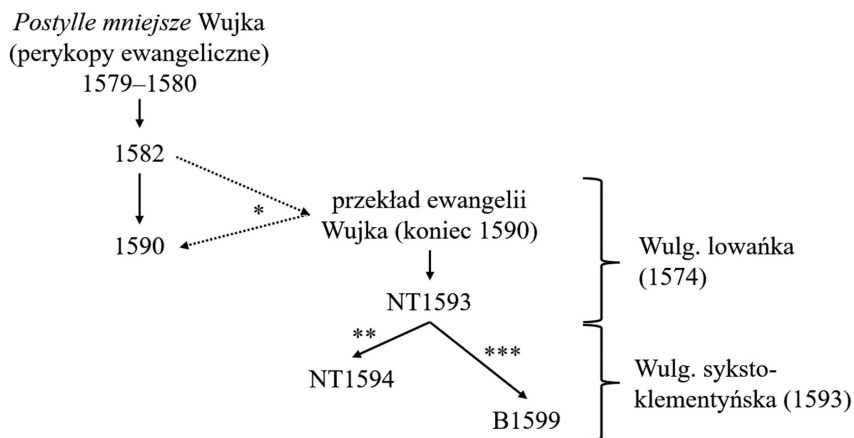
Ryc. 1. Relacje perykop ewangelicznych w *Postyllach mniejszych*
oraz redakcji NT: 1593, 1594 i według B1599

* Wujek opracował przekład ewangelii na podstawie wcześniejszych prac, a następnie zaktualizował perykopy ewangeliczne w *Postylli* z 1590 r.

** Wujek opracował NT1594 na podstawie NT1593, dostosowując tekst do Wulgaty syksto-klementyńskiej.

*** Komisja Grodzickiego za podstawę rewizji przyjęła NT1593.

Na potrzeby rekonstrukcji tekstowo-translatorycznych aspektów genezy tekstu biblijnego w EiE1593 zestawiono jego perykopy z odpowiednimi fragmentami: *Postylli* z 1590 r., NT1593, NT1594 i B1599 (których porównanie opracowano wcześniej, w związku z badaniami nad tymi redakcjami „Biblii Wujka"). Miejsca różniące perykopy EiE1593 od NT1593 i NT1594 – ich bezpośredniego źródła oraz najbliższej w czasie, kolejnej redakcji przekładu NT – przeanalizowano pod kątem zastosowanych metod translatorskich z odniesieniem do wykorzystanych przez Wujka źródeł. Zaliczały się do nich: Wulgata lowańska (1574), opublikowane w Rzymie typiczne edycje syksto-klementyńskie (1592 i 1593) oraz *Missale Romanum ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum* (wykorzystano edycję Christophe'a Plantina z 1587 r., dalej: *Mszał trydencki*), a także – tu uwzględniane w wybranych przypadkach – tekst grecki Poligloty antwerpskiej, łaciński Erazma z Rotterdamu i jego *Annotationes* (1535). W analizach wzięto również pod uwagę edycje dawniejszych, polskich *Missale Cracoviense* oraz *Missale Gnesnense*, choć podtytuł EiE1593 (*według porządku rzymskiego*) wyraźnie odsyła do rytu rzymskiego[12]. Różnice tekstowe między

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12   Uwzględniono wydania: *Missale secundum ritum insignis Ecclesie cathedralis Cracoviensis noviter emendatum* (Venetiis: per Petrum Liechtenstein 1532); *Missale Ecclesie et Provinciae Gnesnensis* (Maguntiae: in officina Francisci Bohemi 1555).

czytaniami oraz przede wszystkim ich wybór – zgodny z rytem rzymskim – dowodzą, że to właśnie *Mszał trydencki* był podstawą prac Wujka nad polskim zbiorem lekcjonarzowym[13].

Porównano ponadto kilkadziesiąt lekcji perykop obecnych w EiE1593 według trzynastu edycji EiE z okresu XVII–XVIII w.[14]. Zestawienie ujawniło, że na wczesnym etapie transmisji (przed 1626 r. – z tego roku pochodzi najstarsza, XVII-wieczna edycja, do której udało się dotrzeć podczas kwerend) czytania liturgiczne zostały zrewidowane na podstawie NT1594 i to właśnie ten typ tekstu, nazywany tu EiE/NT1594, przedrukowywano w późniejszych edycjach *Ewangelii i Epistoł*. Analiza perykop ewangelicznych zamieszczonych w zbiorach homiletycznych Piotra Skargi (*Kazania na niedziele i święta* z 1595 r.) oraz Wujka (*Postylla katolicka mniejsza* z 1596 r.) wykazała, że zawierają one ten sam typ tekstu, co pozwoliło zatem datować rewizję EiE1593 na 1594/1595 r.

Artykuł ma więc charakter porównawczy i dzieli się dalej na cztery sekcje: druga zawiera ogólną charakterystykę wydania EiE1593, w trzeciej analizuje się perykopy EiE1593 z NT, w czwartej – z ST, w piątej zaś – perykopy według typu tekstu EiE/NT1594.

2. Ewangelie i epistoły z 1593 r.

Postyllę mniejszą z 1590 r., NT1593, NT1594 oraz EiE1593 opublikował Andrzej Piotrkowczyk starszy, krakowski drukarz blisko współpracujący z katolicką hierarchią[15]. Otrzymał od Zygmunta III Wazy piętnastoletni przywilej na wyłączność publikacji NT Wujka. Dokument z 21 maja 1592 r. wskazuje, że tryb rozpowszechniania dzieła został już wówczas zaplanowany:

> wiedząc, że oprócz wydrukowanej przez siebie Postylli wielebnego ojca Jakuba Wujka [1590], [Piotrkowczyk] chciałby [...] dla powszechnego pożytku powierzyć prasom [drukarskim] – i w ten sposób dobrze przysłużyć się Kościołowi – także Nowy Testament przełożony przez tegoż autora z łaciny i greki na mowę wernakularną i objaśniony katolickimi uwagami, a także osobno tekst tegoż Nowego Testamentu bez uwag i ponadto małą postyllę zebraną z tego tekstu i starannie opracowaną, postanowiliśmy, iż należy mu dać i przyznać specjalny przywilej[16].

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13 Różnice tekstowe: por. np. Mt 21,1 na Niedzielę Palmową (tabela 1; *Missale* 1532, 67r-v; *Missale* 1555, 77r). Wybór czytań liturgicznych: np. na 1 niedzielę Adwentu według EiE1593 i *Mszału trydenckiego* wypada Łk 21,25–33, natomiast według *Missale Cracoviense* i *Gnesnense* – Mt 21,1–9. Ponadto w EiE1593 niedziele II okresu zwykłego następują „po Świątkach [= Pięćdziesiątnicy]", jak w *Mszale trydenckim*, tymczasem w *Missale Cracoviense* prosto *Gnesnense* (a także w edycjach *Postylli katolickiej mniejszej* Wujka) – „po Świętej Trójcy".

14 Porównane miejsca: Pnp 8,6–7; Mt 2,4–11; 8,8; 18,9; 22,9; Łk 14,1–9; 19,2–3; J 3,8; 14,2–3; 16,17–22; Rz 10,15–16; 13,11–13; 1 Kor 1,7; 1 Tes 4,1–6; 1 P 2,15; 3,8–12. Analizowane wydania zob. Bibliografia 1.3.

15 M. Komorowska, *Piotrkowczykowie. Z dziejów drukarstwa krakowskiego przełomu XVI i XVII wieku* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo UJ 2023) 9–22, 55–136, 239–243.

16 Tłum. własne za: *Privilegia typographica Polonorum. Polskie przywileje drukarskie 1493–1793* (wyd. M. Juda) (Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS 2010) 165: „intelleximus eundem praeter *Postillam* authore venerabili Jacobo Wuieko [...] per eum excussam, *Novum* etiam *Testamentum* ab eodem authorem [=*autore*] ex latino et graeco in vernaculum sermonem translatum, et annotationibus catholicis illustratum, nec nos [=*nec non*] seorsim textum sine annotationibus eiusdem *Novi Testamenti*, tum etiam postillam parvam ex eodem textu collectam

Kategoria „mała postylla" obejmuje nie tylko *Postyllę katolicką mniejszą* Wujka (nazywaną po łacinie właśnie *postilla parva*; w 1596 r. Piotrkowczyk wydrukował ją ze zaktualizowanymi perykopami liturgicznymi), lecz także zbiór lekcjonarzowy – ten nazywano często „postylką"[17]. *Editio princeps* z formułą przywileju („Cum gratia et privilegio S[acrae] R[egiae] M[aiestatis]") ukazała się w 1593 r. pod tytułem *Ewangelie i Epistoły tak niedzielne, jako i świąt wszytkich, które w Kościele katolickim według rzymskiego porządku przez cały rok czytają. Przez D*[oktora] *Jakuba Wujka* Societatis Iesu *przełożone. Przydane są modlitwy kościelne na każdą niedzielę i święto.*

Edycja jest anonimem typograficznym: na karcie tytułowej Piotrkowczyk pochwalił się co prawda przywilejem monarchy, nie podał jednak nazwy oficyny, choć jej tożsamość nie była raczej sekretem[18]. Nie ma też wzmianki o aprobacie duchownej, choć wymagane przez prawo kanoniczne informacje znajdowały się na kartach tytułowych *Postylli* z 1590 r., NT1593 i NT1594[19]. Brak tych wiadomości był prawdopodobnie powiązany z kontrowersjami dotyczącymi przekładu – w tym okresie prowincjał Maselli nakazał Wujkowi wstrzymać się z publikacją *Psałterza* do czasu prowincjalnej kongregacji – bez dodatkowych źródeł trudno jednak stwierdzić coś więcej.

EiE1593 dzielą się na czytania *de tempore* oraz wybrane *de sanctis*, uporządkowane według przebiegu roku liturgicznego i wybrane zgodnie z rytem rzymskim[20]. W tym sensie zbiór lekcjonarzowy poświadcza stopniowe wdrażanie potrydenckich reform w państwie polsko-litewskim i, jak się wydaje, można go wiązać z wprowadzeniem w 1593 r. *Mszału rzymskiego* w archidiecezji krakowskiej przez lokalny synod i jej ordynariusza, kardynała Radziwiłła[21]. Tymczasem w *Postyllach mniejszych* Wujka (np. w edycji z 1590 r., ale też z 1596 i 1605 r.), jeśli wybór czytań mszalnych różnił się między „zwyczajem" rzymskim i lokalnym, podawano dwa czytania[22].

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et elucubratam in communem utilitatem typis committere, atque ea in re de ecclesia bene mereri velle, [...] eam illi singularem praerogativam dandam et concedendam esse duximus".

17 Zob. np. tytuł zbioru na dni powszednie Wielkiego Postu: *Ewangelie i Epistoły na dni postne powszednie i na niektóre inne święta w pierwszej postylce opuszczone* [mowa o EiE 1593 i ich przedrukach]. (Kraków: [brak wydawcy] 1626) [1r] nieliczbowane, a także: K. Opaliński, „Postylla", *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku* (red. F. Pepłowski) (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IBL 2000) XXVIII, 225.

18 Nt. atrybucji druku Andrzejowi Piotrkowczykowi starszemu zob. np. Komorowska, *Piotrkowczykowie*, 339.

19 „Z dozwoleniem starszych. [...] W drukarni Andrzeja Piotrkowczyka". Informacje nie pojawiają się też w kolofonie EiE1593 – egzemplarze BJ są kompletne. Zob. P. Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Cenzura w dawnej Polsce. Między prasą drukarską a stosem* (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Bibliotekarzy Polskich 1997) 123–171.

20 Por. perykopy na: 2 i 4 ndz Adwentu, 2 ndz Postu, św. Trójcy oraz św. Mikołaja, Bartłomieja, Marcina, Wojciecha (*Epistola de communi unius martyris extra tempus Paschale*; *Euangelia de communi tempore Paschali*) według EiE1593 (tabela 1), *Mszału trydenckiego* oraz *Missale Gnesnense* i *Cracoviense* (przypis 11).

21 *Constitutiones synodi dioecesanae Cracoviensis* [...] *anno Domini M.D. nonagesimo tertio* (Cracoviae: in Archityp. Regia et Ecclesiastica Lazari 1593) 5, 11. Szerzej nt. wdrażania w Polsce *Mszału trydenckiego* zob. P. Sczaniecki, *Służba Boża w dawnej Polsce* (Kraków: Tyniec Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów 2020) 339–420.

22 Zob. np. *Regestr* [= spis treści] w *Postylli katolickiej mniejszej* z 1590, 1596 i 1605 r., [1r] nieliczbowane (we wszystkich edycjach): „Na pierwszą niedzielę Adwentu [...] u Mateusza we 21 kapit[ulum, tj. rozdziale]. [...] Na pierwszą niedzielę adwentową druga Ewangelia wedle zwyczaju rzymskiego [...] u Łukasza we

W *editio princeps* EiE na poszczególne dni załączono z odsyłaczem do numerów rozdziałów „lekcję" z ST, Dz, Listu apostolskiego bądź Ap, „ewangelię" oraz „modlitwę kościelną"[23]. Zbiór składa się łącznie ze 179 czytań NT (ok. 1500 wersetów) oraz 13 ST (100 wersetów), a oprócz tego zawiera kilka „pustych" perykop – raz już wydrukowanych fragmentów nie zamieszczano ponownie, lecz odsyłano do nich[24]. Zawartość edycji przedstawia tabela 1: według przebiegu roku liturgicznego (tabela 1a) oraz kolejności ksiąg biblijnych (tabela 1b). Wydanie jest bardzo poprawne[25].

Tabela 1a. Zawartość perykop EiE1593 według roku liturgicznego
(nazwy niedziel i świąt zgodnie z pisownią oryginalną)

lp.	niedziela/dzień świąteczny	tekst	lp.	niedziela/dzień świąteczny	tekst
1	1 ndz Adwentu	Rz 13,11–14 / Łk 21,25–33	13	dz Trzech Królów	Iz 60,16–21 / Mt 2,1–12
2	2 ndz	Rz 15,5–13 / Mt 11,2–10	14	1 ndz po Trzech Królach	Rz 12,1–5 / Łk 2,42–52
3	3 ndz	Flp 4,4–7 / J 1,19–27	15	2 ndz	Rz 12,5–16 / J 2,1–11
4	4 ndz	1 Kor 4,1–4 / Łk 3,1–6	16	3 ndz	Rz 12,16–21 / Mt 8,1–13
5	Boże Narodzenie msza 1	Tt 2,11–15 / Łk 2,1–14	17	4 ndz	Rz 13,8–10 / Mt 8,23–27
6	msza 2	Tt 3,4–7 / Łk 2,15–20	18	5 ndz	Kol 3,12–17 / Mt 13,24–30
7	msza 3	Hbr 1,1–12 / J 1,1–14	19	6 ndz	1 Tes 1,2–10 / Mt 13,31–35
8	św. Szczepana	Dz 6,7–10; 7,54–59 / Mt 23,34–39	20	ndz Starego Mięsopustu	1 Kor 9,24–10,5 / Mt 20,1–16
9	Jana Ewangelisty	Syr 15,1–6 / J 21,19–24	21	ndz przed Mięsopustem	2 Kor 11,19–12,9 / Łk 8,5–15
10	Młodzianków	Ap 14,1–5 / Mt 2,13–18	22	ndz mięsopustna	1 Kor 13,1–13 / Łk 18,31–43
11	Ndz po Bożym Narodzeniu	Ga 4,1–7 / Łk 2,33–40	23	1 ndz Postu	2 Kor 6,1–10 / Mt 4,1–11
12	dz Nowego Lata	Ga 3,23–29 / Łk 2,21	24	2 ndz	1 Tes 4,1–7 / Mt 17,1–9

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21 [rozdziale]". Dodane czytania „wedle zwyczaju rzymskiego" po raz pierwszy pojawiły się w *Postylli większej* z 1584 r., zob. Rubik, *Biblia Wujka*, 697–707.

23 Np. 1 ndz Adwentu: „Prosimy Cię, Panie, abyś raczył moc Twoję wzbudzić, a przyść do nas, abyśmy od nadchodzących niebezpieczności grzechów naszych za Twoją obroną wyrwani i za Twoją pomocą wybawieni byli, Który żywiesz i królujesz z Bogiem Ojcem w jedności Ducha świętego, Boże, przez wszystkie wieki wieków. Amen".

24 Np. „W dzień narodzenia Panny Mariej lekcja i ewangelia taż, która w dzień poczęcia Panny Mariej wyższej [= wyżej]".

25 Odnotowano wyłącznie dwa ubytki tekstu (Łk 11,22 i 2 Kor 3,7), nieścisłość w siglum (12 ndz po Świątkach) oraz usterkę redakcji (tabela 2).

l.p.	niedziela/dzień świąteczny	tekst	l.p.	niedziela/dzień świąteczny	tekst
25	3 ndz	Ef 5,1–9	48	5 ndz	1 P 3,8–15
		Łk 11,14–28			Mt 5,20–24
26	4 ndz	Ga 4,22–31	49	6 ndz	Rz 6,3–11
		J 6,1–15			Mk 8,1–9
27	5 ndz	Hbr 9,11–15	50	7 ndz	Rz 6,19–23
		J 8,46–59			Mt 7,15–21
28	ndz Kwietna	Flp 2,5–11	51	8 ndz	Rz 8,12–17
		Mt 21,1–9			Łk 16,1–9
29	ndz Wielkanocna	1 Kor 5,7–8	52	9 ndz	1 Kor 10,6–13
		Mk 16,1–7			Łk 19,41–47
30	pon Wielkanocny	Dz 10,37–43	53	10 ndz	1 Kor 12,2–11
		Łk 24,13–35			Łk 18,9–14
31	wt Wielkanocny	Dz 13,16.26–33	54	11 ndz	1Kor 15,1–10
		Łk 24,36–47			Mk 7,31–37
32	1 ndz po Wielkanocy	1 J 5,4–10	55	12 ndz	2 Kor 3,4–9
		J 20,19–31			Łk 10,23–27
33	2 ndz	1 P 2,21–25	56	13 ndz	Ga 3,16–22
		J 10,11–16			Łk 17,11–19
34	3 ndz	1P 2,11–19	57	14 ndz	Ga 5,16–24
		J 16,16–22			Mt 6,24–33
35	4 ndz	Jk 1,17–21	58	15 ndz	Ga 5,25–6,10
		J 16,5–14			Łk 7,11–16
36	5 ndz	Jk 1,22–27	59	16 ndz	Ef 3,13–21
		J 16,23–30			Łk 14,1–11
37	Wniebowstąpienia	Dz 1,1–11	60	17 ndz	Ef 4,1–6
		Mk 16,14–20			Mt 22,35–46
38	ndz po Bożym Wstąpieniu	1 P 4,7–11	61	18 ndz	1 Kor 1,4–8
		J 15,25–16,4			Mt 9,1–8
39	ndz świąteczna	Dz 2,1–11	62	19 ndz	Ef 4,23–28
		J 14,23–31			Mt 22,2–14
40	pon świąteczny	Dz 10,42–48	63	20 ndz	Ef 5,15–21
		J 3,16–21			J 4,46–53
41	wt świąteczny	Dz 8,14–17	64	21 ndz	Ef 6,10–17
		J 10,1–10			Mt 18,23–35
42	św. Trójcy	Rz 11,33–36	65	22 ndz	Flp 1,6–11
		Mt 28,18–20			Mt 22,15–21
43	1 ndz po Świątkach	1 J 4,8–21	66	23 ndz	Flp 3,17-[4,3]
		Łk 6,36–42			Mt 9,18–26
44	Boże Ciało	1 Kor 11,23–29	67	24 ndz	Kol 1,9–14
		J 6,55–58			Mt 24,15–35
45	2 ndz po Świątkach	1 J 3,13–18	68	św. Andrzeja Apostoła	Rz 10,10–18
		Łk 14,16–24			Mt 4,18–22
46	3 ndz	1 P 5,6–11	69	św. Mikołaja Biskupa	Hbr 13,7–17
		Łk 15,1–10			Mt 25,14–23
47	4 ndz	Rz 8,18–23	70	poczęcia Panny Mariej	Prz 8,22–36
		Łk 5,1–11			Mt 1,1–16

l.p.	niedziela/dzień świąteczny	tekst	l.p.	niedziela/dzień świąteczny	tekst
71	św. Tomasza Apostoła	Ef 2,19–22 / J 20,24–29	85	św. Mariej Magdaleny	Pnp 3,2–4; 8,4.6–7 / Łk 7,36–50
72	św. Agnieszki	Syr 51,1–12 / Mt 25,1–13	86	św. Jakuba Apostoła	1 Kor 4,9–15 / Mt 20,20–23
73	nawrócenia św. Pawła	Dz 9,1–22 / Mt 19,27–29	87	św. Wawrzyńca	2 Kor 9,6–10 / J 12,24–26
74	oczyszczenia Panny Mariej	Ml 3,1–4 / Łk 2,22–32	88	wniebowzięcia Panny Mariej	Syr 24,11–20 / Łk 10,38–42
75	św. Macieja Apostoła	Dz 1,15–26 / Mt 11,25–30	89	św. Bartłomieja Apostoła	1 Kor 12,27–31 / Łk 6,12–19
76	zwiastowania Panny Mariej	Iz 7,10–15 / Łk 1,26–38	90	podwyższenia Krzyża św.	Flp 2,8–11 / J 12,31–36
77	św. Wojciecha	Hbr 5,1–6 / J 15,1–7	91	narodzenia Panny Mariej	[odsyłacz do poczęcia Panny Mariej]
78	św. Filipa i Jakuba Apostołów	Mdr 5,1–5 / J 14,1–13	92	św. Mateusza	Ez 1,10–14 / Mt 9,9–13
79	nalezienia (= odnalezienia) Krzyża św.	Flp 2,5–11 / J 3,1–15	93	św. Michała Archanioła	Ap 1,1–5 / Mt 18,1–10
80	św. Stanisława biskupa i męczennika	1 P 1,3–7 / J 15,5–11	94	św. Szymona i Judy Apostołów	Ef 4,7–13 / J 15,17–25
81	św. Jana Chrzciciela (narodzenie)	Iz 49,1–7 / Łk 1,57–68	95	Wszystkich Świętych	Ap 7,2–12 / Mt 5,1–12
82	św. Piotra i Pawła (apostołów)	Dz 12,1–11 / Mt 16,13–19	96	św. Marcina biskupa i wyznawce	Syr 44,16–17.20.22.25–27; 45,3.8.19–20 / Łk 11,33–36
83	nawiedzenia Panny Mariej	Pnp 2,8–14 / Łk 1,39–47	97	św. Katarzyny	[odsyłacz do św. Agnieszki]
84	św. Małgorzaty	2 Kor 10,17–11,2 / Mt 13,44–52	98	poświęcenia kościoła	Ap 21,2–5 / Łk 19,1–10

Tabela 1b. Zawartość perykop EiE1593 według ksiąg biblijnych
(nazwy niedziel i świąt zgodnie z pisownią oryginalną)

l.p.	tekst	niedziela/dzień świąteczny	l.p.	tekst	niedziela/dzień świąteczny
1	**Prz** 8,22–36	poczęcia Panny Mariej	10	49,1–7	św. Jana Chrzciciela (narodzenie)
2	**Pnp** 2,8–14	nawiedzenia Panny Mariej	11	60,1–6	Trzech Królów
3	3,2–4; 8,4.6–7	św. Mariej Magdaleny	12	**Ez** 1,10–14	św. Mateusza
4	**Mdr** 5,1–5	św. Filipa i Jakuba Apostołów	13	**Ml** 3,1–4	Oczyszczenia Panny Mariej
5	**Syr** 15,1–6	Jana Ewangelisty	14	**Mt** 1,1–16	Poczęcia Panny Mariej
6	24,11–20	wniebowzięcia Panny Mariej	15	2,1–12	Trzech Królów
7	44,16–17.20.22.25–27; 45,3.8.19–20	św. Marcina biskupa i wyznawce	16	2,13–18	Młodzianków
8	51,1–12	św. Agnieszki	17	4,1–11	1 ndz Postu
9	**Iz** 7,10–15	zwiastowania Panny Mariej	18	4,18–22	św. Andrzeja Apostoła
			19	5,1–12	Wszystkich Świętych

l.p.	tekst	niedziela/dzień świąteczny	l.p.	tekst	niedziela/dzień świąteczny
20	5,20–24	5 ndz po Świątkach	64	6,12–19	św. Bartłomieja Apostoła
21	6,24–33	14 ndz po Świątkach	65	6,36–42	1 ndz po Świątkach
22	7,15–21	7 ndz po Świątkach	66	7,11–16	15 ndz po Świątkach
23	8,1–13	3 ndz po Trzech Królach	67	7,36–50	św. Mariej Magdaleny
24	8,23–27	4 ndz po Trzech Królach	68	8,5–15	ndz przed Mięsopustem
25	9,1–8	18 ndz po Świątkach	69	10,23–37	12 ndz po Świątkach
26	9,9–13	św. Mateusza	70	10,38–42	Wniebowzięcia Panny Mariej
27	9,18–26	23 ndz po Świątkach	71	11,14–28	3 ndz Postu
28	11,2–10	2 ndz Adwentu	72	11,33–36	św. Marcina biskupa i wyznawce
29	11,25–30	św. Macieja Apostoła	73	14,1–11	16 ndz po Świątkach
30	13,24–30	5 ndz po Trzech Królach	74	14,16–24	2 ndz po Świątkach
31	13,31–35	6 ndz po Trzech Królach	75	15,1–10	3 ndz po Świątkach
32	13,44–52	św. Małgorzaty	76	16,1–9	8 ndz po Świątkach
33	16,13–19	św. Piotra i Pawła (apostołów)	77	17,11–19	13 ndz po Świątkach
34	17,1–9	2 ndz Postu	78	18,9–14	10 ndz po Świątkach
35	18,1–10	św. Michała Archanioła	79	18,31–43	ndz mięsopustna
36	18,23–35	21 ndz po Świątkach	80	19,1–10	poświęcenia kościoła
37	19,27–29	nawrócenia św. Pawła	81	19,41–47	9 ndz po Świątkach
38	20,1–16	ndz Starego Mięsopustu	82	21,25–33	1 ndz Adwentu
39	20,20–23	św. Jakuba Apostoła	83	24,13–35	pon Wielkanocny
40	21,1–9	ndz Kwietna	84	24,36–47	wt Wielkanocny
41	22,2–14	19 ndz po Świątkach	85	**J** 1,1–14	Boże Narodzenie msza 3
42	22,15–21	22 ndz po Świątkach	86	1,19–27	3 ndz Adwentu
43	22,35–46	17 ndz po Świątkach	87	2,1–11	2 ndz po Trzech Królach
44	23,34–39	św. Szczepana	88	3,1–15	nalezienia Krzyża św.
45	24,15–35	24 ndz po Świątkach	89	3,16–21	pon świąteczny
46	25,1–13	św. Agnieszki	90	4,46–53	20 ndz po Świątkach
47	25,14–23	św. Mikołaja Biskupa	91	6,1–15	4 ndz Postu
48	28,18–20	św. Trójcy	92	6,55–58	dz Bożego Ciała
49	**Mk** 7,31–37	11 ndz po Świątkach	93	8,46–59	5 ndz Postu
50	8,1–9	6 ndz po Świątkach	94	10,1–10	wt świąteczny
51	16,1–7	ndz Wielkanocna	95	10,11–16	2 ndz po Wielkanocy
52	16,14–20	Wniebowstąpienia	96	12,24–26	św. Wawrzyńca
53	**Łk** 1,26–38	Zwiastowania Panny Mariej	97	12,31–36	podwyższenia Krzyża św.
54	1,39–47	Nawiedzenia Panny Mariej	98	14,1–13	św. Filipa i Jakuba Apostołów
55	1,57–68	św. Jana Chrzciciela (narodzenie)	99	14,23 –31	ndz świąteczna
56	2,1–14	Boże Narodzenie msza 1	100	15,1–7	św. Wojciecha
57	2,15–20	Boże Narodzenie msza 2	101	15,5–11	św. Stanisława Biskupa i Męczennika
58	2,21	Nowego Lata	102	15,17–25	św. Szymona i Judy Apostołów
59	2,22–32	Oczyszczenia Panny Mariej	103	15,26–16,4	ndz po Bożym Wstąpieniu
60	2,33–40	ndz po Bożym Narodzeniu	104	16,5–14	4 ndz po Wielkanocy
61	2,42–52	1 ndz po Trzech Królach	105	16,16–22	3 ndz po Wielkanocy
62	3,1–6	4 ndz Adwentu	106	16,23–30	5 ndz po Wielkanocy
63	5,1–11	4 ndz po Świątkach			

l.p.	tekst	niedziela/dzień świąteczny
107	20,19–31	1 ndz po Wielkanocy
108	20,24–29	św. Tomasza Apostoła
109	21,19–24	Jana Ewangelisty
110	**Dz** 1,1–11	Wniebowstąpienia
111	1,15–26	św. Macieja Apostoła
112	2,1–11	ndz świąteczna
113	6,8–10; 7,54–59	św. Szczepana
114	8,14–17	wt świąteczny
115	9,1–22	nawrócenia św. Pawła
116	10,37–43	pon Wielkanocny
117	10,42–48	pon świąteczny
118	12,1–11	św. Piotra i Pawła (apostołów)
119	13,16.26–33	wt Wielkanocny
120	**Rz** 6,3–11	6 ndz po Świątkach
121	6,19–23	7 ndz po Świątkach
122	8,12–17	8 ndz po Świątkach
123	8,18–23	4 ndz po Świątkach
124	10,10–18	św. Andrzeja Apostoła
125	11,33–36	dz św. Trójcy
126	12,1–5	1 ndz po Trzech Królach
127	12,6–16	2 ndz po Trzech Królach
128	12,16–21	3 ndz po Trzech Królach
129	13,8–10	4 ndz po Trzech Królach
130	13,11–14	1 ndz Adwentu
131	15,5–13	2 ndz Adwentu
132	**1Kor** 1,4–8	18 ndz po Świątkach
133	4,1–5	4 ndz Adwentu
134	4,9–15	św. Jakuba Apostoła
135	5,7–8	ndz Wielkanocna
136	9,24–10,5	ndz Starego Mięsopustu
137	10,6–13	9 ndz po Świątkach
138	11,23–29	Boże Ciało
139	12,2–11	10 ndz po Świątkach
140	12,27–31	św. Bartłomieja Apostoła
141	13,1–13	ndz mięsopustna
142	15,1–10	11 ndz po Świątkach
143	**2Kor** 3,4–9	12 ndz po Świątkach
144	6,1–10	1 ndz Postu
145	9,6–10	św. Wawrzyńca
146	10,17–11,2	św. Małgorzaty
147	11,19–12,9	ndz przed Mięsopustem
148	**Ga** 3,16–22	13 ndz po Świątkach
149	3,23–29	Nowego Lata
150	4,1–7	ndz po Bożym Narodzeniu

l.p.	tekst	niedziela/dzień świąteczny
151	4,22–31	4 ndz Postu
152	5,16–24	14 ndz po Świątkach
153	5,25–6,10	15 ndz po Świątkach
154	**Ef** 2,19–22	św. Tomasza Apostoła
155	3,13–21	16 ndz po Świątkach
156	4,1–6	17 ndz po Świątkach
157	4,7–13	św. Szymona i Judy Apostołów
158	4,23–28	19 ndz po Świątkach
159	5,1–9	3 ndz Postu
160	5,15–21	20 ndz po Świątkach
161	6,10–17	21 ndz po Świątkach
162	**Flp** 1,6–11	22 ndz po Świątkach
163	2,5–11	nalezienia Krzyża św.
164	2,5–11	ndz Kwietna
165	2,8–11	podwyższenia Krzyża św.
166	3,17–4,3	23 ndz po Świątkach
167	4,4–7	3 ndz Adwentu
168	**Kol** 1,9–14	24 ndz po Świątkach
169	3,12–17	5 ndz po Trzech Królach
170	**1Tes** 1,2–10	6 ndz po Trzech Królach
171	4,1–7	2 ndz Postu
172	**Tt** 2,11–15	Boże Narodzenie msza 1
173	3,4–7	Boże Narodzenie msza 2
174	**Hbr** 1,1–12	Boże Narodzenie msza 3
175	5,1–6	św. Wojciecha
176	9,11–15	5 ndz Postu
177	13,7–17	św. Mikołaja Biskupa
178	**Jk** 1,17–21	4 ndz po Wielkanocy
179	1,22–27	5 ndz po Wielkanocy
180	**1P** 1,3–7	św. Stanisława Biskupa i Męczennika
181	2,11–19	3 ndz po Wielkanocy
182	2,21–25	2 ndz po Wielkanocy
183	3,8–15	5 ndz po Świątkach
184	4,7–11	ndz po Bożym Wstąpieniu
185	5,6–11	3 ndz po Świątkach
186	**1J** 3,13–18	2 ndz po Świątkach
187	4,8–21	1 ndz po Świątkach
188	5,4–10	1 ndz po Wielkanocy
189	**Ap** 1,1–5	św. Michała Archanioła
190	7,2–12	Wszystkich Świętych
191	14,1–5	Młodzianków
192	21,2–5	poświęcenia kościoła

Perykopy – co właściwe dla tej formy – zaczynają się frazami typu „W on czas", zwrotu „Bracia" bądź „Namilsi", a często dodatkowego określenia okoliczności, np. „Powiedział Jezus uczniom Swoim tę przypowieść". Na początku czytań pomijane są spójniki łączące fragment z poprzedzającą narracją, zaimki zaś uzupełniane są właściwymi nazwami postaci i miejsc, dzięki czemu perykopy stają się formalnie i semantycznie samodzielnymi jednost-kami literackimi. Większość takich przekształceń, pojawiających się w każdym czytaniu liturgicznym, Wujek wprowadził za *Mszałem trydenckim*[26]. Przykładem może być Mt 21,1 (tabela 2).

Tabela 2. Początek czytania na niedzielę Kwietną (Mt 21,1)[27]

NT1593	EiE1593	Wulgata lowańska	*Mszał trydencki*
A gdy się przybliżali ku Jeru-zalem/ i przyszli do Betfagi do Góry Oliwnej: tedy Jezus posłał dwu uczniów/[28]	W on czas: Gdy się przybliżał Jezus ku Jeruzalem/ i przyszedł do [...] Jezus posłał dwu uczniów Swoich/	Et cum appropinquassent Ierosolymis, et venissent Beth-phage ad Montem oliveti, tunc Iesus misit duos discipulos,	In illo tempore: Cum appro-pinquasset Iesus Ierosolymis, et venisset Bethphage [...] tunc misit duos discipulos suos,

Początek czytania uzupełniono o charakterystyczną frazę i kontekstową informację – mowa konkretnie o uczniach Jezusa. Ponadto to On jest podmiotem działającym, pominięto też anaforyczny spójnik łączny. Wujek uwzględnił te różnice, przy czym nie usunął imienia Bohatera z miejsca, gdzie nie pojawia się w *Mszale*, lecz jest obecne w Wulgacie i NT1593. W ten sposób nie dopełnił redakcji.

W EiE1593 przynajmniej dwukrotnie dostosowano czytania do sytuacji liturgicznej. Perykopa na dzień św. Wojciecha, biskupa i męczennika, rozpoczyna się słowami: „Bracia: każdy biskup z ludzi wzięty" (Hbr 5,1), w NT1593 i NT1594 mowa zaś o „arcykapłanie"[29]. Przypadająca na wspomnienie św. Agnieszki modlitwa Jezusa syna Syracha (Syr 51,1–12) sformułowana jest w rodzaju żeńskim – wygłaszała ją, jak można się domyślać, sama mę-czenniczka[30].

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26   Ze względu na ich formalny charakter pominięto je w podawanych dalej statystykach.
27   Cytaty biblijne za EiE1593 dalej oznaczane są wyłącznie siglami. Tabela 1b pozwala przypisać fragment do perykopy, te z kolei łatwo odnaleźć w zbiorze uporządkowanym według roku liturgicznego.
28   W cytatach za PŚ w językach polskim, łacińskim i greckim zachowano interpunkcję wydań.
29   Wulgata lowańska i *Mszał trydencki*: „pontifex".
30   W późniejszych wydaniach EiE to czytanie, w rodzaju żeńskim, zamieszczano (również na zasadzie odsyłacza) na wspomnienia innych dziewic i męczenniczek, np. św. Barbary i św. Katarzyny w EiE1686.

3. Perykopy nowotestamentalne

Nowotestamentalne czytania EiE1593 powstały w wyniku redakcji NT1593, choć zapewne jeszcze przed jego publikacją, która nastąpiła po 20 kwietnia. Przekształcenia w około 260 wersetach (17% tekstu biblijnego zawartego w zbiorze) to przeważnie pojedyncze, drobne modyfikacje związane z korektami do lekcji *Mszału trydenckiego* (różnych od Wulgaty lowańskiej), przekształceniami redakcyjnymi na gruncie polszczyzny bez związku z podstawami przekładu, oraz z innymi poprawkami. Podobnie jak w przypadku pozostałych etapów redagowania przekładu również tutaj nie zachowano pełnej konsekwencji, lecz tendencje są dobrze widoczne.

Największa różnica między EiE1593 i NT1593 dotyczy „przydatków", o których Wujek tak pisał w NT1593: „Gdziem też które słowo, którego w greckim i łacińskim [tekście] nie ma-ż, dla lepszego wyrozumienia przydać musiał, tom dał inszą literą wydrukować, abyś poznał, co jest przydatek, a co własne Pismo"[31]. Większości wyrazów i fraz wybitych w NT1593 kursywą („inszą literą") – w ocenie Wujka potrzebnych do uzupełnienia semantyki i eliptycznej składni – w EiE1593 nie oznaczono, czyli włączono je do „własnego Pisma": właściwego tekstu biblijnego. Takich miejsc jest około 125. Około 40 pozostałych „przydatków" wyróżniono nie kursywą, a nawiasem ()[32].

Włączanie „przydatków" do tekstu, jak się wydaje, odzwierciedla refleksję Wujka nad relacjami między gramatyczno-składniową strukturą tekstów źródłowych a zawartymi w nich znaczeniami oraz nad systemowymi różnicami między biblijną łaciną i greką a polszczyzną. Żeby wyrazić ten sam sens w różnych językach, w tłumaczeniu trzeba posłużyć się inną liczbą wyrazów niż w tekście źródłowym, o odmiennych formach gramatycznych. Problem ten zajmował również innych XVI-wiecznych uczonych. Przykładowo jezuicki program nauczania PŚ z 1586 r. zawiera obowiązującą tezę, która – choć sformułowana w odniesieniu do autentyczności jednostek tekstowych Wulgaty nieobecnych w greckich i hebrajskich „oryginałach" – przekazuje uniwersalne spostrzeżenie natury językowo-translatorycznej: „Jeżeli tłumacz [Wulgaty] dodał coś od siebie dla wyrażenia tego, co w znaczeniu hebrajskich czy greckich słów jest zawarte pośrednio i ze względu na sens, jest to święte i kanoniczne"[33].

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31   J. Wujek, „Przedmowa", NT1593, 20.

32   Nawiasów () używano też jako zwyczajnych znaków interpunkcyjnych, np. Ga 4,6: „Abba! (Ojcze!)"; Wulgata lowańska i *Mszał*: „Abba (Pater)". W EiE1593 ponadto wzięto w nawias ok. 10 niewyróżnionych wyrazów NT1593, pojedyncze wyróżnione oraz niewyróżnione usunięto, dodano też kilka wyrazów bez odpowiednika w podstawach tłumaczenia. „Przydatki", oprócz przerabiania ich przez Wujka, najprawdopodobniej nie były w pełni klarownie oznaczane w materiałach dla oficyny, zob. Rubik, *Biblia Wujka*, 599–600. Warto odnotować zjawisko replikacji: „przydatkiem" NT1593 włączonym do tekstu EiE1593 jest np. powielony łaciński przyimek przy kolejnych elementach szeregu (Mt 24,26; Łk 18,4; J 20,25; 1 Kor 4,13).

33   Tłum. własne za: „De opinionum delectu pro Scripturae et controversiarum professoribus", *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu* (wyd. L. Lukács) (Roma: Institutum Historicum SI 1986) V, 14: „Sin aliqua de suo apposuit interpres ad exprimendum id, quod in energia hebraeorum, graecorumve verborum implicite et virtualiter inclusum est, sacra et canonica sunt".

Tabela 3. Przykładowe „przydatki" NT1593 włączone do tekstu EiE1593 (oznaczone pogrubieniem)

		EiE1593	Wulgata lowańska (oprócz interpunkcji = *Mszał trydencki*)
Mt 13,52–53		powiedzieli mu: Tak, Panie. **A on** im rzekł: […] podobny jest człowiekowi gospodarzowi/ który wyjmuje z skarbu swego nowe i stare **rzeczy**.	Dicunt ei, Etiam [*Mszał*: Domine]. Ait illis […] similis est homini patrifamilias, qui profert de thesauro suo nova et vetera.
Mt 23,34		posyłam do was proroki i mędrce/ i doktory: a z nich (nie-które)[34] zabijecie i ukrzyżujecie/ a **drugie** zabijecie	mitto ad vos prophetas et sapientes et scribas, et ex illis occidetis et crucifigetis, et ex eis flagellabitis
Mk 16,20		A oni wyszedłszy/ przepowiadali wszędy: **którym** Pan dopomagał/ i naukę **ich** potwierdzał [NT1593: utwierdzał]	Illi autem profecti praedicaverunt ubique: Domino cooperante, et sermonem confirmante
Łk 2,5		aby był popisan z Marią poślubioną sobie małżonką/ **która była** brzemienną.	ut profiteretur cum Maria desponsata sibi uxore praegnante.
Łk 2,25		był człowiek w Jeruzalem/ któremu imię Symeon: a ten **był** człowiek sprawiedliwy i bogobojny	homo erat in in Ierusalem, cui nomen Simeon, et homo iste iustus et timoratus
Łk 19,4–5		A [Zacheusz] bieżawszy naprzód/ wstąpił na drzewo płonej figi/ aby Go ujrzał […]. A gdy przyszedł/ ku **onemu** miejscu/ pojrzawszy wzgórę Jezus/ ujrzał go	Et praecurrens ascendit in arborem sycomorum, ut videret eum […]. Et cum venisset ad locum, suspiciens Iesus vidit illum
J 3,11–12		powiadam tobie: iż co wiemy/ **to** mówiemy: a cochmy widzieli/ **to** świadczymy […]. Jeśli **gdy**m wam **rzeczy** ziemskie powiedał/ przedsię nie wierzycie: jakoż/ jeślibym wam niebieskie opowiedał/ wierzyć będzie?	dico tibi quia quod scimus loquimur, et quod vidimus testamur […]. Si terrena dixi vobis et non creditis: quomodo si dixero vobis coelestia, credetis?
J 14,2		W domu Ojca Mego jest mieszkania wiele. **Bo** gdzie by inaczej **było:** powiedziałbych wam był	In domo Patris mei mansiones multae sunt. Si quo minus, dixissem vobis
Dz 12,3		A widząc że się **to** podobało Żydom/ przydał **k temu** że poimał i Piotra.	Videns autem quia placeret Iudaeis, apposuit appre-hendere [*Mszał*: ut apprehenderet] et Petrum.

„Przydatki" pomagają oddać w polszczyźnie eliptyczne frazy Wulgaty. Dodane spój-niki uwydatniają relacje składniowe członów (w tabeli 3: Mt 13,52–53; J 14,2), orze-czenia przekształcają nominalne frazy w krótkie zdania (Łk 2,5.25), zaimki wskazujące w funkcji przydawki precyzują referencję (Łk 19,4–5)[35]. „Przydatki" w funkcji podmiotu (Mt 13,52–53; Rz 13,8) i dopełnienia (Dz 12,13 dwukrotnie) uzupełniają zaś informacje gramatyczne *implicite* zawarte w kontekście[36]. Źródłowe urzeczownikowione przymiotniki i eliptyczne wyrażenia przyimkowe przetłumaczone są w sposób opisowy, za pomocą roz-szerzeń, przy czym dodawano także główne rzeczowniki fraz (tj. ich rzeczownikowe ośrod-ki; Mt 13,52–53; J 13,11–12)[37]. Wujek wykorzystywał „przydatki" do uściślania sensu,

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34   Pierwszy „przydatek" – w NT1593 „jedne" – zmieniono, a do tekstu EiE1593 włączono wyłącznie drugi: „drugie".
35   Analogicznie do greckich rodzajników – część z nich Wujek oddawał właśnie jako takie „przydatki".
36   Podobnie niektóre okoliczniki, np. Dz 9,6: „idź do miasta/ a **tam** ci powiedzą".
37   Pokrewną funkcję pełnią dodane przydawki, np. Mt 4,10: „Jemu Samemu **Boską** służbę oddawać będziesz", Wulgata lowańska i *Mszał trydencki*: „illi soli servies".

choćby przez emfazę[38]. W wyniku amplifikacji wiele źródłowych, nominalnych syntagm zyskało postać predykatu lub doń zbliżoną (Łk 2,5; J 14,2). Powstawały złożone wykładniki zespolenia (w tabeli 3: „co ... to" i „kto ... ten") charakterystyczne dla redakcji przekładu sprzed B1599 (tj. perykop z *Postylli*, NT1593, EiE1593 i NT1594). Reasumując, perykopy EiE1593 składają się z krótkich członów zdaniowych, ściśle powiązanych składniowo i nasyconych informacjami gramatycznymi, często czytelnymi skądinąd z kontekstu.

Jedną z cech wyraziście różniących B1599 od wcześniejszych redakcji „Biblii Wujka" jest właśnie brak większości „przydatków", a także kalkowanie kategorii czasownikowych Wulgaty w miejsce ustrukturyzowanej czasowo polskojęzycznej narracji[39]. Tego typu zmiany wprowadzone w B1599 negatywnie wpływają na płynność i komunikatywność tekstu.

Redagując EiE1593, Wujek stylizował wypowiedzi bohaterów. Wykorzystywał rozwiązania, których natężenie wzrastało w kolejnych wersjach: *Postylli* z 1590 r., NT1593, a następnie EiE1593 (i później – NT1594). Leksem *powiedać* zarezerwowany jest dla Jezusa i Jana Chrzciciela, względnie inne postaci używają go w odniesieniu do ich wypowiedzi[40]. W mowie niezależnej dodawano i usuwano partykuły emfatyczne[41]. Podobnie orzeczenia redukowano czasem do końcówki fleksyjnej czasownika przy innej części zdania[42]. Ponadto w EiE1593 w wypowiedziach Jezusa pojawia się charakterystyczne „Zaprawdę [powiadam wam]" bez odpowiednika w źródłach (Mt 5,20; Łk 18,13).

Pozostałe niewielkie przekształcenia o charakterze redakcyjnym polegały na zmianie wyrazów lub krótkich fraz (oraz wartości kategorialnych, np. liczby czy aspektu), a także przestawkach szyku, przeważnie jednego wyrazu. Niektóre kontynuują modyfikacje zachodzące od *Postylli* z 1590 r. do NT1593[43]. W wypadku wielu trudno wykluczyć, czy nie wynikają z „mechanicznego" przetwarzania tekstu przy przepisywaniu i składzie, a część z pewnością łączy się z dążeniem do uchwycenia form i semantyki źródeł.

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38 Np. J 16,25: „już **dalej** nie przez przypowieści mówić wam będę"; 2 Kor 11,21: „Mówięć według zelżywości/ jakobyśmy **to** my słabymi byli w tej mierze".

39 Nieliczne „przydatki" pozostawione w B1599 wydrukowano w niej pismem prostym, spośród wyrazów wskazanych w tabeli 3 wyłącznie „rzeczy" (Mt 13,52–53; J 3,11–12). Kalkowanie struktur czasowych Wulgaty nie było w B1599 w pełni konsekwentne, zob. G. Borysławska, „Różnice między kolejnymi wydaniami *Nowego Testamentu* w przekładzie Jakuba Wujka", *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Linguistica* 1 (1981) 14–17; D. Bieńkowska, *Styl językowy przekładu Nowego Testamentu Jakuba Wujka (na materiale czterech Ewangelii)* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego 1992) 153–170, 185–195; A. Kępińska, *Składnia XVI-wiecznych przekładów Ewangelii na język polski*, 51–75, https://ewangelie.uw.edu.pl/files/skladnia.pdf [dostęp: 22.07.2024]; Rubik, *Biblia Wujka*, 661–671.

40 Obocznie też „powiadać", jak współcześnie. Nowe miejsca EiE1593 z wyrazem powiedać: J 10,1; 16,26.

41 Dodano ok. 5, usunięto kilka więcej (często w pierwszym wersecie perykopy), jedną zmieniono.

42 Tutaj dodatkowo w Mt 8,26: „Czemu bojaźliwi jesteście" → „Czemuście bojaźliwi".

43 Tj. predykat z orzecznikiem w mianowniku zamiast narzędnika (J 10,13; Łk 18,14; 2 Kor 11,22), zastąpienie wielkopol. „iż" ogólnopol. „że" (J 15,19; 16,19), odejście od kalk wyrażeń przyimkowych lub wyrażanie informacji gramatycznej funkcją przypada (Mt 13,44; 25,25; J 15,7; Rz 12,16; 15,19; 16,19), zob. Rubik, *Biblia Wujka*, 529–536. W EiE1593 wymieniono ok. 20 wyrazów i krótkich fraz nominalnych lub zmodyfikowano ich wartości kategorialne, podobnie w wypadku ok. 20 werbalnych. Zastąpiono także kilka spójników; w ponad 20 wypadkach nieznacznie przekształcono szyk.

W kilku miejscach lekcje EiE1593 odbiegające od NT1593 antycypują lekcje NT1594, co wskazuje na ciągłość i spójność działań Wujka. Przykładowo bohaterki przypowieści o dziesięciu pannach przygotowały nie „kagańce" (NT1593), lecz „lampy" (NT1594 i B1599). Żydzi kamienowali Szczepana nie „wzywającego" (NT1593 i B1599), lecz „modlącego się" (NT1594)[44]. Ciekawy jest przypadek Dz 1,21 (tabela 4).

Tabela 4. Przekształcenia Dz 1,21

NT1593	EIE1593	NT1594	Wulgata lowańska (= *Mszał trydencki*)
przez wszytek czas którego Pan Jezus ″wchodził i wychodził′ [″przebywał. Hebraizm] między nami.	[...] Jezus obcował między [...]	[...] Jezus przebywał między [...]	in omni tempore quo intravit et exivit inter nos Dominus Iesus.

W NT1593 hebraizm przekalkowano, a jego sens wyjaśniono w nocie marginesowej (tu i w kolejnych tabelach zamieszczonych w nawiasach kwadratowych). W EiE1593 i NT1594 – bez aparatu krytycznego – Wujek zastąpił obcą frazę różnymi polskimi czasownikami.

Antycypacji lekcji NT1594 było w EiE1593 więcej tam, gdzie czytania dostosowano do tekstu *Mszału trydenckiego* (tabela 5) – innego niż w Wulgacie lowańskiej, zgodnego zaś z syksto-klementyńską, na której podstawie Wujek zrewidował NT1594[45]. Może to dziwić, przy pracach nad EiE1593 jezuita bowiem z niej nie korzystał[46]. Rzymski komitet prowadzący emendację Wulgaty przyjął jednak kryterium zwyczaju Kościoła za jedno z podstawowych do uznania danego wariantu za autentyczny, dlatego wiele lekcji poświadczonych (m.in.) w *Mszale trydenckim* trafiło do Wulgaty syksto-klementyńskiej[47].

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44 Odpowiednio Mt 25,7 i Dz 7,58. Zob. też: Mt 8,26; Łk 24,29; Ef 5,6; 1 Tes 1,8. Kilka zmian antycypuje B1599: J 15,7; Dz 10,38; 1 Kor 13,11.

45 Osiem antycypacji (pogrubione) na co najmniej 23 różnice polegające na dostosowaniu tekstu do *Mszału trydenckiego*: Mt 21,1; Łk **1,45**; 2,7; 7,48; **11,25**; **15,8**; 24,39; J 16,**9.**19.27; Dz 7,**59**; 13,27.**32**; 1 Kor 10,13; **12,28**; **Ef 5,18**; Flp 4,2.5; **Jk 1,18**; 1 P 3,14; 1J 3,17; 4,17.

46 Analizy nie wskazały przypadku, w którym nowa lekcja EiE1593 byłaby zgodna z lekcją Wulgaty syksto-klementyńskiej (1592 i 1593), różniącą ją od lowańskiej oraz *Mszału trydenckiego*. Wujek zapewne przeprowadził rewizję EiE1593 zanim do Polski dotarły egzemplarze pierwszej edycji syksto-klementyńskiej opublikowanej w końcu 1592 r.

47 Większą wagę dla ustalania tekstu miały warianty tekstowe poświadczone w rozpowszechnionych edycjach ksiąg kościelnych jak brewiarze czy właśnie mszały, a zatem podstawowym punktem odniesienia dla komitetu była postać Wulgaty usankcjonowana ówczesną tradycją Kościoła, lepiej przy tym znana i bardziej utrwalona w świadomości użytkowników, zwana niekiedy *Vulgata ordinaria*, zob. H. Höpfl, „Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sixto-Klementinischen Vulgata. Nach gedruckten und undgedruckten Quellen", *Biblische Studien* 18/1–3 (1912) 158–186.

Tabela 5. Korekty do *Mszału trydenckiego* w EiE1593

		NT1593	EiE1593	NT1594	B1599	Wulgata lowańska	*Mszał trydencki*	Wulgata syksto--klementyńska (1592 = 1593)
Mt 8,25		Przystąpili k Niemu * [*uczniowie Jego. L. K. G. S.]	[brak]	k Niemu uczniowie Jego	=	Et acceserunt ad eum * [discipuli eius, Ms. R. G. S.].	accesserunt [!] discipuli eius	accesserunt ad eum discipuli eius
1 Kor 12,28		Bógci postanowił [...] dary [...] różności języków * [*mów wykładania. NL].	mów wykładania.	=	i mów [...]	[...] gratias [...] linguarum * [*interpretationes sermonum Ms. Amb.]	interpretationes sermonum	et interpretationes sermonum
1 J 3,17		Kto by miał żywność świata * [*tego NL]	tego	[brak]	tego	Qui habuerit substantiam * [*huius Ms q.] mundi	huius	=
1 J 4,17		W tem wykonana jest miłość * [*Boża NL. Jego S.] z nami	Boża	[brak]	[brak]	[...] charitas * [*Dei Ms q. eius S.] nobiscum	Dei	=

Symbole w tekście głównym i [notach marginesowych] NT1593 i Wulgaty lowańskiej:

* – w tym miejscu inne przekazy zawierają cząstkę nieobecną w tekście głównym edycji.

Symbole w [notach marginesowych] NT1593 i Wulgaty lowańskiej:

L. – rękopisy Wulgaty, tu: bez wskazania liczby.

NL/Ms q. – „niektóre rękopisy"/„manuscripta quaedam" Wulgaty, kwalifikator jakościowy wskazujący na niewielką wagę wariantu (w ocenie wydawcy Wulgaty lowańskiej i Wujka).

K./R. – Biblia „królewska"/„regia", tj. Poliglotta antwerpska – jej tekst Wulgaty.

G. – tekst grecki Poliglotty antwerpskiej.

S. – tekst syriacki Poliglotty antwerpskiej.

Amb. – wskazanie na egzegezę św. Ambrożego.

Różnice przekazów odnotowano w aparacie krytycznym Wulgaty lowańskiej oraz na jego podstawie w NT1593. Te warianty trafiły następnie do Wulgaty syksto-klementyńskiej. W EiE1593 w 1 Kor 12,28; 1 J 3,17 i 4,17 Wujek wprowadził stosowne korekty. Pierwszą z nich, zgodnie z Wulgatą syksto-klementyńską, zawierają również NT1594 i B1599. Przy redakcji obu przeoczono jednak różnicę w 1 J 4,17, przy redakcji zaś NT1594 – w 1 J 3,17, którą jednak wychwycono w B1599. W Mt 8,25 Wujek nie zauważył odmiennej lekcji *Mszału trydenckiego* lub pominął ją z innego powodu[48]. W NT1594 wprowadził jednak korektę za Wulgatą syksto-klementyńską, podobnie redaktorzy B1599.

W co najmniej dwóch miejscach EiE1593 Wujek częściowo przywrócił lekcje znane z *Postylli* z 1590 r., niezgodne zarówno z Wulgatą lowańską, jak i *Mszałem trydenckim*. Przykłady wydają się świadczyć, że nie akceptował wszystkich zmian wypracowanych z Rabbem podczas prac nad NT1593 (tabela 6).

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48   Pozostałe miejsca EiE1593: Mt 5,20; 21,4; Mk 16,19; Łk 5,7; 8,13; J 3,8; 1 Tes 4,1; 1 J 4,10.

Tabela 6. Lekcje perykop ewangelicznych *Postylli* z 1590 r. przywrócone w EiE1593

	Postylla z 1590 r.	NT1593	EiE1593	Wulgata lowańska (oprócz interpunkcji = *Mszał trydencki*)	Poliglota
Mt 11,3	Tyżeś jest, któryś miał przyjść, czyli inszego czekamy?	[...] jest on, "który ma przyjść' ["który masz przyjść L.] czyli [...]	[...] on, który miał przyjść, czyli [...]	Tu es qui venturus es, an alium expectamus?	σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἢ ἕτερον προσδοκῶμεν;
J 21,22–23	Powiedział mu Jezus: Jeśli chcę aby on trwał aż ja przyjdę [...]. A nie rzekł mu Jezus/ że nie umiera: ale/ Jeśli chcę	[...] "Tak chcę' ["Jeśli chcę NL. K. G. S. Jeśli tak chcę 2 L. Hier.], aby ten został aż przyjdę [...]. Lecz nie rzekł Jezus: Nie umrze. ale: "Tak chcę' ["Jeśli chcę 4 L. K. G. S. Jeśli tak chcę 3 L.]	[...] Jeśli chcę, aby ten został aż przyjdę [...]. Lecz nie rzekł Jezus: Nie umrze. ale: Jeśli chcę	Dicit ei Iesus, "Sic' ["Si Ms. G. S. Si sic 2 Ms. Hier.; [...] eum volo manere, donec veniam [...]. Et non dixit ei Iesus, Non motitur. sed, "Sic' ["Si 4 Ms. G. S. Si sic 3 Ms.] eum volo	λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἐὰν αὐτὸν θέλω μένειν ἕως ἔρχομαι [...]. καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ὅτι οὐκ ἀποθνήσκει, ἀλλ᾽, ἐὰν αὐτὸν θέλω

Symbole w tekście głównym i [notach marginesowych] NT1593 i Wulgaty lowańskiej:
" ' – w oznaczonym miejscu inne przekazy zawierają odmienną lekcję niż w tekście głównym edycji.
Symbole w [notach marginesowych] NT1593:
L. – tu: tekst Wulgaty w odróżnieniu od reprezentowanego w tłumaczeniu tekstu greckiego Poliglotty.
Symbole w [notach marginesowych] NT1593 i Wulgaty lowańskiej:
NL./Ms. – „niektóre rękopisy"/„manuscripta" Wulgaty; kwalifikator jakościowy wskazujący na niewielką wagę wariantu (w ocenie wydawcy Wulgaty lowańskiej i Wujka).
[X] L./[X] Ms. – rękopisy Wulgaty reprezentujące dany wariant, z ich liczbą: [X].
K/R – Biblia „królewska"/„regia", tj. Poliglotta antwerpska – jej tekst Wulgaty.
G. – tekst grecki Poliglotty antwerpskiej.
S. – tekst syriacki Poliglotty antwerpskiej.
Symbole w notach marginesowych Wulgaty lowańskiej:
Hier. – wskazanie na egzegezę św. Hieronima.

W Mt 11,3 Wulgata odnosi się do przyszłego „przyjścia" (*participium futuri activi*), którego czas nie jest sprecyzowany w tekście greckim (urzeczownikowione *participium praesentis medii*). Według noty NT1593 (i tak samo brzmi B1599) tłumaczenie w pełni zgodne z Wulgatą powinno być sformułowane w drugiej osobie i opisywać przyszłe wydarzenie. Z kolei w J 21,22–23 Wujek ponownie skorygował domniemany błąd transmisji („si" → „sic") na podstawie lekcji greckiej (ἐὰν)[49].

Ponieważ tłumacz nie zrezygnował z kierowania się zasadą *ad fontes*, EiE1593 z reguły przechowują lekcje NT1593 zależne od tekstu greckiego lub pokrewne łacińskim korektom językowym Erazma (które to miejsca w B1599 przywracano do Wulgaty). Kilka przykładów zawiera tabela 7.

49　J 21,22–23 na warsztacie XVI-wiecznych uczonych omówiono już na łamach czasopisma, zob. T. Rubik, „Jan ze Lwowa i Erazm z Rotterdamu. Grecki tekst Nowego Testamentu a pierwodruk (1561) oraz zrewidowana edycja (1575) *Biblii Leopolity*", *BA* 13/2 (2023) 372–373.

Tabela 7. Przykładowe niezgodności z Wulgatą w EiE1593 i NT1593

	EiE1593 (= NT1593)	B1599	Wulgata lowańska (oprócz interpunkcji = *Mszał trydencki*)	Poliglota
Mt 2,7	Herod [...] się od nich wywiadował czasu/ którego się im gwiazda ukazała.	[...] czasu gwiazdy która się im ukazała.	Herodes [...] didicit ab eis tempus stellae quae apparuit eis	ἡρώδης [...] ἠκρίβωσε παρ' αὐτῶν τὸν χρόνον τοῦ φαινομένου ἀστέρος
Mt 4,19	Pójdźcie za mną: a uczynię was rybitwami ludzi.	[...] was że się staniecie rybitwami [...]	Venite post me: et faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum	ὀπίσω μου, καὶ ποιήσω ὑμᾶς ἁλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων.
Mt 18,9	Lepiejci tobie jednookiem wniść do żywota	[...] tobie z jednym okiem wniść	bonum tibi est unum oculum habentem in vitam intrare	καλόν σοί ἐστι μονόφθαλμον εἰς τὴν ζωὴν εἰσελθεῖν

Kalka Wulgaty w Mt 2,7 B1599 jest dość niejasna. Klarowniejsza wydaje się lekcja EiE1593 i NT1593, która pokrewna jest korekcie językowej Erazma: „quo tempore stella apparuisset". Natomiast przekład Mt 4,19 według NT1593 charakteryzuje się formalną zgodnością z tekstem greckim – tłumaczenie zeń pozwoliło uniknąć nadmiarowości składni Wulgaty oddanej dosłownie w B1599. Lekcję Mt 18,9 Wujek wskazał zaś w przedmowie do NT1593 jako przykład odejścia od Wulgaty. W jego ocenie wyraz μονόφθαλμον można było przetłumaczyć na polski „jaśniej i znaczniej [= *significanter*]" niż frazę „unum oculum habentem": „jednookiem" zamiast „z jednym okiem"[50].

Warto zwrócić uwagę na inne wyraziste różnice między redakcjami NT1593, EiE1593 i NT1593 a B1599. W tej ostatniej zmieniano bowiem nazwy osób, przedmiotów i miejsc charakterystyczne dla stylu biblijnego, ważne przy opisywaniu wydarzeń historii zbawienia w kaznodziejstwie i piśmiennictwie. Przykładowo 1) Wujkowi „arcykapłani" stali się w B1599 „przedniejszymi" lub częściej „najwyższymi kapłanami", 2) „ptacy powietrzni" – „niebieskimi", 3) „Dzieciątko" zastąpiono wyrazem „Dziecię", a 4) „ziemię judską" (= „judzką") – „ziemią żydowską"[51].

4. Perykopy starotestamentalne

Perykopy ST w EiE1593 to obok *Psałterza* (1594) i przytoczeń w innych pracach Wujka jedyne źródło dające wgląd w tłumaczenie ST sprzed powstania B1599. W tym okresie

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50   Cyt. za: J. Wujek, „Przedmowa", NT1593, 21.

51   W wersetach reprezentowanych w EiE1593: 1) „przedniejsi": Mt 2,4; Łk 24,20; Dz 9,21; „najwyżsi": Łk 3,2; Dz 9,1.14; Hbr 5,5; 9,11; 13,11; 2) Mt 6,26; 13,32; Łk 8,5; 3) Mt 2,9.11.13.14; Łk 1,66 (o Janie Chrzcicielu). We wszystkich wydaniach nieco starszy Jezus nazywany jest już „Dziecięciem" (Łk 2,40.43); „Dzieciątko" zachowano w Mt 2,8; 4) Mt 24,16; Łk 1,65; 2,4; 3,1; 6,17; J 4,47; Dz 1,8; 2,9. Por. Mt 2,1.5–6; Łk 1,39.

polski ST nie był jeszcze gotowy, a czytania EiE zostały najpewniej przetłumaczone *ad hoc* na podstawie *Mszału trydenckiego* i Wulgaty lowańskiej[52]. Aż trzy czwarte wersetów reprezentowanych w EiE1593 (ok. 75) ma w B1599 inną postać. Porównanie tych dwóch redakcji prowadzi do ciekawych wniosków. W EiE1593 części ksiąg prorockich (Iz, Ez, Ml) są generalnie przetłumaczone dosłowniej niż mądrościowych (Prz, Pnp, Syr) – to samo w odniesieniu do B1599 odnotowywali czytelnicy i badacze XIX i początku XX w.[53]. Z pewnością różnicowanie strategii translatorskiej było związane z odmiennym charakterem ksiąg i wygląda na to, że postępował tak już Wujek. Co więcej, w B1599 widać zarówno przykłady formalnego dostosowania polskiego tekstu do fraz Wulgaty (liczniejsze), jak i mniejszej dosłowności niż w EiE1593 (pojedyncze) – być może są to efekty prac Wujka nad przekładem ST w latach 1593/1594–1596.

Przyjrzyjmy się kilku przykładom, najpierw z ksiąg prorockich (tabela 8). Wyrazy i frazy pokrewne „przydatkom" (bez odpowiednika w źródłach) tu i dalej oznacza pogrubienie.

Tłumaczenie EiE1593 jest bardzo dosłowne: kolejne leksemy *Mszału trydenckiego* (zob. Iz 49,7; Ml 3,3–4) zostały oddane z prawie całkowitą precyzją formalną i w prawie identycznym układzie. Na uwagę zasługują rozszerzenie wersetu 49,7 oraz inne wyrazy pokrewne „przydatkom", które w B1599 usunięto (Ef 1,12; Ml 3,3–4 – por. nota B1599). Odstępstwa od pełnego literalizmu widoczne są przede wszystkim w „spolonizowanym" tłumaczeniu łacińskich wyrażeń przyimkowych. Te w B1599 często kalkowano (tu: Ml 3,3–4 „sacrificia in iustitia"), podobnie nazwy własne przez Wujka przekształcone w przydawki przymiotne (Iz 60,5–6; Ml 3,3–4) i poddane polskiej odmianie (Ml 3,3–4). Kopiowanie nazw własnych w postaci mianownikowej tożsamej z Wulgatą (w łacinie wiele nazw hebrajskich nie podlega deklinacji), choć niekonsekwentnie (np. Ml 3,3–4: „Judy i Jeruzalem"), bez wątpienia zaciemniało sens tekstu[54]. Modyfikacje wyrazów samodzielnych semantycznie i spójników (w każdym wierszu tabeli 8) oraz kalki słowotwórcze (Iz 49,7; 60,5–6) również są charakterystyczne dla B1599[55]. W B1599 warto zwrócić uwagę na oddanie „quis poterit cogitare" (Ml 3,3–4) mniej dosłowne niż w EiE1593. Być może jest to późniejsza przeróbka Wujka, która „przetrwała" rewizję. W Ez 1,12 EiE1593 widać zaś lekcję zgodną nie z Wulgatą, a z tekstem hebrajskim, na co wskazuje nota B1599.

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52 W marcu 1596 r. Wujek pisał: „skończyłem już Proroków Większych. Pozostali Mniejsi i Księgi Machabejskie", cyt. za: Rubik, *Biblia Wujka*, 417.

53 Np. M. Nowodworski, „O ile jest uzasadnioną u nas potrzeba nowego tłumaczenia Pisma Świętego", *Pamiętnik Religijno-Moralny* (*Serya nowa*) 20 (1861) 246–251; A. Szlagowski, *Wstęp ogólny historyczno-krytyczny do Pisma Świętego* (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff 1908) II, 247–250.

54 Zob. też Syr 24,17–18 i Iz 7,10. Nt. takich zmian w NT zob. Rubik, *Biblia Wujka*, 669–670.

55 *E*[*x*]+*lego*" → *obieram* → *wy*+*bieram*; *o*+*perio* → *przykrywam* → *o*+*krywam*.

Tabela 8. Fragmenty ksiąg prorockich według EiE1593 i B1599

	EiE1593	B1599	*Mszał trydencki* (oprócz interpunkcji = **Wulgata lowańska**)
Iz 49,7	Królowie oglądają/ i powstaną książęta/ i będą się kłaniać Panu **Bogu twemu**/ i świętemu izraelskiemu który cię obrał.	[...] oglądają/ a powstaną książęta/ i kłaniać się będą dla Pana/ iż wierny jest/ i dla świętego izraelowego/ który cię wybrał.	Reges videbunt, et consurgent principes, et adorabunt Dominum [Wulg: adorabunt propter Dominum, quia fidelis est], et sanctum Israel, qui elegit te.
Iz 60,5–6	Tedy oglądasz/ i opływać będziesz: i zadziwisz się, a rozszerzy się serce twoje/ gdy się obróci ku tobie zgraja morska/ moc poganów przyjdzie do ciebie. Obfitość wielbłądów przykryje cię/ wielbłądowie młodzi madiańscy i efascy. Wszyscy z Saby przyjdą/ złoto i kadzidło przynosząc/ i chwałę Panu opowiadając.	[...] będziesz: zadziwi się i rozszerzy [...] [...] wielbłądów okryje cię/ wielbłądowie prędcy Madian i Efa [...] [...] przynosząc/ a chwałę [...]	Tunc videbis, et afflues, et mirabitur, et dilatabitur cor tuum quando conversa fuerit ad te multitudo maris, fortitudo Gentium venerit tibi. Inundatio camelorum operiet te, dromedarii Madian, et Epha: omnes de Saba venient, aurum, et thus deferentes, et laudem Domino annuntiantes.
Ez 1,12	A każde z nich [czterech zwierząt] przed obliczem swoim chodziło. Dokądkolwiek popędzał **ich** Duch/ tam chodziły: nie obracając się gdy szły.	[...]″przed obliczem swoim chodziło' [″przeciw sobie szło]: dokąd Duch pędził: tam chodziły i ″nie wracały się' [″abo: nie obracały się H.] kiedy chodziły.	et unumquodque eorum coram facie sua ambulabat: ubi erat impetus spiritus, illuc gradiebantur, nec revertabantur, cum ambularent.
Ml 3,3–4	Lecz kto będzie mógł rozmyślić dzień przyjścia Jego? I kto się ostoi na widzenie Jego? Bo On **jest** jako ogień wypalający/ i jako zielę farbierskie. A usiędzie wypalając/ i wyczyszczając śrebro: i wyczyści syny Lewiego: i wypławi je jako złoto i jako śrebro: że będą ofiarować Panu ofiary sprawiedliwości. I spodoba się Panu ofiara judzka i jerozolimska/ jako **za** czasów wiecznych i jako **za** lat dawnych. Mówi Pan wszechmogący.	A kto będzie mógł myślą ogarnąć dzień przyjścia Jego, a kto [...] [...] ogień zlewający/ i [...] [...] syny Lewi/ i przecedzi je jako złoto i jako srebro, i będą Panu ofiarować ofiary w sprawiedliwości. [...] ofiara Judy i Jeruzalem, ″jako dni wieku i jako dawne lata' [″to jest: jako ofiary które dawno ojcowie święci ofiarowali].	et quis poterit cogitare diem adventus eius, et quis stabit ad videndum eum? Ipse enim quasi ignis conflans, et quasi herba fullonum: et sedebit conflans et emundans argentum: et purgabit filios Levi, et colabit eos quasi aurum, et quasi argentum: et erunt Domino offerentes sacrificia in iustitia. Et placebit Domino sacrificium Iuda et Ierusalem, sicut dies saeculi, et sicut anni antiqui: dicit Dominus omnipotens [Wulgata: antiqui.].

Symbole w tekście głównym i [notach marginesowych] B1599:
″' – oznaczone miejsce można rozumieć lub przetłumaczyć inaczej – jak wskazano w nocie marginesowej.
Symbole w tekście głównym i [notach marginesowych] B1599 i Wulgacie lowańskiej:
″' – w oznaczonym miejscu inne przekazy zawierają odmienną lekcję niż w tekście głównym edycji.
Symbole w [notach marginesowych] B1599 i Wulgaty lowańskiej:
H. – hebrajski tekst Poliglotty antwerpskiej.

Podobne prawidłowości występują w mniej dosłownych fragmentach ksiąg mądrościowych (tabela 9).

Tabela 9. Fragmenty ksiąg mądrościowych według EiE1593 i B1599

	EiE1593	**B1599**	*Mszał trydencki* (oprócz not i interpunkcji = Wulgata lowańska)
Pnp 8,4	Poprzysięgam was córki Jerozolimskie/ przez sarny i jelenie polne: abyście nie budziły/ ani dopuszczały ocucać namilszej/ póki ona zachce.	[...] Jerozolimskie/ nie obudzajcież/ ani dawajcie ocucić miłej/ póki sama nie zachce.	Adiuro vos filiae Ierusalem per capreas cervosque camporum, ne [Wulgata: Ierusalem, [!] ne] suscitetis, neque evigilare faciatis dilectam/ donec ipsa velit.
Mdr 5,2–3	**Co** widząc/ strachem wielkim będą zatrwożeni/ a zdumieją się nagłej odmianie zbawienia **ich** niespodziewanego/ mówiąc sami w sobie/ żałując/ i dla ucisku ducha wzdychając. Cić **to** są/ z którycheśmy się przedtym śmiali/ i szyderstwa stroli.	Ujrzawszy będą zatrwożeni bojaźnią strasliwą/ i zdumiewać się będą w prędkości niespodziewanego zbawienia/ mówiąc sami w sobie/ pokutę czyniąc/ i [...] [...] są/ którzyśmy niekiedy mieli za pośmiech i za przysłowie urągania.	Videntes turbabuntur "timore' ["terrore 1 Ms.] horribili, et mirabuntur in subitatione insperatae salutis, "dicentes' ["dicent 4 Ms. G.] intra se, poenitentiam agentes, et prae angustia spiritus gementes: Hi sunt, quos habuimus aliquando in derisum, et in similitudinem improperii.
Syr 15,4–6	i [sprawiedliwość] podeprze go/ a nie będzie pohańbion: i podwyższy go przed bliźnimi jego. W pośrzodku kościoła otworzy usta jego: I napełni go **Pan** duchem mądrości/ i rozumienia: a szatą chwalebną przyodzieje go. Radość i wesele rozmnoży nad nim: i wieczne imię da mu za dziedzictwo Pan Bóg nasz.	i zatrzyma go i nie zawstydzi się/ i wywyższy go u bliźnich jego: i w pośrzodku ″kościoła' [″abo: zgromadzenia] [...] go duchem [...] [...] rozumienia/ i "szatą' ["abo: koroną G.] chwały przyodzieje go. Wesele i radość będzie skarbiła nad nim: i imienia wiecznego dziedzicem go uczyni.	et continebit illum, et non confudetur: et exaltabit illum apud proximos suos. [Wulgata: et] In medio ecclesiae aperiet os eius, et implebit [Wulgata: adimplebit] illum spiritu sapientiae, et intellectus, et stolam gloriae vestiet illum [Wulgata: stola gloriae induet eum]. Iucunditatem, et exultationem thesaurizabit super eum [Wulgata: illum], et nomine aeterno haereditabit illum, Dominus Deus noster [Wulgata: illum.].

Syr 51,3–5	a zachowałeś ciało moje od zginienia/ od sidła języka niesprawiedliwego/ i od ust sprawujących kłamstwo: i byłeś mi pomocnikiem przeciw nieprzyjaciołom **moim**. I wybawiłeś mię dla wielkiego miłosierdzia imienia twego/ od ryczących nagotowanych ku pożarciu; z rąk szukających śmierci mojej/ i z wiela trudności/ które mię ogarnęły.	i zachowałeś [...]
		                    [...] języka złośliwego [...]
		                    [...] i stałeś mi się pomocnikiem przed oczyma sprzeciwników. [...] mię według wielkości miłosierdzia [...]
		[...] nagotowanych do żeru/ [...] szukających dusze mojej/ i bram utrapienia które [...]
			et liberasti corpus meum a perditione, a laqueo linguae iniquae, et a labiis operantium mendacium, et in conspectu astantium factus es mihi adiutor. Et liberasti me secundum multitudinem misericordiae nominis tui a rugientibus, praeparatis ad escam, de manibus quaerentium animam meam, et de "portis tribulationum' ["multis tribulationibus Ms. G.], quae circumdederunt me.

Symbole w tekście głównym i [notach marginesowych] B1599:

″ ' – oznaczone miejsce można rozumieć lub przetłumaczyć inaczej – jak wskazano w nocie marginesowej.

Symbole w tekście głównym i [notach marginesowych] NT1593, B1599 i Wulgaty lowańskiej:

″ ' – w oznaczonym miejscu inne przekazy zawierają odmienną lekcję niż w tekście głównym edycji.

Symbole w [notach marginesowych] NT1593, B1599 i Wulgaty lowańskiej:

L./Ms. – rękopisy Wulgaty, bez wskazania liczby.

[X] L./[X] Ms. – rękopisy Wulgaty reprezentujące dany wariant, z ich liczbą: [X].

G. – tekst grecki Poliglotty antwerpskiej.

Podobnie jak w księgach prorockich, w księgach mądrościowych według EiE1593 pojawiają się zależności tekstowe od *Mszału trydenckiego* (Pnp 8,4 i Syr 15,4–6), wyrazy pokrewne „przydatkom" (Mdr 5,2–3; Syr 15,4–6) i modyfikacje wyrażeń przyimkowych

(Mdr 5,2–3; Syr 15,4–6; 51,3–5). W B1599 usunięto „nadprogramowe" wyrazy, zmieniano leksemy samodzielne semantycznie (i ich wartości kategorialne) oraz spójniki, kalkowano słowotwórstwo (Syr 15,4–6) i składnię zdań (Pnp 8,4). Niedosłownie przełożone frazy przywracano do Wulgaty bez względu na komunikatywność: Syr 15,4–6 „et continebit illum, et non confudetur" (z B1599 wynika, że to „sprawiedliwość" „nie zawstydzi się") oraz „thesaurizabit super illum". Na uwagę zasługuje tłumaczenie EiE1593 „quaerentium animam meam" – „szukających śmierci mojej" (Syr 51,3–5). W aparacie NT1593 Wujek wyjaśniał, że hebraizm „szukać czyjejś duszy" oznacza „chcieć kogoś zabić"[56]. Tłumaczenie jest z tym spójne. W Syr 51,3–5 EiE1593 widać też wskazaną przez notę B1599 zależność od lekcji Septuaginty i niektórych przekazów Wulgaty. W Mdr 5,2–3 Wujek przełożył „poenitentiam agens" jako „żałujący". Odpowiednik zgodny z Erazmowymi analizami greckiej semantyki był kontrowersyjny dla wielu katolików[57]. W NT B1599 łacińską frazę tłumaczono jak tutaj: „pokutę czyniący"[58].

Niektóre cząstki Pnp wydają się świadczyć, że Wujek nadawał poezji ST kształt zbliżony do prozy poetyckiej (tabela 10).

Tabela 10. Pnp 8,6–7 według EiE1593 i B1599

EiE1593	B1599	*Mszał trydencki* (oprócz interpunkcji i not = Wulgata lowańska)
Połóż mię jako znamię na sercu twoim/ jako znamię na ramieniu twoim: bo miłość mocna jest/ jako śmierć: i jako piekło twarda żarliwość. Lampy jej, lampy ognia i płomienia. Wody wielkie nie mogły zagasić miłości: ani rzeki nie zaleją jej. Jeśli da człowiek wszystkę majątność domu swego za miłość: jako nic wzgardzi ją.	Przyłóż mię/ jako pieczęć do serca twego/ jako pieczęć do ramienia twego: bo mocna jest jako śmierć miłość/ twarda jako piekło ″rzewliwość″ [″zawistna miłość] / ″pochodnie″ [″węgle] jej pochodnie ognia i płomieniów. Wody mnogie nie mogły ugasić miłości/ i rzeki nie zatopią jej. Choćby człowiek dał wszystkę majętność domu swego za miłość/ wzgardzi ją jako nic.	Pone me ut signaculum super cor tuum, ut signaculum super brachium tuum, quia fortis est ut mors dilectio: dura sicut infernus aemulatio: lampades eius, lampades ignis, atque flammarum. Aquae multae non potuerunt [Wulgata: ″poterunt″: ″potuerunt Ms q.] extinguere charitatem, nec flumina obruent illam: si dederit homo omnem substantiam domus suae pro dilectione, quasi nihil ″despiciet″ [″despicient 8 Ms. R. H. G.] ″eam″ [″eum Ms. R. Qn].

Symbole w tekście głównym i [notach marginesowych] B1599:
″ ′ – oznaczone miejsce można rozumieć lub przetłumaczyć inaczej – jak wskazano w nocie marginesowej.
Symbole w tekście głównym i [notach marginesowych] Wulgaty lowańskiej:
″ ′ – w miejscu oznaczonym symbolami inne przekazy zawierają odmienną lekcję niż w tekście głównym edycji.
Symbole w [notach marginesowych] Wulgaty lowańskiej:
Ms. – rękopisy Wulgaty, bez wskazania liczby.
Ms. q. – „manuscripta quaedam", kwalifikator jakościowy wskazujący na niewielką wagę wariantu (w ocenie wydawcy Wulgaty lowańskiej).
[X] Ms. – rękopisy Wulgaty reprezentujące dany wariant, z ich liczbą: [X].
R. – Biblia „Regia", tj. Poliglotta antwerpska – jej tekst Wulgaty.
H. – tekst hebrajski Poliglotty antwerpskiej.
G. – tekst grecki Poliglotty antwerpskiej.

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56 Np. J. Wujek, „Przedmowa", NT1593, 19.

57 Zob. Erasmus Desiderius, *In Novum Testamentum Annotationes* (Basileae: apud Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium 1535) 18.

58 Zob. Rubik, *Biblia Wujka*, 509–511.

W EiE1593 wyraźna jest instrumentacja zgłoskowa (asonanse, widoczne we frekwencji samogłosek w poszczególnych członach). Uwagę zwraca efektowny chiazm: „bo miłość mocna jest/ jako śmierć: i jako piekło twarda żarliwość".

W okresie prac nad EiE1593 Wujek tłumaczył ST podobnie do NT. Literalizm nie był najważniejszym kryterium, choć przekład ksiąg prorockich charakteryzuje się większą dosłownością niż mądrościowych. Jezuita miał wgląd w teksty hebrajski i grecki, których lekcje wprowadzał niekiedy do polskiej translacji. Można też wnioskować, że rewizja po jego śmierci miała podobny charakter w ST i NT.

5. Rewizja *Ewangelii i Epistoł* na podstawie Nowego Testamentu z 1594 r. (ok. 1595 r.)

Tekst EiE1593 zrewidowano na podstawie NT1594 zaraz po jego publikacji. W ten sposób powstał typ tekstu EiE/NT1594. Najstarszym wydaniem tej redakcji zbioru, do którego udało się dotrzeć podczas kwerend, są EiE1626 opublikowane przez Andrzeja Piotrkowczyka młodszego[59]. Jednakże już perykopy ewangeliczne w opublikowanych przez jego ojca *Kazaniach na niedziele i święta* Skargi z 1595 r. i *Postylli* Wujka z 1596 r. zawierają tożsamą wersję tekstu, z jedną tylko lekcją swoistą w analizowanych miejscach (u Skargi, tabela 11).
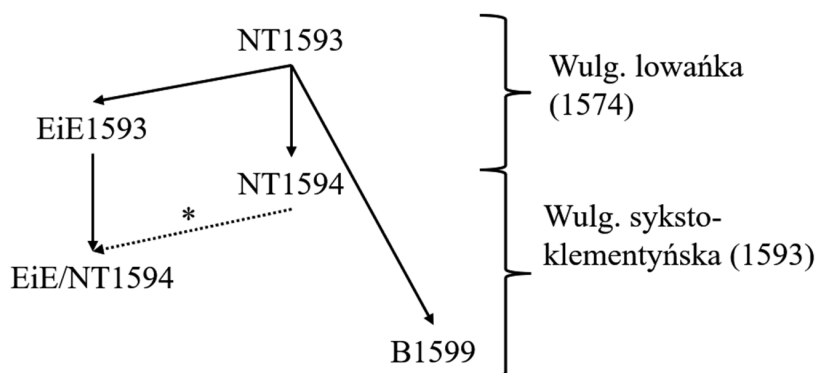
Ryc. 2. Relacje EiE1593 i typu tekstu EiE/NT1594 z redakcjami NT1593 i NT1594

* Rewizję EiE1593 przeprowadzono na podstawie NT1594.

Opis rewizji EiE wychodzi od porównania dwóch rodzajów fragmentów. Po pierwsze, zestawiono 16 miejsc, w których EiE1593 (i tak samo NT1593) różni się od NT1594.

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59   Estreicher, *Bibliografia*, XXXIII, 384–386, wskazał wyd. z 1605 i 1611 r. Najstarsze w *Katalogu BN*: 1617 (na 1611 r. datowany jest egzemplarz z defektem karty tytułowej, ale za *Bibliografią* Estreichera). Zob. też. Komorowska, *Piotrkowczykowie*, 339–340.

Wyłącznie w dwóch wypadkach podczas rewizji pominięto nowe lekcje[60]. Różnice między NT1594 a NT1593 – i tym samym EiE1593 – wynikały z dostosowania do Wulgaty syksto-klementyńskiej (1593) oraz z uproszczenia przekładu wyrazów i fraz, które wcześniej były wyjaśnione w aparacie.

Tabela 11. Przykłady (I) typu tekstu EiE/NT1594
(EiE1626 = *Kazania* Skargi z 1595 r. = *Postylla* Wujka z 1596 r.)

	EiE1593 (oprócz not i interpunkcji = NT1593)	NT1594	EiE/NT1594	Wulgata (oprócz interpunkcji lowańska = syksto-klementyńska)
Mt 4,7	Rzekł mu "Jezus zasię: napisano' ["Jezus: zasię napisano G.] jest	[…] Jezus: zasię napisano […]	= NT1594	Ait illi Iesus rursum, Scriptum est [syksto-klem.: […] Iesus: Rursum scriptum […]
Mt 6,25	nie troszczcie się o duszę waszę/ co byście jedli: ani o ciało wasze/ czym byście się odziewali. Azaż dusza nie jest ważniejsza/ niż pokarm: i ciało niżli odzienie?	[…] o żywot wasz co […] […] Azaż żywot nie jest ważniejszy niż […]	= NT1594	ne solliciti sitis animae vestrae quid manducetis, neque corpori vestro quid induamini. Nonne anima plus est quam esca: et corpus plus quam vestimentum?
Mt 24,28	Gdziebykolwiek było "ciało' ["ścierw G.] / tam się i orłowie zgromadzą.	Gdziekolwiek będzie ścierw/ tam […]	= NT1594 [Skarga: Gdziekolwiek będzie ciało]	Ubicumque fuerit corpus, illic congregabuntur et aquilae.

Symbole w tekście głównym i [notach marginesowych] NT1593:
" ' – w oznaczonym miejscu inne przekazy zawierają odmienną lekcję niż w tekście głównym edycji.
Symbole w [notach marginesowych] NT1593:
G. – tekst grecki Poliglotty antwerpskiej.

W Mt 4,7 NT1594 stosownie do Wulgaty syksto-klementyńskiej Wujek interpunkcyjnie włączył „rursum" – „zasię" do wypowiedzi Jezusa. Podczas rewizji EiE wprowadzono tę korektę oraz pozostałe. W Mt 6,25 jezuita zmienił dwukrotnie „duszę" na „żywot" – w różnych miejscach aparatu NT1593 wyjaśniał, że taka jest hebrajska, grecka i łacińska semantyka[61]. W Mt 24,28 uszczegółowił interpretację *corpus* („ciało", nie tylko martwe) na podstawie πτῶμα („trup"). W tym wypadku w *Kazaniach* Skargi pojawiła się kontaminacja EiE1593 i NT1594. Ponadto warto zwrócić uwagę na wyrażanie przykazań w NT1594 oraz rewizji EiE nie czasem przyszłym, a rozkaźnikiem[62].

Po drugie, porównano 15 fragmentów, w których EiE1593 różni się od tożsamych lekcji NT1593 i NT1594[63]. Zmiany odnotowano wyłącznie w czterech wypadkach, tj. w czte-

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60 Wersety, w których nie wprowadzono nowej lekcji, oznacza podkreślenie, pogrubienie zaś – zmiany związane z nową lekcją Wulgaty syksto-klementyńskiej (1592 i 1593) różną od lowańskiej i *Mszału trydenckiego*: Mt **4,7**; 6,25; 8,25; 9,6; 21,4; 22,39; 24,22.28; 25,5; Mk 16,14; Łk 10,27; Dz 1,21; 1 Tes 4,1; **Kol 1,14**; 1 J 4,10; **Ap 21,4**. Wujek nie wprowadził do EiE części lekcji tożsamych w *Mszale* i Wulgacie syksto-klementyńskiej, zob. przypis 47.

61 Np. NT1593, nota do Mt 2,20.

62 Mt 22,39 „Diliges" → „Będziesz miłował" → „Miłuj", w rewizji EiE ponadto Łk 10,27.

63 Wprowadzenie zmian oznacza pogrubienie: Łk **2,7** (u Skargi brak fragmentu); 7,48; **24,39**; J 16,19.27; Dz 13,27; **1 Kor 10,13**; Flp 4,2.5; **1 P 3,14**; 1 J 3,17; 4,17.

rech wersetach EiE1593 „powróciła" lekcja NT1593 tożsama z NT1594. Ta niewielka liczba zmian wprowadzonych podczas rewizji EiE wynika zapewne stąd, że chodzi tu o lekcje różniące tekst *Mszału trydenckiego* od tożsamych fraz Wulgaty tak lowańskiej, jak syksto-klementyńskiej – autentyczny tekst łaciński w wypadku tych lekcji nie uległ zmianie i wciąż różnił się od *Mszału*[64].

Tabela 12. Przykłady (II) typu tekstu EiE/NT1594
(EiE1626 = *Kazania* Skargi z 1595 r. = *Postylla* Wujka z 1596 r.)

	NT1593 (oprócz not = NT1594)	EiE1593	rewizja EiE	Wulgata (oprócz interpunkcji i not lowańska = syksto-klementyńska)	*Mszał trydencki*
Łk 2,7	położyła Go w żłobie/ iż miejsca 'dla nich' ["dla niego NL] nie było w gospodzie	[...] dla niego [...]	[...] dla nich [...]	reclinavit eum in praesepio: quia non erat "eis' ["ei Ms q. Amb.] locus in diversorio	[...] ei [...]
Łk 24,39	Oglądajcie ręce Moje i nogi * [*Moje 3 L. G S.]: żeciem Ja tenże jest	[...] nogi Moje [...]	[...] nogi [...]	Videte manus meas, et pedes * [*meos 3 Ms G. S.], quia ego ipse sum	[...] pedes meos [...]
1 Kor 10,13	Pokuszenie "was niechaj nie zdjmuje' ["was nie zdjęło K. G. S.] / jedno ludzkie	[...] was niezjęło/ jedno [...]	[...] niechaj nie zdjmuje/ jedno [...]	Tentatio vos non "apprehendat' ["apprehendit R. G. S.], nisi humanum	[...] apprehendit [...]
Flp 4,5	Pan blisko jest.	Pan bowiem blisko [...]	Pan (bowiem) blisko [...]	Dominus prope est.	Dominus enim prope [...]
1 J 4,17	W tem wykonana jest miłość * [*Boża NL.] z nami	[...] miłość Boża [...]	=	In hoc perfecta est charitas * [*Dei Ms. q.] nobiscum	[...] charitas Dei [...]

Symbole w tekście głównym i [notach marginesowych] NT1593:

" ' – oznaczone miejsce można rozumieć lub przetłumaczyć inaczej – jak wskazano w nocie marginesowej.

Symbole w tekście głównym i [notach marginesowych] NT1593 i Wulgaty lowańskiej:

" ' – w miejscu oznaczonym symbolami inne przekazy zawierają odmienną lekcję niż w tekście głównym edycji.

* – w tym miejscu inne przekazy zawierają cząstkę nieobecną w tekście głównym edycji.

Symbole w [notach marginesowych] NT1593 i Wulgaty lowańskiej:

NL./Ms. q. – „niektóre rękopisy"/„manuscripta quaedam" Wulgaty; kwalifikator jakościowy wskazujący na niewielką wagę wariantu (w ocenie wydawcy Wulgaty lowańskiej i Wujka).

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64   Wzięto pod uwagę możliwość wpływu tekstu Wulgaty syksto-klementyńskiej na edycje *Mszału trydenckiego* jeszcze przed korektą tekstu typicznego, o której mowa w bulli *Cum sanctissimum* Klemensa VIII z 1604 r., zob. *Missale Romanum ex decreto Concilii Tridentini restitutum* (Bonnae ad Rhenum: Aedibus Palmarum 2004) 6*-8*. W konstytucji zwrócono zresztą uwagę na tego rodzaju uzgodnienia przez drukarzy wbrew konstytucji *Quo primum*, wprowadzającej w 1570 r. *Mszał trydencki*, zob. *ibidem*, 4*-6*. Dlatego porównano wszystkie miejsca analizowane w tej sekcji artykułu (zob. przypisy 59 i 62) według *Mszału trydenckiego* w edycji Plantine'a z 1587 r. oraz wydań *Missale Romanum* [...] (Venetiis: apud Iuntas 1593) oraz (Antverpiae: ex officina Plantiniana 1594), w których – ze względu na daty publikacji – mogłyby pojawić się takie zależności oraz które mogłyby zostać wykorzystane przy opracowaniu tekstu EiE/NT1594. Nie stwierdzono jednak żadnych tego rodzaju różnic.

[X] L./[X] Ms. – rękopisy Wulgaty reprezentujące dany wariant, z ich liczbą: [X].
K./R. – Biblia „królewska"/„regia", tj. Poliglotta antwerpska – jej tekst Wulgaty.
G. – tekst grecki Poliglotty antwerpskiej.
S. – tekst syriacki Poliglotty antwerpskiej.
Symbole w [notach marginesowych] Wulgaty lowańskiej:
Amb. – wskazanie na egzegezę św. Ambrożego.

Lekcje różniące *Mszał trydencki* od Wulgaty oprócz Flp 4,5 zostały odnotowane w marginaliach edycji lowańskiej i NT1593, a Wujek wprowadził je do EiE1593. Podczas rewizji EiE przywrócono tekst do Wulgaty (tak lowańskiej, jak syksto-klementyńskiej) w Łk 2,7; 24,39; 1 Kor 10,13. W 1 J 4,17 pozostawiono zaś wariant *Mszału*. W Flp 4,5 z kolei taki wariant potraktowano jako „przydatek" i oznaczono nawiasami.

Rewizja perykop EiE nadała im postać tekstową bardzo zbliżoną do NT1594 i zasadniczo zgodną z nowymi lekcjami Wulgaty syksto-klementyńskiej (różnymi względem lowańskiej, lecz nie względem *Mszału trydenckiego*) – i taki był z pewnością jej cel. Opracowywanie kolejnych redakcji na bazie wcześniejszych powodowało nieuniknione kontaminacje (reprezentowanych w polszczyźnie lekcji łacińskich o różnym pochodzeniu), jednakże drobne i raczej nieistotne różnice między zrewidowanymi EiE a NT1594 trudno dostrzec „okiem nieuzbrojonym" w narzędzia historyczno-krytyczne. Mimo nieco różnej genezy zrewidowane perykopy zbioru lekcjonarzowego i pełny NT należy zatem rozpatrywać jako jeden typ tekstu – EiE/NT1594, odrębny od B1599.

Analizy późniejszych wydań nie wskazały żadnej lekcji odróżniającej EiE1593 i EiE1626, która byłaby zgodna z *editio princeps*. Najprawdopodobniej zrewidowany tekst całkowicie wyparł ją z obiegu.

Podsumowanie

W 1593 r. Jakub Wujek opracował *editio princeps Ewangelii i Epistoł*, polskiego katolickiego zbioru o charakterze lekcjonarza, na podstawie ukończonego przekładu Nowego Testamentu (1593) zrewidowanego wcześniej we współpracy z Justem Rabbem (1592). Wujek dostosował polski tekst perykop liturgicznych do czytań *Mszału trydenckiego* (choć nie w pełni konsekwentnie). Analiza „przydatków" – słów nieobecnych w źródłach, a dodanych przez tłumacza w celu uzupełnienia semantyki i eliptycznej składni – wskazała, że jezuicki autor miał na względzie językową przystępność tłumaczonego tekstu. Dążenie do tego celu przeważało nad staraniami o dosłowne oddanie lekcji autentycznej Wulgaty. Jednocześnie tłumacz, również na wcześniejszych etapach prac, kierował się humanistyczną zasadą *ad fontes* – zestawiał Wulgatę ze źródłami w językach oryginalnych, wprowadzając na ich podstawie emendacje domniemanych błędów transmisji. „Oryginały" wykorzystywał zarazem jako zasób sformułowań i konstrukcji gramatycznych, których dosłowne tłumaczenie na polski owocowało tekstem bardziej komunikatywnym („znaczniejszym") niż w wypadku literalnego przekładania analogicznych cząstek tekstu łacińskiego.

Ustalenie to wydaje się istotne zwłaszcza w odniesieniu do perykop pochodzących z ST. Czytania te świadczą bowiem – mimo zastrzeżeń, że Wujek przetłumaczył je *ad hoc* (pełny przekład tych części Biblii powstawał bowiem w latach 1593/1954–1596), a fragmenty ksiąg prorockich oddawał dosłowniej niż mądrościowych – iż strategia translatorska jezuickiego tłumacza była analogiczna w odniesieniu do ksiąg NT i ST. Niewielka próbka 100 wersetów informuje zatem o tym, jak mogło wyglądać ukończone tłumaczenie ST jego autorstwa przed rewizją przeprowadzoną w latach 1597–1598 przez komisję Stanisława Grodzickiego.

Zastrzeżenia sformułowane przez niego w 1592 r., dotyczące naruszenia przez Wujka trydenckiego dekretu *Przyjęcie wydania Biblii zwanej Wulgatą* w związku z tłumaczeniem niedosłownym i wprowadzaniem greckich lekcji do polskiego NT, są wyrazem sporów polskich jezuitów o optymalną strategię translatorską, w które zaangażowano również kurię generalną w Rzymie. O formie wypracowanego kompromisu świadczy drugie wydanie Nowego Testamentu (1594): choć wbrew postulatom Grodzickiego Wujek wciąż tłumaczył niedosłownie (literalizm stał się podstawą strategii translatorskiej dopiero w Biblii z 1599 r., opracowanej po śmierci Wujka), to jednak dostosował tekst do lekcji „ostatecznej" Wulgaty. Proces dostosowywania polskiego tekstu biblijnego do obowiązującego, łacińskiego standardu Kościoła katolickiego poświadcza również rewizja *Ewangelii i Epistoł* z 1593 r., przeprowadzona ok. 1594/1595 r. Typ tekstu EiE/NT1594 reprezentują *Kazania na niedziele i święta* Piotra Skargi z 1595 r. oraz *Postylla mniejsza* Wujka z 1596 r., a także XVII- i XVIII-wieczne edycje zbioru lekcjonarzowego.

Co ważne, analogiczna rewizja nie nastąpiła po publikacji Biblii z 1599 r., choć dopiero to wydanie oddawało Wulgatę w sposób adekwatny (tj. literalnie) – według kategorii Grodzickiego oraz założeń opisanych we wstępie do edycji – i dopiero ono zostało aprobowane przez Klemensa VIII. Podobnie w XVII w. publikowano wyłącznie przedruki Nowego Testamentu z 1594 r. Nasuwają się pytania o przyczyny tego stanu rzeczy. Jaką rolę w kształtowaniu obiegu wydawniczego katolickiej Biblii w dobie wczesnonowożytnej odegrała oficyna Andrzeja Piotrkowczyka i jego dziedziców, w której ukazały się wszystkie XVII-wieczne wydania Nowych Testamentów oraz większość edycji *Ewangelii i Epistoł*? Jak na te problemy zapatrywali się przełożeni Towarzystwa Jezusowego oraz hierarchowie Kościoła katolickiego, współpracujący wszak z krakowskim rodem drukarzy? Co sprawiło, że wcześniejsza redakcja, poddana przecież zasadniczej rewizji, którą uważano za niezbędną, fundowała podstawę obiegu wydawniczego „Biblii Wujka" w XVII i XVIII w.? Odpowiedź na te pytania wymaga pogłębionych badań, które pozwoliłyby odsłonić nieznane karty z jej dziejów.

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65 Ponieważ wszystkie wymienione wydania odnotowano w dostępnym on-line *Katalogu BN*, dla zwięzłości podano wyłącznie skrót nazwy (EiE) z datą roczną oraz egzemplarzem/egzemplarzami, do których udało się dotrzeć podczas kwerend. Jeśli wydanie ma inny początek tytułu, podano go. Jeśli w jednym roku EiE ukazało się więcej niż raz, w nawiasie () dodano miasto publikacji. Zdigitalizowane egzemplarze, łatwe do odnalezienia przez stronę Federacji Bibliotek Cyfrowych (fbc.pionier.net.pl) oznacza dodatkowo skrót (FBC).

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Reviews

D. Clint Burnett, *Paul and Imperial Divine Honors: Christ, Caesar, and the Gospel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2024). Pp. 316 + xxvi. 49,99 USD (hardcover/ebook). ISBN 978-0-8028-7985-1

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The monograph by D. Clint Burnett, *Paul and Imperial Divine Honors: Christ, Caesar, and the Gospel*, is a contextual-critical examination of the empire criticism approach applied to Pauline letters. Empire criticism is still a relatively young branch of New Testament studies, but it seems to have established itself firmly in Pauline scholarship. Nicholas T. Wright devoted to it a chapter in his *Paul. Fresh Perspectives*, presenting it among various research perspectives on the letters of Paul.[1] A critical analysis of the approach, with a list of its representative authors, can be found in numerous monographs and articles up to date.[2] One of the most interesting recent publications drawing on the empire criticism is Christopher Heilig's *The Apostle and the Empire: Paul's Implicit and Explicit Criticism of Rome* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2022).[3] It testifies to how the approach is maturing, becoming

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1 N.T. Wright, *Paul. Fresh Perspectives* (London: SPCK 2005) 59–79.

2 S. Kim, *Christ and Caesar. The Gospel and the Roman Empire in the Writings of Paul and Luke* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2008) 3–64; D. Burk, "Is Paul's Gospel Counterimperial? Evaluating the Prospects of the 'Fresh Perspective' for Evangelical Theology," *JETS* 51/2 (2008) 309–337; J. White, "Anti-Imperial Subtexts in Paul. An Attempt at Building a Firmer Foundation," *Bib* 90/3 (2009) 305–333; W. Carter, "Paul and the Roman Empire. Recent Perspectives," *Paul Unbound. Other Perspectives on the Apostle* (ed. M.D. Given) (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson 2010) 7–26; J.R. Harrison, *Paul and the Imperial Authorities at Thessalonica and Rome. A Study in the Conflict of Ideology* (WUNT 273; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2011) 2–14; J.D. Fantin, *The Lord of the Entire World. Lord Jesus, a Challenge to Lord Caesar?* (New Testament Monographs 31; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press 2011) chapter 1; J.A. Harrill, "Paul and Empire. Studying Roman Identity after the Cultural Turn," *Early Christianity* 2/3 (2011) 281–311; J.A. Diehl, "Empire and Epistles. Anti-Roman Rhetoric in the New Testament Epistles," *CurBR* 10/2 (2012) 217–263; S. McKnight – J.B. Modica (eds.), *Jesus Is Lord, Caesar Is Not. Evaluating Empire in New Testament Studies* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity 2013) 39–82, 147–196; N.T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God* (Christian Origins and the Question of God 4; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2013) 1271–1319; A. Klostergaard Petersen, "Imperial Politics in Paul. Scholarly Phantom or Actual Textual Phenomenon?," *People under Power. Early Jewish and Christian Responses to the Roman Empire* (eds. O. Lehtipuu – M. Labahn) (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2015) 101–127; J. Punt, "Paul the Jew, Power of Evil and Rome," *Scriptura* 117/1 (2018) 1–17; M. Kowalski, "The Lion Against the Eagle. A Critical Appraisal of the Anti-Imperial Reading of Paul," *ColT* 93/2 (2023) 57–103.

3 See the review by M. Kowalski, "Rev. Christoph Heilig, The Apostle and the Empire. Paul's Implicit and Explicit Criticism of Rome (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2022)," *BA* 13/2 (2023) 379–383.

more and more methodologically sophisticated (see the issue of the 'hidden transcript'), and how the rich source material (texts, coins, inscriptions, archaeological artefacts) is used by the authors.

Paul and Imperial Divine Honors by D. Clint Burnett is an example of such a mature scholarship. The author is an independent scholar of early Christianity and Greco-Roman material culture. He holds a PhD in Biblical Studies from Boston College. His previous books include *Studying the New Testament through Inscriptions: An Introduction* (Hendrickson Academic 2020) and *The Enthronement of Christ at the Right Hand of God and its Greco-Roman Cultural Context* (De Gruyter 2021). The author is no novice to the 'empire criticism', which can be inferred from his numerous publications on the subject.[4]

The monograph *Paul and Imperial Divine Honors* by D. Clint Burnett consists of a foreword, preface, acknowledgements, introduction, four chapters and conclusion. It also comprises four lists (figures, tables, abbreviations, and epigraphic conventions), two appendices, a bibliography, and five indexes (authors, subjects, ancient persons, Scripture, and other ancient sources). These testify to the fact that we are dealing with a solid and well-researched publication, abundant in references to ancient sources, numismatic, epigraphic, and archaeological material. In the preface, the author articulates two goals of the book: (1) to provide contextual reconstructions of imperial divine honours in the three cities where Paul established Christian churches and to which he wrote letters: Philippi, Thessalonica, and Corinth; (2) to provide contextual reconstructions of the relationship of early Christians in these cities to imperial divine honours. The author's intention is to show

> that imperial divine honors were embedded in the public fabric of Philippi, Thessalonica and Corinth, what today we would call the social, political, economic and religious spheres of these cities, and that any suffering experienced by the early Christians was not solely due to these honors, but resulted from a more complex reason, the overthrow of Greco-Roman pagan culture (p. xvii).

Burnett also intends to demonstrate how imperial worship differed in those three cities and what implications this has for understanding Paul's correspondence and interactions with the Philippians, Thessalonians, and Corinthians. The book is in an accessible language (reasonable number of footnotes, Latinized spelling of all Greek names and terms) and refers to the sources available to the average reader. The author also provides access to specialized data by including Appendix 1, with relevant inscriptions discussed in the book

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4   D.C. Burnett, "Divine Titles for Julio-Claudian Imperials in Corinth," *CBQ* 82 (2020) 437–455; D.C. Burnett, *Studying the New Testament through Inscriptions. An Introduction* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson 2020) 97–120; D.C. Burnett, "Imperial Divine Honors in Julio-Claudian Thessalonica and the Thessalonian Correspondence," *JBL* 139 (2020) 567–589; D.C. Burnett, "Imperial Divine Honors in Julio-Claudian Thessalonica and the Thessalonian Correspondence," *Thessalonica. The First Urban Churches* (eds. J.R. Harrison – L.L. Welborn) (WGRWSup 21; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2022) VII, 63–92; D.C. Burnett, *Christ's Enthronement at God's Right Hand and Its Greco-Roman Cultural Context* (BZNW 242; Berlin: De Gruyter 2021) 111–156; D.C. Burnett, "The Interplay between Indigenous Cults and Imperial Cults in the New Testament World," *Inscriptions, Graffiti, Documentary Papyri* (eds. J.R. Harrison – E.R. Richards) (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan) (forthcoming).

along with their fresh English translations, and Appendix 2, containing a hypothetical reconstruction of the Julio-Claudian imperial calendar in Philippi and Corinth, accompanied by rich indexes and a well-chosen bibliography.

In the introduction (pp. 1–19), the author offers a reconstruction of the divine honours and festivals at Gythium, one of the best-known and most important places of the imperial cult. He then moves on to the use of imperial divine honours in the study of Paul's letters, pointing out the lack of precision in the New Testament authors who refer to them and the resulting errors in reconstructing the socio-cultural and religious background of the communities in Philippi, Thessalonica, and Corinth. The author intends to bring down the simplified, monolithic structure of imperial worship, showing its complexity and local differences. While imperial honours were well known to Paul and his converts in Philippi, Thessalonica, and Corinth, 'their relationship to early Christianity varied from city to city because each community and each group of Christians in these cities were unique' (pp. 14–15). In the final part of the introduction, the author describes the content and research objectives for each of the chapters of the book, pointing out the sources he will use: monuments, coins, inscriptions, epigraphs, Paul's letters, and the Acts of the Apostles, treated as a reliable historical material for reconstructing the history of the communities in Philippi, Thessalonica, and Corinth.

In Chapter 1, 'Imperial Divine Honors' (pp. 21–57), the author defines the honours in question and discusses the sources from which we can learn about them (inscriptions, coins, statues, and archaeological data). He then surveys how the New Testament scholars have tended to interpret imperial divine honours (mostly Alfred Deissman, Bruce Winter, and Nicholas T. Wright) and presents a more appropriate approach. He divides imperial divine honours into different categories – Roman, provincial, civic/municipal, and private – and links them to aristocratic brokerage. The contextual approach, according to the author, should consider the immediate context of these honours in Philippi, Thessalonica, and Corinth, the proper use of comparative material, the ways imperial divine honours were most often wedded to honours given to the gods, and how local aristocrats were responsible for mediating and promoting such honours to their cities.

Chapter 2, 'Imperial Divine Honors, Paul, and the Philippian Church' (pp. 58–105), focuses on imperial divine honours in Philippi and their relationship to the earliest Christianity in the Roman colony. The author starts with the New Testament scholarship on imperial divine honours in Philippi and criticises how exegetes interpreted the relationship between the honours in question and early Christianity (Adolf Deissman, Nicholas T. Wright, John Reumann, Peter Oakes, Walter Hansen, and Erik M. Heen). Then he presents the evidence to date for divine honours for Julio-Claudians in the city. Burnett lists Julio-Claudians who were given such honours (Julius Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Augusta, Claudius), stressing the Roman character of their titles, and presenting evidence for the imperial cultic officials in Philippi (*flamines*, *sacerdotes*, and *augustales*). The people (mostly aristocrats) who held these offices were closely connected with Philippi's public life, serving as benefactors, sponsoring temples and inscriptions, and supervising the imperial cult,

festivals, and civic events. The author, having reconstructed the cultural, political, and religious context that Paul found in Philippi, argues that the honours in question were not the sole cause of the suffering experienced by some Christians from their pagan neighbours (Phil 1:27–30). The terms κύριος, σωτήρ, and εὐαγγέλιον were not used or attested in Philippi to provoke the persecutions. Instead, the pagan Philippians mistreated Christians in the colony because they interpreted Christianity as a non-Roman custom that advocated atheism and threatened the safety and security of their city, ensured by the Roman gods and Julio-Claudian patrons.

In Chapter 3, 'Imperial Divine Honors, Paul, and the Thessalonian Church' (pp. 106–154), the author again starts with the New Testament scholarship on imperial divine honours in Thessalonica (Holland Hendrix). Subsequently, he reconstructs divine honours for Julio-Claudians in Thessalonica and their relationship to the first Christians there. The point of departure is the history of Thessalonica, which is illustrated with maps and drawings. According to the author, the imperial honours in Thessalonica were Greek and civic in character but influenced by the Roman custom of postmortem divinisation. While the Thessalonians established divine honours for living Julio-Claudians (Julius Caesar, Augustus, Livia, Claudius, and possibly Nero), they tended to wait until these individuals passed before they hailed them as gods. The leaders of Thessalonica, who acted as ἱερῆς καὶ ἀγωνοθέται, served as benefactors, sponsored temples, organised games, cultic celebrations, offerings, and festivals, and were responsible for embedding the honours in question into the public life of their city. Christians in the city were suffering mistreatment, but according to Burnett, imperial divine honours were not the sole cause of their misfortune. The terms κύριος, παρουσία, and ἀπάντησις, used in 1–2 Thessalonians and applied to Christ, had little to do with the imperial cult in Thessalonica. Instead, because the pagan Thessalonians interpreted Christianity as calling for the abandonment of the city's gods and their divinely sponsored rulers, Christians threatened Thessalonica's coveted status of a 'free city', connected with economic, political, and social benefits that the Julio-Claudians had bestowed on the city and that could be taken away.

Chapter 4, 'Imperial Divine Honors, Paul, and the Corinthian Church' (pp. 155–226), focuses on divine honours for Julio-Claudians in Corinth and their relationship with nascent Christianity. The author, as usual, starts with the New Testament scholarship on imperial divine honours in Corinth (Colin Miller, Fredrick J. Long, Richard Horsley, Nicholas T. Wright, Neil Elliott, Bruce Winter). Then he presents the rich history of Corinth and demonstrates the Roman character of the divine honours interwoven into the city's public life. These were granted to Julius Caesar, Octavia, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Augusta, and applied to the whole family line of Julio-Claudians. The imperial cultic officials (*flamines*, *agonothetae*, *isagogeus*, and *agustales*), responsible for administering imperial divine honours, were also the benefactors of Corinth. The importance and ubiquity of the imperial cult were signalled by the location of numerous temples (Octavia's *naos*, the Julian Family Temple, Julian Basilica, and the so-called Temple E), by imperial statues at the theatres and shops, and by various sacrifices and celebrations in their honour.

According to Burnett, unlike Philippi and Thessalonica, there is no evidence that divine honours for Julio-Claudians caused any adversity for early Christians. There is no attested use of the title *kyrios* in the Corinthian imperial cult, and the meaning of *divus* applied to Caesars departs significantly from how Christians understood the divinity of Christ. This does not mean that divine honours for Julio-Claudians did not cause problems for the Corinthian church. The participation of some Corinthian Christians in pagan rituals, which were stumbling blocks for the weak brothers and sisters, probably included the honours in question. According to the author, many of Paul's converts in Corinth did not grasp the key countercultural aspect of the Gospel, frequenting pagan temples and possibly honouring the rulers of the Julio-Claudian line (1 Cor 8:7–13; 10:14–22, 23–30). Following John Barclay, Burnett argues that outside Christian gatherings, the Corinthians may have acted as they always had before believing in Christ (pp. 225–226).

Conclusion (pp. 228–239) summarises the findings of the four chapters. The author stresses the points of contact and differences between divine imperial honours in Philippi, Thessalonica, and Corinth, to which New Testament authors have not paid sufficient attention. They used to identify Paul's resistance to the empire and explain the Christians' persecutions by the terms which did not play a great role in the imperial cult in Philippi, Thessalonica, and Corinth. The author also argues against N.T. Wright's claims that Paul criticises the rhetoric of the empire and the emperors who granted themselves divine honours in Rom 13:1–17. He points out that in Rome, the emperors did not usurp divine titles, with the exception of Claudius, and even voted against them. Romans 13 cannot, according to Burnett, be read through the lens of anti-imperial criticism. Paul is more like Daniel, who, in the pagan empire, found a way to serve the king and, at the same time, be faithful to the God of Israel (Dan 3:1–30).[5] According to Burnett, in Rom 13:1–7, Paul, fully aware of the complexity of imperial (as well as traditional) divine honours, encourages the Roman Christians to submit themselves to these authorities in general and in the payment of taxes, tribute, and honour, though not divine, in particular (Rom 13:6–7; pp. 237–238). There are, however, some conditions and limits to this submission. The Roman authorities should faithfully discharge their responsibility to be God's agents for the common good. If they do not, and show disregard for God, Paul envisions a situation in which they should be opposed.

Paul and Imperial Divine Honors by D. Clint Burnett is an excellent monograph that provides insight into the important context of early Christian communities, namely the cult of emperors. The author explains not only imperial divine titles, but also provides data on the cult officials, temples, rites, and associated ceremonies. Not only do we learn about Paul smelling and watching the sacrifices in honour of the emperors in Philippi, Thessalonica, and Corinth, but we can also imagine them. In this we are helped by historical reports, archaeology, coins, maps, drawings, inscriptions, visualisations of temples and statues

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5   See also Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 1274–1275; White, "Anti-Imperial Subtexts in Paul,"
      316–333.

of emperors. In the book, we find, as promised by the author, accessible language, a clear structure of thought, excellent introductions, and summaries. The monograph excels in giving a well-nuanced, rich, contextualised approach to the imperial cult in Philippi, Thessalonica, and Corinth. I wish the author had engaged more with the monographs by James R. Harisson and Christoph Heilig on Thessalonica and Corinth, rather than placing them in footnotes. Instead, he refers to the undoubtedly popular views of N.T. Wright. Burnett also deliberately and regrettably shuns broader references to imperial ideology, which could provide an important context for the cult of emperors (the universality of the Gospel and the rule of Caesars, the new era inaugurated by Christ and Augustus, how they exercised power, the claims to be benefactors of *oikoumene*, and different moralities they promoted). As the author rightly argues, the New Testament's clash with the imperial ideology must be seen beyond the simple realm of titles used by Roman rulers and applied to Christ. There is still room for researching the issues of imperial ideology using the rich contextual approach advocated by Burnett. In conclusion, *Paul and Imperial Divine Honors* by D. Clint Burnett is an excellent monograph, a well-researched, advanced yet approachable academic tool, and a must-read for anyone interested in and studying Paul's letters from the perspective of empire criticism.

Jean Carmignac, *Mistrz Sprawiedliwości a Jezus Chrystus* (przeł. W. Rapak) (Biblioteka Zwojów 10; Kraków: The Enigma Press 2024). Ss. 144. 50 PLN. ISBN: 9788386110926

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Głośna swego czasu książka ks. Jeana Carmignaca (1914–1986) ma już blisko 70 lat. Jej francuskie wydanie ukazało się w 1957 r., a przekład angielski pięć lat później (1962 r.). Jaki więc cel przyświecał polskiemu wydawcy (Z.J. Kapera), gdy postanowił udostępnić tę małą książeczkę także polskim czytelnikom? Jak sam przyznaje we wprowadzeniu do przekładu, było to najpierw osobiste przyrzeczenie, dane niegdyś Autorowi. Podczas pobytu w Polsce (1985 r.) ks. Carmignac wyraził zgodę na polski przekład tej książki. Trudności obiektywne schyłkowej fazy dawnego ustroju w PRL sprawiły, że książka ukazała się dopiero teraz, ku wielkiej satysfakcji Wydawcy.

Z perspektywy minionych lat książka Carmignaca nabiera dodatkowej wartości. Staje się mianowicie świadectwem specyficznej aury, jaka towarzyszyła pierwszym publikacjom o Qumran. W tym samym czasie (1957 r.) ukazała się francuska wersja książki Tadeusza Milika, członka zespołu badaczy zwojów: *Dziesięć lat odkryć na Pustyni Judzkiej*. Większą jednak siłę przebicia miała beletrystyka zdolnych dziennikarzy, którzy w Qumran szukali sensacji, podważając przy tym same podstawy chrześcijaństwa. Typowym przykładem takiej publicystyki jest książka Edmunda Wilsona *Odkrycia nad M. Martwym*, która błyskawicznie przełożona na wiele języków, w tym na polski (1963 r.).

Popularyzacja odkryć w Qumran miała wówczas służyć nie tyle rzetelnej informacji, ile raczej podważaniu tradycyjnej nauki Kościoła o dziele Jezusa Chrystusa. Jego zbawcze dzieło miało być zanegowane przez absurdalne tezy o Nauczycielu Sprawiedliwości jako twórcy „chrześcijaństwa przed chrześcijaństwem". W latach 50. ubiegłego stulecia uaktywniły się antychrześcijańskie przesądy racjonalistów niemieckich z XIX w. i jeszcze wcześniejsze idee encyklopedystów francuskich. Polski termin „prze(d)sąd" jest kalką niemieckiego „Vorverständnis, Vorurteil", co oznacza wysuwanie wniosków przed zrozumieniem istoty rzeczy. Ten sam błąd logiczny określa słowo „prejudice" w językach angielskim i francuskim.

Od takich uprzedzeń roiło się w pierwszych publikacjach dziennikarskich na temat „Mistrza Sprawiedliwości" z Qumran. Carmignac postanowił więc podjąć polemikę z autorami pochopnych uogólnień. Pierwszym z nich był prof. A. Dupont-Sommer z Sorbony. Jego pierwsze publikacje na ten temat pojawiły się już w 1950 r., a więc na długo przed

wydaniem pierwszego tomu *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, w którym Milik i Barthélemy ogłosili edycję krytyczną tekstów pierwszej groty (1955 r.). Drugim z niecierpliwych badaczy był członek zespołu mającego dostęp wprost do zwojów (*scrollery team*) i odpowiedzialnego za ich edycję. Chodzi o J.M. Allegro, młodego badacza z Manchesteru. Ciekawe, że Milik i Allegro, katolik i metodysta, porzucili powołanie duchowne i odeszli od wiary, pogłębiając z czasem swoje uprzedzenia do Kościoła.

Allegro odsunął się z czasem od kolegów ze *scrollery team*, zarzucając im powolne tempo pracy i podejrzewając ich o udział w rzekomym „spisku watykańskim". Kiedy koledzy odcięli się od jego poglądów, Allegro opuścił zespół i zajął się pisaniem sensacyjnych powieści. Dupont-Sommer, uczony o ustalonej już reputacji, przyjął krytykę spokojnie i stonował zbyt radykalne tezy. Duża w tym zasługa ks. Carmignaca, który z wielką kompetencją, ale i delikatnością, zweryfikował poglądy adwersarzy. Jego monografia wywarła duży wpływ na późniejszych badaczy, zajmujących się postacią Mistrza Sprawiedliwości. Przede wszystkim przekonywał on o konieczności wykorzystania tekstów źródłowych, których stopniowo przybywało. Przestrzegał też uczonych, aby nie stali się łupem żądnych sensacji dziennikarzy, którzy potrafią całkowicie zniekształcić hipotezy robocze. Najważniejsze zaś, aby pospiesznie nie formułować tez ostatecznych. Gdy bowiem staną się „faktem prasowym", nie dadzą się już odwołać.

Pora teraz przedstawić argumentację, jaką posłużył się Carmignac w omawianej tu książce. We wstępie (ss. 31–34) zwięźle zarysował znaczenie odkryć w Qumran dla współczesnego człowieka. Znamienne jest pytanie, jakie stawia swym czytelnikom: „Czy te odkrycia potwierdzą, czy zmienią wiedzę, jaką mieliśmy dotąd na temat Chrystusa i Jego nauki?". Tezy naukowe nie mogą więc zakwestionować wiary religijnej. Słychać tu echo słów Ludwika Pasteura, wypowiedzianych w końcu XIX w.: „Mała wiedza oddala od Boga; wielka wiedza ponownie do Niego przybliża".

Znamienny jest tok rozumowania, jaki przyjął Carmignac w czterech rozdziałach swej książki. Tytuł pierwszego rozdziału (ss. 35–44) sformułowany jest jako retoryczne pytanie: „Czy Jezus Chrystus był naśladowcą Mistrza Sprawiedliwości?". Tym pytaniem sprowadza do absurdu tezy propagowane przez Dupont-Sommera i Allegro, a zbanalizowane przez nieuczciwych dziennikarzy. Jaki wpływ miały one na przeciętnego odbiorcę, Carmignac ilustruje fragmentem rozmowy z nieznajomym podróżnym: „Czy Pan wie, Jezus Chrystus nigdy nie istniał! Znaleziono niedaleko M. Martwego stare manuskrypty, które wykazują, że nie istniał, i że to kto inny istniał zamiast niego!".

Dwa centralne rozdziały zawierają porównanie: najpierw osobowości Chrystusa i Mistrza Sprawiedliwości (ss. 45–82), a następnie ich dzieła, jakie zostawili swoim wyznawcom (ss. 83–110). Samo zestawienie tekstów qumrańskich mówiących o „Mistrzu" wystarczy, by uświadomić sobie dysproporcję pomiędzy życiem i dziełem obydwu postaci, oddalonych od siebie w czasie o ponad sto lat. Carmignac zestawia po kolei cechy osobowe Chrystusa z cechami przypisanym Mistrzowi (wcielenie, mesjańskość, boskość, ukrzyżowanie i zmartwychwstanie). Przytoczone cytaty w dokumentach qumrańskich jasno dowodzą, że żadnej z wymienionych cech Chrystusa nie można znaleźć u Mistrza Sprawiedliwości.

Najbardziej oryginalny w całej książce jest ostatni rozdział (ss. 111–134: *Mistrz Sprawiedliwości o sobie*). Ponieważ biografii Mistrza Sprawiedliwości nie da się odtworzyć, Carmignac zestawia garść cytatów ze *Zwoju Hymnów* (Hodajot). Utwory te zwykło się traktować jako dzieło samego Mistrza, który w poetycki sposób przedstawił tu własne przeżycia duchowe i fizyczne doznanie cierpienia. Jeśli to przypuszczenie uznać za prawdziwe, można w *Hymnach Dziękczynnych* (1QH^a) odkryć autoportret założyciela wspólnoty esseńskiej w Qumran. Utwory te, pełne odniesień do tekstów Starego Testamentu, pozwalają podziwiać głębię duchowości ich autora. „Nie dają jednak prawa, by porównywać go z Jezusem Chrystusem, a tym bardziej czynić zeń modelu, który naśladował potem Chrystus" (s. 134).

W zwięzłym „Podsumowaniu" (ss. 135–138) Carmignac stwierdza, że mimo wielu podobieństw pomiędzy życiem esseńczyków i chrześcijan, znacznie więcej jest różnic. Teksty z Qumran pozwalają lepiej poznać ówczesne środowisko żydowskie, w którym Jezus zechciał zamieszkać i oddać życie za wiernych. Podkreśla też mocno, że nie ma dziś podstaw dawny racjonalizm, który przeciwstawiał naukę religii, a rozum wierze. Na koniec Autor wyraża mocne przekonanie, że obecnie – jak nigdy dotąd – możliwy jest (i konieczny) dialog pomiędzy wierzącymi i niewierzącymi. Potrzeba tylko, aby uczestnicy tego dialogu odrzucili wzajemne uprzedzenia („przed-sądy") i przyjęli wspólną metodologię.

W odniesieniu do tematu „Qumran a Nowy Testament" Autor formułuje na koniec kilka podstawowych zasad, które muszą respektować obie strony uczestniczące w dyskusji. Po pierwsze, należy uwzględnić „wszystkie teksty i tylko teksty", pomijając założenia ideologiczne. Po drugie, uznać za przekonujące tylko te teksty, których odczytanie i tłumaczenie jest bezdyskusyjne. Po trzecie, „sporządzić uczciwe podsumowanie wszystkich podobieństw i różnic", najpierw w punktach istotnych dla obu wspólnot, a potem w punktach drugorzędnych. Po czwarte wreszcie: jeśli napotkamy pewną zbieżność między tekstem z Qumran a Ewangelią, to trzeba sprawdzić, czy zależność jest rzeczywista (*analogia non est genealogia*).

Przy uwzględnieniu tych zasad wszyscy, wierzący i niewierzący, dojdą do wspólnych wniosków. Okaże się, że żaden tekst qumrański nie mówi „ani o wcieleniu, ani o mesjańskości, ani o boskości, ani o ukrzyżowaniu, ani o Paruzji Mistrza Sprawiedliwości" (s. 137). Można natomiast przyjąć, że część tekstów chrześcijańskich uległo wpływowi tekstów esseńskich. Są to jednak zależności drugorzędne i nieliczne w porównaniu z licznymi różnicami w punktach istotnych. I końcowa uwaga: „Porównanie winno dotyczyć zwłaszcza elementów doktrynalnych, a tu znajdujemy prawie same różnice" (s. 138). Mistrz Sprawiedliwości nie był „esseńskim mesjaszem", „Chrystusem przed Chrystusem", ani też „modelem, który naśladował Jezus z Nazaretu". Takie określenia zniekształcają rzeczywistość historyczną. Był on „przywódcą duchowym", ale nigdy nie przedstawiał się jako „Zbawiciel świata".

Carmignac okazał się tu prawdziwym apologetą chrześcijaństwa w stylu, jaki obowiązywał jeszcze w połowie XX w. Jego książeczka wywarła też ogromny wpływ na współczesnych i skierowała dyskusję o Mistrzu Sprawiedliwości na nowe tory. Wydawnictwu Enigma

należy się wdzięczność za jej udostępnienie po latach. Szkoda tylko, że tak cenny tekst nie doczekał się solidnej korekty językowej. Defekt ten utrudnia kontakt z niezwykłym Autorem, twórcą pierwszego periodyku o tematyce qumrańskiej – „Revue de Qumran".

Biblical News

Działalność Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II w roku akademickim 2023/2024

Academic Activities of the Institute of Biblical Studies at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin in the Year 2023/2024

Tomasz Bartłomiej Bąk
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I. Sprawy personalne

W roku akademickim 2023/2024, podobnie jak w roku ubiegłym, Instytut Nauk Biblijnych KUL działał w ramach czterech katedr:

1. Katedra Egzegezy Ksiąg Historycznych, Prorockich i Sapiencjalnych
Kierownik – ks. prof. dr hab. Dariusz Dziadosz
Pracownicy:
– ks. dr hab. Andrzej Piwowar, prof. KUL
– ks. dr Krzysztof Napora SCJ
– ks. dr hab. 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 Instytutu 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 Instytutu 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 Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych:
– ks. dr Paweł Lasek

II. Ważniejsze wydarzenia naukowe i organizacyjne

Decyzją Ministra Edukacji i Nauki z dnia 11 października 2022 r. nauki biblijne zostały wyodrębnione jako osobna dyscyplina w dziedzinie nauk teologicznych. Dało to możliwość przywrócenia samodzielnej działalności naukowej biblistów w ramach Wydziału Teologii Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II, którzy z dniem 1 października 2023 r. weszli w skład nowo utworzonego Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL.

Uroczyste posiedzenie nowego Instytutu miało miejsce w dniu 4 października 2023 r. Powołano wówczas do istnienia Radę Naukową Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL. W posiedzeniu wziął udział Jego Magnificencja Rektor KUL, ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Kalinowski oraz Dziekan Wydziału Teologii KUL, ks. prof. dr hab. Przemysław Kantyka. Msza Święta inaugurująca działalność nowego Instytutu została odprawiona w dniu 9 października 2023 r. w parafii pw. Dobrego Pasterza w Lublinie. Była to również okazja do wspólnej modlitwy i spotkania wykładowców i studentów Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL.

W dniu 10 października 2023 r. ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Kalinowski, Rektor KUL powołał ks. prof. dr. hab. Mirosława Stanisława Wróbla na pierwszego Dyrektora Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL.

W październiku 2023 r. czasopismo *Verbum Vitae*, prowadzone przez pracowników Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL, zostało włączone do prestiżowej bazy Web of Science i będzie indeksowane w Emerging Sources Citation Index.

W dniu 4 listopada 2023 r. na Katolickim Uniwersytecie Lubelskim Jana Pawła II zainaugurowano 16. edycję Kursu Formacji Biblijnej. Każdego roku kurs jest prowadzony przez Instytut Nauk Biblijnych KUL i Dzieło Biblijne im. św. Jana Pawła II Archidiecezji Lubelskiej. Jego adresatami są osoby duchowne i świeckie, zainteresowane pogłębieniem wiedzy i duchowości biblijnej. Wykłady są prowadzone raz w miesiącu w sobotę przez wykładowców Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL i Wydziału Teologii KUL.

W listopadzie 2023 r. ukazała się angielskojęzyczna publikacja ks. prof. dr. hab. Stefana Szymika *Anti-Epicurean Polemics in the New Testament Writings*[1].

Fot. Na zdjęciu od lewej: ks. prof. Mirosław Wróbel, ks. prof. Armand Puig i Tàrrech oraz ks. abp Stanisław Budzik; fot. archiwum prywatne.

W dniach 14–15 listopada 2023 r. w Katolickim Uniwersytecie Lubelskim Jana Pawła II gościł ks. prof. Armand Puig i Tàrrech, Prezes Agencji Stolicy Apostolskiej ds. Oceny i Promocji Jakości Kształcenia na Uniwersytetach i Wydziałach Kościelnych (AVEPRO). Odbył on spotkanie z ks. abp. Stanisławem Budzikiem, Wielkim Kanclerzem KUL,

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1   S. Szymik, *Anti-Epicurean Polemics in the New Testament Writings* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2023).

ks. prof. Mirosławem Kalinowskim, Rektorem KUL, z ks. prof. Przemysławem Kantyką, Dziekanem Wydziału Teologii. W wizytacji asystował mu ks. prof. Mirosław S. Wróbel, Dyrektor Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL.

Prezes Avepro odbył spotkania z pracownikami Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL, którzy przedstawili mu historię, aktualny potencjał i plany rozwoju biblistyki na KULu. Podczas spotkania ze studentami prezes Avepro wysłuchał świadectw studentów z Polski, Ukrainy i Litwy oraz skierował do nich słowo zachęty do dalszego zgłębiania Słowa Bożego. Podczas wizyty w Instytucie Biblijnym KUL prezes Avepro wyraził swoją pozytywną opinię na temat rozwoju i oddziaływania INB w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej.

W listopadzie 2023 r. ukazał się pierwszy tom *Komentarza teologiczno-pastoralnego do Biblii Tysiąclecia* pod redakcją Dyrektora Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL, ks. prof. dr. hab. Mirosława Wróbla[2].

Dnia 6 grudnia 2023 r. w wydawnictwie Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht ukazała się kolejna monografia ks. prof. Mirosława Wróbla *Anti-Judaism and the Gospel of John*[3].

Centrum Heschela KUL, współpracujące z Instytutem Nauk Biblijnych KUL, zorganizowało 14 grudnia 2023 r. święto Chanuki. Przed wejściem do Collegium Norwidianum zapalone zostały świece chanukowe oraz świece adwentowe. W wydarzeniu wzięły udział najwyższe władze Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, a także naczelny rabin Warszawy Icchak Rapoport.

Dnia 18 stycznia 2024 r. Centrum Relacji Katolicko-Żydowskich KUL im. Abrahama J. Heschela oraz Archidiecezjalne Centrum Dialogu Katolicko-Żydowskiego zorganizowały na Katolickim Uniwersytecie Lubelskim Dzień Judaizmu pod hasłem „Pokój mój daję wam". Słowo powitania skierował Dyrektor Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL, ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Wróbel – Pełnomocnik Rektora KUL ds. Relacji Katolicko-Żydowskich i Badań Naukowych w Ziemi Świętej. W uroczystościach wziął udział metropolita lubelski, abp Stanisław Budzik – Wielki Kanclerz KUL, a także naczelny rabin Polski Michael Schudrich.

W dniu 15 stycznia 2024 r. w Konwikcie KUL odbyło się spotkanie opłatkowe pracowników i studentów Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych. Na spotkaniu był obecny ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Kalinowski, Rektor KUL, który otrzymał honorowe członkostwo w Stowarzyszeniu Verbum Sacrum.

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2   M.S. Wróbel (red.), *Księga Rodzaju. Księga Wyjścia. Księga Kapłańska. Księga Liczb. Księga Pwtórzonego Prawa* (Komentarz Teologiczno-Pastoralny do Biblii Tysiąclecia. Stary Testament 1; Poznań: Pallottinum 2023).

3   M.S. Wróbel, *Anti-Judaism and the Gospel of John* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2023).

W dniu 15 lutego 2024 r. ks. prof. Henryk Drawnel otrzymał nominację profesorską od Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej Andrzeja Dudy.

Dnia 11 marca 2024 r. Centrum Relacji Katolicko-Żydowskich KUL im. Abraham J. Heschela, współpracujące z Instytutem Nauk Biblijnych KUL, zorganizowało pokaz filmu i debatę na temat Domów Polskich w Jerozolimie. W samym centrum Starego Miasta w Jerozolimie mieszczą się dwa Domy Polskie – materialne i duchowe dzieło pochodzącego z ziemi lubelskiej ks. Marcina Pinciurka. Centrum Heschela zaprosiło na bezpłatny pokaz filmu *Polskie serce Jerozolimy* w reżyserii Andrzeja Machnowskiego. Film opowiada niezwykłą historię ks. Piciurka, który kupił tysiącletnią nieruchomość nieopodal Via Dolorosa i Bazyliki Grobu Pańskiego na potrzeby Polonii i Polaków odwiedzających Ziemię Świętą. W swoim testamencie utworzony dom przekazał na ręce prymasa Polski, a następnie kard. Hlond oddał go pod opiekę sióstr elżbietanek. W efekcie ciężkiej pracy sióstr zakonnych oraz dzięki aktywnej pomocy żołnierzy polskich z armii gen. Andersa powstał również drugi dom nazywany Nowym Domem Polskim.

W debacie po projekcji filmu wziął udział reżyser Andrzej Machnowski, delegat prymasa Polski ds. Polskich Domów w Jerozolimie ks. dr hab. Mirosław Jasinski oraz pełnomocnik Rektora KUL ds. relacji katolicko-żydowskich i badań naukowych w Ziemi Świętej – ks. prof. Mirosław Wróbel, Dyrektor INB KUL.

Decyzją Ministra ds. oświaty i wychowania z dnia 18 sierpnia 2023 r. ks. dr Krzysztof Napora SCJ został odznaczony Medalem Komisji Edukacji Narodowej za szczególne zasługi dla oświaty i wychowania. Medal został wręczony przez Prorektora, ks. prof. Mirosława Sitarza podczas posiedzenia Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL w dniu 18 marca 2024 r.

Po raz siedemnasty Dzieło Biblijne im. św. Jana Pawła II we współpracy z Instytutem Nauk Biblijnych KUL oraz moderatorami diecezjalnymi Dzieła Biblijnego zorganizowało Ogólnopolski Konkurs Biblijny dla alumnów. Materią konkursu była Księga Tobiasza z V wydania Biblii Tysiąclecia. Etap diecezjalny odbył się 18 kwietnia 2024 r., a finał ogólnopolski w dniach 7–8 maja 2024 r. w ośrodku Emaus w Diecezji Radomskiej. Nagrodą główną była pielgrzymka do Ziemi Świętej oraz nagrody rzeczowe. Dodatkową nagrodą dla finalistów była możliwość uczestnictwa w tygodniowych warsztatach biblijnych, prowadzonych przez pracowników naukowo-dydaktycznych Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL. Nagroda ta fundowana jest przez Dzieło Biblijne. Laureatami konkursu zostali następujący alumni:

1. miejsce – kl. Krystian Puzanowski (Białystok) 25/25
2. miejsce – kl. Maciej Książyk (Pallotyni – Ołtarzew) 24/25
3. miejsce – kl. Patryk Nowacki (Łódź) oraz kl. Albert Pypowski (Lublin – Marianie) 23.5/25.

W kwietniu 2024 r. metropolita lubelski, ks. abp Stanisław Budzik został członkiem honorowym stowarzyszenia Verbum Sacrum, którego celem jest promocja i wspieranie rozwoju biblistyki.

Dnia 13 kwietnia 2024 r., w przededniu Święta Chrztu Polski w Kolegiacie Rzymskokatolickiej pw. Wszystkich Świętych w Kolbuszowej k. Rzeszowa odbył się „Kongres 966". Podczas Eucharystii, sprawowanej przez ordynariusza diecezji rzeszowskiej – ks. bpa Jana Wątrobę, homilię wygłosił ks. dr Adam Kubiś, prof. KUL. Podczas kongresu dwaj pracownicy naukowo-dydaktyczni INB KUL wygłosili swoje wykłady na temat II przykazania Dekalogu:
– ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Wróbel, Dyrektor INB KUL: „Święte imię Jezusa – Mesjasz i Syn Boży wobec II przykazania Dekalogu",
– ks. prof. dr hab. Dariusz Dziadosz: „Święte imię żyjącego Boga JHWH – teologiczne tło II przykazania Dekalogu".

W ramach Tygodnia Biblijnego w dniu 16 kwietnia 2024 r. w Sernikach odbył się Międzydiecezjalny Konkurs Biblijny dla uczniów szkół podstawowych. W wydarzeniu uczestniczyli proboszczowie, władze samorządowe, dyrektorzy szkół i katecheci. Konkurs był okazją do promowania znajomości Biblii oraz studiów biblijnych na Instytucie Nauk Biblijnych KUL.

W dniach 20–22 maja 2024 r. Ośrodek Badań nad Judaizmem Drugiej Świątyni oraz Instytut Nauk Biblijnych KUL zorganizował Międzynarodową Konferencję Biblijną „Levitical Priesthood in the Aramaic Levi Document and Related Literature". Celem konferencji była analiza cech literackich, teologii kapłańskiej oraz treści sapiencjalnych i apokaliptycznych Aramejskiego Dokumentu Lewiego. Dokument ten, oparty częściowo na Księdze Rodzaju, przedstawia Lewiego jako wojownika, który walczył z mieszkańcami Sychem. Przedstawia go również jako kapłana wyświęconego zarówno w ziemskich, jak i niebiańskich ceremoniach, studiującego kwestie liturgiczne i metrologiczne oraz założyciela kapłaństwa sapiencjalnego i apokaliptycznego. Konferencja była również poświęcona publikacji i rekonstrukcji Dokumentu Lewiego przez Józefa Tadeusza Milika[4].

W maju 2024 r. ukazał się kolejny tom Komentarza Teologiczno-Pastoralnego do Starego Testamentu, obejmujący Księgę Izajasza i Daniela[5]. Autorami komentarzy są Andrzej Jasiński OFM oraz Bartłomiej Sokal. Redaktorem naukowym serii jest Dyrektor Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL, ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Wróbel.

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4   J.T. Milik (†), *Les livres des patriarches: Édition des textes, traduction et commentaire.* I. *Testament de Lévi*, (red. Henryk Drawnel) (Leuven: Peeters 2022).
5   A.S. Jasiński – B. Sokal, *Księga Izajasza, Księga Daniela* (Komentarz Teologiczno-Pastoralny do Biblii Tysiąclecia. Stary Testament 6; Poznań: Pallottinum 2024).

W dniu 3 czerwca 2024 r. w Instytucie Nauk Biblijnych KUL odbył się egzamin licencjacki p. mgr Haliny Pelc, zakończony pozytywnym wynikiem.

Dnia 7 czerwca 2024 r., podczas Święta Patronalnego KUL odbyła się promocja doktorska dr. Przemysława Kubisiaka, który pod kierunkiem ks. prof. Mirosława Wróbla obronił pracę *Moria jako miejsce ofiary Izaaka i Świątyni Jerozolimskiej w świetle źródeł biblijnych i rabinicznych*.

W czerwcu 2024 r. pod redakcją ks. prof. Henryka Drawnela ukazała się publikacja *The Aramaic Books of Enoch and Related Literature from Qumran*, wydana w prestiżowym wydawnictwie Brill[6].

W dniach 7–8 oraz 13–14 czerwca odbyły się końcowe egzaminy z języków biblijnych, przygotowane przez Papieski Instytut Biblijny. Miały na celu sprawdzenie umiejętności językowych nabytych przez studentów w ciągu całego roku propedeutycznego. W naszym Instytucie do tych egzaminów przystąpiło dwóch studentów: pani Katarzyna Meldrum oraz ks. Jakub Dzierżak. Najpierw zmagali się z językiem greckim – jego gramatyką i tłumaczeniem tekstów z Ewangelii Marka i Jana oraz Dziejów Apostolskich. W drugim etapie egzamin dotyczył języka hebrajskiego – również gramatyki oraz tłumaczenia tekstów z Księgi Sędziów i Księgi Rodzaju. Nasi studenci zdali egzaminy na wysokim poziomie, co świadczy o bardzo dobrym przygotowaniu w ciągu całego roku propedeutycznego.

W dniu 16 września 2024 r. w Gdańsku miało miejsce spotkanie dyrektora INB KUL, ks. prof. Mirosława Wróbla oraz wicedyrektora, ks. dr. hab. Marcina Kowalskiego, z ks. abp Tadeuszem Wojdą, Przewodniczącym Konferencji Episkopatu Polski. Tematem spotkania była strategia działań Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL, szczególnie w kontekście służby Kościołowi i Ojczyźnie. Podjęto też temat szerszego oddziaływania Instytutu na Europę Środkową i Wschodnią.

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6   H. Drawnel (red.), *The Aramaic Books of Enoch and Related Literature from Qumran. Proceedings of the International Online Conference Organized by the Center for the Study of Second Temple Judaism of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, in Cooperation with Enoch Seminar, 20–22 October 2020* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 216; Boston: Brill 2024).

III. Sympozja naukowe organizowane w Instytucie Nauk Biblijnych KUL

W roku akademickim 2023/2024 w ramach działalności Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL zorganizowano dwa sympozja międzynarodowe i jedno sympozjum krajowe:

1.   Sympozjum międzynarodowe: Jesienne Dni Biblijne

W dniach 25–26 października 2023 r. Instytut Nauk Biblijnych KUL zorganizował Jesienne Dni Biblijne pod hasłem: „Biblia Benedicti. Hermeneutical and Exegetical Legacy of Joseph Ratzinger/ Benedict XVI". Sympozjum zostało przeprowadzone w trybie online.

Środa, 25 października

Sympozjum rozpoczęło się powitaniem prelegentów i gości przez ks. prof. dr. hab. Przemysława Kantykę, dziekana Wydziału Teologii KUL, oraz ks. prof. dr. hab. Mirosława Wróbla, dyrektora Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL. Kolejne sesje przedstawiały się następująco:

Sesja I
(przewodniczył ks. Dariusz Dziadosz)

–   Ezio Prato (Theological Faculty of Northern Italy in Milan and Major Seminary in Como, Włochy): „«La Parola di Dio è il fondamento di tutto». Crocevia dell'esegesi contemporanea secondo Joseph ratzinger/Benedetto XVI"[7],

–   Isacco Pagani (Professor of Sacred Scripture at the Theological Faculty of Northern Italy in Milan, Włochy): „*Deus caritas est*, ossia il centro della fede cristiana. La prima enciclica di Benedetto XVI e il suo fondamento giovanneo"[8].

Sesja II
(przewodniczył ks. Marcin Zieliński)

–   Matteo Crimella (Professor of Sacred Scripture at the Theological Faculty of Northern Italy in Milan, Włochy): „Presupposti ermeneutici ed esegetici nell'opera Gesù di Nazaret di Joseph ratzinger/Benedetto XVI"[9],

–   Pablo Blanco-Sarto (Professor of Fundamental Theology at the University of Navarra in Pamplona, Hiszpania), „*Sola Scriptura numquam sola*. The Biblical Hermeneutical Question between Catholics and Lutherans. A Joseph ratzinger/Benedict's XVI Proposal"[10].

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[7]   Zob. E. Prato, „*The Word of God is the Foundation of Everything*. Historical-Critical Exegesis and Theological Hermeneutics of Joseph Ratzinger – Benedict XVI", *Verbum Vitae* 42 (2024) 141–159.

[8]   I. Pagani, „*Deus Caritas Est*. Benedict XVI's First Encyclical and Its Johannine Foundation in the Exegesis of St. Augustine", *Verbum Vitae* 42 (2024) 161–176.

[9]   Zob. M. Crimella, „Hermeneutical and Exegetical Assumptions in the Work *Jesus of Nazareth* by Joseph Ratzinger/Benedict XVI. Some Examples", *Verbum Vitae* 42 (2024) 125–140.

[10]   Zob. P. Blanco-Sarto, „Catholics and Lutherans on Scripture.A Proposal by Joseph Ratzinger/Benedict XVI", *Verbum Vitae* 42 (2024) 47–62.

Sesja III

(przewodniczył ks. Adam Kubiś)

– Scott Hahn (University of Steubenville, Ohio, USA): „The Symphony of Scripture. The Unity of the Old and the new Testaments in Pope Benedict XVI's Writings"[11],

– Anthony Giambrone OP (École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem, Izrael): „«The ratzinger Paradigm» and La méthode historique",

– Gary Anderson (University of Notre Dame, USA): „Priesthood and Church in the Old Testament and the Church".

Sesja IV

(przewodniczył ks. Henryk Drawnel SDB)

– Nina-Sophie Heereman (Professor of Sacred Scripture at St. Patrick's Seminary and University, USA): „Joseph Ratzinger/Benedict XVI's Christological-Pneumatological Exegesis"[12],

– Ludger Schwienhorst-Schönberger (University of Vienna, Austria): "The Mystical Contact of the Hagiographers with God (JrGS 2,518). Joseph Ratzinger's Spiritual Interpretation of Scripture".

Czwartek, 26 października

Sesja I (polskojęzyczna)

(przewodniczył ks. Stefan Szymik MSF)

– Krzysztof Góźdź (wykładowca teologii dogmatycznej na Wydziale Teologii KUL oraz przewodniczący Komitetu Redakcyjnego *Opera Omnia* Józefa Ratzingera w języku polskim): „Wprowadzenie do *Opera Omnia* Józefa Ratzingera/Benedykta XIV"[13],

– Janusz Kręcidło MS (wykładowca Pisma Świętego na Uniwersytecie Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego w Warszawie): „Hermeneutyka wiary w pismach Józefa Ratzingera/Benedykta XVI",

– Sławomir Zatwardnicki (wykładowca teologii dogmatycznej na Papieskim Wydziale Teologicznym we Wrocławiu): „*Regula fidei* w świetle pism Józefa Ratzingera/Benedykta XVI"[14].

Sesja II (polskojęzyczna)

(przewodniczył Krzysztof Mielcarek)

– Waldemar Linke CP (wykładowca Pisma Świętego na Uniwersytecie Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego w Warszawie): „Milczenie Boga a chrystologiczna interpretacja Pisma Świętego",

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11   Zob. S. Hahn, „Normative and Performative: The Authority of Scripture for Catholic Theology and Worship in the Thought of Pope Benedict XVI", *Verbum Vitae* 42 (2024) 81–100.

12   Zob. N.S. Heereman, „Joseph Ratzinger's Christological-Pneumatological Exegesis of the Old Testament", *Verbum Vitae* 42 (2024) 101–124.

13   Zob. K. Góźdź, „Introduction to Joseph Ratzinger's Opera Omnia", *Verbum Vitae* 42 (2024) 63–79.

14   Zob. S. Zatwardnicki, „Regula Fidei in the Light of Joseph Ratzinger's Writings", *Verbum Vitae* 42 (2024) 7–46.

– Stefan Szymik MSF (wykładowca Pisma Świętego na Wydziale Teologii KUL): „Biblijne źródła Tradycji apostolskiej Kościoła w nauczaniu Józefa Ratzingera/Benedykta XVI"[15].

2.   Międzynarodowa Konferencja Biblijna pamięci Józefa Tadeusza Milika

W dniach 20–22 maja 2024 r. Ośrodek Badań nad Judaizmem Drugiej Świątyni oraz Instytut Nauk Biblijnych KUL zorganizował Międzynarodową Konferencję Biblijną „Levitical Priesthood in the Aramaic Levi Document and Related Literature", poświęconą pamięci Józefa Tadeusza Milika (1922–2006), wybitnego polskiego biblisty, genialnego paleografa i znanego edytora zwojów znad Morza Martwego. Głównym organizatorem konferencji był ks. prof. dr hab. Henryk Drawnel.

Poniedziałek, 20 maja

Sympozjum rozpoczęto słowem wstępnym Prodziekana Wydziału Teologii, ks. prof. dr. hab. Marcina Składanowskiego. Słowa powitania zostały również skierowane przez Dyrektora Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL, ks. prof. dr. hab. Mirosława Wróbla oraz przez głównego organizatora konferencji, ks. prof. dr. hab. Henryka Drawnela. Przebieg sympozjum przedstawiał się następująco:

Sesja I: Textual and Philological Issues
(przewodniczył Henryk Drawnel SDB)
– Christian Stadel (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva, Israel): „The Language of the Aramaic Levi Document from the Cairo Geniza",
– Johanna van der Schoor (KU, Leuven, Belgium): „Qumran Aramaic Levi Manuscripts in Context".

Sesja II: Philology and Sources
(przewodniczył Vered Noam)
– Matthew Goff (Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL, USA): „Obscured Sources: The Book of Jubilees and Its Aramaic Heritage",
– Andrew Brian Perrin (Athabasca University, Athabasca, Canada): „Forms and Sources of Knowledge in the Aramaic Levi Traditions among the Qumran Discoveries",
– Ursula Schattner-Rieser (University of Innsbruck, Austria) (Paper read *in absentia*): „Philological Challenges in Dating the Aramaic Levi Document from Qumran".

Sesja III: Aramaic Levi Document in Context 1
(przewodniczył Ari Silbermann)
– Cana Werman (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva, Israel): „Priestly Kingship in Context",
– Jaap Doedens (Pápa Reformed Theological Seminary, Pápa, Hungary): „*They Cannot Steal the Treasure of Wisdom*: Hellenistic Priesthood and Its Connection to Wisdom Literature in the Aramaic Levi Document",

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15   Zob. S. Szymik, „Church Tradition and Its Biblical Foundations in the Teaching of Joseph Ratzinger/Benedict XVI. An Outline of Problems", *Verbum Vitae* 42 (2024) 177–197.

–   James VanderKam (Notre Dame University, IN, USA) (via MS Teams): „Priestly Instructions in Aramaic Levi Document and Jubilees".

Sesja IV: Aramaic Levi Document in Context 2

(przewodniczył Jesper Høgenhaven)

–   Ida Fröhlich (Péter Pázmány Catholic University, Hungary): „Aramaic Levi Document and Aramaic Literary Tradition",
–   Daniel Machiela (Notre Dame University, IN, USA): „The Intended Audience of the Aramaic Levi Document in Light of Its Relationship to Other Literature of the Hellenistic Period".

Wtorek, 21 maja

Sesja V: Structure and Strategy of the Text

(przewodniczył Shlomi Efrati)

–   Michał Karnawalski SJ (Catholic Academy, Warsaw, Poland): „An Extension of Milik's Research? The Meaning of Abraham's Itinerary in Gen 12 for the Structure of the Aramaic Levi Document and its Model of Priesthood",
–   Henryk Drawnel (John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Lublin, Poland): „Three and Seven Heavens in Levi's Vision (TLevi 2:7–9 [1QAL 2']; 3:1–7)",
–   Jesper Høgenhaven (University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen): „Strategies of Authority in the Ancient Levi Literature".

Sesja VI: ALD and Its Affinities

(przewodniczył Andrew Perrin)

–   Jessica Orpana (University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark): „How Did Moses Become the New Levi?",
–   Fiodar Litvinau (LMU Munich, Germany): „Wisdom and Kingdom: A Comparison of the Wisdom Poem of The Aramaic Levi Document with the Sapiential Traditions in the Synoptic Gospels",
–   Vered Noam (Tel Aviv University, Israel): „The Image of Levi: From Second Temple to Rabbinic Literature and Back".

Środa, 24 maja

Sesja VII: The Nature of Priesthood

(przewodniczył Daniel Machiela)

–   Vasile Babota (Pontifical Gregorian University, Rome, Italy): „The Emergence of Levitical High Priesthood in the Light of the Aramaic Levi Document and other Sources",
–   Mirjam Bokhorst (Martin Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg, Germany): „Always on the Bright Side of Priestly Live? Negative Dimensions of Priesthood in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls",
–   Robert Jones (Penn State University, PA, USA): „Priesthood, Scribal Training, and the Transmission of Knowledge: Comparing Two Discourses in the Aramaic Levi Document".

Sesja VIII: Deep into the Text
(przewodniczył Matthew Goff)

– Hillel Mali (Herzog Academic College and Bar-Ilan University, Israel): „*What is the World Sustained By?* Law and Narrative in the Sacrificial Law of the Aramaic Writings in Qumran",

– Ari Silbermann (Tel Aviv University, Israel): „זחפ לכ ןמ ירב דל ההדזה ןימדק: Understanding Truth and Fornication in the Aramaic Levi Document and Beyond",

– Shlomi Efrati (Hebrew University, Jerusalem Israel): „One Altar to Serve Them All: New Joins and Ancient Altars in the Visions of Amram".

3. Konferencja krajowa: Wiosenne Sympozjum Biblijne

Dnia 5 marca 2024 r. Instytut Nauk Biblijnych KUL zorganizował konferencję naukową „Sąd Boży w Biblii: *Bóg na sąd się podniósł, by ocalić wszystkich pokornych na ziemi* (Ps 76,10)" w ramach Wiosennych Dni Biblijnych. W czasie konferencji odbyła się również prezentacja publikacji *Tekstów z Ugarit* pod redakcją prof. Macieja Münnicha (KUL). Sympozjum zostało otwarte przez Dziekana Wydziału Teologii – ks. prof. dr. hab. Przemysława Kantykę oraz Dyrektora Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych – ks. prof. dr. hab. Mirosława Wróbla i przebiegało według następującego porządku:

Sesja I (przewodniczył ks. Andrzej Piwowar)

– Filip Taterka (Instytut Kultur Śródziemnomorskich i Orientalnych PAN): „Idea «sądu bożego» w religii egipskiej",

– ks. Tomasz Bąk (KUL): „Pośmiertne losy w egipskiej Księdze Umarłych na przykładzie rękopisu Pa-sheri-Khonsu",

– Maciej Münnich (KUL): „Bóg-Sędzia w literaturze ze starożytnego Ugarit".

Prezentacja książki *Teksty z Ugarit* (tomy I–III) pod redakcją prof. Macieja Münnicha (KUL).

Sesja II
(przewodniczył ks. Krzysztof Napora)

– Piotr Briks (Uniwersytet Szczeciński): „O właściwym rozumieniu ʾaḥărît hajjāmîm w Biblii Hebrajskiej",

– ks. Wojciech Węgrzyniak (UPJPII): „Obraz Boga-Sędziego w Psalmach",

– bp Piotr Przyborek (UKSW): „Motyw sądu w wyroczniach proroka Malachiasza".

Sesja III
(przewodniczył Krzysztof Mielcarek)

– ks. Piotr Łabuda (UPJPII): „Śmierć jako czas paruzji i sądu w przekazie św. Łukasza",

– ks. Nikos Skuras (Aachen, Niemcy): „Od kerygmatu do sądu ostatecznego",

– Branislav Kľuska (Katolicki Uniwersytet w Ružomberku, Słowacja): „Sąd Chrystusa-Światłości nad niewiarą świata w J 9,1–41".

Sesja IV
(przewodniczył ks. Marcin Zieliński)
– ks. Marcin Kowalski (KUL): „Zniszczyć ciało, żeby ocalić ducha? Sąd Boży i sąd apostoła w 1 Kor 5,1–5”,
– ks. Adam Kubiś (KUL): „Doskonała miłość a lęk, sąd i kara. Wokół rozumienia 1 J 4,18”,
– Dorota Muszytowska (UKSW): „Sąd Boży w argumentacji Listu Judy”.

IV. Działalność naukowo-dydaktyczna pracowników Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL

Prezentację działalności naukowo-dydaktycznej rozpoczyna osoba dyrektora Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL. W dalszej kolejności przyjęty został porządek alfabetyczny. Sprawozdanie obejmuje działalność pracowników instytutu zatrudnionych na etatach badawczych lub badawczo-dydaktycznych. Pod hasłem „Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL” należy rozumieć wykłady wykraczające poza obowiązkowe zajęcia prowadzone przez pracowników INB KUL.

1. Ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Stanisław Wróbel

Komentarze

„Komentarz do Księgi Rodzaju”, *Księga Rodzaju, Księga Wyjścia, Księga Kapłańska, Księga Liczb, Księga Powtórzonego Prawa* (Komentarz teologiczno-pastoralny do Biblii Tysiąclecia. Stary Testament 1; Poznań: Pallottinum 2023) 35–94.

Książki pod redakcją

1. Redakcja naukowa: M.S. Wróbel – K. Napora – A. Tronina – M. Targoński – M. Klukowski, *Księga Rodzaju, Księga Wyjścia, Księga Kapłańska, Księga Liczb, Księga Powtórzonego Prawa* (Komentarz teologiczno-pastoralny do Biblii Tysiąclecia. Stary Testament 1; Poznań: Pallottinum 2023).
2. Redakcja naukowa: A.S. Jasiński – B. Sokal, *Księga Izajasza, Księga Daniela* (Komentarz teologiczno-pastoralny do Biblii Tysiąclecia. Stary Testament 6; Poznań: Pallottinum 2024).

Artykuł naukowy

"The Biblical Approach to Time in the Teaching of Abraham Joshua Heschel", *Zeitschrift für christlich-jüdische Begegnung im Kontext* 2/3 (2023) 198–204.

Artykuły popularnonaukowe

1. „Bohaterowie Starego Testamentu: Rut Moabitka – życie i dzieło", *Krąg Biblijny* 53 (2024) 103–107.
2. „«Obcy» wobec Boga Izraela w interpretacji targumów", *Krąg Biblijny* 53 (2024) 107–113.
3. „Bohaterowie Starego Testamentu: Prorok Samuel – życie i dzieło", *Krąg Biblijny* 54 (2024) 99–103.
4. „Samuel jako sługa Bożego słowa", *Krąg Biblijny* 54 (2024) 104–108.
5. „Wspólnota Kościoła i jej potrzeby", *Apostoł Miłosierdzia Bożego* 2(122) (2024) 44–45.
6. „Bohaterowie Starego Testamentu: Król Saul – życie i dzieło", *Krąg Biblijny* 55 (2024) 137–141.
7. „Król Saul – w tradycji biblijnej i tradycji rabinicznej", *Krąg Biblijny* 55 (2024) 142–146.
8. „Nie będziesz brał imienia Pana, Boga swego nadaremnie (Wj 20,7; Pwt 5,11)", *Apostoł Miłosierdzia Bożego* 4(124) (2024) 30–31.
9. „Pamiętaj, abyś dzień święty święcił", *Apostoł Miłosierdzia Bożego*, 1(125) (2025) 48–49.

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 sympozjalna

1. Referat: „Błagalne wołanie człowieka o Boże przebaczenie i odkupienie w Psalmie 130", Konferencja Colloquia Kolbuszoviensia (Synagoga w Kolbuszowej k. Rzeszowa 23.10.2023).
2. Otwarcie i podsumowanie sympozjum: „Biblia Benedicti. Hermeneutical and Exegetical Lagacy of Joseph Ratzinger/Benedict XVI", Jesienne Dni Biblijne (KUL, 25–26.10.2023).
3. Referat: „Święte imię Jezusa – Mesjasz i Syn Boży wobec II przykazania Dekalogu", Kongres 966 (Kolbuszowa 13.04.2024).
4. Otwarcie i podsumowanie międzynarodowej konferencji: „Levitical Priesthood in the Aramaic Levi Document and Related Literature" (KUL, 20–22.05.2024).
5. Udział w konferencji i głos w dyskusji: „Rola teologii na Uniwersytecie katolickim", Lectio Magistralis Internationalis: "The Role of Ecclesiastical Sciences in University Education Today" (Katowice, Uniwersytet Śląski 28.05.2024).
6. Prezentacja książki: *Anti-Judaism and the Gospel of John: A New Look at the Fourth Gospel's Relationship with Judaism* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2023), Konferencja Catholic Biblical Association (USA, Waszyngton 1–7.08.2024).

Szkolenia, staże i kwerendy biblioteczne

1. Kwerenda biblioteczna w Papieskim Instytucie Biblijnym (Rzym 2–7.12.2024).

2. Kwerenda biblioteczna w Seton Hall University (USA, 2–5.04.2024).
3. Staż naukowy w Loyola Marymont University (USA, 28.04. – 5.05.2024).
4. Wyjazd studyjny: Siedem Kościołów Apokalipsy (Grecja – Turcja 16–23.07.2024).
5. Kwerenda biblioteczna w Papieskim Instytucie Biblijnym (Rzym 3–7.09.2024).
6. Wyjazd studyjny: Archeologia i historia Jordanii (Jordania 19–26.09.2024).

Udział w komisji naukowej

Przewodniczący komisji habilitacyjnej w postępowaniu habilitacyjnym dr Anny Noworol (UKSW; Warszawa 17.06.2024).

Promocja obronionej pracy magisterskiej

Albert Andrzej Bujak, *Uczeń w Ewangelii Marka jako członek duchowej rodziny Jezusa. Analiza literacka, egzegetyczna i teologiczna Mk 3,31–35* (KUL; Lublin 2024).

Recenzja obronionej rozprawy doktorskiej

Aleksandr Farutin, *Struktura i funkcja qumrańskiego zwoju psalmów (11Q5) – analiza retoryczna* (UKSW; Warszawa 2023).

Recenzje wydawnicze książek

1. Jom-Tow Lewiński (red.), *Księga pamięci Gminy Żydowskiej w Zambrowie* (Łomża: Łomżyńskie Towarzystwo Naukowe im. Wagów 2023).
2. Abraham Wolf Jasny (red.) – M.K. Frąckiewicz – M. Reczko (red. wyd. polskiego), *Księga pamięci Gminy Żydowskiej w Siedlcach. Wspomnienia* (Łomża – Białystok: Łomżyńskie Towarzystwo Naukowe im. Wagów 2024).
3. Dawid Sohn (red.) – M.K. Frąckiewicz – M. Reczko (red. wyd. polskiego), *Księga – Album pamięci Gminy Żydowskiej w Białymstoku* (Łomża – Białystok: Łomżyńskie Towarzystwo Naukowe im. Wagów) 2024.
4. Nan C. Meril, *Modlitwa psalmami* (Kraków: Salwator 2024).

Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

1. *Verbum Vitae* (1 recenzja).
2. *Studia Europaea Gnesnensia* (1 recenzja).
3. *Studia Warmińskie* (2 recenzje).
4. *Collectanea Theologica* (2 recenzje).
5. *Biblia Patristica Thoruniensia* (2 recenzje).
6. *Wrocławski Przegląd Teologiczny* (3 recenzje).
7. *Studia Gdańskie* (3 recenzje).
8. *Roczniki Humanistyczne* (2 recenzje).
9. *Ethos* (2 recenzje).

Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

1. Wykłady biblijne u sióstr karmelitanek w Dysie: „Jezus jako nowa Świątynia w Ewangelii według św. Jana".
2. Cykl referatów biblijnych: „Abraham – człowiek zawierzenia" (Ognisko Światła i Miłości, Łopoczno 11–12.05.2024).
3. Referat: „Moc działania Ducha Świętego w sercu św. Józefa", Konferencja „Tajemnica ojcostwa" (Dom „Promień", Nałęczów 22.06.2024).
4. Referat: „Rola targumów w interpretacji tekstów Starego i Nowego Testamentu", warsztaty dla laureatów Kleryckiego Konkursu Biblijnego (Bieszczady 11.09.2024).
5. Referat: „Zapowiedzi mesjańskie proroków starotestamentalnych", Katolickie Stowarzyszenie Diagnostów Laboratoryjnych (kościoł rektoralny p.w. św. Judy Tadeusza, Lublin 7.01.2024).

Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Organizacja Kursu Formacji Biblijnej KUL.
2. Liczne wystąpienia w telewizji i w radio jako ekspert KUL do spraw biblijnych.
3. Przewodniczenie komisji egzaminacyjnej w etapie diecezjalnym i finałowym Ogólnopolskiego Konkursu Wiedzy Biblijnej organizowanego przez Katolickie Stowarzyszenie „Civitas Christiana".
4. Spotkania z cyklu „W blasku i mocy Słowa Bożego" w parafii Miłosierdzia Bożego w Lublinie (raz w miesiącu).
5. Lectio divina w archikatedrze lubelskiej (raz w miesiącu).
6. Spotkania biblijne w Ognisku Światła i Miłości w Łopocznie (3 spotkania w ciągu roku).
7. Organizacja konkursów biblijnych.
8. Organizacja wyjazdów studyjnych – rekolekcji biblijnych do Ziemi Świętej i Turcji szlakiem Kościołów Apokalipsy.

Inne osiągnięcia

1. Laudacja wygłoszona z okazji nadania doktoratu *honoris causa* rabinowi Abrahamowi Skórce (KUL, 15.10.2023).
2. Organizacja obchodów święta świateł – Adwentu i Chanuki (KUL, 14.12.2023).
3. Organizacja Dnia Judaizmu w Archidiecezji Lubelskiej i Katolickim Uniwersytecie Lubelskim Jana Pawła II– „Pokój mój daję wam" (KUL, 18.01.2024).
4. Organizacja projekcji filmu *Polskie serce Jerozolimy* i debaty na temat Domów Polskich w Jerozolimie (KUL, 11.03.2024).
5. Nawiązanie współpracy pomiędzy Loyola Marymont University, KUL oraz Centrum Heschela KUL, a także prezentacja książki *Anti-Judaism and the Gospel of John: A New Look at the Fourth Gospel's Relationship with Judaism* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2023) (Loyola Marymont University, Los Angeles, USA, 28.04. – 5.05.2024).

Pełnione funkcje

1. Dyrektor Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych.
2. Pełnomocnik Rektora KUL ds. relacji katolicko-żydowskich i badań naukowych w Ziemi Świętej (17.05.2023 – 1.10.2024).
3. Kierownik Katedry Filologii Biblijnej i Literatury Międzytestamentalnej.
4. Konsultor Komisji Nauki Wiary Konferencji Episkopatu Polski.
5. Prezes Stowarzyszenia na Rzecz Wspierania Biblistyki „Verbum Sacrum".
6. Dyrektor i redaktor naukowy projektu „Biblia Aramejska".
7. Dyrektor Kursu Formacji Biblijnej KUL.
8. Moderator Dzieła Biblijnego im. Jana Pawła II Archidiecezji Lubelskiej.
9. Redaktor naczelny *The Biblical Annals*.
10. Redaktor naczelny serii Studia Pomocnicze do wykładów z biblistyki.
11. Redaktor naukowy serii KUL Pismo Święte Starego Testamentu.
12. Członek Stowarzyszenia Biblistów Polskich.
13. Członek Polskiego Towarzystwa Studiów Żydowskich.
14. Członek Lubelskiego Oddziału Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
15. Członek Lubelskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego.
16. Członek Associazione ex-alumni del Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
17. Członek Society of Biblical Literature.
18. Członek Catholic Biblical Association.

2. Ks. dr Tomasz Bąk

Artykuły naukowe

1. „Critical Edition and Philological Analysis of the Isa 53 Text Based on the Coptic Manuscript of sa 52 (M 568) and Other Coptic Manuscripts of the Sahidic Dialect and the Greek Text of the Septuagint", *Verbum Vitae* 41/4 (2023) 859–879.
2. „Critical Edition and Philological Analysis of Isa 51–52 based on Coptic Manuscript sa 52 (M 568) and Other Coptic Manuscripts in the Sahidic Dialect and the Greek Text of the Septuagint", *The Biblical Annals* 14/1 (2024) 17–46.

Realizacja grantów

1. Projekt badawczy „Edycja krytyczna i analiza filologiczna Iz 56–57 na podstawie koptyjskiego manuskryptu sa 52 (M 568), innych rękopisów dialektu saidzkiego oraz greckiego tekstu Septuaginty" finansowany przez Instytut Nauk Biblijnych Wydziału Teologii KUL.
2. Projekt badawczy „Edycja krytyczna i analiza filologiczna Iz 58–59 na podstawie koptyjskiego manuskryptu sa 52 (M 568), innych rękopisów dialektu saidzkiego oraz

greckiego tekstu Septuaginty" finansowany przez Instytut Nauk Biblijnych Wydziału Teologii KUL.

Działalność sympozjalna

1. Referat: „Pośmiertne losy w egipskiej Księdze Umarłych na przykładzie rękopisu Pa--sheri-Khonsu", Wiosenne Dni Biblijne „Sąd Boży w Biblii" (KUL, Lublin 5.03.2024).
2. Referat: „Sobór jerozolimski w Dziejach Apostolskich (Dz 15) i w Liście św. Pawła do Galatów (Ga 2)". Sympozjum „Ku lepszemu rozumieniu Pisma świętego", organizowane przez Caritas Diecezji Rzeszowskiej i Katolickie Stowarzyszenie „Civitas Christiana" Regionu Lubelsko-Rzeszowskiego (Myczkowce 18.05.2024).

Kwerendy biblioteczne

1. Rzym, Biblioteka Papieskiego Instytutu Biblijnego (28.10 – 12.11.2023).
2. Rzym, Biblioteka Papieskiego Instytutu Biblijnego (2–14.07.2024).

Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

1. Wykłady dla Polonii: „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, liczba godzin: 8).
2. Wykłady gościnne: „Stworzenie świata i człowieka", studia podyplomowe: Teologia dla nowej ewangelizacji (Instytut Teologiczno-Pastoralny im. Św. Józefa Sebastiana Pelczara, Rzeszów 21.10.2023, liczba godzin: 6).
3. Wykłady gościnne: „Wprowadzenie do Pięcioksięgu", Akademia Biblijna (Instytut Teologiczno-Pastoralny im. Św. Józefa Sebastiana Pelczara, Rzeszów 28.10.2023, liczba godzin: 4).
4. Wykłady dla katechetycznych studiów podyplomowych KUL (październik 2023, liczba godzin: 8).
5. Wykłady gościnne: „Obraz Chrystusa w listach św. Pawła", studia podyplomowe: Teologia dla nowej ewangelizacji (Instytut Teologiczno-Pastoralny im. Św. Józefa Sebastiana Pelczara, Rzeszów 18.11.2023, liczba godzin: 2).
6. Wykłady gościnne: „Starotestamentalne zapowiedzi Mesjasza", studia podyplomowe: Teologia dla nowej ewangelizacji (Instytut Teologiczno-Pastoralny im. Św. Józefa Sebastiana Pelczara, Rzeszów 18.11.2023, liczba godzin: 2).
7. Wykłady gościnne: „Wprowadzenie do lektury listów św. Pawła Apostoła", Instytut Świecki Chrystusa Króla (Dom Diecezjalny Tabor, Rzeszów 25–26.11.2023, liczba godzin: 10).
8. Wykłady: „Księgi historyczne Starego Testamentu", WSD Rzeszów (I semestr, rok akademicki 2023/2024, liczba godzin: 45).
9. Wykłady gościnne: „Wprowadzenie do Ewangelii Synoptycznych", Chełmskie Centrum Ewangelizacji. Szkoła Biblijna (Chełm 20.01.2024, liczba godzin: 8).

10. Wykłady gościnne: „Uczeń w Ewangelii św. Marka" (Dąbrowica 12.04.2024, liczba godzin: 4).
11. Wykłady gościnne: „Wprowadzenie do Ewangelii według św. Mateusza", Szkoła Biblijna „W Drodze do Emaus" przy Wyższym Seminarium Misyjnym Księży Sercanów (Stadniki 11.05.2024, liczba godzin: 8).

Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Przewodnik i pilot pielgrzymki, organizowanej przez BT Matteo Travel: „Włochy śladami św. Franciszka". Codzienne homilie i refleksje biblijne (26.04 – 5.05.2024).
2. Przewodnik i pilot pielgrzymki, organizowanej przez BT Matteo Travel do Włoch Codzienne homilie i refleksje biblijne (4–13.07.2024).
3. Przewodnik i pilot pielgrzymki, organizowanej przez BT Matteo Travel do Włoch. Codzienne homilie i refleksje biblijne (21–30.09.2024).

Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje

1. Ukończenie szkolenia z zakresu doskonalenia kompetencji pracowniczych „Doskonały dydaktyk KUL. Metody oceniania studentów i weryfikacja efektów uczenia się" (KUL, Lublin, 20 i 24.06.2024).
2. Ukończenie szkolenia z zakresu doskonalenia kompetencji pracowniczych „Doskonały dydaktyk KUL. Wymogi merytoryczne i formalne dotyczące programów studiów" (KUL, Lublin 5–9.12.2024).
3. Redaktor sekcji „Varia" i „Sprawozdania" w czasopiśmie *The Biblical Annals*.
4. Koordynator prac nad przygotowaniem dokumentacji programowej nowego kierunku: Studia biblijne (stacjonarne, I stopnia).

3. Ks. prof. dr hab. Henryk Drawnel SDB

Rozdziały w monografiach

1. "J.T. Milik and the Aramaic Books of Enoch from Qumran", *The Aramaic Books of Enoch and Related Literature from Qumran: Proceedings of the International Online Conference Organized by the Center for the Study of Second Temple Judaism of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, in Cooperation with Enoch Seminar, 20–22 October 2020* (red. H. Drawnel) (JSJSup 216; Leiden: Brill 2024) 1–15.
2. "The Work of the Heaven and Earth and Its Creator: 1 Enoch 2:1–5:2 and the Astronomical Book", *The Aramaic Books of Enoch and Related Literature from Qumran: Proceedings of the International Online Conference Organized by the Center for the Study of Second Temple Judaism of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, in Cooperation with Enoch Seminar, 20–22 October 2020* (red. H. Drawnel) (JSJSup 216; Leiden: Brill 2024) 63–93.

Książka pod redakcją

The Aramaic Books of Enoch and Related Literature from Qumran: *Proceedings of the International Online Conference Organized by the Center for the Study of Second Temple Judaism of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, in Cooperation with Enoch Seminar, 20–22 October 2020* (JSJSup 216; Leiden: Brill 2024).

Artykuły naukowe

1. "Noah in the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 En.* 89:1–9)", *The Biblical Annals* 14 (2024) 271–294.
2. "The Literary Structure and Schematic Clauses in 1 En. 72:8–32", *Dead Sea Discoveries* 32/1 (2024) 45–74.

Artykuły recenzyjne i recenzje

Mirjam Judith Bokhorst, „Henoch und der Tempel des Todes: 1 Henoch 14–16 zwischen Schriftauslegung und Traditionsverarbeitung", *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods* 55 (2024) 1–5.

Realizacja grantów naukowych

1. Grant Ministerstwa Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego „Doskonała nauka II – Wsparcie konferencji naukowych. Levitical Priesthood in the Aramaic Levi Document and Related Literature" (1.09.2023 – 31.10.2024).
2. Grant Wydziału Teologii KUL „The Creation of a 364-Day Year in 1 Enoch 72" (1.05.2023 – 31.12.2023).

Działalność sympozjalna

1. Organizacja wykładu otwartego: Marcin Chrostowski, „Pan, który zwycięża ręką człowieka: Bóg Izraela w modlitwach Judyty (Jdt 9; 13; 16)" (KUL, Lublin 11.10.2023).
2. Referat: „The Length of the Nychthemeron in 1 En. 72:8–32 and Babylonian Schematic Astronomy," SBL national meeting (San Antonio, Texas, USA, 18–21.11.2023).
3. Główny organizator międzynarodowego sympozjum „Levitical Priesthood in the Aramaic Levi Document and Related Literature" (KUL, Lublin 20–22.05.2024).
4. Referat: „Three and Seven Heavens in Levi's First Vision (TLevi 2:7–9 [1QAL 2']; 3:1–7)," International Conference „Levitical Priesthood in the Aramaic Levi Document and Related Literature" (KUL, Lublin 20–22.05.2024).
4. Referat: „Two Factors of Monthly Change in the Duration of Day and Night in 1 En. 72:8–32 and Babylonian Schematic Astronomy", European Association of Biblical Studies Annual Meeting (Sofia, Bułgaria 15–18.07.2024).

Kwerenda naukowa

Papieski Instytut Biblijny (Rzym, 11.11 – 31.12.2023).

Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

1. *Dead Sea Discoveries* (1 recenzja).
2. *Religions* (1 recenzja).
3. *Journal for the Study of Judaism* (1 recenzja).
4. *Verbum Vitae* (1 recenzja).

Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Organizacja i prowadzenie Szkoły Biblijnej Logos (od września 2024).
2. Wykłady formacyjne „Suore di Santa Elisabetta" (Rzym, 24.02 – 3.03.2024).

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.
5. Członek Komitetu Redakcyjnego (Editorial Board) czasopisma *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*.

4. 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.

Działalność sympozjalna

1. Referat: „Wartość życia i godność człowieka w biblijnej historii wyzwolenia Izraelitów. Teologiczny przekaz Księgi Wyjścia", sympozjum: „Jan Paweł II – obrońca życia i godności człowieka" (Przeworsk 15.05.2024).
2. Referat: „Święte imię żyjącego Boga JHWH – teologiczne tło II przykazania Dekalogu", sympozjum: „Kongres 966" (Kolbuszowa 13.04.2024).
3. Organizacja konferencji naukowej: prof. J.L. Ska, „La storia d'Israele riletta sulle rovine del tempio di Gerusalemme" w ramach 61. Sympozjum Stowarzyszenia Biblistów Polskich (Bydgoszcz 16–18.09.2024).
4. Referat: „Sanktuaria Góry Efraima i Lajisz/Dan w Sdz 17,1–18,31. Religia i moralność w Izraelu u schyłku epoki przedmonarchicznej w optyce historiografii deuteronomistycznej", w ramach 61. Sympozjum Stowarzyszenia Biblistów Polskich (Bydgoszcz 16–18.09.2024).

Szkolenie

XII Seminario di aggiornamento per studiosi e docenti di Sacra Scrittura: „Il Nuovo Testamento nel contesto greco-romano", Ponticicio Istituto Biblico (Rzym 22–26.01.2024).

Promocja pracy magisterskiej

Adrian Wołoszyn, *Przekaz o śmierci i pochówku Jakuba (Rdz 49,29–50,14) w kulturowo--religijnym kontekście biblijnych tradycji o Józefie i funeralnych praktyk Egiptu* (UPJPII, Kraków 2024).

Recenzja w postępowaniu, dotyczącym przyznania stopnia naukowego

Recenzja profesorska dorobku naukowego ks. dr. hab. Dariusza Sztuka OSB (decyzja RDN-u DRKN.Z7.401.3.2024 z dnia 10.05.2024), sporządzona 5.08.2024.

Recenzja wydawnicza książki

W. Janiga, *Tym żyjemy. Beatyfikacja Rodziny Ulmów* (Przemyśl: Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Przemyskiej 2024).

Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

1. *Biblica et Patristica Thorunensia* (1 recenzja).
2. *Ethos* (1 recenzja).
3. *Verbum Vitae* (1 recenzja).
4. *Teologia i Człowiek* (1 recenzja).
5. *Polonia Sacra* (1 recenzja).

Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

1. Cykl wykładów: „Pięcioksiąg" w Instytucie Teologicznym i WSD w Przemyślu.
2. Cykl wykładów: „Księgi historyczne Biblii Hebrajskiej" w Instytucie Teologicznym i WSD w Przemyślu.
3. Cykl wykładów: „Księgi mądrościowe Starego Testamentu" w Instytucie Teologicznym i WSD w Przemyślu.
4. Cykl wykładów: „Tradycje prorockie. Prorocy więksi" w Instytucie Teologicznym i WSD w Przemyślu.
5. Cykl wykładów: „Prorocy mniejsi" w Instytucie Teologicznym i WSD w Przemyślu.
6. Seminarium naukowe magisterskie i licencjackie w Instytucie Teologicznym i WSD w Przemyślu.

Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Spotkania Lectio Divina dla Wspólnoty Alumnów Roku Propedeutycznego w Wyższym Seminarium Duchownym w Przemyślu.
2. Seria konferencji biblijnych w parafii NMP Królowej Polski w Hermanowicach.
3. Seria konferencji biblijnych w parafii MB Wspomożenia Wiernych w Wierzawicach.

4. Seria konferencji biblijnych w parafii cywilno-wojskowej Niepokalanego Poczęcia NMP w Lublinie.
5. Konferencje biblijno-formacyjne dla duchowieństwa archidiecezji przemyskiej.

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).
3. Przewodniczący Komisji Rewizyjnej Stowarzyszenia na Rzecz Wspierania Biblistyki „Verbum Sacrum".

5. Ks. dr Krzysztof Kinowski

Monografie

Bloodshed by King Manasseh, Assyrians and Priestly Scribes. Theological Meaning and Historical-Cultural Contextualization of 2 Kings 21:16, 24:3–4 in Relation to the Fall of Judah (Lublin Theological Studies 8; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2024).

Artykuły naukowe

„The Meaning of וַיַּעַל בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ in 2 Kgs 17:5a. The Semantic and Syntactic Study of the Phrase with Particular Interest in the Verb עלה and the Preposition בְּ", *The Biblical Annals* 13/4 (2023) 563–590.

Realizacja grantu naukowego

Grant Wydziału Teologii w dyscyplinie nauki biblijne: „Studium historyczno-krytyczne nad wybranymi fragmentami Ksiąg Królewskich".

Działalność sympozjalna

1. Organizacja Międzynarodowego Kongresu Teologicznego „Wiara i teologia bliżej nas" (International Theological Congress „Bringing Faith and Theology Closer"), a w jego ramach organizacja Kongresu Teologów Krajów Trójmorza (Congress of Theologians of Tri-Seas Countries) oraz Forum Młodych (Youth Forum) i serii wydarzeń religijno--kulturalnych (KUL, Lublin 23–27.10.2023).
2. Organizacja Krajowej Konferencji Naukowej „Sąd Boży w Biblii", Wiosenne Dni Biblijne (KUL, Lublin 5.03.2024).
3. Referat: „Apocryphal Reception of the Biblical King Manasseh of Judah", XI International Biblical Conference „Bible and the Biblical Apocrypha. Translations, Interpretations and Reception" (Uniwersytet Wrocławski – Instytut Studiów Klasycznych, Śródziemnomorskich i Orientalnych, Ostrów Wielkopolski – Odolanów 16.05.2024).

Udział w szkoleniach

1. Warsztaty: „Metodyka dydaktyki pracy zdalnej" (KUL, Lublin 16.10 – 6.11.2023).
2. Seminario di aggiornamento per docenti e studiosi di Sacra Scrittura: „Bibbia nel contesto greco-romano" (Papieski Instytut Biblijny, Rzym 22–26.01.2024).

Recenzja wydawnicza artykułu naukowego

Studia Elbląskie (1 recenzja)

Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

1. Wykłady z Pisma św. w Gdańskim Seminarium Duchownym afiliowanym do UKSW w Warszawie: Księgi Mądrościowe Starego Testamentu, Ćwiczenia z Pisma św., Wprowadzenie do narratologii biblijnej, Czytanie Pisma św. jako słowa Bożego.
2. Wykłady z Pisma św. w Instytucie Teologicznym Archidiecezji Gdańskiej afiliowanym do UKSW w Warszawie: Wstęp ogólny do Pisma św., Historia starożytnego Izraela, Księgi Historyczne Starego Testamentu, Ewangelie synoptyczne, Ewangelia i Pisma Janowe, Listy św. Pawła.

Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Wykład „Biblijni mędrcy o wychowaniu dzieci", Telewizyjny Uniwersytet Biblijny (TV Trwam, Toruń 25.11.2023).
2. Wykład „Teologia historii w Księgach historycznych Starego Testamentu", Akademia Biblijna (Rzeszów 16.12.2023).
3. Wykład „Historiografia dydaktyczna w Księdze Estery i Księdze Rut", Akademia Biblijna (Rzeszów 13.01.2024).
4. Wykład „Wstęp do Biblii Hebrajskiej i do biblijnego języka hebrajskiego", Szkoła Biblijna „W Drodze do Emaus" przy Wyższym Seminarium Misyjnym Księży Sercanów (Stadniki 9.03.2024).
5. Wykład „Natchnienie Pisma świętego: Kto, komu, co i jak?" (parafia pw. św. Alberta Chmielowskiego, Lublin 15.04.2024).
6. Wykład „Dydaktyczne orędzie Księgi Rut", Telewizyjny Uniwersytet Biblijny (TV Trwam, Toruń 27.04.2024).
7. Opracowanie komentarzy do Ewangelii wg św. Jana publikowanych w serwisie eKAI w ramach Narodowego Czytania Pisma Świętego organizowanego przez Dzieło Biblijne im. św. Jana Pawła II.

Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje

1. Opiekun studentów jednego z roczników kierunku Teologia kurs B (KUL).
2. Certificato di Italiano come Lingua Straniera, Livello Tre (CILS 3): C1.
3. Pedagog Roku 2024 w kategorii „Złote Usta". Nagroda Samorządu Studentów Wydziału Teologii KUL JPII (Lublin 22.05.2024).

4. Członek zespołu redakcyjnego czasopisma z listy Scopus, *Verbum Vitae*, redaktor tematyczny (Stary Testament), redaktor językowy (j. angielski).
5. Członek zespołu ds. wdrożenia nowego kierunku „Studia biblijne" w Katolickim Uniwersytecie Lubelskim Jana Pawła II.
6. Członek Society of Biblical Literature.
7. Członek European Association of Biblical Studies.
8. Członek Stowarzyszenia Biblistów Polskich.

6. Ks. dr hab. Marcin Kowalski, prof. KUL

Monografie

The Spirit in Romans 8. Paul, the Stoics and Jewish Authors in Dialog (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2024).

Artykuł naukowy

„Profil zainteresowań biblijnych ks. Floriana Pilthowskiego (XVI w.)", *Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia* 16/4 (2023) 379–406.

Realizacja grantów naukowych

Realizacja zadania zleconego przez Ministerstwa Edukacji i Nauki, „Centrum A.J. Heschela, KUL 2022/2023".

Działalność sympozjalna

1. Referat: „The Abraham J. Heschel Center for Catholic-Jewish Relations at the Catholic University of Lublin: New Perspectives on the Development of Christian-Jewish Dialogue", The International Congress of Theologians of the Three Seas Countries (KUL Lublin 23–27.10.2023).
2. Referat: „Odkupione ciało jako przestrzeń nowego życia w Chrystusie", Katolicy a cielesność (Akademia Kultury Społecznej i Medialnej, Toruń 24–25.11.2023).
3. Referat: „Małżeństwo, celibat i etyka czasów mesjańskich według 1 Kor 7" (UKSW, Warszawa 9.01.2024).
4. Referat: „Świątynia jako metafora chrześcijanina i Kościoła w listach Pawła", Międzynarodowa Konferencja Naukowa „Oto przybytek Boga z ludźmi" (Ap 21,3). Idea świątyni i jej znaczenie w teologii i kulturze (AKW, Warszawa 14.05.2024).
5. Referat: „The Spirit in Romans 8: Paul, the Stoics, and Jewish Authors in Dialog", The 86th International Meeting of the Catholic Biblical Association of America (Catholic University of America, Waszyngton, USA, 1–6.08.2024).

Szkolenia, staże i kwerendy biblioteczne

1. Wizyta studyjna w Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, spotkania z prorektorami, dziekanami, profesorami, rabinami, przedstawicielami Bellarmine College, odpowiedzialnymi za studia filozoficzno-teologiczne (28.04 – 5.05.2024).
2. Udział w pracach Komitetu Redakcyjnego *Biblii Tysiąclecia*, przygotowanie 6 rewizji, listy Pawłowe (25–29.07.2024).
3. Udział w pracach Papieskiej Komisji Biblijnej, Watykan – opracowanie dokumentu na temat cierpienia w Biblii (7–13.04.2024).
4. Kwerenda biblioteczna w Papieskim Instytucie Biblijnym w Rzymie (8–13.04.2024).

Recenzja w postępowaniu, dotyczącym przyznawanego stopnia naukowego

Recenzja w postępowaniu habilitacyjnym ks. dr. hab. Romana Mazura (UPJP2, Kraków).

Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

1. *Religions* (1 recenzja).
2. *The Biblical Annals* (1 recenzja).
3. *Collectanea Theologica* (1 recenzja).
4. *Wrocławski Przegląd Teologiczny* (1 recenzja).
5. *Verbum Vitae* (1 recenzja).

Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

1. Wykłady z Listów Pawła (AKW, Warszawa, kwiecień – czerwiec 2024).
2. Cykl wykładów „Etyka seksualna św. Pawła" (Carmel, NY, sierpień 2024).

Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Programy telewizyjne w TV Trwam („Telewizyjny Uniwersytet Biblijny"), 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 sekcji „Nowy Testament" w czasopiśmie *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.
6. Członek Associazione ex-alunni del Pontificio Istituto Biblico w Rzymie.
7. Członek Stowarzyszenia Biblistów Polskich.
8. Członek Polskiego Towrzystwa Teologicznego.
9. Członek Society of Biblical Literature (SBL).
10. Członek European Association of Biblical Studies (EABS).

11. Członek Catholic Biblical Association of America (CBA).
12. Członek The Society for New Testament Studies (SNTS).

7. Ks. dr hab. Adam Kubiś, prof. KUL

Monografia

Jezus Oblubieniec. Metafora małżeńska w Ewangelii Janowej (Biblioteka Szkoły DABAR 6; Rzeszów: Bonus Liber 2023). Wyd. 1: ss. 159. Wyd. 2 (poprawione i poszerzone): ss. 177.

Książka pod redakcją

Krzysztof Bardski, *Pieśń nad Pieśniami. Wstęp, przekład, teksty paralelne, komentarz* (Biblia Lubelska; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2024).

Artykuły naukowe

1. „Wczesnochrześcijańskie prorokinie w Nowym Testamencie", *Studia Bydgoskie* 15 (2023) 70–93.
2. „Early Christian Prophetesses in the New Testament", *Polonia Sacra* 28/2 (2024) 7–30.

Realizacja grantów naukowych

1. Kierownik grantu w programie „Społeczna odpowiedzialność nauki" (październik 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" (wrzesień 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. Organizacja krajowego sympozjum „Kongres 966", Dom Wsparcia Rodziny przy Kolegiacie Rzymskokatolickiej Wszystkich Świętych w Kolbuszowej (27.08.2023).
2. Organizacja i prowadzenie międzynarodowego sympozjum „Colloquia Kolbuszoviensia. Christian and Jewish Conversations on Psalms. Psalms of Forgiveness" (Kolbuszowa 23.10.2023).
3. Organizacja i prowadzenie sesji angielskojęzycznej międzynarodowego sympozjum „Biblia Benedicti. Hermeneutical and Exegetical Legacy of Joseph Ratzinger/Benedict XVI" (KUL, online 25–26.10.2023).
4. Referat: „Doskonała miłość a lęk, sąd i kara. Wokół rozumienia 1J 4,18", Wiosenne Dni Biblijne „Sąd Boży w Biblii" (KUL, Lublin 5.03.2024).
5. Referat: „Kim był Syzyg z Flp 4,3?", konferencja międzynarodowa „Biblia Księgą Wiary (Instytut Teologiczny Archidiecezji Lwowskiej ob. łac. im. Św. Abp. Józefa Bilczewskiego

we Lwowie-Brzuchowicach – Instytut Nauk Biblijnych Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Papieskiego Jana Pawła II w Krakowie 9.03.2024).

6. Referat: „Between Literalism and Symbolism. Interpreting 'the tenth hour' in John 1:39", Annual Meeting of the European Association of Biblical Studies (Bułgaria, Sofia 15–18.07.2024).

Recenzja obronionej rozprawy doktorskiej

Agnieszka Blanka Ziemińska, *Ekologiczna perspektywa Nowego Testamentu – w kierunku interpretacji integralnej* (UPJP II, Kraków 26.06.2024). Promotor: ks. dr hab. Stanisław Witkowski MS.

Promocje prac licencjackich

1. Stanisław Paprocki, *Starotestamentowe tło narracji o powołaniu Natanaela (J 1,42–51)* (KUL, Lublin 30.05.2023).

2. Halina Pelc, *Czy rzeczywiście Jezus nakazuje nienawiść? Znaczenie czasownika μισέω w Łk 14,26* (KUL, Lublin 13.05.2024).

Recenzje wydawnicze książek

1. Roman Mazur*, Analiza retoryczna Listu do Kolosan. Część dogmatyczna – Kol 1, 1–2,5* (Kraków: Sumus 2024).

2. *Contextuality of the Bible in Lithuania until the End of the Eighteenth Century* (red. K. Rutkovska – R. Pietkiewicz) (Eastern and Central European Voices 8; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2024).

Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

1. *Biblica et Patristica Thorunensia* (1 recenzja).
2. *Religions* (1 recenzja).
3. *Polonia Sacra* (1 recenzja).
4. *Poznańskie Studia Teologiczne* (1 recenzja).

Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

1. Cykl wykładów: „Ewangelie synoptyczne" (WSD Rzeszów, 45 godzin).
2. Cykl wykładów: „Literatura prorocka ST" (WSD Rzeszów, 45 godzin).
3. Cykl wykładów: „Wprowadzenie do lektury Pisma Świętego" (WSD Rzeszów, 60 godzin).
4. Cykl wykładów: „Wiara w Biblii" (Instytut Wyższych Studiów Teologicznych w Rzeszowie, 2 godziny).
5. Cykl wykładów: „Chrystologia czterech Ewangelii kanonicznych" (Instytut Wyższych Studiów Teologicznych w Rzeszowie, 2 godziny).
6. Cykl wykładów: „Mariologia biblijna" (Instytut Wyższych Studiów Teologicznych w Rzeszowie, 2 godziny).

7. Wykład: „Oblubieniec spotyka swoją Oblubienicę (J 1–4). Metafora małżeńska w pierwszej części Ewangelii Janowej" (Polskie Towarzystwo Teologiczne w Krakowie, oddział w Rzeszowie 4.12.2023).

8. Cykl wykładów: „Wprowadzenie do Ewangelii Janowej" (Dominikańskie Studium Filozoficzno-Teologiczne w Krakowie 10.02.2024, 6 godzin).

9. Cykl wykładów: „Egzegeza wybranych tekstów z Ewangelii Janowej" (Dominikańskie Studium Filozoficzno-Teologiczne w Krakowie 15.06.2024, 6 godzin).

10. Wykład: „Jezus życiem. Konsekwencje tej tezy dla życia i misji członków Ruchu Focolare" (6.05.2024).

11. Cykl wykładów: „Geografia biblijna" (Instytut Wyższych Studiów Teologicznych w Rzeszowie 1.08.2024, 5 godzin).

12. Cykl wykładów: „Archeologia biblijna" (Instytut Wyższych Studiów Teologicznych w Rzeszowie 8.08.2024, 5 godzin).

Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. „Antropomorfizmy w Biblii" (Polskie Radio Rzeszów 11.01.2024).

2. „Pasja Jezusa a Umiłowany Uczeń" (Polskie Radio Via 30.03.2024).

3. „Współczesne tłumaczenia Biblii na język polski" (Polskie Radio Via 13.04.2024).

4. Warsztaty biblijne „Pascha Jezusa wg Mateusza Ewangelisty" (Dom Diecezjalny „Tabor", Rzeszów 16–18.02.2024, 4 godziny).

5. Organizator i prowadzący warsztaty biblijne „Apokalipsa" w Turcji Zachodniej i na greckiej wyspie Patmos w ramach Szkoły DABAR (28.06 – 9.07.2024, 10 godzin).

6. Organizator i współprowadzący warsztaty biblijne „Szlakiem pierwszej wyprawy misyjnej Pawła i Barnaby w Turcji Południowej" (Turcja 16–27.08.2024, 5 godzin wykładów, 11 prelekcji).

7. Warsztaty biblijne „Korepetycje z Turcji: Wyprawy św. Pawła", 4 wykłady na temat egzegezy Dz 13–14 i 20 w ramach projektu Szkoła DABAR (Dom Diecezjalny „Tabor", Rzeszów 13–15.09.2024).

Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje

1. Redaktor naczelny kwartalnika *Verbum Vitae* (Wydawnictwo KUL).

2. Redaktor naczelny serii Lublin Theological Studies (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

3. Redaktor naczelny serii Biblia Lubelska (Wydawnictwo KUL).

4. Redaktor serii Biblioteka Szkoły DABAR (Rzeszów: Bonus Liber).

5. Wiceprezes Stowarzyszenia na Rzecz Wspierania Biblistyki „Verbum Sacrum".

6. Członek Zespołu ds. Umiędzynarodowienia na Wydziale Teologii KUL.

7. Członek Uniwersyteckiej Komisji Wydawniczej KUL (od 16.03.2023).

8. Członek Rady Naukowej „Wrocławskiego Przeglądu Teologicznego" (od 2024).

9. Dyrektor Akademii Biblijnej Diecezji Rzeszowskiej.

10. Moderator Szkoły DABAR.

11. Sekretarz Komisji Habilitacyjnej w sprawie nadania ks. dr. Arnoldowi Zawadzkiemu stopnia doktora habilitowanego w dziedzinie nauk teologicznych, w dyscyplinie nauki biblijne (Instytut Nauk Biblijnych KUL, styczeń 2024).

8. Dr hab. Krzysztof Mielcarek, prof. KUL

Monografia

Ierusalem or Hierosolyma. Exploring the Semitic and Hellenistic onomastic Notions in Luke's Work (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2023).

Rozdziały w monografiach lub podręcznikach

1. „Ecclesiological Insights into The Church: Towards a Common Vision Based on the International Catholic–Pentecostal Dialogues", *Towards a Global Vision of the Church Volume. II. Explorations on Global Christianity and Ecclesiology* (red. C.M. Robeck – S. Boukis, Jr. – A. Ghazaryan Drissi) (Faith and Order Commission Papers 239; Geneva: WCC 2023) 3–12.

2. „Ministry in the Church: A Catholic Reading of Some Ecclesial Aspects in The Church: Towards a Common Vision", *Towards a Global Vision of the Church*. II. *Explorations on Global Christianity and Ecclesiology* (red. C.M. Robeck – S. Boukis, Jr. – A. Ghazaryan Drissi) (Faith and Order Commission Papers 239; Geneva: WCC 2023) 231–239.

3. „Baptism in Water and Baptism in the Spirit", *Towards a Global Vision of the Church*. II. *Explorations on Global Christianity and Ecclesiology* (red. C.M, Robeck – S. Boukis, Jr. – A. Ghazaryan Drissi) (Faith and Order Commission Papers 239; Geneva: WCC 2023) 247–256.

Artykuł naukowy

„Ojciec na ziemi i Ojciec w niebie", *Zeszyty Naukowe Stowarzyszenia Biblistów Polskich* 21(2024) 89–103.

Artykuły popularnonaukowe

1. „Święta i tradycje biblijne: Święto Losów - Purim", *Krąg Biblijny* 53 (2024) 95–101.
2. „Święta i tradycje biblijne: Kalendarz starożytnego Izraela w świetle tradycji pozabiblijnych", *Krąg Biblijny* 54 (2024) 91–98.
3. „Instytucje religijne Izraela: Wstęp", *Krąg Biblijny* 55 (2024) 128–136.

Realizacja grantu naukowego

Grant z programu Ministerstwa Edukacji i Nauki „Doskonała Nauka": aktualizacja, tłuma-czenie i publikacja monografii naukowej: *Jerusalem or Hierosolyma. Exploring the Semitic*

and Hellenistic onomastic Notions in Luke's Work (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2023) (zakończenie grantu w grudniu 2023).

Działalność sympozjalna

1. Udział w dyskusji panelowej na konferencji międzynarodowej: „Pentecostals in Bilateral Dialogues with Other Churches" (Geneva 14.12.2023, online).
2. Wystąpienie i dyskusja panelowa: „Biblijna koncepcja rzeczywistości ziemskich", 56. Tydzień Eklezjologiczny „Kościół i Państwo – razem czy osobno?".

Promocje obronionych prac magisterskich

1. Jan Smaga OP, „*Natychmiast przejrzał i szedł za nim drogą". Model uczniostwa w narracji o Bartymeuszu (Mk 10,46–52). Studium egzegetyczno-teologiczne* (Kolegium Filozoficzno-Teologiczne Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów – Kraków, afiliowane do Collegium Bobolanum – Warszawa).
2. Rafał Hawryluk OFMCap, *Teksty Mateusza (Mt 19,21; Mt 16,24; Mt 10,37) w Regule niezatwierdzonej świętego Franciszka z Asyżu* (KUL, Lublin).

Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

1. Referat: „Ojciec na ziemi wobec Ojca w niebie według Łukasza Ewangelisty" (Zgromadzenie Ojcow Duchownych Wyższych Seminariow Duchownych Diecezjalnych i Zakonnych, Poznań 29–31.08.2024).
2. Cykl wykładów: „Ewangelie Synoptyczne" (Kolegium Filozoficzno-Teologiczne Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów, Kraków).
3. Cykl wykładów: „Historia zbawienia" (Kolegium Filozoficzno-Teologiczne Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów, Warszawa).
4. Cykl wykładów: „Wprowadzenie do Pięcioksięgu" (Kurs Formacji Biblijnej, KUL, Lublin).
5. Cykl wykładów: „Wprowadzenie do Pisma Świętego" (Studium Dominicanum, Warszawa).
6. Cykl wykładów: „Wstęp do Pisma Świętego" (Dominikańskie Studium Filozofii i Teologii, Kraków).
7. Cykl wykładów: „Ewangelia św. Łukasza" (Studium Dominicanum, Warszawa).
8. Cykl wykładów: „Ewangelia św. Łukasza" (Dominikańskie Studium Filozofii i Teologii, Kraków).

Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Cykl wykładów dla wspólnoty Chemin Neuf: „Znaczenie Pisma Świętego w życiu chrześcijanina" (Wesoła 7.03.2024).
2. Warsztaty biblijne: „Szlakiem pierwszej wyprawy misyjnej Pawła i Barnaby w Turcji Południowej" (Turcja 16–27.08.2024).

Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje

1. Redaktor sekcji „Nowy Testament" w czasopiśmie *The Biblical Annals*.
2. Członek Rady Szkoły Doktorskiej KUL (z ramienia INB).

9. Ks dr. Krzysztof Napora SCJ

Rozdział w monografii

„Księga Wyjścia", *Komentarz do Księgi Rodzaju, Księgi Wyjścia, Księgi Kapłańskiej, Księgi Liczb, Księgi powtórzonego Prawa* (Komentarz Teologiczno-pastoralny do Biblii Tysiąclecia 1; Poznań: Pallotinum 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.

Działalność sympozjalna

1. Referat: „Przebite Serce jako klucz hermeneutyczny Objawienia Biblijnego", konferencja „Serce Pana Jezusa w teologii, przestrzeni społecznej i kulturze" (Lublin 17.11.2023).
2. Referat: „«Począwszy od Mojżesza...». Zapowiedzi mesjańskie w Pięcioksięgu", konferencja „Hermeneutyka w drodze" (Kraków 9.05.2024).
3. Referat: „«A może jest jeszcze nadzieja?» (Lam 3,29). Nadzieja w Księdze Lamentacji", konferencja „Księga Lamentacji – orędzie, interpretacja i recepcja" (Warszawa 15.05.2024).
4. Referat: „Temporal Organization of the Cosmos in the Priestly Creation Narrative (Gen 1,1–2,4a)", EABS Annual Conference (15–19.07.2024).

Promocja obronionych prac magisterskich

1. Szymon Szubarczyk, *Rdzeń* נחם *w Księdze Psalmów. Studium egzegetyczno-teologiczne*, (UPJPII, Kraków).
2. Mateusz Zawiłowicz, *Bóg jako podmiot miłości w Pierwszym Liście św. Jana Apostoła i koncepcji dialogicznej Martina Bubera* (UPJPII, Kraków).

Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

1. Wykłady z Pięcioksięgu (Wyższe Seminarium Misyjne Księży Sercanów, Stadniki 10.2023 – 02.2024).
2. Wykłady z Księgi Psalmów (Wyższe Seminarium Misyjne Księży Sercanów, Stadniki, 02.2024 – 06.2024).
3. Wykłady z Ksiąg Prorockich (Studium Teologiczne Ojców Paulinów, Kraków, rok akademicki 2023/2024).

4. Zajęcia na temat Prehistorii biblijnej (Rdz 1–11) dla Szkoły Biblijnej w Warszawie (18.11.2023).
5. Wykłady na temat Pięcioksięgu dla Szkoły Biblijnej w Chełmie (9.12.2023).

Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Konferencje teologiczno-pastoralne w Bełchatowie (17–19.12.2023).
2. Konferencje teologiczno-pastoralne w Brzostówce (22–24.12.2023).
3. Wykłady biblijno-pastoralne dla ss. Betanek (Kazimierz Dolny, 29.01 – 2.02.2024).
4. Konferencje teologiczno-pastoralne w Binczarowej (7–10.03.2024).
5. Wykłady biblijno-pastoralne dla Duszpasterstwa Talent (Kazimierz Dolny 22–24.03.2024).

Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje

Sekretarz Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL.

10. Ks. dr hab. Andrzej Piwowar, prof. KUL

Artykuły naukowe

1. „Ben Sira's Idea on the Role and Tasks of the Physician in the Process of Healing the Sick (Sir 38:12–13)", *Biblical Annals* 1 (2024) 47–76.
2. „«Powiadam ci: Dziś będziesz ze mną w raju» (Łk 23,43). Czy tłumaczenie słów Jezusa jest poprawne i właściwe?", *Collectanea Theologica* 94/3 (2024) 37–67.

Szkolenia, staże i kwerendy biblioteczne

Staż naukowy na Papieskim Uniwersytecie Gregoriańskim i Biblicum pod kierunkiem prof. Nurii Benages-Calduch (25.10 – 29.11.2024).

Recenzja wydawnicza książki

K. Porosło (red.), *Jestem z wami. Eucharystyczna obecność i ofiara* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo św. Stanisława 2024).

Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

1. *Collectanea Theologica* (2 recenzje).
2. *Biblica et Patristica Thorunensia* (1 recenzja).
3. *Wrocławski Przegląd Teologiczny* (1 recenzja).

Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

Zajęcia z języka greckiego dla słuchaczy Kursu Formacji Biblijnej (Lublin).

Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje

1. Zastępca redaktora naczelnego *Verbum Vitae*.
2. Członek Rady Doskonałości Naukowej.
3. Członek Uniwersyteckiej Komisji ds. Oceny grantów z Komponentem Międzynarodowym.
4. Członek Komisji Grantowej Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL.
5. Członek Komisji Dyscyplinarnej ds. Pracowników.
6. Przewodniczący komisji habilitacyjnej z ramienia RDN w postępowaniu habilitacyjnym ks. dr. Romana Mazura (UPJPII, Kraków).

11. Ks. prof. dr hab. Stefan Szymik MSF

Monografia

Anti-Epicurean Polemics in the New Testament Writings (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2023).

Rozdział w monografii

„Ewangelista Łukasz a tradycja Janowa. Mało znany wynik badań nad źródłami trzeciej Ewangelii", *„I dam wam serce nowe". Księga pamiątkowa dla o. prof. dr. hab. Andrzeja S. Jasińskiego OFM z okazji 70. rocznicy urodzin* (red. J. Bosowski – A. Demitrów – Ł. Florczyk) (Opolska Biblioteka Teologiczna 181; Opole: Redakcja Wydawnictw Wydziału Teologicznego UO/Uniwersytet Opolski [UNI Opole] 2023) 293–306.

Artykuł naukowy

„Biblijne świadectwa o godności Maryi w *lex orandi* Kościoła", *Verbum Vitae* 42/3 (2024) 669–688.

Realizacja grantu naukowego

Projekt realizowany w ramach programu Doskonała nauka – Wsparcie monografii naukowych: „Problem polemiki antyepikurejskiej w pismach Nowego Testamentu" (projekt zakończony15.05.2024).

Działalność sympozjalna

1. Współorganizator międzynarodowego sympozjum biblijnego: „*Biblia Benedicti*. Hermeneutical and Exegetical Legacy of Joseph Ratzinger/Benedict XVI (KUL, Lublin 25–26.10.2023, online).
2. Referat: „Biblijne źródła Tradycji apostolskiej Kościoła w nauczaniu Józefa Ratzingera/Benedykta XVI" („Biblical Roots of the Church's Apostolic Tradition in the Teaching of Joseph Ratzinger/Benedict XVI"). Sympozjum międzynarodowe "*Biblia Benedicti*.

Hermeneutical and Exegetical Legacy of Joseph Ratzinger/Benedict XVI (KUL, Lublin 25–26.10.2023, online).

Kwerenda biblioteczna

Fachbereichsbibliothek Theologie (Universitätsbibliothek der Universität Wien, Wiedeń 8–12.07.2024).

Recenzja wydawnicza książki

P. Ostański, *Bibliografia biblistyki polskiej*. 8–9. *2018–2021* (Series bibliographica 5; Poznań: WT UAM 2024).

Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

1. *Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne Śląska Opolskiego* (1 recenzja).
2. *Verbum Vitae* (6 recenzji).

Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

1. Wykłady z Nowego Testamentu: „Pisma Janowe"(Kazimierz Biskupi, Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne Misjonarzy Świętej Rodziny, oddział zamiejscowy Wydziału Teologii UAM w Poznaniu, 30 godzin).
2. Wykłady z metodologii biblijnej: „Metody interpretacji Pisma Świętego", Kurs Formacji Biblijnej Archidiecezji Lubelskiej (16 godzin).

Działania popularyzujące Biblię

Wykład biblijny dla Rodzin Kościoła Domowego: „Polskie współczesne przekłady Pisma Świętego, ich wartość naukowa i znaczenie duszpasterskie" (Lublin – Rudniki 7.09.2024).

Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje

Sekretarz „Stowarzyszenia na rzecz Wspierania Biblistyki *Verbum Sacrum*" (od 2020).

12. Ks. prof. dr hab. Henryk Witczyk

Artykuł naukowy

„Promotor nauk biblijnych i animator dialogu z judaizmem w Polsce – Ksiądz Profesor Ryszard Rubinkiewicz", *The Biblical Annals*, 14/3 (2024) 377–393.

Realizacja grantów naukowych

1. Upowszechnienie wiedzy – projekt NPRH (Toruń 2.04.2024).
2. Upowszechnienie wiedzy – projekt NPRH (Toruń 11.10.2024).

Promocje obronionych prac magisterskich

Emilian Wolski, *Rola Parakleta i Ducha Prawdy we wspólnocie uczniów Jezusa* (KUL, Lublin 18.05.2024).

Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Udział w pracach Komitetu Redakcyjnego *Biblii Tysiąclecia*, przygotowanie 6 rewizji tekstu BT: Pięcioksiąg; listy Pawłowe (20–21.02.2024 oraz 25–29.07.2024).
2. Redakcja *Przeglądu Biblijnego* – Materiały na XVII Tydzień Biblijny i VII Narodowe Czytanie Pisma Świętego (22.04 – 28.04.2024).
3. Wykłady w Katedrze Teologii Biblijnej w ramach Telewizyjnego Uniwersytetu Biblijnego (TV Trwam). Temat realizowany: „Historia i teologia ukrzyżowania, pogrzebu i zmartwychwstania Jezusa Chrystusa (J 19–21)". Dni realizacji:
   – 12.10.2024 – Katedra Teologii Biblijnej (ks. prof. H. Witczyk – ks. dr A. Kwaśniewski);
   – 9.11.2024 – Katedra Teologii Biblijnej (ks. prof. H. Witczyk – ks. dr A. Kwaśniewski);
   – 14.12.2024 – Katedra Teologii Biblijnej (ks. prof. H. Witczyk – ks. dr A. Kwaśniewski);
   – 11.01.2025 – Katedra Teologii Biblijnej (ks. prof. Henryk Witczyk – ks. dr Stanisław Sadowski);
   – 25.01.2025 – Katedra Teologii Biblijnej (ks. prof. H. Witczyk – ks. dr Stanisław Sadowski);
   – 8.03.2025 – Katedra Teologii Biblijnej (ks. prof. H. Witczyk – ks. dr Stanisław Sadowski).
4. Audycje w Radiu Maryja („Szukając Słowa Bożego"; 1.10.2024 – 15.03.2025).

13. Ks. dr hab. Arnold Zawadzki

Osiągnięcia naukowe

Uzyskanie stopnia naukowego doktora habilitowanego w dziedzinie nauki teologiczne w dyscyplinie nauk biblijnych na podstawie osiągnięcia naukowego „Żydzi w poszukiwaniu własnej tożsamości w dobie wielkich przemian społeczno-religijnych w latach 530–440 przed Chr. na podstawie tekstów prorockich Deutero-Izajasza, Malachiasza i Trito-Izajasza (Iz 55,1–5; Ml 3,1–5; Ml 2,1–9; Iz 56–57)" (KUL, Lublin 30.01.2024).

Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

1. *Wrocławski Przegląd Teologiczny* (2 recenzje).
2. *Biblica et Patristica* (1 recenzja).

Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

1. Wykłady: „Pisma Janowe" (WSD w Łodzi, WSD dla Starszych Kandydatów do Kapłaństwa, WSD *Redemptoris Mater*, WSD oo. franciszkanów OFMConv.).
2. Wykłady: „Pisma Pawłowe" (WSD w Łodzi, WSD dla Starszych Kandydatów do Kapłaństwa, WSD *Redemptoris Mater*, WSD oo. franciszkanów OFMConv.).
3. Wykłady: „Ewangelie Synoptyczne" (WSD w Łodzi, WSD dla Starszych Kandydatów do Kapłaństwa, WSD *Redemptoris Mater*, WSD oo. franciszkanów OFMConv.).
4. Wykłady: „Księgi mądrościowe Starego Testamentu" (WSD w Łodzi, WSD dla Starszych Kandydatów do Kapłaństwa, WSD *Redemptoris Mater*, WSD oo. franciszkanów OFMConv.)
5. Wykłady: „Język hebrajski" (WSD w Łodzi, WSD dla Starszych Kandydatów do Kapłaństwa, WSD *Redemptoris Mater*).
6. Wykłady: „Teologia i hermeneutyka biblijna" (WSD w Łodzi, WSD dla Starszych Kandydatów do Kapłaństwa, WSD *Redemptoris Mater*, WSD oo. franciszkanów OFMConv.).
7. Seminarium naukowe z biblistyki dla magistrantów: Księga Koheleta, Księga Ozeasza, Pierwszy List do Koryntian (WSD w Łodzi, WSD dla Starszych Kandydatów do Kapłaństwa, WSD *Redemptoris Mater*).

Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje

1. Zastępca redaktora naczelnego *The Biblical Annals*.
2. Redaktor działu „Stary i Nowy Testament" w *Łódzkich Studiach Teologicznych*.
3. Wiceprzewodniczący Komisji przy KEP ds. Rewizji Starego Testamentu *Biblii Tysiąclecia* (6 wydanie).
4. Redaktor odpowiedzialny za rewizję Ksiąg XII Proroków Mniejszych w *Biblii Tysiąclecia* (6 wydanie).

14. Ks. dr Marcin Zieliński

Monografia

Księga Mądrości. Wstęp, przekład, teksty paralelne i komentarz (Biblia Lubelska; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2023).

Artykuł naukowy

„Grzech i cnota w Księdze Mądrości jako konsekwencja fundamentalnego wyboru między śmiercią a Mądrością", *Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia* 4 (2023) 437–452.

Recenzja wydawnicza artykułu naukowego
The Biblical Annals (1 recenzja)

Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Organizacja Ogólnopolskiego Konkursu Biblijnego dla Kleryków 2024.
2. Organizacja warsztatów biblijnych dla studentów pod egidą INB KUL oraz Centrum Heschela w Bieszczadach (9–16.09.2024).
3. Wykłady w Chełmskiej Szkole Biblijnej.
4. Wykład dla członków „Civitas Christiana" w Lublinie.
5. Wykłady na Kursie Formacji Biblijnej w Lublinie.
6. Wykłady w Telewizyjnym Uniwersytecie Biblijnym (TV Trwam, Toruń).
7. Konferencje radiowe „W poszukiwaniu Słowa Bożego" (Radio Maryja, Toruń).
8. Pisanie komentarzy biblijnych oraz dodawanie innych treści do aplikacji Dzieło Biblijne (teksty paralelne, komentarz Ojców Kościoła, teksty Magisterium, ciekawostki, zdjęcia) i zarządzanie aplikacją.

Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje

1. Redaktor sekcji „Artykuły recenzyjne i recenzje" w czasopiśmie *The Biblical Annals*.
2. Członkostwo w Catholic Biblical Federation.

Podsumowanie statystyczne

Podsumowując powyższą działalność w roku akademickim 2023/2024, można zauważyć, że w wyniku aktywności poszczególnych pracowników Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL powstało:
– 7 monografii naukowych,
– 4 książki pod redakcją,
– 7 rozdziałów w monografiach,
– 17 artykułów naukowych,
– 12 artykułów popularnonaukowych,
– 24 wygłoszone referaty na sympozjach naukowych (zarówno krajowych, jak i międzynarodowych),
– 6 obronionych prac magisterskich,
– 9 recenzji wydawniczych książek,
– 52 recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych.