The Biblical Annals

The Biblical Annals

volume 15 (72) no. 3

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Table of Contents

Articles

Review

Articles

The Origin and Narrative Function of the Conquest of the Land (2 Kgs 17:5a) in the Account of the Fall of Samaria (2 Kgs 17:3–6)

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Abstract: The conquest of the land in 2 Kgs 17:5 is the key element in the account of the fall of Samaria (2 Kgs 17:3–6). The source analysis of this verse leads to the conclusion that its shorter version, witnessed by the Old Latin *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis* (La[115]) where the conquest of the land is not mentioned, may be the oldest recoverable form of this text, allowing for the reconstruction of the true Old Greek text and its Hebrew *Vorlage*, in this regard alternative to the longer version attested to by the Masoretic text. The survey on the possible reasons underlying the postulated textual expansion in 2 Kgs 17:5[MT] indicates that the mention of the attack on the entire country adds drama to the events narrated, emphasises the totality of the Assyrian invasion, and makes the capture of Samaria more significant. In contrast, the *lectio brevior* of the OL appears to be less dramatic and somehow 'flat' from the narrative point of view. In this way the narrative of the *lectio longior* takes on an increasingly anti-Samarian tone disclosing possible pragmatic motives underlying postulated textual expansions. Historical contextualisation of the events narrated in 2 Kgs 17:5[MT] completes the picture, which seems to be much more complex than the straightforward biblical narrative would suggest. The final literary context in which these events are narrated indicates that the biblical editor is mostly interested in theodicy to depict the total defeat of Samaria and the definitive end of the Kingdom of Israel in theological terms. In this regard, the remark about the conquest of the land in the MT, in later Greek versions, and the Targum, intensifies the anti-Samarian rhetoric of the biblical text in comparison with those textual versions which do not mention it (OL and several Greek testimonies).

Keywords: Books of Kings, fall of Samaria, Assyria, Shalmaneser V (King), Sargon II (King), Assyrian invasions, *Critica Textus*

The tragic end of the Northern Kingdom is undoubtedly one of the most important events in the history of ancient Israel. The biblical author devotes much space to its theological interpretation (cf. 2 Kgs 17:7–23),[1] presenting the fall of Samaria as God's punishment for religious apostasy in Israel and idolatrous worship at Bethel and Dan sanctuaries, which were introduced by Jeroboam (1 Kgs 12:28–32) and which never ceased thereafter (the so-called 'sins of Jeroboam', cf. e.g. 1 Kgs 15:30, 34; 16:31; 2 Kgs 3:3; 10:31; 14:24; 15:9, 18, 24, 28; 17:21–22).[2] However, the events themselves, i.e. the Assyrian conquest of Israel's

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1   On an alternative explanation of the fall of the Northern Kingdom based on the narrative dynamics in 2 Kgs 15, see P. Dubovský, "Why Did the Northern Kingdom Fall According to 2 Kings 15?," *Bib* 95/3 (2014) 321–346.

2   N. Lovell argues that the narrative unit of 2 Kgs 17:7–23 summarises the history of idolatrous worship in Israel and Judah to provide the text with the theological reason for the series of Assyrian invasions in

lands and its capital Samaria, are reported very briefly with only one verse (2 Kgs 17:5).[3] All the more so, this single verse seems crucial for understanding the dynamics of the events it refers to, and their historical contextualisation. In this regard, the fact that some Greek and Latin sources preserved a shorter version of this verse, omitting the information about the Assyrian invasion of the land of Israel – present in the Masoretic text (MT) in 2 Kgs 17:5a – but mentioning the attack on Samaria only and its three-year siege (2 Kgs 17:5bc), inspired and at the same time intrigued the author of this paper to explore the matter further. In fact, this textual peculiarity led the author to raise questions about the originality of this biblical remark; namely, whether it may be considered as primary or secondary.

The first part of this paper is devoted to finding an answer to this question. It focuses on a detailed textual criticism through an analysis of all available ancient sources and a literary analysis of 2 Kgs 17:5 in its co-text (2 Kgs 17:1–6). Although many studies, including historical-critical ones,[4] have been conducted on the text in question, there are no accounts in the literature discussing this matter in depth and in a comprehensive way in an attempt to trace all possible stages of the history of this text transmission. In this respect, this paper fills a gap in historical-critical studies on 2 Kgs 17:5.

The query about the source and origin of the biblical remark concerning the invasion of the entire country in 2 Kgs 17:5a[MT] prompts further questions. If it is true that it is secondary in nature, and therefore was not part of the oldest recoverable form of this text, one can consider the purpose of adding it to the story of the fall of Samaria. Thus, it seems crucial to discover the pragmatic narrative function it plays in the unfolding plot of 2 Kgs 17:1–6. This in turn allows us to propose a hypothesis about possible motives for including this narrative thread in the story. In this respect, the juxtaposition of the results of the text-critical and narrative analyses is enlightening, as it provides insights into possible reasons that may have prompted the editor to re-elaborate this text. Therefore, the narrative analysis of the pericope provides us with a new perspective in interpreting the mention of the Assyrian conquest of the land of Samaria.

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the late 8th c. BCE, and the different fates of both kingdoms; see N. Lovell, "A Text-Linguistic Approach to the Literary Structure and Coherence of 2 Kings 17:7–23," *VT* 68/2 (2018) 220–231. On this passage, see also S.-C. Chang, "Understanding the Fall of Israel," *Korean Journal of Christian Studies* 60 (2008) 5–23.

3   The whole chapter 2 Kgs 17 is interested mostly in the theology of history and not in the exact reconstruction of historical events. It is evident when the striking disproportion between the reports of historical events and the theological comments on them is considered. Cf. T.R. Hobbs, *2 Kings* (WBC 13; Waco, TX: Word Books Publisher 1985) 224–225; R.H. Dilday, *1, 2 Kings* (CCS.OT 9; Dallas, TX – London – Vancouver – Melbourne: Word Publishing 1987) 419; P.A. Viviano, "2 Kings 17: A Rhetorical and Form-Critical Analysis," *CBQ* 49 (1987) 548–550; I.W. Provan, *1 & 2 Kings* (OTG 11; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1997) 53–54.

4   See, e.g., P. Torijano Morales, "Textual Criticism and the Text-Critical Edition of IV Regnorum: The Case of 17,2–6," *After Qumran. Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts – The Historical Books* (eds. H. Ausloos – B. Lemmelijn – J. Trebolle Barrera) (BETL 246; Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA: Peeters 2012) 195–211; J.M. Robker, "Samaria's Downfall in the Versions: The Masoretic Text, Vaticanus, and the So-Called Lucianic Recension," *XVI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Stellenbosch, 2016* (eds. G.R. Kotzé – W. Kraus – M.N. van der Meer) (SCS 71; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2019) 133–144; T.T. Tekoniemi, *The Textual History of 2 Kings 17* (BZAW 536; Berlin – Boston, MA: De Gruyter 2021).

The historical contextualisation and the attempt to reconstruct the narrated events complement the research on 2 Kgs 17:5. Although there are more questions than answers regarding this matter, and the multitude of hypotheses put forward ignites scholarly discussions on the topic, the analyses conducted allow possible solutions to be proposed. Referring to the extra-biblical sources and the historical realities of the era in which the narrated events should be placed allow us to look at the campaign against the land of Israel from the perspective of the Assyrians' art of war, by adding and explaining what escapes narrative analysis alone.

Such a threefold approach to the problem – through the text-critical, narrative, and historical analyses – sheds new light on the understanding of the episode in question and on the complex history of its textual transmission.

1. *Critica Textus*: In Search for the Most Original Recoverable Reading of 2 Kgs 17:5

The transmission history of each biblical text may be traced back by a careful analysis of sources (external criticism), allowing for a reconstruction of individual stages of its composition. In the case under examination, a critical study of all available textual versions of 2 Kgs 17:5 (Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Latin, and other ancient testimonies) and their mutual comparison is the key to formulating a hypothesis on the oldest recoverable form of the text, postulated as the closest to the original. In this respect, the criteria of literary analysis of the text (internal criticism) ought to be taken into account as well, especially when it comes to explaining the differences between individual text versions and the chronology of their formation.

1.1. Hebrew and Aramaic Readings

The starting point for the analyses is the examination of the Hebrew text itself. The first observation to be made is that none of only few fragments of the Book of Kings found at Qumran contains 2 Kgs 17:5.[5] Therefore, the only Hebrew textual tradition transmitting the studied pericope that we have full access to is the Masoretic tradition. In this regard, the Masoretic text of 2 Kgs 17:5 (MT) as witnessed by the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (*BHS*)[6]

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5   There were found only remains of three manuscripts of the Book of Kings at Qumran: 4Q54 consisting of five small pieces comprising the text of 1 Kgs 7:20–21 (fragm. no. 1), 7:25–27 (fragm. no. 2), 7:29–31 (fragm. no. 3–4), 7:29–42 (fragm. no. 5); 5Q2 comprising the text of 1 Kgs 1:1.16–17.27–37 and 6Q4 consisting of the 17 defined pieces (besides the 77 other undefined pieces) comprising the text of 1 Kgs 3:12–14 (fragm. no. 1); 12:28–31 (fragm. no. 2–4); 22:28–31 (fragm. no. 5); 2 Kgs 5:26 (fragm. no. 6–7); 6:32 (fragm. no. 8–9); 7:8–10 (fragm. no. 10–14); 7:20–8:5 (fragm. no. 15); 9:1–2 (fragm. no 16); 10:19–21 (fragm. no. 17). Cf. J.T. Milik – M. Baillet – R. de Vaux (eds.), *The Discoveries in the Judean Desert III. Qumran Cave 5 and 6* (Oxford: Clarendon 1962); E. Ulrich – F. Moore Cross (eds.), *The Discoveries in the Judean Desert XIV. Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon 1995).

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

is uniform in all known Hebrew manuscripts which present the same reading, as follows: וַיַּעַל מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ וַיַּעַל שֹׁמְרוֹן וַיָּצַר עָלֶיהָ שָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים 'the king of Assyria marched up throughout the whole country, attacked Samaria and besieged it (for) three years.' Consequently, little can be said about the origins and the history of the text transmission, if one relies on the MT only. Nonetheless, a certain literary peculiarity may be observed in 2 Kgs 17:5[MT], namely, a double occurrence of the verbal form וַיַּעַל '(he) marched up/attacked', used once in reference to בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ 'throughout the whole country', and again to שֹׁמְרוֹן 'Samaria'. As it will be shown later, this repetition is an interesting hint to be taken into account while reconstructing the transmission history of the text under examination within the Greek tradition in search of the Hebrew *Vorlage* underlying the Old Greek (OG) form of this text.

The textual situation with regard to 2 Kgs 17:5 in the Aramaic (Targumic) tradition is similarly simple and devoid of major interpretative difficulties. The Aramaic rendering of this verse in the *Targum of Jonathan* (*Tg. J.*) is very close to the MT and does not diverge from it except for one detail (see below): וסליק מלכא דאתור בכל ארעא וסליק לשומרון וצר עלה תלת שנין 'the king of Assyria marched up throughout the whole country, reached Samaria and besieged it (for) three years.'[7] This Aramaic rendering is concurrent to the Hebrew text, and with regard to the translation technique, it may be considered as a verbatim word-for-word translation of the MT, with (almost) every single morphosyntactic feature rendered by set translation equivalents. The only deviation from this pattern is the occurrence of the preposition ל modifying שומרון (in the MT there is no preposition). The rendering לשומרון 'to Samaria' is attested by the majority (nine of ten) Aramaic testimonies consulted in the critical edition of this Targum by A. Sperber.[8] Only one source, referred to by Sperber as 'f', attests the non-preposition phrase שומרון as it occurs in the MT. In this regard, the difference between the sources may reflect some interpretative peculiarity, namely, that the Hebrew expression וַיַּעַל שֹׁמְרוֹן, devoid of any preposition, may have been somehow ambiguous for the Aramaic translator, so the phrase וסליק לשומרון was his translatory choice offering a particular interpretation of the Hebrew source text. In such a rendering, the phrase לשומרון is the adverbial modifier of place of the verb סלק 'to go up' indicating the position reached by the Assyrian king ('he came up to Samaria', that is, 'he reached Samaria'). Thus, the proposed logic of the events referred to in the Aramaic text specifies that after the king's marching up through the land, he reached its capital, the city of Samaria, and besieged it. From the grammatical point of view, the preposition ל may occasionally

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7   Cf. the translation of D.J. Harrington and A.J. Saldarini 'and a King of Assyria went up in all the land, and he went up to Samaria, and he besieged it for three years'; D.J. Harrington – A.J. Saldarini, *Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets. Introduction, Translation and Notes* (ArBib 10; Edinburgh – Wilmington, DE: Clark – Glazier 1987) 296.

8   Cf. A. Sperber (ed.), *The Bible in Aramaic. Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*. II. *The Former Prophets according to Targum Jonathan* (Leiden: Brill 1959) 308. The basic manuscript of the *Targum of Jonathan* is British Library Oriental manuscript 2210, a 15th/16th-century Yemenite manuscript of the Former Prophets with the 4th/5th-century Babylonian vocalisation. This manuscript was employed by A. Sperber in his critical edition of the Aramaic Bible.

denote the adversative meaning 'against' to involve the hostile direction of the action in question, in the present case, that 'he came up against Samaria.' However, the use of the preposition ל as a marker of the position reached, indicating the local aspect of direction,[9] is stereotypical in Aramaic when it modifies verbs of motion, as it is in the present case. Therefore, it may be assumed that the rendering וסליק לשומרון expresses the locative meaning, indicating the point of the king's arrival.[10] With regard to its textual variant attesting the non-prepositional syntagma וסליק שומרון, it appears to be a harmonisation with the MT to render it as literally as possible. In conclusion, the general observation is that the Aramaic tradition, with a small translatory adjustment only, reflects the same text form of 2 Kgs 17:5 as it occurs in the MT.

1.2. Greek Readings

A different textual situation is found in the Greek tradition, which demonstrates a vast plurality of textual variants in the Septuagint (LXX) manuscripts. In our case, one can distinguish 22 different versions of 4 Kgdms 17:5 (= 2 Kgs 17:5[MT]) among altogether fifty-six Greek uncials and manuscripts containing this text. With regard to these sources, the most complete critical edition of the Book of Kingdoms (= Samuel–Kings in the MT) that one can consult today is the so-called Cambridge edition of the LXX from the 1930s.[11] Unfortunately, the project of the Göttingen critical edition of the LXX has not yet been completed, and a new critical edition of the Book of Kingdoms has not been published yet. For this reason, in the present research, we have to rely on the old Cambridge edition, however, referring also to a preliminary draft of the new text-critical edition of 4 Kgdms, published by one of its editors,[12] as well as to the text-critical notes in the studies dedicated to the pericope being analysed.[13] The individual versions of 4 Kgdms 17:5 listed below show all its textual variants in the Greek tradition: differences in wording between them are marked with bold characters, differences in word order with italics, and omissions with a horizontal line indicating a missing text.[14]

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[9] Cf. F. Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*, 7 ed. (PLO.NS 5; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2006) §79. It is also possible that the preposition ל indicates here the direct object of the verb סלק, namely, that 'he reached Samaria,' cf. *ibidem*.

[10] One must remember the general truth that prepositions are a 'closed set' in every language, and their use in Aramaic (or in Greek, as will be shown later) cannot be decisive for the interpretation of the Hebrew text. In the author's view, the MT intends in 2 Kgs 17:5 the technical-military meaning of the verb עָלָה modified by שֹׁמְרוֹן as its direct object, namely, that the king of Assyria 'attacked Samaria.' See K. Kinowski, "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," *BA* 13/4 (2023) 563–590, especially 571–573.

[11] A.E. Brooke – N. McLean – H.S.J. Thackeray (eds.), *The Old Testament in Greek* (London: Cambridge University Press 1927–1930) II/I–II.

[12] Cf. Torijano Morales, "Textual Criticism," 195–211. I would like to express my appreciation to Prof. Pablo A. Torijano Morales for his suggestions sent by email.

[13] See especially Tekoniemi, *Textual History*, 66.

[14] See Brooke – McLean – Thackeray, *Old Testament in Greek* II/II, 355–356. As for designations of the reported sources, due to the generally accepted rule, the capital letters refer to the codices (uncials), whereas

1. καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν τρία ἔτη B, V, 56(i) [→*f*], 488 [→*s*], 244–342 [→*mixti*];
    ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ cf. Aeth Arm Cop Geor SyrH; > ἐπ' αὐτὴν cf. Aeth

2. καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς **Ἀσυρίων** ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν τρία ἔτη 527, 158(g) [→*mixti*]

3. καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἐν —— τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν τρία ἔτη N, 44–610 [→*d*]; 92(m) [→*s*]

4. καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς **Σαμάριαν** καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν τρία ἔτη 318 [→*mixti*]

5. καὶ ἀνέβη ———————————————————εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν τρία ἔτη 98–243(j)–379–731 [→*CI*]; cf. Lat (*et rex assyriorū ascendit in samariam et obsedit eam trienio* La[115]) and the quotation by Cyril of Alexandria (see later in this paper)

6. καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν — αὐτὴν *ἔτη τρία* 246 [→*f*], cf. Arm

7. καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς **Σαμάριαν** καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν — αὐτὴν τρία ἔτη 159–245(v)–372(u) [→*mixti*]

8. καὶ ἀνέβη –βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν — αὐτὴν τρία ἔτη 328 [→*CII*], 381 [→*o*]

9. καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἐν —— τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν — αὐτὴν τρία ἔτη 707ˢ [→*mixti*]

10. καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἐν —— τῇ γῇ ——— εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν — ——— 125 [→*d*]

11. καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν ἐπ' **αὐτῇ** τρία ἔτη 509

12. καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν — **αὐτῇ** τρία ἔτη 247(x), 64 [→*o*]

13. καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἐν —— τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν ἐπ' **αὐτῇ** τρία ἔτη 46–52(e)–236–313–530 [→*CII*], 106(p)–107(d) [→*d*], 130(s)–314(w)–489(f)–762 [→*s*], 74–120–134(t) [→*t*], 68–122 [→*z*], 129(q)

14. καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἐν —— τῇ γῇ καὶ **ἦλθεν** εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν — **αὐτῇ** τρία ἔτη 242 [→*CII*]

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the minuscules – to the manuscripts according to the typology given in the Cambridge edition (see Brooke – McLean – Thackeray, *Old Testament in Greek* II/I, v–ix; II/II, v–vi). Numbers attached to the minuscules refer to the manuscripts' typology in Rahlfs' edition of the LXX (*Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2006); occasionally such references are followed by brackets with an arrow [→] and a letter or phrase in italics which indicates the manuscripts' group (or family) to which the reported source(s) belong(s) (see a discussion on the manuscripts group typology in S.P. Brock, *The Recensions of the Septuagint Version of I Samuel* (Quaderni di Henoch; Torino: Zamorani 1987) which is relevant to all four Books of Kingdoms); sometimes other ancient versions are mentioned too. When it was possible, some other manuscripts and sources, referred to in the available draft of an upcoming Göttingen new critical edition of the LXX, were also added; cf. Torijano Morales, "Textual Criticism," 196 n. 3, 200.

15. καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν ἐν αὐτῇ τρία ἔτη 121(y), 488 [→*s*], 71 [→*mixti*]

16. καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασυρίων ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν **ἐν αὐτῇ** τρία ἔτη 554(z) [→*mixti*]

17. καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς **Ἀσσυρίων** ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Σαμάριαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν **ἐν αὐτῇ** τρία ἔτη Α, 55(h) [→*mixti*]

18. καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἐν πάσῃ ——— γῇ καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν **ἐν αὐτῇ** τρία ἔτη 119(n)

19. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἀνέβη **ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γὴν** καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Σαμάρειαν **καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γὴν αὐτῆς** καὶ **περιεκάθισεν — αὐτὴν** τρία ἔτη 108(*b*)–127(c$_2$) [→*L*], 460–700(r) [→*mixti*]; ἦλθεν cf. Geor

20. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς **Ασυρίων** ἀνέβη **ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γὴν** καὶ **ἦλθεν** εἰς Σαμάρειαν **καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γὴν αὐτῆς** καὶ **περιεκάθισεν — αὐτὴν** τρία ἔτη 82(o) [→*L*]

21. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἀνέβη **ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γὴν** καὶ **ἦλθεν** εἰς Σαμάριαν **καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γὴν αὐτῆς** καὶ **περιεκάθισεν — αὐτὴν** τρία ἔτη 93(e$_2$) [→*L*]

22. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἀνέβη **ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γὴν αὐτῆς** ——————————— καὶ **περιεκάθισεν — αὐτὸν** τρία ἔτη 19(b') [→*L*]

In order not to get lost in this maze of varied textual versions of 4 Kgdms 17:5, we should first note that it is possible to trace two lines of tradition preserved in the Greek readings listed above.

1.2.1. *Kaige* Text

One line is found in text versions marked with nos. from 1 to 18 and may be labelled as representing the so-called *kaige* revision of the LXX (see discussion later in this article).[15] In these sources, it exhibits such characteristic features as:

1. the VSO (verb-subject-object) word order typical of Hebrew syntax[16] (the word order of καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων is identical with that of וַיַּעַל מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר),

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2. presence of the same morphosyntactic structures as in the MT (with occasional deviations from this principle[17]) with a word-to-word relation to it (notice, for instance, ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ and בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ, or ἐπολιόρκησεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν and וַיָּצַר עָלֶיהָ).

Besides these similarities, the versions above present a number of differences. These include:

1. different spelling of proper nouns: Ασσυρίων *versus* Ασυρίων in text versions nos. 2 and 16, Σαμάρειαν *versus* Σαμάριαν in text versions nos. 4, 7, 17;

2. presence of different prepositional phrases modifying the verb ἐπολιόρκησεν 'he besieged': ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν lit. 'on/against her (= city of Samaria)' *versus* ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ lit. 'on/against her' in text versions nos. 11 and 13, or ἐν αὐτῇ lit. 'in/against her' in text versions nos. 15–18;

3. greater or lesser omissions: of a definite article ὁ in text version no. 8, or τῇ in text version no. 18; of a preposition ἐπ᾽ in text versions nos. 6–9, 12, and 14; of singular terms such as πάσῃ in text versions nos. 3, 9, 10, 13, 14; of larger text portions such as ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνέβη in text version no. 5, or καὶ ἀνέβη and ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν τρία ἔτη in text version no. 10;

4. different wording, that is, the occurrence of the verb ἦλθεν 'he came' in text version no. 14 *versus* the second ἀνέβη 'he ascended' in all other text versions (nos. 1–13, 15–18);

5. different renderings of the Hebrew syntagma צוּר עַל 'to besiege': the Greek verb πολιορκέω '(I) besiege' is either modified by prepositional phrases – ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν (text versions nos. 1–5), ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ (text versions nos. 11 and 13), ἐν αὐτῇ (text versions nos. 15–18) – or by a direct object αὐτήν (text versions 6–9), or by an indirect object αὐτῇ (text versions 12, 14); it may be noted that from a grammatical point of view, the syntagma πολιορκέω + αὐτῇ raises some questions, because this verb usually builds word compounds with a direct object (in Accusative), or a prepositional phrase with ἐπί (+ Accusative)[18]; it cannot be ruled out that some of the forms present in the sources are the result of a copyist's error consisting in miswriting, omitting the preposition or the final -ν in the Accusative forms.

The textual similarities and divergences pointed out above indicate a complicated transmission history of our text, and at the same time allow us to formulate hypotheses about the course of this process. It is reasonable to identify the most complete version of the *kaige* text of 4 Kgdms 17:5 with the textual variant no. 1, represented, among others,

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17   For example, all Greek variants consistently render the Hebrew phrase מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר 'the king of *Assyria*' as ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων 'the king of *Assyrians*'. Some other translatory adaptations regard the use of prepositions (see discussion later in this paper).

18   See the entry πολιορκέω in T. Muraoka, *A Green-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain – Paris – Walpole, MA: Peeters 2009) 572b–573a; cf. J. Lust – E. Eynikel – K. Hauspie (eds.), "πολιορκέω," *A Green-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 1992–1996) II, 385b.

by the *Codex Vaticanus* (B). In fact, already H.S.J. Thackeray[19] considered it a revision work of a later translator, containing the so-called *kaige* text portions in 3 Kgdms 1:1–2:11 and 3 Kgdms 22 – 4 Kgdms 25 (corresponding to 1 Kgs 1:1–2:11 and 1 Kgs 22 – 2 Kgs 25 in the MT), which is a commonly acknowledged opinion among the scholars today.[20] The fact that the *kaige* text is considered a revision of the LXX has obvious consequences, namely, it hardly attests to the oldest recoverable text version of the LXX, and in our particular case, of 4 Kgdms 17:5. This assumption will be elaborated in later parts of this survey.

The comparison between the Greek variants in question leads to the conclusion that the text version no. 1, represented by e.g. the *Codex Vaticanus* (B), gave origin to all other *kaige* text forms. Furthermore, these variants, when juxtaposed, can be grouped according to increasing dissimilarities. The affiliations and postulated mutual relations between all *kaige* versions of 4 Kgdms 17:5 are shown graphically on the diagram below (text versions nos. 5, 10, and 14 deserve separate comments, and they will be discussed later).
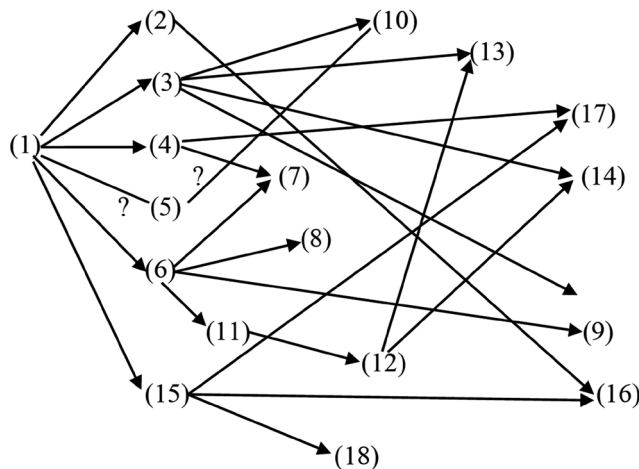
The particularised *kaige* text is juxtaposed with the MT below:

2 Kgs 17:5[MT]

וַיַּעַל מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ וַיַּעַל שֹׁמְרוֹן וַיָּצַר עָלֶיהָ שָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים

4 Kgdms 17:5[kaige]
καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν τρία ἔτη

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19   Cf. H.S.J. Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings," *JTS* 8/30 (1907) 262–278. See also comments in M.A. Sweeney, *I & II Kings. A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, KY – London: Westminster John Knox 2007) 36, who refers himself to D. Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila* (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill 1963).

20   Cf. Law, "3–4 Kingdoms," 148–149; Tekoniemi, *Textual History*, 14–15.

Both forms of the biblical text correspond to each other word-for-word in terms of se-mantics, and maintain an identical style and word order, the same syntactic structures, and mutually corresponding morphological forms. In this respect, the *kaige* recension (with one exception, see below) presents a text characterised by a high degree of convergence with the MT, in other words, a very literal, so-called 'source oriented' translation of the Hebrew source text preserved in the MT (in contrast to a so-called 'target oriented' type of translation).[21] However, one deviation from this principle can be seen in the analysed text, namely, the presence of the prepositional phrase εἰς Σαμάρειαν 'to Samaria' where the MT provides a non-prepositional verbal complement. This is a situation analogous to that observed in the *Targum of Jonathan*. Both traditions, therefore, the Aramaic and the Greek *kaige*, interpret the Hebrew text in such a way that the Assyrian king literally 'ascended to', 'arrived at (the city of) Samaria'. Such a description shifts the point of narrative tension in the logic of the events reported to the information about the siege of the city, which is men-tioned in the next and final part of the verse (4 Kgdms 17:5c = 2 Kgs 17:5c). In this respect, the logic of the events in the *kaige* text seems to differ slightly from the one implied by the MT. In other words, from the narrative point of view, the Greek (and Aramaic) rendering that the king 'reached Samaria' – which is a general and neutral statement – reduces the drama of the scene, whereas the Hebrew text appears to denote the direct assault on the city ('he attacked Samaria'),[22] which naturally increases the narrative tension.

1.2.2. Antiochian Text (*L*)

The second line of Greek tradition is preserved in readings listed under nos. 19 through 22. These are the so-called Lucianic manuscripts (*L*) representing the Antiochian textual tradition of the LXX. As remarked, one of their readings is also present in Mss 460 and 700 that belong to the heterogeneous manuscript group labelled *mixti*. With regard to 4 Kgdms 17:5, it can be observed that the sources in question (text variants nos. 19–22) exhibit the following characteristics:

1. the SVO (subject-verb-object) word order typical of Greek syntax in contrast to the VSO word order of the *kaige* recension (καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἀνέβη *versus* καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων in the *kaige* text),
2. occurrence of terms or expressions that render the Hebrew source text more dynamic-ally (in juxtaposition to the *kaige* text) and can be considered as 'target oriented' ren-derings adjusting Hebrew phrases to fit the Greek language: ἐπὶ πάσαν τὴν γήν *versus* ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ 'in/into the whole land' (the *kaige* text) which is a verbatim rendering of בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ; or περιεκάθισεν αὐτήν '(he) hemmed it in under siege' *versus* ἐπολιόρκησεν

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21   The terminology employed here is taken from A. Pietersma, "Septuagintal Exegesis and the Superscrip-tions of the Greek Psalter," *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception* (eds. P.W. Flint – P.D. Miller) (VTSup 99 – FIOTL 4; Leiden: Brill 2005) 443–475.

22   Notice the technical-military meaning of the verb עָלָה as a warfare term for expressing an attack on something or someone. For a detailed study on this matter, see Kinowski, "Meaning of וַיַּעַל בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ in 2 Kgs 17:5a," 571–573.

ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν '(he) besieged it' (the *kaige* text) which gives translation of the prepositional phrase עָלֶיהָ of the MT,

3. different wording in comparison with the text of *kaige* recension: the occurrence of the verb ἦλθεν '(he) came'[23] (except from text version no. 22) *versus* the second occurrence of ἀνέβη '(he) ascended' in the *kaige* text; or the use of the verb περικαθίζω '(I) hem in under siege' instead of πολιορκέω '(I) besiege' in the *kaige* text,[24]

4. presence of textual expansion (except from text version no. 22): the addition of καὶ εἰς πάσαν τὴν γῆν αὐτῆς, lacking in the *kaige* text, which makes an explicit remark that the king arrived at Samaria 'and at all its territory'.

Besides these similarities, there are several differences between the Lucianic manuscripts. These are as follows:

1. different spelling of proper nouns: Ασσυρίων *versus* Ασυρίων in text version no. 20, Σαμάρειαν *versus* Σαμάριαν in text version no. 21,

2. different morphological (that is, masculine) form of the personal pronoun in the phrase περιεκάθισεν αὐτόν '(he) hemmed him (= King Hoshea) in under siege' in text version no. 22 *versus* the feminine one (referring to the city of Samaria) in all other text versions,

3. addition of a personal pronoun in the phrase ἐπὶ πάσαν τὴν γῆν αὐτῆς 'on/against all *its* (= of Samaria) territory' in text version no. 22,

4. omission of the phrase καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Σαμάριαν καὶ εἰς πάσαν τὴν γῆν αὐτῆς in text version no. 22, but present in all other Antiochian text versions.

From the above observations, several interesting conclusions of a narrative and historical-critical nature can be drawn. Regarding the first category, it may be observed that the logic of events presented in the Antiochian text shifts the emphasis in the narrative in comparison with the *kaige* text account, namely, the Antiochian version seems to suggest that the attack of the Assyrian king on the entire land took place from the very beginning: ἀνέβη

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23 The fact that this textual variant is also supported by the Georgian version is not without significance. It has increasingly been pointed out that where the Georgian tradition supports the Antiochian text against the *Codex Vaticanus*, one can see variants close to the OG text. Cf. Hugo, "1–2 Kingdoms," 134–135. It has even been argued that occasionally the Georgian (and Armenian) versions may be the sole conservators of the OG; cf. A. Piquer – P. Torijano Morales – J. Trebolle Barrera, "Septuagint Versions, Greek Recensions and Hebrew Editions: The Text-Critical Evaluation of the Old Latin, Armenian and Georgian Versions in III–IV Regnorum," *Translating a Translation: The LXX and Its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism* (eds. H. Ausloos *et al.*) (BETL 213; Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA: Peeters 2008) 251–281; P. Torijano Morales – J. Trebolle Barrera, "The Edition of III–IV Kingdoms. The Critical Reconstruction of the Old Greek Text and the Construction of the Critical Apparatus," *Editing the Septuagint: The Unfinished Task. Papers Presented at the 50th Anniversary of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* (eds. F. Albrecht – F. Feder) (De Septuaginta Investigationes 16; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2022) 67–71.

24 P. Torijano Morales observes that there is a tendency to translate the Hebrew verb צור with the verb πολιορκέω in the *kaige* sections of 1–4 Kgdms (although there are several instances when the verb περικαθίζω is employed too), whereas in non-*kaige* section the only translatory equivalent found of the term צור is περικαθίζω; see Torijano Morales, "Textual Criticism," 208–209.

ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γήν; lit. 'ascended on/against the whole land' (v. 5a). In such a rendering, the Greek syntagma ἀναβαίνω + ἐπί would express the technical-military meaning of the Hebrew phrase עָלָה עַל 'to attack, invade'. From a narrative point of view, this would indicate a high level of dramatic tension present in the account from the very beginning of the verse. The tension would then subside slightly with the mention of his arrival at the city of Samaria (ἦλθεν εἰς Σαμάρειαν 'came to Samaria', v. 5b). The addition of the phrase καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γήν αὐτῆς 'and to all its territory' in this part of the verse would create a kind of suspense, maintaining and prolonging the dramatic tension at the same level, which would also emphasise the scale of the ongoing warfare. The tension would rise again with the news about the siege of the city (περιεκάθισεν αὐτήν '(he) hemmed it in under siege') in the last part of the verse (v. 5c). In relation to this last piece of information, it can be noted that the Greek verb περικαθίζω '(I) hem in under siege, besiege' used in the Antiochian text in place of the verb πολιορκέω '(I) besiege' in the *kaige* text expresses the sociolinguistic aspect of the art of war, namely, the surrounding of a city during the siege and enclosing it by enemy troops, which semantically corresponds perfectly to the Hebrew syntagma צוּר עַל 'to confine, shut in, besiege' occurring in the MT.

Conclusions of a historical-critical nature should be added to the above remarks. They regard the possibility of identifying the original form of 4 Kgdms 17:5 in the Lucianic manuscripts and its relation to both the *kaige* text and the MT. In this respect, the hypothesis commonly accepted today is that in the so-called *kaige* sections of the *Codex Vaticanus* (and this is our case) an older reading and therefore a version of the Greek text that is closer to the original can be found in the Antiochian tradition.[25] It often appears to preserve the ancient Greek text (OG) or a text close to it, which sometimes differs significantly from the *kaige* text type, and which seems to present a translation of the Hebrew source text, alternative to the one preserved in and transmitted by the Masoretic tradition.[26] In the case in question, such features of the Antiochian text as, for example, the SVO word order and the so-called 'target orientedness' of its translation, which does not show traces of textual harmonisation with the MT, characteristic of later LXX revisions, make it reasonable to conclude that it is the Lucianic manuscripts that would preserve a more original form of the Greek text in relation to the *kaige* text.

On the other hand, however, textual extensions present in all sources from this group (see earlier observations); textual omission in one of them (text version no. 22) that is most probably due to the scribal error of *parablepis* from one occurrence of πᾶσαν τὴν γήν to the other; convergence of one of the variants (text version no. 19) with sources classified as *mixti* group – they all are confusing. These observations indicate the presence of later

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25   For a general overview on this matter, see, e.g., P. Torijano Morales, "The Contribution of the Antiochian Text to Text Criticism in Kings: Rahlf's Study of the Lucianic Recension Revisited (1 Kgs 1:3, 36, 40, 41, 45)," *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera. Florilegium Complutense* (eds. A. Piquer Otero – P. Torijano Morales) (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 157; Leiden –Boston, MA: Brill 2012) 325–342.

26   See Law, "3–4 Kingdoms," 148; Tekoniemi, *Textual History*, 14–15.

amendments introduced to the Antiochian text, which should by no means be identified with the OG text. Indeed, many scholars point to the specific nature of the Lucianic manuscripts, which indeed seem to preserve the OG many times, especially in the *kaige* sections of the *Codex Vaticanus*; nevertheless, they also preserve traces of later textual modifications, sometimes called post-hexaplaric.[27] It seems that this is no different in the case in question. The Antiochian form of 4 Kgdms 17:5 presents an alternative Greek text to the *kaige* form, however, it is clouded by later additions and scribal errors. In this way, the Antiochian text has a mixed character.[28] Therefore, the only hypothesis based on a comparative analysis of the Lucianic variants that may be proposed here is to indicate the proto-Lucianic (or pre-Lucianic) text form without providing a final answer whether it is an OG text or not. The reconstruction of both text types is given below (differences in word order with the *kaige* text are marked with italics; differences in wording are marked with bold characters; a horizontal line indicates a missing text):

4 Kgdms 17:5[L]

καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἀνέβη **ἐπὶ πάσαν τὴν γῆν** καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Σαμάρειαν **καὶ εἰς πάσαν τὴν γῆν αὐτῆς** καὶ **περιεκάθισεν αὐτὴν** τρία ἔτη

4 Kgdms 17:5[proto-L]

καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἀνέβη **ἐπὶ πάσαν τὴν γῆν** καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Σαμάρειαν ——————— ———— καὶ **περιεκάθισεν αὐτὴν** τρία ἔτη

The identification of Greek readings alternative to the *kaige* text raises questions about their Hebrew source text; namely, one may wonder if the proto-Lucianic text would be a translation of the Hebrew source consistent with the MT, or not. By attempting a reverse translation, hypothetically, one could not rule out that the expression ἀνέβη ἐπὶ πάσαν τὴν γῆν would indicate וַיַּעַל עַל־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ in the Hebrew source instead of וַיַּעַל בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ in the MT. Similarly, it is tempting to see in the Hebrew source text וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶל־שֹׁמְרוֹן or even וַיֵּלֶךְ שֹׁמְרוֹן instead of וַיַּעַל שֹׁמְרוֹן occurring in the MT. All these proposals would be, however, purely speculative, and not supported by any evidence. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the phrase ἀνέβη ἐπὶ πάσαν τὴν γῆν would be a Greek interpretation of the Hebrew expression וַיַּעַל בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ, tending to emphasise the idea of the attack launched by the king on the entire country. Similarly, the Greek translation ἦλθεν εἰς Σαμάρειαν could be successfully considered as a dynamic rendering of the Hebrew וַיַּעַל שֹׁמְרוֹן, emphasising the information that the king of Assyria reached Samaria. For these

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27   P. Hugo characterises the *L* text as an important witness to the OG but stresses that it is not free from editorial corrections of grammatical and lexicographical nature, amendments removing semitisms, additions of words or smaller explanatory phrases to harmonise or clarify biblical stories. Cf. Hugo, "1–2 Kingdoms," 131, 134.

28   T. Tekoniemi comments that the longest text form of 2 Kgs 17:5[L] is a product of conflation of different kinds of readings from both the OG and the *kaige* texts; see Tekoniemi, *Textual History*, 67–68 with notes. Cf. Torijano Morales, "Textual Criticism," 201–210.

reasons, in the view of the author of the paper, it is not necessary to propose a Hebrew text alternative to that found in the MT as a source for the translation found in the Antiochian tradition.

1.3. Old Latin (OL) and Other Ancient Versions

In search for the most original available version of 2 Kgs (4 Kgdms) 17:5, one cannot ignore other ancient versions, which have not been discussed yet. First of all, it should be noted that the Old Latin (OL) text witnessed by the *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis* (La[115])[29] gives a *lectio brevior* of the analysed verse: *et rex assyriorū ascendit in samariam et obsedit eam triennio* lit. 'and the king of Assyrians came up to Samaria and besieged it for three years.' It does not contain the part of the verse mentioning the Assyrian king's invasion of the entire country, similarly to one of the textual versions represented by manuscripts from the *CI* group (see text version no. 5). Other ancient translations (Aethiopian, Armenian, Coptic, Georgian, and Syro-Hexapla, see text version no. 1) support the *lectio longior*, containing such a piece of information.

Comparing both versions, one can speculate about the origin of the *lectio brevior*. B. Fischer[30] proposes to explain this with a scribal error called *parablepsis*, namely, an omission of a certain part of a text during copying of a manuscript as a result of a scribe's gaze jumping from one word to another identical one in the text. In the present case, it would mean skipping the text between the first and the second occurrence of the verb ἀνέβη. Such a proposal could successfully explain the origin of one of the variants of *kaige*, namely, text version no. 5,[31] but it could not explain the shorter reading of the OL. While the sequence of two identical verbs ἀνέβη … ἀνέβη … in the *kaige* text could hypothetically lead to a scribal error of *parablepsis*, the sequence of verbs ἀνέβη … ἦλθεν … in the Antiochian tradition (see *L*, Mss 460–700)[32] – considered original due to being closer to the OG text – no longer creates the possibility of such an error and simply rules this out.[33] In the same way, the *lectio brevior* of OL could not be a result of the *parablepsis* error if one considers, by analogy, the hypothetically original sequence of verbs *ascendit* and *venit* in La[115].

As shown above, neither the form of the *L* text nor the reconstructed proto-*L* one allows for a *parablepsis*-type error as the origin and reason for the *lectio brevior* text of

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29   Cf. J. Bellsheim (ed.), *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis* (Christianiae: Mallingi – Parmann 1885); cf. C. Vercellone (ed.), *Variae Lectiones Vulgatae Latinae* (Romae: Spithöver 1860) II. See an overview of the characteristics of this document in Tekoniemi, *Textual History*, 13–14, 16–23. One of the most interesting peculiarities of this source is the fact that 2 Kgs 17 immediately follows 2 Kgs 15:38, thus omitting the entire chapter of 2 Kgs 16. T. Tekoniemi argues that it is highly probable that this entire chapter originally would have followed 2 Kgs 17. In his view, the fact that La[115] places 2 Kgs 17 immediately after 2 Kgs 15 would indicate an original order of chapters in the OG as well. See discussion in Tekoniemi, *Textual History*, 39–52.

30   See B. Fischer, "Palimpsestus Vindobonensis: A Revised Edition of L115 for Samuel–Kings," *BIOSCS* 16 (1983) 86.

31   It would be more difficult to explain the origin of text version no. 10 on this basis.

32   A trace of the original verb sequence ἀνέβη … ἦλθεν … within the *kaige* text forms can also be found in Ms 242 (text version no. 14).

33   See T. Tekoniemi reaches the same conclusion in Tekoniemi, *Textual History*, 66, n. 262.

2 Kgs 17:5 attested by the *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis* (La[115]). It is thus worth considering if this OL text could in fact represent a more primary, rather than secondary, form of the text, the composition of which would precede the formation of the proto-*L* text. In this regard, it is generally acknowledged that the *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis* is a highly valuable testimony in historical-critical research on the text of the Book of Kings (3–4 Kgdms), allowing for identification of the OG text, especially when the OL renderings coincide with the *kaige* text and/or the MT.[34] This is not exactly what happens in our case, since 2 Kgs 17:5[OL] differs from the (proto-)*L* readings contaminated by later additions and modifications, thus clouding the original OG text. In this regard, it should also be noted that in a formal sense, the La[115] manuscript (5th c. CE) postdates the Lucianic recension (4th c. CE) and cannot be uncritically treated as a source for identifying the true OG. It seems likely, however, that the OL text may indeed preserve original readings close to the OG, lost or shadowed by later amendments in the course of textual transmission. Moreover, it may happen in some cases that the OL text would be the only witness of the OG reading, and thus, of the Old Hebrew (OH) original.[35] The author of this paper believes that there is no better explanation for the shorter version of 2 Kgs 17:5[OL] than that it is a translation of a shorter Greek source text (the true OG) referring to the shorter Hebrew source text (OH).

There is yet another specificity of the OL text that should be taken into account. Generally speaking, when textual variants of *CI* manuscripts conform with those of the OL, they may preserve old readings, which have not been amended in the process of textual transmission.[36] This is what occurs here. Both the *CI* manuscripts and the OL rendering attest to the

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34   N. Fernández Marcos argues that 'the *Papyrus Vindobonensis* of the *Vetus Latina* also contains a series of changes which are doubtlessly related to an earlier stage of the transmission in the Greek model,' see N. Fernández Marcos, "The Antiochene Edition in the Text History of the Bible," *CCHS-ILC: Informes y documentos de trabajo* (2011) 10. Also, W. Schütte argues that La[115] represents the oldest form of 1–2 Kgs, see W. Schütte, "Israels Exil in Juda nach der Urfassung von 1–2 Könige," *Bib* 98/3 (2017) 363–381. See discussion on the textual affiliations of La[115] with various strands of Greek tradition in 1–2 Kgs in Tekoniemi, *Textual History*, 19 (in general) and 68 (with regard to 2 Kgs 17:3–6).

35   J. Trebolle Barrera argues in his publications that *Vetus Latina* alone may retain the oldest reading for 3–4 Kgdms (= 1–2 Kgs in the MT). See, for example, J. Trebolle Barrera, "From the *Old Latin*, through the *Old Greek* to the *Old Hebrew* (2 Kings 10:23–25)," *Text* 11 (1984) 17–36; J. Trebolle Barrera, "Old Latin, Old Greek and Old Hebrew in the Books of Kings (1 Ki. 18:27 and 2 Ki. 20:11)," *Text* 13/1 (1986) 85–94; J. Trebolle Barrera, "From Secondary Versions through Greek Recensions to Hebrew Editions. The Contribution of the Old Latin Version," *The Text of the Hebrew Bible and Its Editions. Studies in Celebration of the Fifth Centennial of the Complutensian Polyglot* (eds. A. Piquer Otero – P. Torijano Morales) (Supplements to the Textual History of the Bible 1; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2016) 180–216; J. Trebolle Barrera, "The Contribution of the Old Latin to the Reconstruction of the Old Greek of Judges and Kings: 'Doublets' and 'Additions' of the Antiochene Text Missing in the Old Latin," *Textual and Literary Criticism of the Books of Kings. Collected Essays* (eds. A. Piquer Otero – P. Torijano Morales) (VTSup 185; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2020) 317–348. Cf. Torijano Morales – Trebolle Barrera, "Edition of III–IV Kingdoms," 67–71.

36   I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Pablo A. Torijano Morales for sharing this observation with me in private communication.

shorter form of the verse. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that the version closest to the true OG text could indeed be found in La[115].

1.4. Reconstruction of the OG Text and Its Hebrew *Vorlage* ('Old Hebrew')

If the above supposition is true, the OG text of 4 Kgdms 17:5, reconstructed on the basis of La[115], would have contained the shorter report on the invasion of Samaria by the Assyrians. Its later revisions with additions could be reconstructed as the proto-Antiochian text (proto-*L*) and the *kaige* recension. Yet another textual form of 4 Kgdms 17:5 can be found in Lucianic manuscripts (*L*) exhibiting subsequent expansions on the text. Moreover, the above proposal may lead to the conclusion that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the OG (= OH) text reconstructed on the basis of La[115] would also present a shorter version of the verse, passing in silence over the conquest of the land. Such a shorter form of the OH text would be alternative to the Masoretic *lectio longior* and supposedly precede it in terms of the time of composition.[37] In summary, the postulated chronology of individual text forms of 2 Kgs (4 Kgdms) 17:5 can be presented as follows (in order to distinguish between the attested and the reconstructed text forms, the latter ones are in boxes; subsequent expansions on the hypothetical original text are marked with bold characters):

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2 Kgs 17:5[OH]

וַיַּעַל מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר שֹׁמְרוֹן וַיָּצַר עָלֶיהָ שָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים

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4 Kgdms 17:5[OG]

καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἀνέβη εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ περιεκάθισεν αὐτὴν τρία ἔτη

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2 Kgs 17:5[OL]

et rex assyriorum ascendit in samariam et obsedit eam triennio

2 Kgs 17:5[MT]

וַיַּעַל מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר **בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ וַיַּעַל** שֹׁמְרוֹן וַיָּצַר עָלֶיהָ שָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים

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4 Kgdms 17:5[proto-*L*]

καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἀνέβη **ἐπὶ πάσαν τὴν γὴν καὶ ἦλθεν** εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ περιεκάθισεν αὐτὴν τρία ἔτη

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37 It is not a novelty to treat the MT as an edition or recension of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of Kingdoms (= Samuel–Kings), and as such, it would be posterior, when it comes to its composition, in relation to the OG text (dated recently to the 3rd c. BCE). The author of this article shares the opinion of J. Trebolle Barrera, A. Shenker and P. Hugo that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of Kingdoms precedes the final redaction of the proto-MT. Therefore, the OG and *Vetus Latina* readings take us back to the OH text, whereas the later *kaige* and Hexaplaric forms – to its 'recension', that is, to the MT. See discussion and a presentation of scholarly views on this matter in Law, "3–4 Kingdoms," 153–158. On the list of (proto)-Masoretic revisional characteristics in 1–2 Kgs, see Tekoniemi, *Textual History*, 265–271.

4 Kgdms 17:5[kaige]

καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων **ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνέβη** εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν τρία ἔτη

4 Kgdms 17:5[L]

καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἀνέβη **ἐπὶ πάσαν τὴν γῆν καὶ ἦλθεν** εἰς Σαμάρειαν **καὶ εἰς πάσαν τὴν γῆν αὐτῆς** καὶ περιεκάθισεν αὐτὴν τρία ἔτη

    Although the above hypothesis about the reconstruction of the OG text and its Hebrew *Vorlage* (OH) is speculative, it is not entirely unfounded. The textual evidence points towards a reasonable conclusion that the OL text of La[115] would be in fact the only source available today that witnesses the true OG text, and thus, the shorter form of the Hebrew source text.[38] This makes us raise questions about the possible reasons (an anti-Samarian polemic?) underlying the postulated textual expansion in 2 Kgs 17:5, and so about the narrative function of that addition to the account about the invasion of Samaria in 2 Kgs 17:3–6 (see discussion later in this paper).[39]

1.5. Other Biblical and Extrabiblical Evidence

There are supplementary arguments supporting the *lectio brevior* of 2 Kgs (4 Kgdms) 17:5. First of all, it is intriguing that the quotation of 2 Kgs 17:5 found in the writings of Cyril of Alexandria (*ca.* 378–444 CE) attests to the *lectio brevior*.[40] This patristic reference may not be a coincidence. It may, in fact, reflect the original shorter form of the biblical text.

    Another argument supporting our hypothesis is provided by a parallel narrative of Shalmaneser V's invasion in 2 Kgs 18:9–10. This narrative contains – besides some additional pieces of information, mostly of chronological character, synchronising the reigns of the Israelite and Judahite monarchs – an almost verbatim quotation of 2 Kgs 17:5. It is

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38   T. Tekoniemi comments that the MT 'evidences the very *latest*, revised version of the passage' (= 2 Kgs 17:3–6); *Textual History*, 70 (see also his conclusions on pp. 81–82).

39   If the MT represents a development of the 'Old Hebrew' text, the question arises about the ideological and theological purposes of that textual development. On this matter, see Law, "3–4 Kingdoms," 158–160. T. Tekoniemi provides a list of proto-Masoretic revisional characteristics in 1–2 Kgs, among which he mentions anti-Samarian tendencies in the MT; see Tekoniemi, *Textual History*, 269–270.

40   Although the critical apparatus of the Cambridge edition of the Septuagint does not provide any bibliographic data in this regard (cf. Brooke – McLean – Thackeray, *Old Testament in Greek* II/II, 355), the full quotation of 4 Kgdms 17:3–5 can be found in Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam: Liber I, Oratio VI* to Isa 10:24–25; see J. Aubert (ed.), *Sancti Patris Nostri Cyrilli Alexandriae Archiepiscopi opera quae reperiri potuerunt omnia: Tomus III* (Patrologiae Graeca Migne 70; Paris: Bibliothecae Cleri Universae 1864) 297, C l. 13 – D l. 7. The full quotation reported there is, as follows: ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀνέβη Σαλμανασὰρ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων καὶ ἐγενήθη αὐτῷ Ωσηὲ δοῦλος καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν αὐτῷ Μαναῆ καὶ εὗρε βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων ἐν τῷ Ωσηὲ ἀδικίαν ὅτι ἀπέστειλεν ἀγγέλους πρὸς Σηγὼρ βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου καὶ οὐκ ἤνεγκε Μαναὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ασσυρίων ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ασσυρίων καὶ ἔδησεν αὐτὸν ἐν οἴκῳ φυλακῆς | καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Σαμάρειαν | | καὶ ἐπολιόρκησεν αὐτὴν τρία ἔτη |. The text of vv. 3–4 is almost perfectly concurrent to the reading of the *Codex Vaticanus*, but v. 5 (marked with a frame) presents a clearly identifiable *lectio brevior* (cf. text version no. 5 on the list of Greek readings earlier in this paper).

The Biblical Annals 15/3 (2025)

striking that it mentions the attack against the city of Samaria, its siege and subsequent capture, but does not report on the invasion of the surrounding territory (compare the text in boxes below).

2 Kgs 17:5[MT]

וַיַּעַל מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ וַיַּעַל שֹׁמְרוֹן וַיָּצַר עָלֶיהָ שָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים

2 Kgs 18:9–10[MT]

וַיְהִי בַּשָּׁנָה הָרְבִיעִית לַמֶּלֶךְ הִזְקִיָּהוּ הִיא הַשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁבִיעִית לְהוֹשֵׁעַ בֶּן־אֵלָה מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל עָלָה שַׁלְמַנְאֶסֶר מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר עַל־שֹׁמְרוֹן וַיָּצַר עָלֶיהָ וַיִּלְכְּדֻהָ מִקְצֵה שָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים בִּשְׁנַת־שֵׁשׁ לְחִזְקִיָּה הִיא שְׁנַת־תֵּשַׁע לְהוֹשֵׁעַ מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל נִלְכְּדָה שֹׁמְרוֹן

As shown, the only piece of information occurring in 2 Kgs 17:5 but left unmentioned in the parallel account of 2 Kgs 18:9–10 is that about the king's marching throughout the whole country. When juxtaposed with other evidence, it may induce us to think that the phrase בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ וַיַּעַל would not occur in the original (primary) draft of 2 Kgs 17:5[OH], and therefore, this particular information was not mentioned in 2 Kgs 18:9–10.[41]

Yet another argument supporting the originality of the shorter text form of 2 Kgs 17:5 comes from Josephus Flavius' reference to the events in his *Jewish Antiquities* (*Antiquitates judaicae*).[42] As shown below, he limits himself to recounting Shalmaneser's expedition against the sole city of Samaria in consequence of Hoshea's plot with the king of Egypt, leaving unmentioned the invasion that swept across the whole country according to 2 Kgs 17:5 (see the text in boxes).

Josephus, *Ant.* 9.277–278:[43]
Σαλμανάσσης δὲ ὁ τῶν Ασσυρίων βασιλεύς ἐπεὶ ἠγγέλη αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Ισραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς Ωσείης πέμψας κρύφα πρὸς Σώαν τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ παροξυνθεὶς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν ἔτει ἑβδόμῳ τῆς Ωσήου βασιλείας οὐ δεξαμένου δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτεσι πολιορκήσας τρισὶν εἷλε κατὰ κράτος τὴν Σαμάρειαν ἔνατον μὲν ἔτος Ωσήου βασιλεύοντος ἕβδομον δὲ Εζεκίου τοῦ τῶν Ιεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλέως καὶ τὴν τῶν Ισραηλιτῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἄρδην ἡφάνισε καὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν μετῴκισεν εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν καὶ Περσίδα ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ωσῆν ζῶντα ἔλαβε

When it was reported to Shalmaneser, the king of the Assyrians, [that] *Hoshea, the king of the Israelites, had sent secretly to So, the king of the Egyptians, calling him on for alliance against him* [= Shalmaneser], [he became] *irritated* [and] waged war against Samaria *in the seventh*

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41 On the historical-critical relations between 2 Kgs 17:3–6 and 18:9–11, see Tekoniemi, *Textual History*, 83–86.

42 For a concise presentation of King Hoshea and his dealings by Josephus Flavius', see C.T. Begg, "The Last Six Kings of Israel according to Josephus *Ant.* 9.228–278," *ETL* 72/4 (1996) 379–383.

43 Cf. S. Mason (ed.), *Flavius Josephus. Translation and Commentary* (Leiden – Boston, MA – Köln: Brill 2005) V. See also comments in M. Nobile, *1–2 Re. Nuova versione, introduzione e commento* (I Libri Biblici 9; Milano: Paoline 2010) 407 with notes. English translation by the author.

year of the reign of Hoshea. When he [= Shalmaneser] *was not received by the king* – [after] having besieged [it] *for three years* – he took Samaria *by force in the ninth year of Hoshea's reigning, so in the seventh year of Hezekiah, the king of the Jerusalemites, and highly destroyed the leadership of the Israelites, and deported all the people into Media and Persia among whom he took also King Hoshea alive.*

As evidenced, Josephus Flavius refers to the pieces of information coming from 2 Kgs 17:5 and 18:9–10, and their literary contexts. Is it significant, however, that he does not refer to the Assyrian king's attack on the entire country? Or is it rather an insignificant detail left unmentioned as unnecessary? Any definite answer to these questions is speculative since we lack further evidence. It cannot be ruled out, though, that Josephus Flavius' reference might reflect the shorter form of 2 Kgs 17:5.[44] One could expect him to mention such information, if he had had access to it, especially as it would render his account about the fate of Samaria more dramatic.

It must be admitted that the above evidence is only of an auxiliary character and can only indirectly support the thesis about the originality of the shorter version of 2 Kgs 17:5. However, the accumulation of this evidence and the fact that it comes from different types of sources encourage us to support it. It is difficult to consider it a pure coincidence that the source testimonies, the quote from one of the Church Fathers, the parallel narrative in the Book of Kings, and the account of these events in the work of Josephus Flavius – all testify in favour of the *lectio brevior* of 2 Kgs 17:5. Therefore, the thesis that precisely this text form presents the original version of 2 Kgs 17:5 may be considered highly probable.

If such a thesis is accepted, it consequently implies that, at least in some cases, the MT itself may already represent a revision[45] of the Hebrew text now lost in the process of textual transmission, but recoverable in the form of the OG text, to be reconstructed on the basis of available sources of the LXX, including the OL text. The thesis about the originality of the *lectio brevior* of 2 Kgs 17:5 would also imply that for some reason the biblical editor considered it right and useful to insert a mention of Shalmaneser's attack on the entire country to the former draft of the account so that it played some, presumably important role in the unfolding plot of the events. He achieved this by making use of the so-called *Wiederaufnahme* technique,[46] namely, a resumptive repetition of the same term or phrase; in our case, of the verbal form וַיַּעַל, that frames a new text portion put into the account. As a result, the editor would create a kind of intratextual relation within the same v. 5 and its literary context (see v. 3 and discussion later in this paper). Therefore, the narrative analysis of this pericope (2 Kgs 17:3–6), with particular attention paid to the narrative function of

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44   P. Hugo reports the scholar's opinion that in the 1st c. CE Josephus Flavius would use a biblical text form close to the proto-Lucianic one; cf. Hugo, "1–2 Kingdoms," 134. For more, see V. Spottorno, "Josephus' Text for 1–2 Kings (3–4 Kingdoms)," *VIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Paris 1992* (eds. L. Greenspoon – O. Munnich) (SCS 41; Atlanta, GA: Scholars 1995) 145–152.

45   For a list of proto-Masoretic revisional characteristics in 1–2 Kgs, see Tekoniemi, *Textual History*, 265–271.

46   On the methodological implication of this technique, see, e.g., Tekoniemi, *Textual History*, 7–8.

וַיַּעַל בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ, is the key to disclosing possible reasons for this insertion into the biblical account, as postulated above. This is the subject of the second part of this paper.

2. The Narrative Function of וַיַּעַל בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ in the Unfolding Plot of 2 Kgs 17:1–6

It is necessary to examine the narrative function of וַיַּעַל בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ in the entirety of the narrated story of 2 Kgs 17:1–6. In order to avoid circular reasoning, it should be stated from the outset that the narrative analyses undertaken in this chapter are not intended to justify any preferred or alternative reading of 2 Kgs 17:5. From a methodological point of view, they concern the text as such, without delving into the history of its composition. However, understanding the narrative functions played by individual elements of the narrative can provide information on the postulated textual changes. Since it can be ruled out that they occurred as a result of scribal error or by pure coincidence, it is necessary to consider how the narrative message changes depending on whether the *lectio brevior* or *longior* is taken into account. Therefore, understanding the narrative function of the expression וַיַּעַל בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ in 2 Kgs 17:5 and its literary context will allow us to formulate hypotheses on the possible reasons why the analysed text would have been expanded to include a mention of the conquest of the entire land, or conversely, what reasons may have been behind the removal of this mention from the narrative. In none of these cases do they appear to be merely meaningless or completely random textual amendments.

The schema below presents a general view of how the plot of 2Kgs 17:1–6 unfolds on different narrative levels of foreground and background (the mention of the conquest of the land in v. 5 is marked with bold characters).[47]

It can be noted that v. 3 begins with a general statement about the Assyrian invasion: 'Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, marched up against him.' The pronominal suffix in עָלָיו refers clearly to 'Hoshea, son of Elah, king over Israel in Samaria' (v. 1), to whom the Deuteronomistic editor dedicates a moderate critic by claiming that 'he did what was displeasing to YHWH, though not as much as the kings of Israel who preceded him' (v. 2).[48] The position of עָלָיו at the beginning of v. 3 is undoubtedly both emphatic[49] and ironic, since it is 'he',

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47 On the structure of 2 Kgs 17:1–6, see, e.g., J. MacDonald, "The Structure of II Kings xvii," *TGUOS* 23 (1969–70) 29–41; B.O. Long, *2 Kings* (FOTL 10; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1991) 180–190; Sweeney, *I & II Kings*, 390.

48 By means of such authoritative and evaluative remark, the writer/editor of the passage reveals himself as being more than a neutral narrator and breaks his habitual silence, thus giving pragmatic importance to the whole passage; J.-L. Ska, *"Our Father Told Us." Introduction to the Analysis of Hebrew Narratives* (SubBi 13; Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico 2000) 80–81. On the evaluative point of view in narration, see D. Marguerat – Y. Bourquin, *Per leggere i racconti biblici. La Bibbia si racconta. Iniziazione all'analisi narrativa* (Roma: Borla 2001) 74–75, 77; J.-P. Sonnet, "L'analisi narrativa dei racconti biblici," *Manuale di esegesi dell'Antico Testamento* (eds. M. Bauks – C. Nihan) (Testi e commenti; Bologna: EDB 2010) 73–76.

49 Cf. J. Gray, *I & II Kings. A Commentary*, 2 ed. (OTL; London – Philadelphia, PA: Westminster 1970) 642.

Hoshea, against whom the Assyrian aggression is directed in vv. 3–4 in the first place. It is significant that עָלָיו עָלָה, being, in terms of Hebrew syntax, a formulation of *(wə-)x-qatal* type, stands out against the narrative sequence of vv. 1–2, and so it begins a new one, forming a kind of introduction to the actions narrated subsequently.[50] It can also be noted that עָלָיו עָלָה is a plain formulation of the technical-military expression meaning 'to attack, invade, march up against' (see remarks expressed previously in this paper). It makes the motif of invasion explicit in the narrative right from its beginning.

Background of the Narrative	Foreground of the Narrative		2 Kgs 17
	Continuation of the Narrative Sequence	Beginning of the Narrative Sequence	
	בִּשְׁנַת שְׁתֵּים עֶשְׂרֵה לְאָחָז מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה מָלַךְ הוֹשֵׁעַ בֶּן־אֵלָה בְשֹׁמְרוֹן עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל תֵּשַׁע שָׁנִים		v. 1
	וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יהוה		v. 2a
רַק לֹא כְּמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ לְפָנָיו			v. 2b
		עָלָיו עָלָה שַׁלְמַנְאֶסֶר מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר	v. 3a
	וַיְהִי־לוֹ הוֹשֵׁעַ עֶבֶד		v. 3b
	וַיָּשֶׁב לוֹ מִנְחָה		v. 3c
	וַיִּמְצָא מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר בְּהוֹשֵׁעַ קֶשֶׁר		v. 4a
אֲשֶׁר שָׁלַח מַלְאָכִים אֶל־סוֹא מֶלֶךְ־מִצְרַיִם			v. 4b
וְלֹא־הֶעֱלָה מִנְחָה לְמֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר כְּשָׁנָה בְשָׁנָה			v. 4c
	וַיַּעַצְרֵהוּ מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר		v. 4d
	וַיַּאַסְרֵהוּ בֵּית כֶּלֶא		v. 4e
	וַיַּעַל מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר **בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ**		v. 5a
	וַיַּעַל שֹׁמְרוֹן		v. 5b
	וַיָּצַר עָלֶיהָ שָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים		v. 5c
		בִּשְׁנַת הַתְּשִׁיעִית לְהוֹשֵׁעַ לָכַד מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר אֶת־שֹׁמְרוֹן	v. 6a
	וַיֶּגֶל אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל אַשּׁוּרָה		v. 6b
	וַיֹּשֶׁב אֹתָם בַּחְלַח וּבְחָבוֹר נְהַר גּוֹזָן וְעָרֵי מָדָי		v. 6c

Furthermore, there is a sequence of seven *wayyiqtol* forms in vv. 3b–5, which point out the foreground of the narrative plot by heading individual clauses.[51] And so, there is a chain of seven subsequent actions in vv. 3b–5: Hoshea's becoming a vassal of Assyria (v. 3b), his tribute being paid to the Assyrian emperor (v. 3c), the unravelling of Hoshea's conspiracy by the king of Assyria (v. 4a), the arrest of Hoshea (v. 4d) and his imprisonment (v. 4e),

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50   On the initial *(wə-)x-qatal*, see A. Niccacci, *Sintassi del verbo ebraico nella prosa biblica classica* (SBFA 88; Milano: Terra Santa 2020) §§16–20 and §27. Cf. Joüon – Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §118d. On the reversed word order in Hebrew syntax, see Muraoka, *Biblical Hebrew Reader*, §48.

51   See Niccacci, *Sintassi del verbo ebraico*, §26. Cf. Joüon – Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §118ac; Muraoka, *Biblical Hebrew Reader*, §21b.1.

the Assyrian king's marching up through the whole country (v. 5a), the attack on Samaria (v. 5b) and its three-year siege (v. 5c). All these actions unfold the foreground of the plot. As seen on the diagram, this narrative sequence is broken in v. 4bc by the *(wə-)x-qatal* formulation (אֲשֶׁר שָׁלַח ... בְּשָׁנָה), which introduces the background information[52] on the reasons for the Assyrian aggression: Hoshea's conspiracy with So'[53] king of Egypt (v. 4b) and the withholding of tribute due (v. 4c).

The narrative sequence is broken again in v. 6a by another *(wə-)x-qatal* formulation (בִּשְׁנַת הַתְּשִׁיעִית לְהוֹשֵׁעַ לָכַד מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר אֶת־שֹׁמְרוֹן). This time, however, it does not introduce background information but initiates a new narrative sequence, which continues with two *wayyiqtol* clauses in v. 6bc, and so, after a gap of three years (in terms of the time of narration) between v. 5 and v. 6 the story reports the capture of Samaria (v. 6a), the deportation of the Israelites to Assyria (v. 6b) and their settlement there (v. 6c). This temporal gap reflects the narrative paralipsis (the lateral omission with the 'zero' time of narration), while the narrated time comes to three years.[54] In this way, the narrative concentrates and puts a strong emphasis on the attack against Samaria. It mentions its further capture but leaves other events that are irrelevant to the plot unsaid. From the narrative point of view, it creates effects of surprise, expectation, and suspense, and raises the dramatic tension.[55]

Considering the storyline of the passage in a wider co-text it represents a classic plot of stories about historical events,[56] characterised by a change of situation (the status of King Hoshea and his kingdom changes drastically by losing their independence to the Assyrians). It is possible to single out the classic moments of the plot in this passage:

1. the exposition (vv. 1–3), which presents the setting of the narrative: the main characters (King Hoshea and King Shalmaneser) and relations between them (Hoshea's becoming an Assyrian vassal and the annual tribute) – these pieces of information are key to understanding the entire narrative;

2. the inciting moment (v. 4abc) which presents the conflict between Hoshea and Shalmaneser as a result of Hoshea's conspiracy with So' and of the withholding of tribute due – the intention of this is to arouse the interest of the reader;

3. the complication (v. 4de), which recounts the different attempts to solve the conflict: the Assyrian king's punishment of Hoshea for his disloyalty through imprisonment;

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52   Cf. Niccacci, *Sintassi del verbo ebraico*, §40. On relative clauses, see Muraoka, *Biblical Hebrew Reader*, §49.

53   On the identification of this figure with Osorkon IV, see S.I. Kang, "A Philological Approach to the Problem of King So (2 Kgs 17:4)," *VT* 60/2 (2010) 241–248.

54   The narrative figure of paralipsis which is a simple temporal omission in the plot should not be confused with an ellipsis which is an omission of a more nuanced kind and less evident to the reader. On this, see Marguerat – Bourquin, *Per leggere i racconti biblici*, 95, 133.

55   Cf. Ska, *"Our Father Told Us"*, 8–9.

56   Cf. Sonnet, "Analisi narrativa," 56–58. For remarks regarding the plot in the narratives, its types, and detailed discussion about the individual moments of the plot, see Ska, *"Our Father Told Us"*, 17–38.

4. the climax (v. 5), which presents the moment of the highest tension by narrating the Assyrian attack launched first against the entire country and then against its capital Samaria taken after a three-year siege;

5. the resolution (v. 6) which reports the solution (the *peripeteia* in Aristotle's terms) of the initial problem, that leads to the exact opposite state of affairs compared to the initial situation: Samaria is captured, and Hoshea's kingdom, initially a relatively independent state, becomes an Assyrian province, and the inhabitants are taken into captivity;

6. the conclusion of the narrative (vv. 7–23), which presents a kind of epilogue to the story and a narrator's evaluation of the fate of the Northern Kingdom in theological terms, which points out the pragmatic reading of the whole section.

With respect to the verse under examination, it may be concluded that it marks the climax of the whole narrative.[57] The Assyrian invasion that swept through the entire country and the conquest of Samaria (v. 5) are the most important moments in the plot, representing a transforming action in narrative terms and the moment of the highest dramatic tension, leading to the tragic fall of the kingdom.

To this general overview of the unfolding plot of the passage, several further considerations should be added. Concerning the statement about Shalmaneser's invasion in v. 3a, it is noteworthy that it does not belong, from the narrative point of view, to the same storyline as the sequence of *wayyiqtol* forms in vv. 3b–5.[58] In fact, they do not describe subsequent actions in relation to what is said in v. 3a (Shalmaneser's marching up against Hoshea). It should rather be said that the series of events in vv. 3b–5 unfolds the 'content' of עָלָיו עָלָה שַׁלְמַנְאֶסֶר מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר in v. 3a, in other words, that vv. 3b–5 describe in detail what is mentioned only generally at the beginning.[59] Therefore, speaking in narrative terms, the statement in v. 3a is a proleptic (anticipatory) summary (the so-called *Sammelbericht*) that presents in advance the general motif of the whole narrative: the Assyrian invasion. By such prolepsis, the attention of the reader 'can focus more on the "how" of the specific narration than on the "what" of the "story".'[60]

The particular episodes underlying this invasion are narrated in vv. 3b–5. The problem is, however, that vv. 3a–4c recount events that happened before Shalmaneser's

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57   On the narrative climax, see Marguerat – Bourquin, *Per leggere i racconti biblici*, 48, 55.

58   From a historical-critical point of view, many scholars assume that vv. 3–6 consist of two different accounts of the same historical event, deriving from two different ancient sources; proposed already by H. Winckler, "Beiträge zur Quellenscheidung der Königsbücher," *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen* (ed. H. Winckler) (Leipzig: Pfeiffer 1892) 16–25; cf., e.g., Gray, *I & II Kings*, 639. See also discussion in Tekoniemi, *Textual History*, 63. In opposition to that opinion, J. Trebolle Barrera argues that tensions and inconsistencies in the text may be due not to its composite character, but to its multiple successive revisions, see J. Trebolle Barrera, "La Caida de Samaria: Critica Textual, Literaria e Historica de 2 Re 17, 3–6," *Salm* 28/1–2 (1981) 139–146.

59   P. Merlo suggests to read vv. 3–4 and 5–6 parallelly, not one after another; see P. Merlo, *Re. Introduzione, traduzione e commento* (Nuova versione della Bibbia dai testi antichi 9; Milano: San Paolo 2020) 372.

60   Ska, *"Our Father Told Us"*, 8. On the use of summaries in biblical narratives, see Marguerat – Bourquin, *Per leggere i racconti biblici*, 93–94.

attack[61] – Hoshea's becoming an Assyrian vassal, the tribute, the conspiracy with So', and the withholding of tribute that in effect provoked the military response of the Assyrians – being a kind of analepsis of the mixed type.[62] And so, in order to respect the time sequence in the translation into English we should normally render these verses using the pluperfect tense.[63] The question is, however, complex, since it is difficult to establish with certainty to which concrete action עָלָיו עָלָה in v. 3a refers, and so, at which point of the narrative we should shift in the translation from the pluperfect to the simple past tense. On the one hand, עָלָיו עָלָה in v. 3a may refer to וַיַּעַצְרֵהוּ מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר in v. 4d, since the text tells there about the operations directed against Hoshea: 'Shalmaneser marched up against him' – 'the king of Assyria arrested him.' On the other hand, עָלָיו עָלָה in v. 3a corresponds to וַיַּעַל מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ in v. 5a by involving in both cases the verb עלה with the technical-military meaning: 'Shalmaneser marched up against him' – 'the king of Assyria marched up throughout the whole country.'[64] However, it may be argued that עָלָיו עָלָה in v. 3a does not refer to any single action narrated in vv. 3b–5, but expresses the entirety of the Assyrian invasion, being a kind of title, or as already claimed, the *Sammelbericht* of the events that are next recounted with details. It is then reasonable to propose placing a colon after the rendering of v. 3a, so that it might mark that the events narrated in vv. 3b–5 are not successive, in terms of the narrated time, in relation to what is said in v. 3a.

Concerning the structure of vv. 3–6 another peculiarity of this text can be noticed, namely, that both v. 3a and v. 6a begin without the conjunction *waw*, being a formulation of *x-qatal* type marking the beginning of a new narrative sequence.[65] Even though some thematic correspondence may be observed between them, namely, that the first one tells about the attack of Shalmaneser against Hoshea, and the latter one – about the capture of Samaria, Hoshea's residence, they do not correspond to each other structurally. In terms of syntax, v. 6a corresponds rather to v. 1, being a stereotypical introduction to the account about the monarch's dealings with a standard temporal synchronisation between the northern and southern rulers, and with a general evaluation of the given king. Bearing this

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61   J.H. Kuan and J.K. Hayes solve this difficulty by suggesting that vv. 3a and 5a speak, in fact, about two different invasions of Samaria by Shalmaneser V; see J.H. Hayes – J.K. Kuan, "The Final Years of Samaria (730–720 BC)," *Bib* 72/2 (1991) 179–180. On the contrary, N. Na'aman explains the events in vv. 3–5 in a chronological and linear way by linking v. 3a with Shalmaneser V's invasion of 727 BCE, in consequence of which King Hoshea became his vassal (v. 3bc) but then rebelled again (v. 4), and v. 5a with Sargon II's campaign of 720 BCE; see N. Na'aman, "The Historical Background to the Conquest of Samaria (720 BC)," *Bib* 71/2 (1990) 214, 219, 224–225.

62   For a definition, see J.-N. Aletti *et al.*, *Lessico ragionato dell'esegesi biblica. Le parole, gli approcci, gli autori* (Brescia: Queriniana 2006) 73.

63   R.D. Nelson observes that vv. 3b–4 go back to start the narration about the events from the beginning ('tornano indietro per cominciare a raccontare le cose dall'inizio'); R.D. Nelson, *I e II Re* (Strumenti. Commentari 51; Torino: Claudiana 2010) 252. T.R. Hobbs translates vv. 3b–5 with the pluperfect tense, by stressing the consecutive meaning of וַיְהִי in v. 3b 'because he had become...'; Hobbs, *2 Kings*, 220, 226.

64   K.L. Younger Jr. suggests that עָלָיו עָלָה in v. 3a and וַיַּעַל in v. 5a refer to the same event; see K.L. Younger, "The Fall of Samaria in Light of Recent Research," *CBQ* 61/3 (1999) 478.

65   Cf. Niccacci, *Sintassi del verbo ebraico*, §18, §27.

in mind, v. 6 would be a conclusion of Hoshea's account. It is peculiar, however, that v. 6 speaks about the fate of Samaria and its inhabitants, and only indirectly refers to Hoshea, whose fate was already reported in v. 4de. In this regard, there is a noticeable shift of focalisation in the narrative,[66] concentrating first on King Hoshea and his dealings only (vv. 1–4), but afterwards reporting on the conquest of the country and the capital of Samaria, and its consequences (vv. 5–6). It has already been commented that the position of עָלָיו in v. 3a is emphatic, and so, it is King Hoshea against whom the military operations of King Shalmaneser are directed in the first place. In fact, vv. 3–4 recount the personal fate of Hoshea only, by mentioning his arrest and imprisonment. With the beginning of v. 5, the perspective changes and the focus shifts from what concerns the king to what concerns the fate of the country.[67] In addition, yet another shift of focus can be noticed there: the Assyrian aggression is directed, first, against the whole country (v. 5a) and then, against its capital city, Samaria (v. 5b). The narrative does not seem particularly interested in the fate of the country as a whole, but in the fate of its capital. And so, a contrast concerning the time of narration, namely, the 'space' that the narrative dedicates to recount the fate of the whole country (v. 5a) and of the city of Samaria (vv. 5bc–6a) is striking. In effect, the brief mention concerning the whole country stands between the story concerning Hoshea and that concerning Samaria. It marks, then, a kind of transition, a narrative bridge connecting one point of view with another. The final outcome of such a narrative construction is twofold. On the one hand, the Assyrian invasion is envisioned as a total conquest, both of the country and of the city of Samaria, leaving the reader with an impression that none of its parts were left unvanquished. Thus, the mention of the king's marching through the country adds drama to the narrated events. On the other hand, as it is a kind of transition creating a narrative suspense, it means that the narrative in its entirety does not pay much attention to the invasion of the country (v. 5a) but concentrates on the operations directed against Samaria (v. 5bc) and their consequences (v. 6). From this perspective, the mention of the attack on the entire country is a background to the story about the conquest of Samaria, and as such, it emphasises the special role that the capture of the city plays within this narrative. Paradoxically, it makes its capture more significant. The whole narrative thus takes on an anti-Samarian tone.

Yet another peculiarity of the passage in question concerns a double *Wiederaufnahme*[68] (resumption) visible in the text: the first one between vv. 3a (עָלָיו עָלָה) and 5a (וַיַּעַל), and the other one – within the internal structure of v. 5ab (וַיַּעַל ... וַיַּעַל).[69] This redaction tech-

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66   For general remarks about focalisation in the Bible, see Ska, *"Our Father Told Us"*, 67–76.

67   Cf. R.L. Cohn, *2 Kings* (Berit Olam. Studies in Hebrew Narrative & Poetry; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 2000) 117; Merlo, *Re*, 372.

68   On the function of this narrative figure, see, e.g., B.O. Long, "Framing Repetitions in Biblical Historiography," *JBL* 106/3 (1987) 385–399; Sonnet, "Analisi narrativa," 64.

69   S. Talmon comments that '[...] (v. 5) is a resumptive repetition of [...] (v. 3) which proves that the reference to Hoshea's conspiracy with Egypt and his refusal to pay tribute and his ensuing arrest by the king of Assyria (v. 4) is a secondary insert into the originally shorter text'; S. Talmon, *Literary Studies in the Hebrew Bible: Form and Content. Collected Studies* (Leiden: Brill 1993) 155–156.

nique is known as a literary device to insert some text into an already existing passage, making use of a short resumption of the leading motif, so that the text in between might be considered a redactional addition. With respect to the passage in question, this and all abovementioned pieces of information point towards a conclusion that it can hardly be considered a uniform literary unit. On the contrary, it betrays various traces of redactional reworking and editorial adjustments. This remark would corroborate our thesis that the mention of the campaign launched against the whole country in v. 5a may be secondary, namely, it would be inserted into the primary draft of this narrative to give much importance to the attack against Samaria within the narrative plot of 2 Kgs 17:3–6. The *lectio brevior* of the OL and, according to the reconstruction proposed, presumably also of the OG and of its Hebrew *Vorlage* (Old Hebrew), lacking v. 5a, immediately moves on from the military operations against Hoshea to those against Samaria. Such a text form is less dramatic and somehow 'flat' from the narrative point of view. On the contrary, the longer reading of the MT and later Greek text forms (in relation to the postulated OG reading), by providing brief information about the Assyrians' traversing the whole country, depicts their campaign as a total invasion and attaches much greater importance to the conquest of Hoshea's residence, the city of Samaria, than the shorter reading. Such an intensified anti-Samarian tone may have been the reason for inserting v. 5a into the already existing narrative from the pragmatic point of view.[70] If one accepts the shorter reading of the verse as reflecting an alternative (and presumably more original) text in comparison with the MT and other Greek readings, the longer one would reflect a subsequent development of the text aimed at giving much significance to the capture of Samaria and emphasis to the totality of destruction and exile of the Israelites. From a narrative point of view, it is difficult to find a convincing reason why the text of 2 Kgs 17:5 would be shortened and the mention of the conquest of the land omitted.

3. Events Narrated in 2 Kgs 17:3–6 in the Historical Context

The reconstruction of the transmission history of the text under examination and the analysis of the narrative function played by the mention of the land's conquest within the account of 2 Kgs 17:3–6 should be complemented by the historical contextualisation of the narrated events. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss all the particularities concerning the Assyrian invasion of Samaria, therefore, the author limits himself to the aspects related directly to the interpretation of 2 Kgs 17:5 in its co-text.

The first element that requires explanation is the identity of the Assyrian king who besieged Samaria. On the one hand, the biblical text clearly indicates that it was Shalmaneser V, whose name is mentioned explicitly in 2 Kgs 17:3a in the context of the measures taken against King Hoshea (vv. 3b–4). On the other hand, the very general and rather enigmatic

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70   Cf. Tekoniemi, *Textual History*, 67 n. 266.

expression מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר 'the king of Assyria' occurring five times in vv. 4acd, 5a, 6a provides grounds for speculations about the identity of the actual conqueror of the city of Samaria.[71] The biblical narrative (2 Kgs 17:3–6) and a fragmentary note in the Babylonian Chronicle 1 speak of Shalmaneser V's conquest of Samaria,[72] whereas it is Sargon II, the successor of Shalmaneser V, who claims in the Ashur Charter, the Nimrud Prisms, and the Great Summary Inscription from his palace in Khorsabad (ancient Dūr-Šarrukīn) to have captured Samaria and deported its inhabitants to Assyria.[73] The discussion on this topic has been going on among scholars for years, as none of the ancient sources is decisive on that matter.[74] Although it is not the subject of this paper to take a decisive stance on this matter, let it suffice to recall the most frequently cited scenario of the events – in the opinion of the author of this paper, the most probable one – namely, a double or a two stage conquest of Samaria, as has been argued by many scholars.[75]

In a nutshell, King Hoshea would be installed on the throne of Samaria by Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BCE) in the aftermath of his invasion of the southern Levant with a series of campaigns in the years 734–732 BCE, and of the *coup d'état* against King Pekah (cf. 2 Kgs 15:29–30). It appears that Hoshea was a faithful Assyrian vassal during the first part of his reign, as it may be incurred from the biblical account (cf. 2 Kgs 17:1), but then he rebelled, perhaps in the attempt to free himself from the Assyrian burden and, very possibly, with the intention of making an alliance with Egypt (cf. v. 4bc). The response to

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[71] For an overview of opinions concerning the identity of the Assyrian king and other debated issues related to our passage, see Younger, "Fall of Samaria," 461–482; T.-H. Kim, "Shalmaneser V, Sargon II, and the Final Years of Samaria in Recent Study," *Korean Journal of Christian Studies* 51 (2007) 6–19.

[72] Cf. J.-J. Glassner (ed.), *Mesopotamian Chronicles* (WAW 19; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2004) 16, col. i: 28. See discussion on the sources for Shalmaneser V in Younger, "Fall of Samaria," 463–468. On a controversy about the writing of ^URU*šá–ma–ra–'i–in* in this chronicle, see P. Dubovský, "Did Shalmaneser V Conquer the City of Samaria? An Investigation into the *ma/ba*-sign in Chronicle 1," *Or* 80/4 (2011) 423–438.

[73] See G. Frame, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria (721–705 BC)* (RINAP 2; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2021) no. 1: 12–17; no. 74: col. iv: 25–41. See discussion about these sources in Younger, "Fall of Samaria," 468–473.

[74] The data in favour of Shalmaneser V's conquest of Samaria is only fragmentary, as none of his significant royal inscriptions has survived to our times. On the other hand, the difficulty in evaluating Sargon II's royal inscriptions lies in the fact that they were written towards the end of his reign and are strongly marked by propaganda purposes and a ceremonial tone, reflecting a completely different historical situation when – at the end of his rule – Sargon II was indeed 'the King of the ancient World'. The beginnings of his reign were, however, marked by a series of rebellions and general chaos in the empire which burst out when he usurped the throne after the death of Shalmaneser V. Therefore, his allegedly triumphant military operations at the beginning of his rule were, for sure, not so successful and glorious as they are described in the royal inscriptions. For possible historical reconstructions, see P. Merlo, *Storia di Israele e Giuda nell'antichità* (Guida alla Bibbia 71; Milano: San Paolo 2022) 89–90, 92–93; C. Frevel, *History of Ancient Israel* (ABS 32; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2023) 361.

[75] See, for instance, M. Cogan – H. Tadmor, *II Kings. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 2 ed. (AB 11; New Haven, CT – London: Yale University 2008) 197; G. Galil, "The Last Years of the Kingdom of Israel and the Fall of Samaria," *CBQ* 57/1 (1995) 60; Merlo, *Re*, 373; cf. P.R. House, *1, 2 Kings* (NAC 8; Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman 1995) 340; G. Hens-Piazza, *1–2 Kings* (AOTC; Nashville, TN: Abingdon 2006) 351. On the opposite opinion, see conclusive statements in Na'aman, "Historical Background," 222–225; see also M.C. Tetley, "The Date of Samaria's Fall as a Reason for Rejecting the Hypothesis of Two Conquests," *CBQ* 64/1 (2002) 59–77.

Hoshea's disloyalty came with the new Assyrian ruler, Shalmaneser V (727–722 BCE), who intervened in the region in 724 BCE and conquered (but not necessarily destroyed)[76] the city of Samaria after a siege at the turn of 722 and 721 BCE. This did not mean, however, a triumphant Assyrian victory over the region and the end of military operations in the southern Levant. In the face of further local uprisings,[77] Shalmaneser V's successor, Sargon II (721–705 BCE), was forced to intervene there once again. Only then, not earlier than in 720/719 BCE, did he manage to retake the Syro-Palestine region, including the land of Samaria, and to incorporate it into the provincial system of the empire.[78]

The picture resulting from the historical reconstruction seems to be much more complex and multi-dimensional than the straightforward biblical narrative would suggest. Nevertheless, on the narrative level, there is no doubt that for the biblical writer מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר 'the king of Assyria' in vv. 4acd, 5a, 6a is identifiable with שַׁלְמַנְאֶסֶר מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר 'Shalmaneser, King of Assyria' as explicitly indicated in v. 3a. In the view of B. Becking, it is possible that the editor of Kings who was no longer aware of a double conquest of Samaria, conflated all the events spanning from 724 to 720/719 BCE into one campaign and attributed them to one king.[79]

Since the capture of the city by Shalmaneser V and its reconquest and subjugation of the region by Sargon II could be a possible scenario of the events, we should consider the relationship between the phrases כָּל־הָאָרֶץ 'the whole land' and שֹׁמְרוֹן 'Samaria' occurring in the biblical text. In this regard, for example, G. Galil argues that שֹׁמְרוֹן functions in 2 Kgs 17:5 as a general term representing the kingdom as a whole.[80] In fact, this term is occasionally ambivalent and may refer either to the land of Samaria or to its capital city of the same name. It is significant, however, that the meaning of most of the 48 occurrences of שֹׁמְרוֹן in 1–2 Kgs is restricted to the city only. If the term שֹׁמְרוֹן in 2 Kgs 17:5 refers to the land

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[76] L.L. Grabbe comments that the biblical data must be nuanced on the archaeological basis, since there is no significant burn layer or other direct evidence of destruction of Samaria; see L.L. Grabbe, "The Kingdom of Israel from Omri to the Fall of Samaria: If We Had Only the Bible ...," *Ahab Agonistes: The Rise and Fall of the Omri Dynasty* (ed. L.L. Grabbe) (LHBOTS 428; Edinburgh: Clark 2007) 64; cf. Na'aman, "Historical Background," 209; Younger, "Fall of Samaria," 473–475. See also the latest comprehensive study on the conquest of Samaria in S. Hasegawa – C. Levin – K. Radner (eds.), *The Last Days of the Kingdom of Israel* (BZAW 511; Berlin: De Gruyter 2018).

[77] M. Cogan comments on the situation in 721 BCE and calls it unprecedented, since Sargon II was an usurper (although of royal blood from a side branch from Tiglath-pileser III, as it is argued) who seized the throne after the sudden death of Shalmaneser V, and thus all previous oaths of loyalty were cancelled and many regions, including Israel and Judah, went back on their vassal obligations and rebelled. Therefore, it was impossible, contrary to what is claimed in Sargon II's inscriptions, to campaign against the West in his accession year (721 BCE). It only became possible in his second full year, that was 720/719 BCE, but even if then he may have retaken the West, 'it was far from being subdued.' See M. Cogan, "Restoring the Empire: Sargon's Campaign to the West in 720/19 BCE," *IEJ* 67/2 (2017) 154, 163.

[78] Cf. Merlo, *Storia di Israele e Giuda*, 90; Frevel, *History of Ancient Israel*, 362–364.

[79] See B. Becking, *Fall of Samaria. An Historical and Archaeological Study* (SHANE 2; Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill 1992) 56. R.L. Cohn comments that the biblical writer does not name or distinguish the Assyrian kings, because for him what matters is not the process but the result; see Cohn, *2 Kings*, 117.

[80] Cf. Galil, "Last Years," 60.

of Samaria and not to the city, both expressions (שֹׁמְרוֹן and כָּל־הָאָרֶץ) would have the same referent in the physical world, and thus they would create a superfluous and unnecessary repetition in the text. Moreover, the expression וַיָּצַר עָלֶיהָ 'he besieged it' in v. 5c reports the siege of Samaria. It would be highly unusual for it to refer to the 'siege' of a region and not of a city. It is clear, therefore, that כָּל־הָאָרֶץ and שֹׁמְרוֹן in 2 Kgs 17:5 are not equivalent terms and have two different referents: the first one – the whole country of Samaria, identifiable in our passage with the country ruled by King Hoshea, and the latter one – its capital, the city of Samaria. In this context, the quantifier כֹּל 'the whole of, entirety' used with reference to the land accentuates the fact that no part of Hoshea's kingdom was passed over in the Assyrian invasion. As A. Šanda rightly observes, כָּל־הָאָרֶץ in 2 Kgs 17:5 would not refer to the entire land of Israel but rather to Hoshea's country, which was the rest of the land of Israel – from the northern Jizre'el plain to the southern boundary with Judah – that had not been conquered by Tiglath-pileser III in 734–732 BCE.[81]

Another interesting element regarding 2 Kgs 17:5 is its 'sociological setting.'[82] It is noteworthy that the expression עָלָה עַל employed several times in 2 Kgs 17:3–6 and used stereotypically to denote an invasion, indicates some sociolinguistic background. In fact, it implies the geographic topography of the Levant, which entails a natural movement from below upwards in attacking inhabited areas located usually on elevated places. This fits the historical context of the narrative in question, namely, the Assyrian invasion of the southern Levant. It is almost certain that the troops set out from the north, either from Tyre[83] in Philistia or from Damascus in Syria (where they were presumably stationed), and so they must have invaded the land from the valleys (either from Shephelah or from the Valley Jizre'el), marching up through the hill country of Ephraim in order to attack the stronghold of Samaria. In such a sociolinguistic context, the verb עָלָה expresses in 2 Kgs 17:5 both a notion of an upward movement and the technical-military sense of invading the highlands.

Coming back to the question of a two-stage invasion of Samaria, some further elements present in the biblical text should be commented on. The presence of two consecutive clauses וַיַּעַל בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ 'he marched up throughout the whole country' and וַיַּעַל שֹׁמְרוֹן 'he attacked Samaria' in 2 Kgs 17:5 corroborates the already expressed assumptions. On a narrative level, the biblical text describes the Assyrian invasion as consisting of two stages: (1) the conquest of the open hill country of Ephraim by subduing all significant Israelite towns in the region and (2) the attack directed against its capital city of Samaria.[84] On a historical level, not only is such a military tactic plausible, but it is well documented by

81   Cf. A. Šanda, *Die Bücher der Könige. Zweiter Halbband. Das zweite Buch der Könige übersetzt und erklärt* (Münster: Aschendorff 1912) 217.

82   For general remarks regarding sociolinguistics, see W.B. McGregor, *Linguistics. An Introduction* (London – New York: Continuum 2010) 155–178.

83   On Shalmaneser V's campaign against Tyre, see Cogan – Tadmor, *II Kings*, 198–199. Cf. Hayes – Kuan, "Final Years," 159–161.

84   T.R. Hobbs comments that the Assyrian strategy consisted of paralysing the country and then of surrounding the capital city after its military and economic support had been taken away; cf. Hobbs, *2 Kings*, 230.

Neo-Assyrian sources as an almost standard procedure in conquering other lands. In fact, the Assyrians would not attack the capital of the rebel region immediately, at the beginning of their military campaigns. Instead, they would cut it off from any possible external support and supplies, for instance, by attacking smaller centres of the rebellion around and negotiating with the allies of the rebels to make them shift their allegiance to the Assyrians, or by setting blockades on the routes to stop the flow of food and trade – all this aimed at total isolation of the 'headquarter' and exposing it to a siege calculated to be short and dramatic. This tactic proved to be very effective a decade earlier in dealings with Aram-Damascus by Tiglath-pileser III in 734–732 BCE.[85]

The Assyrian military strategy described above, consisting of a two-stage conquest of the land of Samaria and its capital, is concurrent with the plot of the MT and most of the Greek testimonies, but not with the shorter OL version preserved in La[115]. One could argue that this undermines the thesis about the original (primary) nature of this text version. The author of this paper believes that it is exactly the opposite. It is difficult to assume that the postulated textual changes occurred inconsiderately or were not carefully thought out. The well-known war practice of the Assyrians would be an excellent argument for the biblical editors to give credibility to the textual expansion they introduced. In this way, the postulated addition of the mention of the land's conquest before the attack on its capital would not only be justified by the war realities of the era, but would be, in fact, possible thanks to them. In this regard, it would be more difficult to explain the opposite process, i.e., the appearance of a shortened text version of the events, omitting the mention of the conquest of the land.

When it comes to the conquest of Samaria itself, archaeological data demonstrate many traces of devastation found throughout the coastal strip and the hill country of Ephraim in the late 8th century BCE.[86] Some of these may be linked with the aforementioned invasion of Tiglath-pileser III in the 730's BCE, even though his operations were focused mainly on the northern and eastern parts of Israel (Galilee and Gilead), and not on the hill country of Ephraim. It seems, however, that his campaigns affected, directly or indirectly, the whole country and left it ruined and devastated, and therefore weak and almost defenceless. It would mean that perhaps there was no necessity for Shalmaneser V's troops to fight in the open field, and the Assyrians could easily subjugate the whole country, already plundered a few times, that had put up little resistance. In fact, the Babylonian Chronicle speaking about the invasion of Shalmaneser V records that the Assyrians had plundered vast areas or groups of towns in Israel before the attack was directed against the city of Samaria itself. By stating this, the Assyrian writer employs an Akkadian verb *ḫepû* 'to plunder, ravage', indicating the conquest by raiding, looting, or sacking rather than defeat by regular clash

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85   Cf. P. Dubovský, "Tiglath-Pileser III's Campaigns in 734–732 B.C.: Historical Background of Isa 7; 2 Kgs 15–16 and 2 Chr 27–28," *Bib* 87/2 (2006) 158–161.

86   Cf. Becking, *Fall of Samaria*, 56–60.

of troops.[87] Therefore, Shalmaneser V would first plunder the entire region of Ephraim and the neighbourhoods of Samaria. In consequence, its capital would be the only city left that defied his power by defending itself during a three-year siege. In this regard, A. Šanda comments that such a long siege may have been due to the defensible position of the city and to the necessity of the Assyrian army to withdraw to the winter-camp somewhere in the province of Damascus.[88] P. Merlo argues, however, that the three-year siege appears simply improbable, just because of the warfare practice evoked by A. Šanda, namely, that the Assyrian army used to go back to the heartland every year. P. Merlo comments further that Samaria was not as important and inexpungable as to resist the power of Assyria for three years.[89] According to a possible scenario, the Assyrian conquest may have been somehow inconclusive and the siege of the city interrupted, for instance, because of the notice about the death of Shalmaneser V, which forced the army to withdraw from the southern Levant to the Assyrian heartland. Only two years later would Sargon II resume the conquest and bring it to the (more or less) satisfactory end.[90]

In summary, the historical reconstruction of the events recounted in 2 Kgs 17:3–6 leads to the conclusion that the Assyrian king who invaded Samaria was Shalmaneser V, but it was his successor, Sargon II, who managed to complete the conquest and control the region by turning it into the Assyrian province of *Samērīna*, and to exile its inhabitants to Assyria. The question of the actual conqueror of the city of Samaria is still open to debate since many scenarios may still be envisioned. The author of this paper believes that it is reasonable to assume that Shalmaneser V launched the campaign against Samaria, and after a relatively rapid conquest of the open hill country, he encountered some resistance in the capital, which led to its siege. It is very likely that the Assyrian forces succeeded in breaking the resistance of the Samarians and taking the city, but they did not destroy it. The eventual

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87   See the entry *ḫepû* 3 in *CAD* VI = I.J. Gelb *et al.* (eds.), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago, IL – Glückstadt: Oriental Institute – Augustin 1956) VI, 173. Cf. Na'aman, "Historical Background," 211.

88   Cf. Šanda, *Bücher der Könige*, 217.

89   Cf. Merlo, *Re*, 372. Contrary to this view, M.A. Sweeney argues that Samaria had well-constructed fortifications, 'which would have been nearly impossible to breach by frontal assault'; see Sweeney, *I & II Kings*, 393; cf. Gray, *I & II Kings*, 644; N. Avigad, "Samaria," *The New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land* (ed. E. Stern) (New York – Jerusalem: Simon & Schuster – Israel Exploration Society & Carta 1993–2008) IV, 1300–1310 (especially 1302–1303). N. Na'aman argues that the length of siege in the biblical text comes from erroneous deduction of the writer 'who in his sources had found a datum that Samaria was besieged and conquered by the Assyrians three years *after* its rebellion and the imprisonment of its king' and so he assumed that the conquest of Samaria must have lasted three years; see Na'aman, "Historical Background," 221.

90   H. Tadmor put forward an interesting hypothesis that Sargon II may have been present, or even have overseen, the siege of Samaria as Shalmaneser V's general; see H. Tadmor, "The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur: A Chronological-Historical Study," *JCS* 12/1 (1958) 31, 36; cf. L.M. Wray Beal, *1&2 Kings* (ApOTC 9; Nottingham – Downers Grove, IL: Apollos – InterVarsity 2014) 449. This proposal was elaborated by S.J. Park who argues that it was Sargon who defeated the military alliance in the West and conquered Samaria under Shalmaneser V in 722 BCE, and then, after having heard of the death of the king, he returned to the heartland and usurped the Assyrian throne; see S.J. Park, "A New Historical Reconstruction of the Fall of Samaria," *Bib* 93/1 (2012) 104–106. Cf. Kim, "Shalmaneser V," 5–27.

retreat of the armies to the heartland of Assyria, perhaps prompted by news of internal un-rest caused by the death of Shalmaneser V, gave rise to a series of rebellions in the southern Levant, as local political entities, including the region of Samaria, took advantage of Assyria's internal weakness to regain relative independence from the empire. The new Assyrian ruler Sargon II could face these difficulties neither in his accession year, nor in the first regnal year, as he was too occupied with internal difficulties and struggles with Babylonia and Elam. Only in the late 720 BCE could he launch a campaign against the West to recon-quer it. Perhaps, another siege and capture of Samaria was necessary, but the biblical text is silent about this, while the Neo-Assyrian sources are not decisive on this matter.

The biblical author presents these events in a form of a single victorious campaign of Shalmaneser V, showing the total defeat of Samaria and the definitive end of the Kingdom of Israel in theological terms (notice a long 'homily' on the fall of Israel in 2 Kgs 17:7–23).[91] The mention by the biblical writer that Samaria regained relative independence after Shal-maneser's withdrawal and that Sargon II had to set out with a new campaign to reconquer it would disturb that one-sidedly negative theological image of the fall of the Northern Kingdom as God's harsh punishment for its apostasies. In this respect, the mention about the conquest of the land in the MT, in later Greek versions, and the Targum intensifies the anti-Samarian rhetoric of the biblical text in comparison with those textual versions that speak only of an attack on the city and its siege (OL and reconstructed OH and OG texts).

Conclusions

The text-critical analyses of all available textual sources of 2 Kgs (4 Kgdms) 17:5 indicate a complex transmission history of the text in question. It points towards the recognition of its two basic textual strands:

1. one preserving the full account of the events (*lectio longior*), that is, the conquest of the land (v. 5a), of the city of Samaria (v. 5b) and its three-year siege (v. 5c), attested to by the MT, Aramaic *Tg. J.*, Greek *kaige* text as well as by the Antiochian (*L*) text with a further expansion,
2. the other one preserving the shorter version of the narrated events (*lectio brevior*), lack-ing the mention about the conquest of the land, witnessed by the OL *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis* (La[115]) and several Greek testimonies (*CI* group).

This diversity prompts us to raise questions about the character of the biblical remark on the conquest of the land, whether it may be considered primary or secondary. The schol-arly discussion about the textual witnesses involved here, especially about the great value of the OL in reconstructing the text close to the OG, leads to the conclusion that the shorter

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91   M.A. Sweeney comments that the narrative in 2 Kgs 17 'is formulated largely as a theological treatise that ex-plains the exile of the northern Israel as a consequence of the people's apostasy against YHWH [...]. Such an account must be recognised as an expression of theodicy'; Sweeney, *I & II Kings*, 389.

version of La[115] may be in fact the only source available today that witnesses the true OG text and at the same time the oldest recoverable form of 2 Kgs (4 Kgdms) 17:5. This assumption is supported by auxiliary evidence such as the quotation of 2 Kgs 17:5 found in the writings of Cyril of Alexandria, the parallel account about the conquest of Samaria in 2 Kgs 18:9–10 and Josephus Flavius' reference to the events in his *Jewish Antiquities* – all of them testifying in favour of the *lectio brevior* of 2 Kgs 17:5. The accumulation of this evidence and the fact that it comes from different types of sources can hardly be a pure coincidence. It encourages the author of this paper to hypothesise about the originality of the *lectio brevior* of 2 Kgs 17:5 and to propose the reconstruction of all stages of its textual transmission, including the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the OG, the OG itself, and the proto-*L* text, in consequence of which the Masoretic *lectio longior* would appear as a recension of an older Hebrew text, and thus, as an alternative version of the events referred to.

The *lectio longior* of the MT could hardly be accidental. This makes us raise questions about the possible reasons underlying the postulated textual expansion in 2 Kgs 17:5[MT]. In this regard, the narrative analysis of 2 Kgs 17:5 within its co-text shows that the notice of the Assyrian attack on the entire land and its capital of Samaria is the climax of the unfolding plot of the narrated events. Through a noticeable shift of focalisation, the invasion that swept throughout the entire country and the conquest of Samaria are given much emphasis and become a transforming action in the narrative terms and the moment of the highest dramatic tension, leading the narrative to the tragic end of the kingdom. In this context, the brief mention concerning the whole country stands between the story concerning King Hoshea (vv. 3–4) and that concerning Samaria (vv. 5–6). It marks a kind of transition, a narrative bridge connecting one point of view with another. The final outcome of such a narrative construction is twofold. On the one hand, the Assyrian invasion is envisioned as a total conquest, leaving the reader with an impression that none of Israel's lands was left unvanquished. The mention of the king's marching up the country (v. 5a) thus adds drama to the narrated events. On the other hand, as it is a kind of transition creating a narrative suspense, it emphasises the operations directed against the city of Samaria (v. 5bc) and their consequences (v. 6). From this perspective, the mention of the attack on the entire country makes the capture of the capital more significant. In contrast to this, the *lectio brevior* of the OL and presumably also of the OG and of its Hebrew *Vorlage* (Old Hebrew), which passes immediately from the military operations against Hoshea to those against the city of Samaria, appears to be less dramatic and somehow 'flat' from the narrative point of view.

If one accepts that the shorter reading of the verse reflects an alternative and presumably more original text in comparison with the MT and other Greek readings, the longer one would reflect a subsequent development of the text aimed at giving much significance to the capture of Samaria and emphasising the totality of the Assyrian invasion. This is even more evident in a further expansion on 2 Kgs 17:5 preserved by the Antiochian text. In such a way, the narrative of the *lectio longior* takes on a more anti-Samarian tone, disclosing possible pragmatic motives underlying postulated text expansions. In fact, this

kind of polemic may have been the reason why the biblical editor would have inserted the mention of the campaign against the whole country into the primary draft of this narrative. This assumption would corroborate an increasingly popular thesis that one of the characteristics of the MT, viewed as a revision of an older Hebrew text, would be its anti-Samarian tendency.

Historical contextualisation of the events narrated in 2 Kgs 17:5 and its co-text completes the picture which seems to be much more complex and multi-dimensional than the straightforward biblical narrative would suggest. The biblical text leaves little space for an identification of the king of Assyria who invaded Samaria different than with Shalmaneser V, as he is the only ruler mentioned explicitly by name in the co-text (v. 3). However, many scholars argue in favour of a double or a two-stage conquest of Samaria and interpret the biblical narrative as a conflation of events spanning from 724 to 720/719 BCE. They are identified as one campaign attributed to one king, behind whose actions are hidden military operations of both Shalmaneser V and his successor Sargon II. Various details of those conquests, including their course and exact dating of the events, are still open to debate. However, the result of the Assyrian campaigns remains clear: the land of Israel that had not been conquered by Tiglath-pileser III in 734–732 BCE, that is, Hoshea's country from the northern Jizre'el plain to the southern border with Judah, was conquered and incorporated into the provincial system of the empire, and the city of Samaria, besieged but most probably not destroyed, became a new Assyrian centre in the southern Levant. This marked the end of the Northern Kingdom as an independent political entity.

In the historical context depicted above, the phraseology employed in 2 Kgs 17:5 is noteworthy. Hebrew syntagms making use of the verb עָלָה express both an idea of an upward movement and the military operation of invading the highlands. This fits perfectly the historical realities of Assyrian invasions of the southern Levant, as it is almost certain that their troops set out from the north and invaded the land of Israel from the valleys, marching up through the hill country of Ephraim to attack the stronghold of Samaria. Moreover, the biblical text itself (MT, *Tg. J.*, and almost all Greek Testimonies) implies that the Assyrian invasion consisted of two stages: the conquest of the open hill country of Ephraim and the attack directed against its capital city of Samaria. Such military tactics are well documented by Neo-Assyrian sources as an almost standard procedure in conquering the lands. As discussed, the Assyrians would not attack the capital of the rebel region immediately, but instead, they would cut it off from any possible external support and supplies. This tactic proved to be very effective a decade earlier in dealings with Aram-Damascus by Tiglath-pileser III in 734–732 BCE, and it may have been effective in the case of the conquest of Samaria as well. Such a military strategy is not implied in the shorter OL text of La[115]. If our hypothesis that this text preserves the oldest recoverable form of 2 Kgs 17:5 is true, it can also be admitted that the well-known Assyrian war practice of attacking first the open country and only then its fortified capital would be an excellent justification for the biblical editor for the postulated textual expansion, thus giving credibility to the events recounted.

The final literary context in which these events are narrated indicates that the biblical writer/editor was not interested in presenting a merely historical report on them. He was much more interested in theodicy, depicting the total defeat of Samaria and the definitive end of the Kingdom of Israel in theological terms. The anti-Samarian tone resonates strongly in the long 'homily' on the fall of Israel in 2 Kgs 17:7–23 as God's harsh punishment for its apostasies. It may have been the reason why those elements coming from the historical contextualisation of the events which could weaken that one-sidedly negative theological image – such as the remark that Shalmaneser campaign may have been inconclusive, or that Samaria was not destroyed, or that it had to be conquered twice – were somehow simplified by the biblical editor to a single victorious Assyrian invasion. In this regard, the remark about the conquest of the land in the MT, in later Greek versions, and the Targum intensifies too the anti-Samarian rhetoric of the biblical text in comparison with those textual versions which do not mention it (OL and reconstructed OH and OG texts).

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Joy at the Birth of Christ: A Study of Matthew 2:10 and Luke 2:10

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ABSTRACT: The infancy narratives in Matthew and Luke present a mix of similarities and differences, creating challenges for scholars investigating the origins of the Synoptic Gospels and conducting comparative studies. This paper contends that the parallels between the two accounts are not coincidental, proposing that, even under cautious assumptions, they likely stem from a shared source. Exegetes continue to debate the extent of these parallels between Matt 1–2 and Luke 1–2, including the potential connection between Matt 2:10 and Luke 2:10. This study argues that the unifying theme in these verses is joy. Additionally, some minor parallels can also be identified. These similarities can be justified by looking at the texts in their context. In recent years, some scholars have studied the phenomenon of joy in Luke-Acts. Besides relying on these works to explore Luke 2:10, this paper seeks to provide new insights. The analysis of joy in Matthew is itself a fresh approach, as it has received little attention. This is particularly evident in the case of Matt 2:10, which is often overlooked or mentioned only in passing by commentators.

KEYWORDS: infancy narrative, joy, magi, star of Bethlehem, angel

Among the Gospels, Matthew and Luke record the birth of Christ and related episodes. Between the two accounts, there are some differences and subtle variations in emphasis. Many of these differences are obvious on first reading. For example, Luke says that Joseph and Mary lived in Nazareth before the birth of Jesus (Luke 2:1–7), whereas Matthew makes no mention of this. In Matthew, the angel appears to Joseph in a dream. Luke, on the other hand, mentions the encounter between the angel Gabriel and Mary (Luke 1:26–28). In Matthew's account, the magi are described as travelling when they saw the star that announced the birth (Matt 2:1–12). In contrast, Luke presents shepherds responding to the angel's call (Luke 2:8–20). Furthermore, there are notable similarities between the two accounts. Some parallels are immediately apparent, including the conception by the Spirit (Matt 1:18, 20; Luke 1:35), the birth in Bethlehem (Matt 2:1; Luke 2:4–6), and even the Davidic descent of Joseph (Matt 1:16, 20; Luke 1:27, 32; 2:4). While these parallels could be extended, it is sometimes unclear or disputed whether certain verses should be considered parallels. This is evident from the differing number of parallels that exegetes have identified. For instance, Raymond E. Brown counts eleven matches in total,[1] while Joseph

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1   R.E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday 1997) 34–35.

Fitzmyer suggests twelve,[2] Philip L. Shuler presents a longer list of eighteen matches,[3] and Robert K. MacEwen offers an even more extensive list of twenty-five.[4] Notably, Shuler and MacEwen identify Matt 2:10 and Luke 2:10 as parallels, whereas Brown and Fitzmyer do not. Both verses depict the joy of the magi and the shepherds as a significant aspect of the narrative. This paper presents a detailed analysis of these verses and supports the hypothesis by Shuler and MacEwen, arguing that Matt 2:10 and Luke 2:10 share notable similarities.

Given the similarities and differences between the two infancy narratives, it is worth considering the sources from which they derive. Shuler's two-Gospel hypothesis posits that Luke was aware of and drew upon Matthew's text and, consequently, his infancy narrative.[5] Moreover, this view is shared by other scholars who do not accept the two-Gospel hypothesis. According to Barbara Shellard, 'The birth narrative provides another occasion when Luke's text can be explained as a creative rewriting of Matthew.'[6] Alternatively, another hypothesis proposes that Matthew used Luke's Gospel.[7] The majority of scholars, however, suggest that Matthew and Luke were independent authors. Those who hold this view typically claim that the infancy narratives are Matthew's and Luke's original material. While this theory addresses the differences between the two narratives, it fails to explain the similarities. This has led to the suggestion that both infancy stories may originate from a common tradition.[8] This perspective suggests that the evangelists were not aware of each other's work, but rather relied on a common tradition that included identical elements.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to fully address the Synoptic problem. However, it is reasonable to conclude that the similarities between Matt 1–2 and Luke 1–2 cannot be attributed to mere chance. The two accounts share numerous similarities, including parallels in minor details, such as the mention of joy in Matt 2:10 and Luke 2:10. Thus, this starting point also allows a comparison to be made between Matt 2:10 and Luke 2:10. However, a full comparison can only be made by examining how joy fits into the context and how it relates to the broader perspective of the Gospels.

As will be discussed, the theme of joy – and its analysis – is one of the most popular lines of research in Luke-Acts among contemporary scholars. The monographs that have been published on this topic have presented Luke 2:10 from a variety of perspectives. However, the specific focus of these writings does not allow for an in-depth study of this single verse.

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2   J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I–IX* (AB 28; New York: Doubleday 1982) 307.

3   P.L. Shuler, "The Rhetorical Character of Luke 1–2," *Literary Studies in Luke–Acts: Essays in Honor of Joseph B. Tyson* (ed. J.B. Tyson) (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press 1998) 173–174.

4   R.K. MacEwen, *Matthean Posteriority: An Exploration of Matthew's Use of Mark and Luke as a Solution to the Synoptic Problem* (LNTS 501; London – New York: Bloomsbury – Clark 2018) 119–120. MacEwen lists not only twenty-five parallels, but also fifteen differences. One could argue with MacEwen's analysis, but it is clear that the similarities are not to be taken lightly (*ibidem*, 121–122).

5   Shuler, "The Rhetorical Character," 173–174.

6   B. Shellard, *New Light on Luke: Its Purpose, Sources, and Literary Context* (JSNT.SS 215; London: Sheffield Academic Press 2002) 79.

7   MacEwen, *Matthean Posteriority*, 27–74.

8   Brown, *The Birth*, 34; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 306; J. Marcus, *John the Baptist in History and Theology* (SPNT; Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press 2018) 133.

There are several aspects of the birth story, and more specifically of Luke 2:10–11, that need to be explored in greater depth and that are currently under-discussed. In the case of Matthew, a deeper analysis of Matt 2:10 is also justified because there is much less discussion of joy in that Gospel. This analysis shows that joy is not an irrelevant element within the birth narratives, but their integral part.

1. Matthew 2:10

The interest in Matt 2:1–12 is generally focused on the verses about the magi and the star (Matt 2:1–2) or the OT passage predicting the birth of the Davidic heir (Matt 2:5–6). However, several passages receive little or no explanation. Matt 2:10 belongs to the latter group. Most scholars touch on this verse only briefly, often in a few lines, while some commentaries omit any explanation.[9] This lack of interest is unfortunate because, as will be shown below, Matt 2:10 offers several interpretive angles and provides a better understanding of the unit.

First, it is worth considering the context. Matt 2:1–12 reveals how the magi found the infant. Upon seeing the star that signified the Messiah's birth, the magi journeyed to Jerusalem (Matt 2:1–8), expecting to find the infant there. After a brief interlude, it is revealed that, according to the Scriptures, the Davidic king was to be born in Bethlehem (Matt 2:5–6), which explains why Herod directed the magi there (Matt 2:8). The narrative indicates that Herod, upon learning of the birth, was troubled (Matt 2:3). According to the narrative, he tried to kill the child (Matt 2:16–18). It is somewhat unusual that he did not send his own men to Bethlehem, but instead relied on the foreign magi to report back to him. Matt 2:9–11 then describes the further journey of the magi and their meeting with Jesus. Finally, they returned home by another route to avoid Herod, who sought to kill Jesus (Matt 2:12).

The magi received two clues as to Jesus' whereabouts. First, Herod directed them to Bethlehem (Matt 2:8). Second, the star that they had first seen in the east reappeared and led them (Matt 2:9–10).[10] While in Matt 2:1–2, the star is merely visible, in Matt 2:9 it takes on a more active role: it began to guide (προῆγεν) the magi[11] and then stood (ἐστάθη) over the location of Jesus. Matt 2:9 then concludes that the magi reached their destination.

9   C.A. Evans, *Matthew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2012) 55; H.W. Basser – M.B. Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew and Judaic Traditions: A Relevance-Based Commentary* (BRLJ 46; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2015) 61; H.L. Strack – P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (München: Beck 1922) I, 83.

10   The star may be a comet or constellation. D.W. Hughes, "Astronomical Thoughts on the Star of Bethlehem," *The Star of Bethlehem and the Magi: Interdisciplinary Perspectives from Experts on the Ancient Near East, the Greco-Roman World* (eds. P. Barthel – G.H. van Kooten) (TBN 19; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2015) 117.

11   According to M.A. Moule, προῆγεν denotes a beginning, so he suggests one of the translations 'began to go before' or 'started going before (*An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1959] 9.

However, Matt 2:10 breaks the flow of the narrative: it again mentions the appearance of the star and the joy of the magi at seeing it. After the conclusion of Matt 2:9, the reader would expect Matt 2:10 to discuss the magi's meeting with Jesus but this does not happen until Matt 2:11. A smoother text could, therefore, be achieved by either omitting Matt 2:10 or integrating it into Matt 2:9. It is also unusual that the magi's joy is not associated with meeting Jesus, but rather with the reappearance of the star.

There is another example in Matt 2:1–12 where the narrative is interrupted by a comment on emotion. Without Matt 2:3, the transition between Matt 2:2 and Matt 2:4 would also be seamless. Matt 2:2 tells that the magi are looking for Christ in Jerusalem, while Matt 2:4 shows that as a result of this interest, Herod also begins a search. As in Matt 2:10, however, Matt 2:3 brings the narrative to a halt. After the question of the magi (Matt 2:2), there is an interjection: Herod, who had announced the birth of Christ, was troubled (ἐταράχθη), and with him all Jerusalem (Matt 2:3).[12] Explanations of Matt 2:10 often note that Matt 2:3 is another example of emotional involvement,[13] similar to other remarks in the narrative (Matt 2:16–17). In Matt 2:3 and Matt 2:10, the narrative line is interrupted. In Matt 2:10 the break is more visible because the verse makes a greater departure. However, this interruption does not necessarily indicate interpolation but may reflect a deliberate focus on emotion.

After Matt 2:9 describes the magi's arrival at Jesus' place of birth, it adds that they were overjoyed upon seeing the star (Matt 2:10). The participle ἰδόντες (they saw) that opens Matt 2:10 can be translated 'when' and 'because of'.[14] Translated as 'when', it makes clear that Matt 2:10 interrupts the train of thought that begins with the previous verse, while translated as 'because', it emphasises that the magi's joy stems from the star's reappearance. If a choice has to be made, the latter option more clearly conveys that the narrative pauses at Matt 2:10.

The magi's joy is viewed differently by the commentators. Craig S. Keener lists instances where joy is associated with the birth or accession of a ruler (1 Kgs 1:40; 2 Kgs 11:20). He also notes that joy is the natural response to encountering the kingdom of God (Matt 5:12; 13:44; 25:21–23).[15] Other commentators, sticking to the literalism of Matt 2:10, explain the magi's joy at the reappearance of the star. According to this view, the magi rejoiced because their prediction was confirmed as the constellation reappeared.[16] However, this theory involves several hypotheses that are difficult to prove. It is debatable whether this was a specific constellation or whether the magi's joy was linked to the confirmation of their prediction. It is not mentioned in the text, but it is more likely that their joy stemmed

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12 Tαράσσω could refer to the fear of the disciples: in Matt 14:26 it is reported that the disciples, sailing on the stormy Sea of Galilee, did not recognise Jesus walking on the sea and thought they saw a ghost (cf. Mk 6:50).

13 M. Konradt, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus: Neubearbeitung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2023) 42.

14 Cf. R.T. France, *The Gospel of Matthew* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2007) 74.

15 C.S. Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1990) 104.

16 Hughes, "Astronomical Thoughts," 123.

from God's guidance rather than from their own calculations. The star can be understood as a sign pointing to the one it signifies, Christ, the newborn king. It is reasonable to see this joy as foreshadowing the joy of meeting Christ, aligning with the broader interpretation suggested by Keener. Later in this paper, it will be argued that Luke 2:10 can be understood in a similar light.

In Matt 2:10, when the magi saw the star, they 'rejoiced with great joy' ('ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην σφόδρα'). After ἐχάρησαν, three words intensify the joy's greatness. First, 'ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν' is a *figura etymologica*, a construction often used for emphasis. Where *figura etymologica* occurs in the NT or the LXX, the verb is followed by a noun in accusative or dative case. Wallace argues that the dative form is the more emphatic (cf. Matt 6:29; 22:3; Luke 2:8–9; Col 2:19 etc.).[17] The NT provides other examples of this phenomenon. There are also cases where the greatness of joy is expressed in this way. In John 3:29, the friend of the bridegroom 'rejoices with joy' ('χαρᾷ χαίρει') at the bridegroom's arrival (cf. Isa 66:10). There are examples of this feature apart from the χαρ- root: for instance, in 1 Kgs 1:40, where the phrase 'εὐφραινόμενοι εὐφροσύνην μεγάλην' also expresses intense joy (cf. Isa 61:10). As in Matt 2:10, the phrase includes the *figura etymologica*, and the additions μεγάλην and σφόδρα intensify the joy. Although this level of intensification is rare, it is not entirely unique. There are several instances where χαρά (joy) and χαίρω (to rejoice) are joined by μέγας (great) (Isa 39:2; Jonah 4:6, *Jos. Asen.* 3:4; 4:2; 7:10; 15:12; 24:5). There are also cases where σφόδρα is added to χαίρω (1 Kgs 5:21; Zeph 3:14; 9:9). Two extra-biblical passages combine χαρά and χαίρω with both μέγας and σφόδρα, just as Matt 2:10 does. In *Ascen. Isa.* 1:4, 'ἐχάρη χαρὰν μεγάλην σφόδρα' describes Hezekiah's joy when Isaiah arrived in Jerusalem. In *Jos. Asen.* 9:1, the structure 'καὶ ἐχάρη Ασενὲθ ἐπὶ τῇ εὐλογίᾳ τοῦ Ιωσὴφ χαρὰν μεγάλην σφόδρα' is found. In this case, χαίρω is followed by additional words that are omitted from the rest of the structure. These words attempt to illustrate a crucial turning point in the work. It sets the stage for Asaneth's rejection of pagan gods. In summary, several examples can be cited which recall, in part or in full, the formula in Matt 2:10. Great joy can come from an encounter *(Ascen. Isa.* 1:4) or a major life change *(Jos. Asen.* 9:1). The phrase in Matt 2:10 has a Jewish background. This is consistent with Matthew's repeated use of Jewish stylistic elements (e.g. ἰδού; Matt 1:20, 23; 2:1) and quotations from the OT.

As the paper will discuss, joy is well represented in Luke, but less so in Matthew (Matt 2:10; 5:12; 13:18–23, 44; 18:13; 28:8).[18] However, as in the case of Luke, there is a suggestion that joy frames the Gospel.[19] This possibility is more uncertain here since

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17   D.B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 1996) 189–190.

18   According to R.H. Gundry, both χαρά and μέγας are Mattheanisms, although, as the next chapter of this paper will show, these words are much more common in Luke (*Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Persecution* [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1994] 590).

19   J. Newberry, *Lukan Joy and the Life of Discipleship: A Narrative Analysis of the Conditions that Lead to Joy according to Luke* (WUNT II.583; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2023) 452.

Luke actually ends with a mention of joy (Luke 24:52), but Matthew does not, since after the news of the resurrection (Matt 28:1–10) there is mention of the bribes to the guards (Matt 28:11–15) and the commissioning of the apostles (Matt 28:16–20). Since joy is a less prominent theme in Matthew, it is all the more significant that Matt 2:10 presents the joy of the magi through such an overemphasised construction.

2. Luke 2:10

Joy is a recurring theme in Luke-Acts. The study of this theme has received considerable attention in recent years, with a number of studies and monographs on the concept of joy in Luke-Acts.[20] Several aspects underline the joy's prominent role in Luke's *Doppelwerk*. First of all, there are many words for joy in the Luke-Acts, including ἀγαλλιάω (Luke 1:47; 10:21), ἀγαλλίασις (Luke 1:14, 44), εὐφραίνω (Luke 12:19; 15:23, 34 etc.), χαρά (Luke 1:14; 2:10; 8:13 etc.), χαίρω (Luke 1:14, 28; 6:23), συγχαίρω (Luke 1:58; 15:6, 9) and εὐφροσύνη (Acts 2:28; 14:17).[21] Additionally, the concept of joy can be identified in passages without these terms, especially in Luke's *Sondergut*.

The distribution of instances of joy in Luke-Acts is uneven. In some larger units, there are hardly any examples of joy, while in others, it appears frequently. Most of these occurrences are grouped together in Luke 15 (Luke 15:5–7, 9, 10, 23, 24, 29, 32 [2x]), where the joy of being found is often expressed. The second highest concentration is in the opening chapters, which recount the birth of John the Baptist and Jesus (Luke 1–2). Besides, the frequent use of words that express joy (Luke 1:14 [3x], 28, 44, 47, 58; 2:10), there are other references to joy, for example in the hymns (Luke 1:46–55, 67–79; 2:14, 29–32),[22] and narrative hints also enrich this pattern (e.g. Luke 2:20, 38).[23] Some scholars argue that Luke 1–2 is not an integral part of the Gospel,[24] but the recurring references to joy suggest that it is indeed consistent with the rest of the work, where joy is similarly prominent.[25]

Luke 1–2 records three instances of an angel announcing a birth. First, Gabriel tells Zechariah that his son will be born (Luke 1:11–20), and then Gabriel announces to Mary that she will be the mother of Christ (Luke 1:26–38). For the third time, the shepherds are addressed (Luke 2:10–14).[26] Joy is present in all three angelic visits. There are many

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20   Newberry, *Lukan Joy*; A. Inselmann, *Die Freude im Lukasevangelium: Ein Beitrag zur psychologischen Exegese* (WUNT II.322; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2012); D.H. Wenkel, *Joy in Luke-Acts* (PBM; Milton Keynes: Paternoster 2015); A. Janzen, *Der Friede im lukanischen Doppelwerk vor dem Hintergrund der Pax Romana* (Europäische Hochschulschriften 752; Frankfurt: Lang 2002).

21   C. Böttrich, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (THKNT 3; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt 2024) 581.

22   W.G. Morris, *Joy in the New Testament* (Exeter: Paternoster 1984) 92.

23   Newberry, *Lukan Joy*, 43.

24   H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of Luke* (San Francisco, CA: Harper 1961) 118, 172.

25   There are many who claim that Luke 1–2 fits into the framework of the Luke-Acts, but these chapters were inserted after these works were formulated. Cf. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 311.

26   A table comparing the three stories can be found here: Inselmann, *Die Freude*, 183.

words of joy (Luke 1:14, 28; 2:10),[27] as well as the songs of joy that follow the news of the birth (Luke 1:46–55, 67–79; 2:14). The announcement of the birth of a son by an angel is a recurring theme in the OT. There are many similarities between these passages and the stories in Luke 1–2. For example, the angelic appearance causes fear (Judg 13:6), and it is also common for the messenger to announce the name of the child to be born (Gen 16:11; 17:19). However, there is no OT narrative in which an angel speaks of joy associated with birth.[28] Anna, although she did not receive an angelic revelation before Samuel's birth, sang a song of praise after her son's arrival (1 Sam 2:1–10; cf. Gen 30:23; Luke 1:46–55, 67–79; 2:14, 29–32).[29]

In Luke 1, the closest relatives are informed of the birth of their son (Zechariah, John's father, and Mary, Jesus' mother). Besides the news, the angel prepares the parents for their child's unique ministry. In Luke 2:10–14, on the other hand, the angel's announcement comes after the birth, and the angel addresses the outsiders, the shepherds. The sensitivity of the Gospel to the marginalised is evident here since it is the shepherds, those on the margins of society, who are the first to hear of the birth. The fact that the shepherds are addressed makes it clear that the birth of Christ is good news for a wider audience. According to the angel, the birth of Christ will be a great joy for 'all the people' (ἔσται παντὶ τῷ λαῷ'), not only for the shepherds (Luke 2:10). This recalls Luke 1:14, where Gabriel tells Zechariah that his son will be born. It is also said that the birth of John will be welcomed by many (πολλοί) others. The narrative flow confirms the angel's word: after the birth of John the relatives and neighbours rejoiced (συνέχαιρον) with Elizabeth (Luke 1:58). These references are certainly in keeping with the salvation-historical pattern that runs through Luke-Acts. In Francois Bovon's view, those who are joyful are aware of the development of salvation history.[30]

Luke 2:10 is an example of Jesus' birth being the joy of many. As already mentioned, the angel speaks of the joy of the people (λαός) as well as of the shepherds. It is probable that λαός here does not include the Gentiles, but refers exclusively to Israel. Λαός is a common word in Luke-Acts, and in most cases, it undoubtedly points to Israel. In the case of Luke's infancy narrative, the framing of λαός is uncertain in only one place (Luke 2:31), but in the remaining cases, it is clear that the reference is to the Jews (Luke 1:10, 16, 21: 68, 77; 2:10, 32).[31] This is in line with Gabriel's statement that Christ will sit on

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27   In Luke 1:28 the angel greets Mary with χαῖρε. Although χαῖρε is also a greeting, it allows for a broader framing. On the one hand, the verb occurs as part of the phrase 'χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη' ('rejoice, one who has been favoured'). On the other hand, χαίρω could recall the pronoun χάρις. Especially since joy is a recurring theme in Luke 1–2.

28   Genesis 21:6 says that the Lord made Sarah a laughing stock, but the context here is different, and it is not Sarah's joy that is the issue here.

29   In 1 Sam 2:1, the first word of Anna's song is עלץ, which expresses joy, followed shortly afterwards by שׂמח, which is also meant in this way. As in Luke 2:10–11, in 1 Sam 2:1, there is a combination of joy and a reference to God's salvation (σωτηρία; 1 Sam 2:1^{LXX}; σωτήρ; Luke 2:11). Cf. S. Harris, *The Davidic Shepherd King in the Lukan Narrative* (LNTS 558; London: Bloomsbury – Clark 2016) 42, 50.

30   F. Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas (Lk 1,1–9,50)* (EKK 3.1; Zürich – Neukirchen-Vluyn: Benziger – Neukirchener 1989) 100.

31   J.P. Smith, *Luke Was Not a Christian: Reading the Third Gospel and Acts within Judaism* (BI 218; Leiden: Brill 2023) 264.

the throne of David and rule over the house of Jacob (Luke 1:32–33). Of course, the theological vision of Luke-Acts shows that the Gentiles also share in the joy of Christ (Acts 13:52), but as Luke 1–2 indicates, the Jews are the main beneficiaries. Although Luke 2 introduces several people on society's margins, their Jewish origin is always assumed (Luke 2:8–20; 25–35; 36–38).

After discussing the participants in joy, it is worth looking at its manifestation. To take a slightly more distant view, Luke 2:9–10 reveals several mutually exclusive feelings. First, the shepherds were frightened by the appearance of the angel. The shepherds' mood is also signalled by the phrase 'φόβος μέγας' ('great fear' cf. Luke 7:16; 8:37; Acts 5:5–11) and by the angel's words 'do not be afraid' (Luke 2:9–10; cf. Luke 1:13, 30).[32] Regarding the former, Luke 2:9 uses the construction 'ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν'. This is the opposite of the phrase 'ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην σφόδρα' in Matt 2:10. In both cases, it can be seen that the repetition of the word is accompanied by a further addition. In Luke, however, the *figura etymologica* and its further extension do not refer to joy but to fear. The great fear in Luke 2:9 can be framed in terms of the Gospel. It is clear that the angel who appears here does not want to create a 'neutral' emotional state, since he has come to announce great joy. It is remarkable that the words 'great fear' ('φόβος μέγας') and 'great joy' ('χαρὰ μεγάλη') are read in the same context (Luke 2:9–10). It is certainly no coincidence that 'μέγας' is added to these two emotions, making the contrast more visible. According to the narrative, the sudden internal fear is then reversed, and instead of fear, the shepherds are overcome by liberation (cf. Luke 2:20).

It is also evidence of the emotional intensity that the angels are similarly filled with joy. After the angel announced the birth of Jesus, a multitude of angels appeared and sang together (Luke 2:13–14). It is not unusual for Luke to associate joy with angels, at least in the heavenly realm. For example, in Luke 15:7 there is joy in heaven at the conversion of a sinner. Although συγχαίρω (to rejoice together) is not used in Luke 2:10 (cf. Luke 1:58; 15:6, 9), it is clear that Luke 2:8–20 gives many examples of corporate rejoicing, both explicit and implicit. The angelic host sings with one accord (Luke 2:13–14), the angels and the shepherds rejoice together (Luke 2:10), so do the shepherds and the holy family (Luke 2:16–20), and finally, according to Luke 2:10, it is the joy of many. The greatness and communal nature of the joy of Luke 2:10 is shown by the fact that it is shared in heaven and on earth. It can even be seen in terms of shared joy that the angel came to the shepherds to announce the good news (εὐαγγελίζω; Luke 2:10). It is also worth noting that εὐαγγελίζω had previously signified the news of the birth of John the Baptist, which had also been announced by the angel to Zacharias his father (Luke 1:19).[33]

As discussed above, there are many parallels between John's and Jesus' birth in Luke 1–2. However, the similarities do not equate the two characters. Fitzmyer, after

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32   Inselmann, *Die Freude*, 183.

33   In Luke 1–2 the birth of John the Baptist and Jesus is the good news, but in subsequent passages they become the proclaimers of the good news (Luke 3:18; Luke 4:18, 43; 8:1; 20:1).

examining the parallels, concludes that 'the Jesus-side always comes off better.' He understands this to mean that while Zacharias and Elizabeth were old, John was born naturally (Luke 1:24–25). At the birth of Jesus, however, Mary was overshadowed by the Holy Spirit (Luke 1:35). John is promised that he will be great before the Lord (Luke 1:15) and Jesus will be great (Luke 1:32), the latter description also being significant. John walks before the Lord (Luke 1:16–17), but Jesus is the Lord (Luke 2:11).[34] Finally, the theme of joy and rejoicing also fits this pattern. At the birth of John, relatives and immediate neighbours came to visit and rejoice with Zacharias and Elizabeth (Luke 1:58) but after the birth of Jesus, unknown shepherds came to rejoice (Luke 2:15–20). It is also significant that the angel who announced the good news did not appear until after the birth of Jesus (Luke 2:9–13).

The phrase 'χαρὰ μεγάλη' is also found at the end of Luke 2:10. It has been noted that 'χαρὰ μεγάλη' frames the Gospel. Finally, the disciples returned to Jerusalem with great joy and happiness after the encounter with the Risen Christ and the Ascension (Luke 24:52).[35] This parallel is remarkable because 'χαρὰ μεγάλη' is found only in these scenes in Luke. In addition, there are other references that connect the story of the shepherds and the conclusion of the Gospel. In particular, ὑποστρέφω (to return) also appears in Luke 2:20 and Luke 24:52. In Luke 2:20, the shepherds returned to their flocks after meeting Jesus, and in Luke 24:52–53 the disciples returned to Jerusalem after the Ascension. Both accounts suggest a strange dichotomy: despite no longer being in Jesus' immediate presence, both the shepherds and the disciples experienced enduring joy. The shepherds returned 'glorifying and praising God' ('δοξάζοντες καὶ αἰνοῦντες τὸν θεὸν'; Luke 2:20), and the disciples were 'blessing God' ('εὐλογοῦντες τὸν θεὸν'; Luke 24:53). These two narratives testify to the permanence of joy. The shepherds, unlike the disciples, did not return to the temple, a place that represents the very presence of God, but went back to their sheep and resumed their daily routine. According to Luke, however, their joy remained because they had met the newborn Christ.

Returning to the framework of the Gospel, joy is also evident as one moves towards its conclusion. Luke 24:41 speaks of the joy of meeting the risen Christ (Luke 24:41; cf. John 16:22; 20:20). As in Luke 2:9–10, there is a tension of fear and joy (Luke 24:37), but at the end there is no more fear, only joy (Luke 24:52). In summary, most commentators argue that the reference to Jerusalem, and more specifically to the temple, frames the Gospel (Luke 1:5–22; 24:52–53).[36] This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that the motif of joy may also be seen in this context, since the joy that is often manifested in the infancy narratives is realised at the end of the Gospel.

Many have suggested that the joy here has a realised eschatological undertone. There is no doubt that the birth of John is an eschatological turning point (Luke 1:14; 16:16), and

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34   Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 315.
35   Bovon, *Lukas*, 125; Newberry, *Lukan Joy*, 452.
36   Cf. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 165.

Jesus' declaration that he has power over evil (Luke 10:21) can be seen in this light. From this point of view, it is also understandable that the disciples returned to Jerusalem with joy after the Ascension (Luke 24:52–53), and that joy also became a characteristic of the early church (cf. Acts 2:46).[37] The emphasis on realised eschatology is also evident in Luke 2:10. As already noted, Luke 2:10 speaks of events that have already taken place, in contrast to the promises in Luke 1:14. While this is clear from the narrative, the word σήμερον (today) gives special emphasis to the orientation towards the present (Luke 2:11; cf. Luke 4:21; 5:26; 19:9; 23:43).[38]

Another example is that Luke 19:6, 9 also speaks of salvation and present joy (σήμερον) in the same context. This is in line with Harris's observation that where salvation is mentioned in Luke-Acts,[39] it is often linked with either χαρά or χαίρω.[40] The message of Luke 2:10–11, where the angels speak of both 'great joy' ('χαρὰ μεγάλη') and the birth of the Saviour (σωτήρ), fits perfectly with this line of the Gospel. The combination of salvation and joy appears in the same context in other places in the NT. It is not unusual to speak of a salvation that has already been received (1 Pet 1:8–9). So, it is clear that the emphasis of Luke-Acts is not unique within the NT, but there is no doubt that the theme receives special attention in these writings.

In addition to the narrative implications, the historical context of the joy in Luke 1–2 is worth considering, as the narrative reflects a contemporary situation. Before the shepherds are mentioned, reference is made to the census of Augustus. It is clear from the terminology that the census is a key theme, as ἀπογραφή (census) is used in Luke 2:2 and ἀπογράφω (to take a census) in Luke 2:1, 3, 5. The census reminded the Jews of Rome's rule over Judea and their submission to the emperor. The census took place at a time when many were waiting for the deliverance of Israel (cf. Luke 2:25, 38). It is not surprising that the announcement of a new Davidic king caused great joy. The novelty of the Gospels is that they do not present this king as a political saviour.[41] As the above overview shows, Luke's joy is not political (e.g. Acts 1:6–7).

3. Comparison of Matthew 2:10 and Luke 2:10

There are some fundamental differences between Matt 2:1–12 and Luke 2:1–20. In Matthew, the magi visited Jesus and in Luke, the shepherds (cf. Matt 2:10; Luke 2:10). It is not

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37   M. Korn, *Die Geschichte Jesu in veränderter Zeit: Studien zur bleibenden Bedeutung Jesu im lukanischen Doppelwerk* (WUNT II.51; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1993) 40–41.

38   J.B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1997) 132.

39   Typically the words σωτηρία (salvation), σῴζω (to save), σωτήρ (saviour) are used to indicate this.

40   Harris lists the following cases: Luke 1:14; 2:10; 8:13; 10:17, 20; 13:17; 15:5, 7, 10, 32; 19:6, 37; 24:52; Acts 5:41; 8:39; 11:23; 13:48, 52 (*The Davidic Shepherd*, 100).

41   Cf. J.B. Green, *Luke as Narrative Theologian: Texts and Topics* (WUNT I.446; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2020) 235–237.

clear to what distant region 'the east' (ἡ ἀνατολή) in Matt 2:1 refers, but it is certain that the magi came from outside Judah. The shepherds, on the other hand, were probably staying fairly close to the place of his birth. According to Luke 2:8, they were 'in the region' ('ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ αὐτῇ') where Jesus was born. It is also a difference that in Matthew a star, and in Luke an angel announced the birth. This is significant because joy is closely linked to both mediators: the magi rejoiced when the star reappeared and the shepherds received the good news from the angel.

The two accounts are brought closer together by the fact that the angel also plays an important role in Matthew's birth story. There are passages in the context of Matt 2:1–12 where angels are also given a mission (Matt 1:18–25; 2:13–15, 19–23). It is even possible that there are hidden references to angels in Matt 2:1–12. According to Matt 2:12, the magi did not return to Jerusalem because they had been told in a dream to take a different route. It is noteworthy that revelations through dreams are found in other places in Matthew. Moreover, Matt 1:20 adds that the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream. Although Matt 2:12 is silent on this point, it cannot be ruled out, as in the previous case.[42]

The theory that the magi from the East were led to Bethlehem not by a star but by an angel (Matt 2:9) deserves comment. Allison, one of the most prominent proponents of this theory, offers a number of arguments. First, it can be seen in several texts that the words for star and angel in Matt 2:9–10 are interchangeable (Dan 8:10; Rev 1:20; 1 *Hen* 43:1–4). Star and angel can also be associated with shining (Matt 28:3; 2 Cor 11:14; Acts 6:15; 1QS 3:20; 1QM 13:9–10). The angel is also associated with guidance (Exod 23:20, 23; 32:34; 33:2), as is the star (Matt 2:10).[43] According to Allison, the storyline of Matt 2:9–10 contradicts the idea that there is an actual star. These verses say that the star guides the magi and, moreover, stops over the specific house. Dale C. Allison says it is problematic to imagine how a celestial body could help in this way. Later commentators, such as Allison, raise this possibility. For example, in the (Arab.) *Gos. Inf.* 7, an angel in the form of a star guided the magi.[44] Chrysostom thinks that the star descended (κατέβη) from the heights to show the specific place where Christ was (*Chrys. Hom. Matt.* 6:2–3 [PG 57:64–65], cf. *Prot. Jas.* 21:3; *Iren. Dem.* 58; *Orig. Hom. Num.* 18:3).[45] There is no doubt that Allison's reading answers many problems, but it also creates new difficulties. First of all, there is no mention of the star first appearing in the east and on the magi's journey to Jerusalem (Matt 2:2). In the case of Matt 2:2, the interpretation of the star as an angel is even less plausible. It is difficult to imagine Matt 2:2 and Matt 2:10 interpreting the star in a different way. As noted above, angels are frequently mentioned in Matt 1–2. If Matt 2:1–12 were intended to speak of angels, it would be logical to mention them in this passage as well. This makes the idea of the magi being led by a different kind of guide in Matt 2:9–10 unlikely,

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42   Cf. D.H. Wenkel, "The Angel of the Lord Aids the Son of David in Matthew 1–2," *BSac* 177 (2020) 57.

43   Matthew 2 draws from the exodus tradition on several occasions.

44   Cf. D.C. Allison, "What Was the Star that Guided the Magi?," *BRev* 9 (1993) 20–24.

45   D.C. Allison, "The Magi's Angel," *Studies in Matthew: Interpretation Past and Present* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2005) 18–19.

so one should agree with those who maintain that the Matthew and Luke accounts differ in this respect.

With this clarification, attention turns to the angels' message of joy. In Matt 2:10 the magi who saw the star were filled with joy, whereas in Luke 2:10, the shepherds heard about the joy of the birth. In the former, the construction is 'ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην σφόδρα', in the latter, the phrase 'χαρὰν μεγάλην' is used. Matthew uses a slightly longer structure, but in both cases, the phrase 'χαρὰν μεγάλην' is included. This is remarkable because of the fifty-nine occurrences of χαρά in the NT,[46] only a few others have χαρά and μεγάλη together (Matt 28:8; Luke 24:52; Acts 15:3). The use of the two words together is not common outside the NT either: for example, only a few occurrences can be taken into account in the LXX (e.g. Jonah 4:6; Isa 39:2). In the introduction to this paper, a comparison was made between the infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke. Since 'χαρὰν μεγάλην' is not a typical or commonly used expression, it serves as a notable similarity between Matt 2:10 and Luke 2:10.

Building on this point, it is necessary to see what other similarities, if any, link the two sections. Some of these are more closely related to joy, others more loosely. It is also necessary to explore these further parallels in order to see that it is no coincidence that the structure 'χαρὰν μεγάλην' is found in both Matt 2:10 and Luke 2:10. (1) Both passages describe events after the birth of Jesus. (2) The shepherds as well as the magi had to move to meet Jesus. (3) Both times Bethlehem is the destination of the pilgrimage. (4) Both the magi and the shepherds worshipped the child who had been born (Matt 2:2, 11; Luke 2:20). (5) Neither the shepherds nor the magi were family members. Moreover, both groups were marginalised: the shepherds because of their profession and the magi because of their gentile origin, possibly because of their position as magi. (6) In both cases the night plays a role. According to Luke 2:8, this is when the shepherds met the angel. Matthew does not mention the night, but it is plausible that the magi saw the star at night. (7) In addition to night, light is also mentioned. According to Luke 2:9, the angel who appeared shone around (περιέλαμψεν) the shepherds (cf. Acts 26:13). In this context, the δόξα (glory) mentioned in Luke 2:9 could also imply light. Although light is not mentioned in Matt 2:1–12, the appearance of the star can be taken into account here.[47] (8) Both the magi and the shepherds departed after meeting with Jesus (Matt 2:12; Luke 2:20). (9) As discussed, in Luke, joy frames the Gospel (e.g. Luke 2:10; 24:52). Joy is also used in Luke 24:41, where the joy of the disciples at seeing the Risen One is recorded. This joy is the basis for the disciples' joyful return to Jerusalem (Luke 24:52–53). According to Bovon, this framework suggests that Luke is linking the birth narrative to the idea of Jesus being reborn in the resurrection.[48] Bovon's observation can be extended to Matthew, where joy is also associated with both birth and resurrection (Matt 2:10; 28:8). This parallel is another similarity between the

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46   K. Berger, "χαρά," *EDNT* III, 454–455.
47   The list of similarities can be extended by the angelic address 'do not be afraid' in both Luke 2:10 and Matt 1:20.
48   Bovon, *Lukas*, 125.

two Gospels. Its significance is heightened by the fact that joy appears less frequently in Matthew than in Luke so the fact that joy is mentioned in connection with both the birth and the resurrection cannot be a mere coincidence.

Conclusions

The infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke have both parallels and differences. This presents a significant challenge to both the Synoptic problem and to the study of the infancy narratives. This paper does not attempt to present hypotheses on the origins of the Gospels. However, it is proposed that the similarities are not accidental and the infancy narratives share a common origin.

It has not been decided how many parallels can be found between Luke 1–2 and Matt 1–2. Although there are many suggestions, it is common that no arguments for or against a possible parallel are developed. This is unfortunate because only a thorough discussion of individual cases can produce convincing results. This article presents a case study to illustrate this observation. It examines Matt 2:10 and Luke 2:10 and argues that these verses should be treated as parallels. These verses were chosen because several influential monographs, including Brown's, do not include them among the parallels between Matthew's and Luke's birth narratives.[49]

The main connection between Matt 2:10 and Luke 2:10 is 'χαρὰν μεγάλην'. Χαρά occurs fifty-nine times in the NT,[50] but only three other times is χαρά combined with μεγάλη (Matt 28:8; Luke 24:52; Acts 15:3). Aside from this similarity, there are parallels that justify linking the two texts. This paper lists nine such common elements. These parallels are remarkable, although Matthew focuses on the joy of the magi, while Luke discusses the joy of the shepherds.

In addition to a comparative analysis, both verses have been thoroughly examined. The analysis of joy in Matthew is itself a novel approach, as heretofore it has received little attention. This is particularly evident in the case of Matt 2:10, which is often overlooked or mentioned only in passing by commentators. Matthew employs the hyperbolic structure to describe the joy of the magi. While the phrase 'ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην σφόδρα' is uncommon, parallels in other texts, both canonical and non-canonical, have been identified (*Ascen. Isa.* 1:4; *Jos. Asen.* 9:1). Without Matt 2:10, Matt 2:9 and Matt 2:11 would connect smoothly. However, this is not unique, as the passage alludes to emotions (Matt 2:3). Furthermore, there may be another explanation for this phenomenon, given that joy is a prominent element of the tradition (Luke 2:10).

Recently, scholars have been studying the theme of joy in Luke-Acts. This paper presents the findings of previous studies and offers new or underemphasised insights. It is a common observation that the joy in the infancy narratives (e.g. Luke 2:10) and at the end of the

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49   Brown, *The Birth*, 34–35.
50   K. Berger, "χαρά," *EDNT* III, 454–455.

Gospel (Luke 24:52) frames the whole account. There are other parallels between the story of the shepherds and that of the disciples returning to Jerusalem. First, ὑποστρέφω appears in Luke 2:20 and Luke 24:52. Second, the shepherds returned 'glorifying and praising God' ('δοξάζοντες καὶ αἰνοῦντες τὸν θεὸν'; Luke 2:20), and similarly, the disciples were 'blessing God' ('εὐλογοῦντες τὸν θεὸν'; Luke 24:53). The shared joy in Luke 1–2 has received little attention. At the birth of John, the relatives and neighbours rejoiced with Elizabeth (Luke 1:58). The angel was not only the bearer of the joyful message but also rejoiced with other angels in the presence of the shepherds (Luke 2:10–14). Thus, through shared joy, heaven and earth are united. While some have suggested that Luke 1–2 is not an integral part of the Gospel,[51] the repeated mention of joy suggests that it is indeed consistent with the rest of the work, where joy is similarly prominent.

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51   Conzelmann, *Luke*, 118, 172.

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Krzywda i miłosierdzie. Charakterystyka postaci z przypowieści o dobrym Samarytaninie (Łk 10,30–37)

Harm and Mercy: An Analysis of the Characters from the Parable of the Good Samaritan
(Luke 10:30–37)

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Abstract: This article provides a comprehensive analysis of the characters in the Parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:30–37). Drawing on extensive scholarly research, the author examines the traits of each character, the historical context, and interpersonal dynamics. The analysis extends beyond the parable's characters to include participants in the theological dialogue (Jesus and the lawyer) and their audience. A careful examination of all characters reveals their interconnections. While the pair of religious elite travelers (the priest and the Levite) seems obvious, the partnership between the Samaritan and the innkeeper in aiding the victim is less apparent. Due to the sparse depiction of individual character traits by the third Evangelist, the historical background of the narrative serves as a crucial element in the characterisation process. The analysis is further enriched by considering all narrative elements and their interrelations, resulting in a nuanced portrayal of the characters.

Keywords: neighbour, mercy, harm, characterisation of characters, priest, Levi, Samaritan, inn-keeper, bandits, theology of Luke

Słowa kluczowe: bliźni, miłosierdzie, krzywda, charakterystyka postaci, kapłan, lewita, Samarytanin, karczmarz, zbójcy, teologia Łukasza

Przypowieść o podróżniku napadniętym na drodze z Jeruzalem do Jerycha, który został uratowany przez pewnego Samarytanina, jest jednym z najszerzej komentowanych tekstów w dziele Łukaszowym[1]. Samych angielskojęzycznych opracowań naukowych ostatniej dekady dotyczących tej perykopy jest około 50. Wprawdzie nie wszystkie są wartościowe, ale ich liczba jest imponująca[2]. Tak liczne propozycje dotyczące tej perykopy każą przypuszczać,

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1   Niektórzy twierdzą nawet, że jest to tekst najczęściej komentowany w całej Biblii; zob. R. Zimmermann, „The Good Samaritan (Luke 10:30–35) and the Parables in Luke", *Puzzling the Parables of Jesus. Methods and Interpretation* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2015) 297.

2   Nie ma sensu umieszczać tu kompletnej bibliografii, ale część ze wspomnianych wyżej artykułów stanie się punktem odniesienia niniejszego tekstu. Warto zaznaczyć, że najbardziej wyczerpującym omówieniem perykopy jest artykuł M. Crimella („Sacerdote, levita, Samaritano e ferito", 59–133), który stanowi rozdział jego monografii poświęconej przypowieściom Łukaszowym: *Marta! Marta! Quattro esempi di „triangolo drammatico" nel „grande viaggio di Luca"* (Studi e ricerche. Sezione biblica; Asyż: Citadella 2009). Warto tylko wspomnieć, że studia nad perykopą Łk 10,26–39 sięgają daleko poza zainteresowania ściśle biblijne i zajmują się między innymi teorią SIFT (Leslie J. Francis, Andrew Village), uzupełnianą koncepcją intuicji widzianej od

że jej główne wątki zostały z pewnością szczegółowo omówione. Dotyczy to zarówno interpretacji starających się odsłonić spojrzenie trzeciego Ewangelisty, jak i tych, które więcej mówią o wyobraźni interpretatorów niż o treści przypowieści. Wczesne chrześcijaństwo zaproponowało szereg interpretacji alegorycznych[3], które z racji swojej odmienności nie zostaną tutaj przedstawione.

Celem prezentowanego studium nie jest wyczerpujące omówienie wszystkich aspektów badanego tekstu, lecz skupienie się na postaciach obecnych w przypowieści i to absolutnie wszystkich jej bohaterach, zarówno tych oczywistych, jak i tych ukrytych. Metoda badawcza dotyczyć będzie zatem przede wszystkim działań, które już w przeszłości określono jako charakterystyka postaci[4]. Autor podejmuje te działania w nadziei, że takie spojrzenie przyniesie pewne nowe motywy na temat jej zrozumienia. Co więcej, interpretacja przypowieści domaga się uwzględnienia także bohaterów Ewangelii, którzy byli świadkami jej wygłoszenia. Omawiana przypowieść została bowiem opatrzona przez Łukasza istotnym kontekstem, w którym Jezus ją wykorzystuje (ww. 25–29)[5]. Anonimowy prawnik[6],

strony intro- lub ekstrawersyjnej, zob. L.J. Francis – C.F.J. Ross, „Reading the Good Samaritan (Lk 10: 25–37) through the Lenses of Introverted Intuition and Extraverted Intuition", *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 78/4 (2022) 1–10; refleksję nad kwestiami polityki migracyjnej, zob. P.C. Fong, „An Understanding of Christians' Roles in Human Migration through the Biblical Theme of Shamar: From Genesis to the Good Samaritan", *Religions* 14/5 (2023), https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14050600; K. Mertes, „Weltgericht und Migrationspolitik", *StZ* 2 (2024) 125–130; wyzwaniami rasizmu i tożsamości rasowej: K.J. Choi, „Interrupting the Violence of Racial Identities: Lessons from Asian American Experience, the Parable of the Good Samaritan, and 'Truth Force'", *Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics* 42/1 (2022) 189–206; a nawet tematyką pandemiczną: T. Marevesa – B.W. Meyer, „Re-reading the Parable of the Good Samaritan in the Context of COVID-19 Pandemic in Africa: A Narrative Paradigm", *Pharos Journal of Theology* 105/4 (2024) 1–11.

3   Podstawą alegorycznych interpretacji przypowieści jest utożsamienie Samarytanina z Jezusem Chrystusem, a napadniętego podróżnego z grzesznikiem/Adamem. Pozostałe *personae dramatis* to: Jeruzalem – miasto niebiańskie, Jerycho – śmiertelność człowieka, kapłan i lewita jako reprezentanci Tory i Proroków, gospoda – Kościół, karczmarz – św. Paweł, dwa denary – przykazania miłości; zob. R. Roukema, „The Good Samaritan in Ancient Christianity", *VC* 58/1 (2004) 56–74; K. Stavrianos, „The Parable of the Good Samaritan in Patristic Thought", *GOTR* 57/1–4 (2012) 29–48; P.A. Duncan, „Reading the Parable of the Good Samaritan with Origen", *Enc* 79/3 (2019) 23–31.

4   Zob. C. Bennema, *A Theory of Characters in New Testament Narrative* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2014). Zarys metodologii i uczeni zajmujący się tego typu badaniami zostali niedawno szczegółowo przedstawieni w monografii autora poświęconej ojcom w dziele Łukasza; zob. K. Mielcarek, *Ojciec na ziemi w dziele Łukasza* (SBL 23; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2023) 15–68.

5   Bonnie Howe i Eve Sweetser słusznie zwracają uwagę na otaczający przypowieść kontekst: „If this story were told on its own, or even if it occurred in a recently recovered 'lost' gospel text, outside the frame of Luke's presentation of the teaching of Jesus, it could not have the same meaning" („Cognitive Linguistic Models for Analyzing Characterization in a Parable: Luke 10:25–37. The Compassionate Samaritan", *BibInt* 29/4–5 [2021] 473). Natomiast Zimmermann („The Good Samaritan [Luke 10:30–35]...", 299–230, 300) skupia się na samej przypowieści i postuluje jej podział na trzy części: napaść zbójców: „exposition" (w. 30), spotkania trzech bohaterów z napadniętym: „crisis" (ww. 31–33) i szczegóły na temat pomocy Samarytanina: „solution" (ww. 33–35). Autor podkreśla też wyraźny kontrast między skrótowym opisem kapłana i lewity a charakterystyką Samarytanina („The Good Samaritan [Luke 10:30–35]...", 299–230, 300).

6   F. Mickiewicz definiuje go jako człowieka, który swe życie poświęcił badaniu Prawa Mojżeszowego; zob. Mickiewicz, *Ewangelia według świętego Łukasza, rozdziały 1–11. Wstęp, przekład z oryginału, komentarz* (NKB 3.1; Częstochowa: Edycja św. Pawła 2011) 559. Z kolei A.-J. Levine stwierdza: „There is no immediate Hebrew equivalent for the Greek term *nomikos*, translated 'lawyer.' In the Septuagint (LXX), the Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures, the term for 'lawyer,' *nomikos*, appears just once, but not in

chcąc przetestować poglądy Jezusa, zadaje Mu pytanie[7]: „Co mam czynić, aby osiągnąć życie wieczne?"[8]. Jezus, zgodnie z regułą rabinacką, odsyła go[9] do Tory: „Co jest napisane w Prawie, jak czytasz?", co skutkuje wyrecytowaniem przez interlokutora tzw. *Wielkiego Przykazania* będącego syntezą Pwt 6,5 i Kpł 19,18c[10]. Dialog kończy pochwała Jezusa udzielona prawnikowi za właściwą odpowiedź (w. 28), ale ten, niezadowolony z efektów swojego planu, dopytuje się o tożsamość bliźniego, którego miłowanie nakazuje Tora (w. 29).

Pierwsze pytanie uczonego w Prawie kładzie mocny akcent na działanie[11]: „Co mam zrobić/czynić (ποιέω)?". Racją tego działania jest osiągnięcie życia wiecznego, ale perspektywa czynienia jest kluczowa dla całego fragmentu, a nie tylko dla wprowadzającej dyskusji. Zachęta Jezusa po odwołaniu się przez rozmówcę do *hammicwā[b] hagg᷄dôla[b]* brzmiała: „To czyń (ποιέω), a będziesz żył" (10,28). Znajduje ona swoje dopełnienie w ostatecznym zamknięciu dialogu, kiedy po wyborze dokonanym przez prawnika wśród bohaterów przypowieści słyszy on ponownie: „Idź i ty czyń podobnie (ποιέω – 10,37). Całość obserwacji dopełnia fakt, że wszyscy bohaterowie wydarzenia zostali zupełnie pozbawieni głosu. Wyjątkiem jest tylko Samarytanin, któremu Jezus pozwala krótko przemówić, dopełniając jego bogatą aktywność.

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7   a translation from any Hebrew text" („The Good Samaritan", *Short Stories by Jesus. The Enigmatic Parables of a Controversial Rabbi* [San Francisco, CA: Harper One 2015] 83–85).

7   Uczony kieruje pytanie do Jezusa w postawie stojącej (ἀνίστημι), co wyraża jego szacunek. Potwierdza to również użyty przez niego tytuł „nauczyciel". Uwaga o zamiarze wypróbowania możliwości Mistrza jest jednak przynajmniej po części negatywna i pasuje do ogólnej tendencji Łukasza, by przedstawiać środowisko uczonych w Piśmie jako przeciwników Jezusa (Łk 5,17.21.30; 6,7.9.22; 15,2; 19,47; 20,19; 22,2.66; 23,10); por. Howe – Sweetser, „Cognitive Linguistic Models for Analyzing Characterization in a Parable", 475. Wojciech Pikor niesłusznie umieszcza dysputę między Jezusem a uczonym w Prawie w synagodze; zob. W. Pikor, *Przypowieści Jezusa. Narracyjny klucz lektury* (BKŻ 4.1; Kielce: Jedność 2000) 135.

8   M. Crimella („Sacerdote, levita, Samaritano e ferito", 62–63) słusznie podkreśla, że brak deiktycznych elementów miejsca i czasu akcentuje mocno wymiar osobowy. W tej sytuacji pytanie o osobę inicjującą dialog „kto?" staje się fundamentalnie ważne. Niezależnie od tego, że charakterystyka postaci uczonego jest skąpa, pozostaje on w cieniu „mascherato dietro il racconto".

9   W ten sposób Jezus dokonuje zamiany ról i testujący możliwości Mistrza staje się testowanym; Crimella, „Sacerdote, levita, Samaritano e ferito", 68.

10   Każdy pobożny Izraelita przypominał sobie tę fundamentalną prawdę, recytując codziennie *Šᵉma Israel*.

11   Michael Wolter przedstawia akcent położony przez Łukasza na działanie w formie strukturalnej tabeli (*The Gospel according to Luke*. II. *[Luke 9:51–24]* [Waco, TX – Tübingen: Baylor University Press – Mohr Siebeck 2017] 72).

v. 25: τί **ποιήσας** + "eternal life"
vv. 26–27: Deut 6.5 (love God) and Lev 19.18 (love τὸν πλησίον σου)
v. 28: τοῦτο **ποίει** + "life"
v. 29: "Who is μου πλησίον?"
vv. 30-35: The narrative of the merciful Samaritan
vv. 36–37a: "The πλησίον of the one who has fallen among the robbers is **ὁ ποιήσας** τὸ ἔλεος μετ' αὐτοῦ"
v. 37b: καὶ σὺ **ποίει** ὁμοίως

Podobnie widzi to K.N. Snodgrass, „Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25–37)", *Stories with Intent. A Comprehensive Guide to the Parables of Jesus* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2008) 269.

Co więcej, końcowa zachęta z pewnością nie dotyczy tylko samego interlokutora. Trzeci ewangelista zdaje się sugerować, że lista adresatów jest szersza. Wskazuje na to bliższy kontekst literacki, którym w tym wypadku jest rozdział dziesiąty. Opowiada o misji 72 uczniów (*Sonder Lucas*) i ich powrocie po udanym wykonaniu zadania (w. 17) oraz o krótkich pouczeniach, które Jezus skierował do nich (ww. 18–20), i po okazaniu radości w Duchu Świętym (ww. 23–24). Innymi słowy, scena z uczonym w Prawie nie dokonuje się w socjologicznej próżni, lecz jej milczącymi uczestnikami jest szerokie grono uczniów, którzy musieli przyglądać się wymianie zdań między Mistrzem a uczonym.

W najbliższym kontekście przypowieści, który wpływa na jej zrozumienie, czytelnik spotyka zatem dwóch protagonistów: Jezusa i uczonego w Prawie oraz zbiorowego bohatera tła, którym są uczniowie Jezusa.

Jezus jest niewątpliwie postacią centralną, która przejmuje inicjatywę w dialogu i skłania rozmówcę do refleksji poprzez opowiedzianą przypowieść i prowokujące pytania. W toku rozmowy ujawnia także swoje kompetencje w dziedzinie znajomości Tory, którą autorytatywnie interpretuje i równie autorytatywnie ocenia interpretacje swojego rozmówcy[12]. Łukasz odsłania także nauczycielski aspekt osoby Jezusa, który kieruje do swojego interlokutora bezpośrednie instrukcje[13]: „To czyń, a będziesz żył" (w. 28) oraz „Idź i ty czyń podobnie" (w. 37).

Natomiast uczony w Prawie, przynajmniej w pierwszej fazie opowiadania, został przedstawiony dosyć krytycznie. A.J. Levine[14], omawiając przykłady biblijne takich postaci, przytacza wprawdzie pozytywny obraz Eliezera z 4 Mch 5,6 i pojedynczy casus z Nowego Testamentu (Tt 3,13). Twierdzi jednak, że istnieją cztery przesłanki, dla których należy traktować tę postać z rezerwą zgodnie z intencją samego autora Ewangelii: 1) Ewangelista uświadamia czytelnikowi, że faryzeusze i uczeni w Prawie odrzucają Jana Chrzciciela, a tym samym odrzucają Boży plan względem siebie (Łk 7,30); 2) dla Łukasza określenie Jezusa mianem nauczyciela jest wyrazem niezrozumienia jego autentycznej godności i tym samym dokumentuje jego negatywny stosunek do uczonych w Piśmie; 3) wspomnienie Łukasza, że cały dialog został zainicjowany przez uczonego z myślą o przetestowaniu Jezusa (ἐκπειράζω – 10,25) także stawia postać prawnika w negatywnym świetle; 4) sposób zadania pytania (ποιήσας – *participium aoristi*) sugeruje poszukiwanie jednorazowej akcji, która rozwiązałaby zobowiązanie do miłowania bliźniego, co w świetle sensu wypowiedzi Jezusa jest niewystarczające (por. ποίει – *imperativus praesentis*: Łk 10,28). Do wymienionych racji można jeszcze dodać wzmiankę Łukasza o potrzebie uczonego, by „się usprawiedliwić" (w. 29)[15]. Łukasz również w innych miejscach ukazuje uczonych w Piśmie jako tych, którzy chcą uchodzić za sprawiedliwych wobec innych, ale Bóg, znając serca ludzi, brzydzi się taką postawą (Łk 16,15). Prawnik zdaje się szukać raczej własnej chwały niż autentycznego

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12   Por. Crimella, „Sacerdote, levita, Samaritano e ferito", 68–69.
13   Crimella („Sacerdote, levita, Samaritano e ferito", 74) nazywa te wypowiedzi perlokucyjnymi/performatywnymi.
14   Zob. Levine, „The Good Samaritan", 83–87.
15   Crimella („Sacerdote, levita, Samaritano e ferito", 77) podkreśla, że czasownika δικαιόω, którego brakuje w LXX i tekstach przednowotestamentowych, nie należy z pewnością odczytywać w duchu teologii Pawła.

wzorca miłości Boga i bliźniego. Szerszy kontekst pozwala na zaproponowanie bliższej charakterystyki osób o podobnym statusie. Uczeni w prawie to ci, którzy sprzeciwiali się Bożemu planowi, odmawiając przyjęcia Jana (Łk 7,30), a teraz uważają się za sprawiedliwych (Łk 10,29). Należy jednak podkreślić, że interpretacja Prawa zaproponowana przez uczonego z opowiadania jest poprawna, co potwierdza dwukrotna aprobata jego wywodów przez Jezusa (ww. 28 i 37).

Dialog Jezusa z prawnikiem nie jest tylko ich prywatną wymianą opinii, w której ten ostatni usiłuje przetestować wartość Mistrza z Nazaretu. Jest także swego rodzaju poglądową lekcją dla uczniów, będących niemymi świadkami tej rozmowy. Ich charakterystyka zostaje całkowicie pominięta w ramach opowiadania, ale Łukasz dostarczył wiele materiału na ten temat w perykopach poprzedzających badany fragment.

Opowiedziana przez Jezusa przypowieść pełni funkcję ilustracji do Jego odpowiedzi na pytanie prawnika, zadane na koniec dialogu w celu usprawiedliwienia się (δικαιῶσαι – 10,29): „Kto jest moim bliźnim (πλησίον)?"[16]. Termin πλησίον (hebr. רֵעַ *rēʻa*) – „bliski" odnosił się pierwotnie do kogoś mieszkającego w bezpośrednim sąsiedztwie. Charakter rozmowy wskazuje jednak, że rozmówcy koncentrują się na szerszej perspektywie społecznych więzi. Chodzi o identyfikację osób należących do grupy ludzi o określonej tożsamości religijnej, etnicznej czy kulturowej. Spośród trzech greckich terminów opisujących tego rodzaju więź: γείτων, περίοικος i πλησίον, ten ostatni wydaje się mieć nieco szersze znaczenie[17]. Pytanie uczonego nie wynika jednak z faktu, jakoby nie znał on ludzi mieszkających w jego pobliżu. Jest ono raczej próbą określenia ram grupy, której winien jest postawę zgodną z przykazaniami miłości[18]. Ważnym tłem biblijnym tego procesu są z pewnością tradycje zawarte w Torze (Wj 11,1–2; Kpł 19,8.34 i Pwt 10,18).

Uważne studium tego terminu w badanej perykopie pozwala stwierdzić, że Łukasz nadaje mu dwa odmienne wektory[19]. Z dialogu początkowego (w. 27) wynika, że bliźnim z przykazań Tory jest drugi człowiek, ktoś inny[20]. W tym kluczu rozmówca Jezusa prosi go o wyjaśnienie, kto przynależy do tej kategorii. Po przedstawieniu przypowieści okazuje

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16 Richard Bauckham („The Scrupulous Priest and the Good Samaritan: Jesus' Parabolic Interpretation of the Law of Moses", *NTS* 44/4 [1998] 475) widzi w tym pytaniu cechy „typowe dla dyskusji halachicznej", która polegała na poszukiwaniu poprawnej interpretacji prawa w odniesieniu do konkretnych sytuacji. A.-J. Levine („The Good Samaritan", 93) z kolei uznaje to pytanie za uprzejmą formę bardziej obcesowego pytania: „Kto nie jest moim bliźnim?".

17 Zob. Louw – Nida, L&N, *s.v. „πλησίον"*, (wyd. elektroniczne). Levine („The Good Samaritan", 92) zwraca uwagę, że we LXX hebr. *gēr* („cudzoziemiec") w Kpł 19 staje się προσήλυτος. Nie oznacza on jednak konwertyty, lecz człowieka, który decyduje się żyć wśród innych ludzi i dzielić z nimi codzienne życie.

18 Howe i Sweetser („Cognitive Linguistic Models for Analyzing Characterization in a Parable", 481) nazywają ten proces „kadrowaniem" (ang. „framing").

19 B.W. Longenecker, „The Story of the Samaritan and the Innkeeper (Luke 10:30–35): A Study in Character", *BibInt* 17 (2009) 423.

20 Główny bohater przypowieści spełnia zatem wszystkie kryteria człowieka obcego: hebr. בֶּן־נֵכָר *ben-nēḵar/* אִישׁ נָכְרִי *ʼîš-noḵri/* גֵּר/זָר *gēr/zār*; gr. ἀλλότριος/ἀλλογενής/πάροικος (Rdz 17,12.27; 42,7; Est 8,12; 1 Mch 12,10; Hi 28,4; Ps 35,15; 105,12; 109,11; Prz 5,10; 8,8; 14,10; 27,2; Koh 6,2; Syr 32,18; Iz 61,5; Jr 14,8; 51,51; Oz 7,9; 8,7; Jl 4,17; Ab 1,11; Ef 2,12; 4,18).

się jednak, że Jezus zmienia optykę problemu i w. 36 odwraca znaczenie słowa „bliźni". Pytanie Jezusa: „Który z nich okazał się bliźnim tego, który wpadł na bandytów?" dotyczy bowiem postawy, dzięki której ktoś staje się bliźnim drugiego człowieka lub działa jak bliźni wobec niego. Uwaga odbiorców zostaje skierowana na trzech głównych bohaterów w celu rozstrzygnięcia, który z nich najbardziej wychodzi naprzeciw potrzebom napadniętego podróżnika. Słuchacze przypowieści w naturalny sposób obserwują wydarzenia z perspektywy poszkodowanego[21], ale Jezus kieruje ich uwagę na pozostałych podróżnych, a jednocześnie pośrednio na nich samych, aby zrozumieli, że od wyznaczenia granic kategorii bliźniego ważniejsze jest działanie, które czyni człowieka bliźnim każdego potrzebującego.

Mimo że pytanie Jezusa (w. 36) ogranicza perspektywę wyboru właściwej postaci z przypowieści do trzech głównych bohaterów/protagonistów, zawiera ona jeszcze kilku innych uczestników narracji: bliżej nieokreśloną liczbę rozbójników/antagonistów (λησταί), którzy napadli na podróżnika i karczmarza/pomocnika (πανδοχεύς), u którego zatrzymał się Samarytanin wraz z uratowanym. Do nich można też dodać przemilczanego zwykle w komentarzach osła (dosł. κτῆνος = juczne zwierzę), który, nie będąc ludzką postacią, pełni jednak pewną ważną funkcję pomocniczą w działaniach Samarytanina. Ewentualną listę elementów obecnych w narracji (rekwizytów) można jeszcze rozszerzać o szaty i rzeczy osobiste podróżnego, których został pozbawiony (ἐκδύω); rany (πληγαί), które mu zadano; drogę (ὁδός), na której się to działo; oliwę, wino[22] i opatrunki (ἔλαιον, οἶνον, καταδέω) wykorzystane przez Samarytanina przy udzielaniu pomocy podróżnikowi oraz gospodę (πανδοχεῖον) i dwa denary (δύο δηνάρια). Skoro istotą przypowieści jest jednak odnalezienie potencjalnego kandydata do miana bliźniego, wypada ograniczyć się tylko do postaci ludzkich. Zostaną one omówione w porządku chronologicznym ich ukazywania się w narracji.

1. Napadnięty podróżnik

Ewangelista nie przedstawia szczegółowo tej postaci. Czytelnik dowiaduje się wiele na temat okoliczności, które go spotkały, ale nie ma do dyspozycji żadnych szczegółów o nim samym. Jezus, zaczynając swoją przypowieść, mówi o nim po prostu „pewien/jakiś człowiek" (ἄνθρωπός τις – 10,30). Brak bliższej charakterystyki owego bohatera oznacza jednocześnie jego całkowitą uniwersalizację[23]. Sytuacja przypomina matematyczne równanie z niewiadomymi, pod które można podstawić różne liczby. Kontekst do pewnego stopnia ograniczy

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21   Zob. studium J.T.H. McDonald, „The View from the Ditch – and Other Angles: Interpreting the Parable of the Good Samaritan", *SJT* 49/1 (1996) 21–37, zwł. 28–29.

22   Wino i oliwa stanowiły ważne składniki pożywienia, ale były również wykorzystywane przez starożytnych do leczenia ran; zob. F. Mickiewicz, *Ewangelia według świętego Łukasza, rozdziały 1–11*, 564.

23   Ten sposób obrazowania jest charakterystyczny dla wielu ewangelicznych przypowieści; zob. M. Turner, *The Literary Mind: The Origins of Thought and Language* (New York – Oxford: Oxford University Press 1999) 5–11.

wprawdzie te możliwości, ale skrajnie oszczędna charakterystyka pozwala komentatorom na dużą swobodę w określaniu jego tożsamości. Większość egzegetów sądzi, że napadnięty musiał być Żydem, ponieważ tylko wtedy można oczekiwać, że reprezentanci religijnych elit (kapłan, lewita) będą zobowiązani do interwencji, ale nie wszyscy godzą się z takim rozwiązaniem[24].

O tajemniczym bohaterze wiadomo, że przemierzał drogę pomiędzy Jeruzalem a Jerychem. Jako że różnica wysokości między tymi miastami wynosi ponad 1000 m, literatura biblijna zwyczajowo mówi o schodzeniu (καταβαίνω). Brakuje jednak informacji na temat powodów tej podróży. Jezus stwierdza jedynie, że jej celem było Jerycho, ale jeszcze w tym samym wersecie przechodzi do przedstawienia szczegółów na temat dramatycznego zdarzenia, które nieomal stało się przyczyną śmierci podróżnego. Został napadnięty (περιπίπτω), pozbawiony odzienia i własności (ἐκδύω) i poraniony (πληγὰς ἐπιτίθημι), a potem zostawiony na drodze umierający (ἀφίημι ἡμιθανῆ).

Ta sekwencja czasowników charakteryzuje jednocześnie większą liczbę bohaterów przypowieści. Dotyczy bowiem nie tylko tego, kto doświadczył tych gwałtownych działań, ale także ich wykonawców. Pozwalają one uświadomić czytelnikowi powagę sytuacji głównego bohatera. Jego stan bliskości śmierci trwa przez kolejne wersety, kiedy natykają się na niego kapłan i lewita (ww. 31–32), a potem Samarytanin (w. 33). Dopiero w. 34 radykalnie poprawia jego sytuację w wyniku interwencji ostatniego z potencjalnych wybawców. Ze stanu opuszczonego i na wpół umarłego staje się człowiekiem zaopiekowanym aż do końca przypowieści (w. 35), przy czym w ostatniej fazie opowiadania jego pielęgnacji ma podjąć się właściciel gospody. Transformacja narracyjna głównego bohatera przebiega zatem od samodzielności połączonej z gotowością podejmowania wyzwań takich jak niebezpieczna podróż, poprzez całkowitą bezradność i pozbawienie nie tylko własności, ale i niemal życia, aż po ożywioną perspektywę dalszej egzystencji, dzięki interwencji z zewnątrz. Warto odnotować, że bierność tej postaci[25] przez całą narrację przy jednoczesnym pozytywnym jej przedstawieniu przypomina schorowanego, ubogiego Łazarza, ignorowanego bezlitośnie przez bezimiennego bogacza, który doczekał się nagrody wiecznej, nie podejmując żadnej akcji i nie wypowiadając ani słowa (Łk 16,19–31).

24 Zob. I.H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke. A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Exeter: Paternoster 1978) 447. Autor stwierdza, że należy oczekiwać, iż słuchacze Jezusa w naturalny sposób uważali go za Żyda. Jego opinię przytacza K.E. Bailey, *Through Peasant Eyes. More Lucan Parables, Their Culture and Style* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1980) 42. Za takim rozwiązaniem opowiadają się również A.R. Fausset and D. Brown, *Commentary Critical and Explanatory on the Whole Bible* (Oak Harbor, WA: LRSI 1997) 109. Najmocniej w tej kwestii wypowiada się R.C.H. Lenski, deklarując: „This unnamed man – certainly a Jew if we need this detail"; zob. R.C.H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. Luke's Gospel* (Minneapolis, MN: APH 1961) 603. Do tej grupy można zaliczyć równie Franciszka Mickiewicza, który mimo braku leksykalnych podstaw identyfikuje obrabowanego człowieka z pielgrzymem; Mickiewicz, *Ewangelia według świętego Łukasza, rozdziały 1–11*, 563. Jednakże Alan Culpepper zgodnie z prawdą zauważa, że niezwykle oszczędna charakterystyka napadniętego (ἄνθρωπός τις) „makes it impossible to identify the victim as a friend or enemy, Jewish or Samaritan"; zob. R.A. Culpepper, „Luke", *The New Interpreter's Bible* (red. L.E. Keck) (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press 1995) IX, 229. Podobnie uważa J.B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1997) 429.

25 Zauważa to też Zimmermann („The Good Samaritan [Luke 10:30–35]", 301).

2. Zbójcy

Bohater zbiorowy, którego Łukasz umieszcza w pierwszej fazie przypowieści, pozbawiony jest jakiejkolwiek bliższej charakterystyki. Zakłada się ich typiczną funkcję, czyli aktywność ograniczoną do jasno oczekiwanych działań w związku z przypisaną charakterystyką w terminie λῃστής. O ile teoretycznie istnieje możliwość jakiejś wyjątkowej, szczególnej motywacji napaści na tego konkretnego podróżnego, opowiadający ją Jezus nic na ten temat nie wspomina[26]. Niektórzy autorzy spekulują na temat etnicznej przynależności bandytów, ale refleksje te są pozbawione jakichkolwiek podstaw[27]. Zgodnie z leksykalną wartością terminu λῃστής chodzi o ludzi napadających na innych w celu pozbawienia ich własności. Stąd ewangelista łączy ich z głównym bohaterem w większości działań: napad (περιπίπτω), grabież (ἐκδύω), zadanie ran (πληγὰς ἐπιτίθημι), pozostawienie ofiary (ἀφίημι ἡμιθανῆ). Jedynym działaniem bezpośrednio niezwiązanym z napadniętym jest ich odejście (ἀπέρχομαι), dzięki któremu na scenę mogą wejść następne postacie przypowieści.

3. Kapłan i lewita

Dwaj kolejni bohaterowie przedstawieni zostaną razem, ponieważ sam Łukasz postanowił opisać ich w niemal identyczny sposób (ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἀντιπαρῆλθεν). Obydwie postaci pozbawione są jakichkolwiek cech indywidualnych i występują w przypowieści bardziej jako reprezentanci określonej grupy społeczno-religijnej, związanej z posługą w Świątyni Jerozolimskiej. Podobnie jak zbójcy nie wymagają szczegółowej charakterystyki, ponieważ ewangelista przyznaje im jedynie zestaw ogólnie przyjętych cech właściwych tej kategorii postaci. Kapłan i lewita są w uprzywilejowanej kaście sług Boga Izraela i cieszą się przywilejem regularnego przebywania w Jego obecności, a także „zawodowo" zajmują się kultem[28].

Przypowieść nie dodaje wprawdzie żadnych szczegółów, które wzbogaciłyby ich charakterystykę, ale sam fakt reprezentacji dwóch najważniejszych kast personelu świątynnego daje słuchaczom i czytelnikom możliwość wypełnienia tych luk własną wiedzą[29]. Jedy-

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26 Zimmermann wyklucza jakiekolwiek tło polityczne napaści na podróżnego („The Good Samaritan [Luke 10:30–35]", 308).

27 Howe i Sweetser argumentują, że napastnicy byli narodowości żydowskiej, ponieważ w przeciwnym razie ich odmienne pochodzenie zostałoby ujawnione („Cognitive Linguistic Models for Analyzing Characterization in a Parable", 482). Skrótowość przypowieści jako ogólna reguła ich tworzenia wydaje się jednak przeczyć takiej tezie. Można by jedynie zaproponować bardziej precyzyjną argumentację: narodowość bandytów zostałaby ujawniona, gdyby miało to znaczenie dla fabuły.

28 J. Kilgallen zauważa, że kasta kapłańska nie mogła utrzymywać się tylko z czynności kultowych. Każdy członek personelu świątynnego musiał mieć również inne stałe zajęcie, z którego utrzymywał siebie i rodzinę („The Good Samaritan (Luke 10,30–35 [25–37])", *Twenty Parables of Jesus in the Goof Luke* [SB 32; Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico 2008] 32).

29 Zob. tło historyczne kapłanów i lewitów zaproponowane przez R. Zimmermanna („The Good Samaritan [Luke 10:30–35]", 308–09).

nym działaniem, które zbliża ich narracyjnie do poszkodowanego, jest spojrzenie (ὁράω)[30]. I kapłan, i lewita widzą go leżącego na drodze, ale widok ten skłania ich do zachowania dystansu (ἀντιπαρέρχομαι)[31].

Richard Bauckham[32] zaproponował w swoim czasie zarys potencjalnej opinii środowisk żydowskich z I w. po Chr. znających halachę na temat zachowania kapłana w przypowieści. Według niego istniały trzy możliwości, które nie dają się łatwo rozstrzygnąć na podstawie źródeł: 1) kapłan przestrzegał Prawa, unikając ryzyka zbezczeszczenia zwłok; 2) kapłan powinien był pomóc rannemu człowiekowi; 3) kwestia ta była dyskusyjna.

Najbardziej oczywistym źródłem rabinackim, jest tzw. מת מצוה („przykazanie wobec nieżywego"), które nakazuje pochówek zwłok znalezionych podczas podróży na otwartej przestrzeni, aby uniknąć sytuacji zaniedbania pogrzebu. W literaturze rabinackiej nie ma sporu co do tego, że מצוה מת dotyczyło także kapłanów. Według Miszny odnosił się on nawet do nazirejczyków i do arcykapłana, który powinien unikać skażenia również wobec najbliższych krewnych (Lb 6,7; Kpł 21,11), choć nie cała tradycja żydowska zgadza się w tych ostatnich przypadkach.

Niemniej jednak *casus* מת מצוה nie dotyczy bezpośrednio przypowieści. Chodzi bowiem o obowiązek pomocy komuś w wielkiej potrzebie. Przypadek reguły grzebania pomaga jednak ocenić zachowanie kapłana. Część komentatorów spekuluje, iż w poszczególnych stronnictwach religijnych posługiwano się różnymi rozstrzygnięciami, a saduceusze byli bardziej bezkompromisowi wobec konieczności zachowania legalnej czystości przez kapłanów w przeciwieństwie do faryzeuszy[33].

Miszna i Talmud nie udzielają bezpośredniej odpowiedzi na pytanie, czy kapłan powinien ryzykować narażenie się na nieczystość cielesną, aby pomóc osobie, której życie jest w niebezpieczeństwie? Zdaniem Bauckhama należy jednak udzielić odpowiedzi twierdzącej, ponieważ rabini traktują obowiązek ratowania życia jako wartość nadrzędną[34]. Na przykład taki obowiązek jest ważniejszy niż szabat (*Shabb.* 18,3; *Yoma* 8,6) i to niezależnie od

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30 Czynność widzenia jest im wspólna także z Samarytaninem. Jak podkreśla John Nolland: „[they] will all 'see' (ἰδών) the wounded man" (*Luke 9:21–18:34* [WBC 35B; Dallas, TX: Word Books 1993] 594). U Łukasza czasownik ὁράω w formie aorystycznej jest bardzo częsty i zwykle poprzedza jakąś akcję postaci, której dotyczy (zob. Łk 1,12; 5,8.12.20; 7,13.39; 8,28; 10,31–33; 11,38; 13,12; 17,14–15; 18,24.43; 19,41; 22,58; 23,8.47. Podmiotem słowa ὁράω w Nowym Testamencie jest niemal zawsze osoba; zob. H.R. Balz – G. Schneider, *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1990–) 527.

31 Czasownik ἀντιπαρέρχομαι nie występuje wprawdzie nigdzie indziej w Nowym Testamencie, ale pojawia się raz w LXX i to w zadziwiającym kontekście. Autor Księgi Mądrości (16,10) uczynił z niego działanie Boga, które oznacza przyjście z pomocą. T. Muraoka definiuje je jako: „to come along and help against enemy"; zob. „ἀντιπαρέρχομαι", *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Leuven: Peeters 2009) 59. Być może jego użycie przez Łukasza ma coś z sardonicznego humoru, który doceni tylko subtelny czytelnik.

32 Bauckham, „The Scrupulous Priest and the Good Samaritan", 480–485. Jak słusznie zauważa K.N. Snodgrass („Good Samaritan [Luke 10,25–37]", 277), argumentacja Bauckhama jest niekompletna, ponieważ pomija postać lewity.

33 J. Mann, „Jesus and the Sadducean Priests: Luke 10:25–37", *JQR* 6/3 (1915–1916) 415–422; por. B.B. Scott, *Hear Then the Parable: A Commentary on the Parables of Jesus* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 1989) 196–197.

34 Bauckham, „The Scrupulous Priest and the Good Samaritan", 483.

tego, czy zagrożenie życia jest pewne. Wywodzi się on z czasów powstania Machabeuszy, kiedy to przywódcy powstania z rodziny Matatiasza przyjęli zasadę, że będą podejmować walkę w samoobronie nawet w szabat (1 Mch 1,41). Autor tej samej księgi relacjonuje, że część powstańczych środowisk żydowskich odmówiła w szabat użycia broni, a nawet zablokowania wejść do jaskiń, w których się schronili, co doprowadziło do ich śmierci (1 Mch 1,35–6; 2 Mch 6,11). Przekazy Józefa Flawiusza świadczą o tym, że praktyka Machabeuszy pozostała zasadą żydowskiej sztuki wojennej w późniejszych czasach (*BJ* 1,146). Z drugiej strony, *Dokument Damasceński* pokazuje, że halacha wspólnoty Qumran nie pozwalała na to, aby obowiązek ratowania życia był ważniejszy niż szabat. Człowieka, który wpadł do wody w szabat, nie można ratować przy użyciu żadnego sprzętu: drabiny, liny itp. (CD 11,16–17)[35], ale późniejsza tradycja rabinacka znacznie różniła się od tych surowych rozstrzygnięć z Qumran.

Istnieją dowody na różnice między żydowskimi stronnictwami religijnymi w okresie Drugiej Świątyni w kwestii interpretacji praw czystości (np. 4QMMT), ale prawo do zachowania życia z reguły miało pierwszeństwo przed wszelkimi restrykcjami. Ostatecznie Bauckham uznaje, że przypowieść konstruuje sytuację, która była halachicznie dyskusyjna. Jednocześnie przez odwołanie się do prawa miłości bliźniego, które odgrywa nadrzędną rolę wobec innych reguł, przypowieść Łukasza, zamiast skupiać uwagę odbiorców na jednostkowej sytuacji, zdaje się budować ogólną halachiczną zasadę, że przykazanie miłości bliźniego jest jednym z nadrzędnych wymagań Tory. Sugestia tego rodzaju płynie z Kpł 19,18 oraz ze zdania przypisywanego przez *Sifrę* Rabbiemu Akiwie: „To jest wielka zasada (כלל) Tory" (*Sifra Lev* 19,18)[36].

W kontekście postaci należących do personelu świątynnego dyskutuje się również kwestię ewentualnej antyelitarnej bądź antyklerykalnej wymowy przypowieści[37]. Niektórzy idą nawet tak daleko, że widzą w niej tony antysemickie[38]. Trudno jednak uznać za zasadne opinie, które akcentują w przypowieści tego rodzaju treści. Już samo wprowadzenie kontrastu między kapłanem i lewitą a Samarytaninem wskazuje, że przypowieść ma inny cel niż krytykę żydowskiego religijnego establishmentu, a tym bardziej Żydów w ogólności.

4. Samarytanin

Charakterystyka ostatniego głównego bohatera dokonuje się najwyraźniej w kontraście do dwóch wcześniej przechodzących drogą postaci – kapłana i lewity. Samarytanin okazuje się lepiej spełniać wymagania Tory niż reprezentanci żydowskich elit. Staje się wzorem pobożności, wykraczającym poza przepisy, ponieważ udziela poszkodowanemu pomocy i opieki przez dłuższy czas.

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35 L.H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (SJLA 16; Leiden: Brill 1975) 125–128.
36 Bauckham, „The Scrupulous Priest and the Good Samaritan", 485.
37 Zob. R. Zimmermann, „The Good Samaritan (Luke 10:30–35)", 303.
38 A.-J. Levine, "The Good Samaritan", 80–81.

Jezus szczegółowo opisuje jego czynności, ujawniając także jego wewnętrzne przeżycia i intencje. Plastyczny opis pozwala wyobrazić sobie konkretną scenę pełną dźwięków, zapachów i fizycznego kontaktu między obydwoma postaciami. Dzieje się tak mimo faktu, że przechodzący obok miejsca napaści Samarytanin jest dla napadniętego bohatera kwintesencją obcości[39]. Jak wskazano wcześniej, postać napadniętego jest całkowicie anonimowa. Zakładając jednak, że był on pobożnym Żydem, traktował wszystkich Samarytan jak odszczepieńców i ludzi godnych pogardy, nazywając ich psami[40]. Natomiast Samarytanie byli świadomi tej niechęci i żywo ją odwzajemniali[41]. Od pierwszego momentu sceny spotkanie poszkodowanego Żyda z Samarytaninem oparte jest zatem na skrajnym kontraście między bohaterami[42].

Część egzegetów dystansuje się od tak skrajnego kontrastu[43]. Jeannine K. Brown i Kazuhiko Yamazaki-Ransom przedstawiły studium całości dzieła Łukaszowego, w którym starają się

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39 Komentatorzy zwracają uwagę, że treść przypowieści musiała być szokująca dla słuchaczy Jezusa. W Ewangelii Łukasza jest więcej takich przykładów (Łk 17,11–19). Nie wszyscy jednak interpretują tę postać w taki sposób. Wielu egzegetów podkreśla, że w ostatecznym rozrachunku również Samarytanin żyje zgodnie z przepisami Tory i nie może być traktowany na równi z poganami, nieznającymi Prawa; por. Bauckham, „The Scrupulous Priest and the Good Samaritan", 486–488. Historycznym tłem Samarytan w kontekście przypowieści Jezusa zajął się w swoim czasie również Cezary Korzec, („Co mówi dzisiejsza biblistyka o miłosiernym Samarytaninie?", *CTO* 1 [2007] 131–135).

40 Początki Samarytan wiążą się z podbojem Izraela przez Asyrię (722 r. przed Chr.). Część ludności królestwa Izraela została wówczas przesiedlona, a w jej miejsce zasiedlono obcą ludność o odmiennej kulturze i wierzeniach (por. 2 Krl 17,24–41). Przesiedleńcy ulegli z czasem asymilacji, a ich wierzenia zlały się z wiarą Izraelitów, dając początek eklektycznej religii mającej swoje kultowe centrum na górze Garizim koło Sychem. Tradycja tekstowa Samarytan ogranicza się tylko do Pięcioksięgu noszącego ślady samarytańskiej redakcji, co stało się przyczyną wzajemnej niechęci między Żydami i Samarytanami (por. J 4:9; *J.Shekalim* 1.4.3; *Szevi'it* 6.1.16; 8.8.1). Samarytanie, podkreślając swoją odrębność w stosunku do Żydów, twierdzili, że są potomkami ludu, który pozostał w Izraelu przed 722 r. po Chr. po zniszczeniu północnego królestwa przez Sargona II i dlatego z dumą nazywali się Izraelitami; zob. R.A. Anderson, „Samarytanie", *ABD* V, 941. Żydzi natomiast, chcąc pomniejszyć znaczenie Samarytan, wywodzili ich pochodzenie od ludów z Babilonu, Kuty, Awa, Chamat i Sefarwaim, które król asyryjski osiedlił w miastach Samarii w miejsce deportowanych Izraelitów. Akcentowali też mocno eklektyczny charakter ich wierzeń, nazywając ich Kutejczykami (*A.J.* 9.290); zob. P.F. Esler, „Jesus and the Reduction of Intergroup Conflict. The Parable of the Good Samaritan in the Light of Social Identity Theory", *BibInt* 8/4 (2000) 329. Według Levine („Good Samaritan", 108) Samarytanie nazywali siebie *Shamerim*, czyli „strażnikami" lub „przestrzegającymi" Prawa. Levine przywołuje też alternatywną etymologię z 1 Krl 16,24, odwołującą się do imienia Szemer, rzekomego właściciela posiadłości zamieszkiwanej przez Samarytan.

41 Zarys historyczny konfliktów żydowsko-samarytańskich na podstawie źródeł pozabiblijnych przedstawił Esler, „Jesus And The Reduction of Intergroup Conflict", 329–331. W przystępnej formie tło historyczne i genezę tego procesu zaprezentował J. Kilgallen, „The Good Samaritan (Luke 10,30–35 [25–37])", 29–31. Z kolei K.N. Snodgrass podaje szereg wartościowych źródeł, które stanowią tekstowe tło dotyczące Samarytan; Snodgrass, „Good Samaritan (Luke 10,25–37)", 265–267.

42 Większość komentatorów zdaje się podzielać takie stanowisko; zob. J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 28; Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1981–1985) II, 885–891; J. Nolland, *Luke 9:21–18:34*, 594–595. F. Bovon, *Luke 2: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 9:51–19:27* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2013) 65; J.P. Meier, A *Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*. V. *Probing the Authenticity of the Parables* (AYBRL; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press 2016) 207; F. Mickiewicz, *Ewangelia według świętego Łukasza, rozdziały 1–11*, 519–520, 564.

43 Morton S. Enslin dawno temu wyraził opinię, że triada narracyjna: kapłan – lewita – Żyd byłaby bardziej sensowna niż zaproponowana przez Łukasza („Luke and the Samaritans", *HTR* 36/4 [1943] 28–292).

wykazać, że trzeci ewangelista rozumie społeczność Izraela znacznie szerzej i włącza do niej również Samarytan[44]. Już kilka dekad wcześniej drogę do takiej interpretacji otworzył Jacob Jervell[45], twierdząc, że Prawo w Łk-Dz jest rodzajem znaku, odróżniającym Żydów od nie-Żydów, świadczącym o tożsamości Izraela jako ludu Bożego.

Według protestanckich egzegetek dowody historyczne na powszechną wrogość panującą między Samarytanami a Żydami są „w najlepszym razie fragmentaryczne"[46]. Brown i Yamazaki-Ransom, powołując się na opracowanie Jonathana Bourgela[47], sądzą, że granice między dwiema społecznościami nie były dokładnie określone (por. 2 Mch 5,22–6,2). Na dowód przytaczają fakt istnienia pewnych śladów rozwoju osadnictwa żydowsko-samarytańskiego w Palestynie po roku 70 po Chr. Sąsiedztwo obydwu grup w niektórych regionach i miastach pozwala na tezę o ich częstym kontakcie, a może nawet współpracy[48].

Jest faktem, że na tle innych synoptyków trzecia Ewangelia często nawiązuje do regionu Samarii i Samarytan. Pozostali synoptycy wspominają ten temat negatywnie i sporadycznie (Mt 10,5–6) lub wcale (Mk)[49]. Dzieło Łukaszowe natomiast zawiera liczne wzmianki: termin Σαμαρίτης pojawia się w Ewangelii trzykrotnie (Łk 9,52; 10,33; 17,16), a w Dziejach Apostolskich raz (Dz 8,25); nazwa Σαμάρεια występuje w Ewangelii jednokrotnie (Łk 17,11), ale w Dziejach już ośmiokrotnie (Dz 1,8; 8,1.5.9.14; 9,31; 15,3.24). Ewangeliści Marek i Mateusz zdają się świadomie omijać Samarię w swojej narracji o podróży Jezusa (por. Mk 10,1; Mt 19,1), podczas gdy Łukasz prowadzi Jezusa do Jeruzalem przez Samarię (Łk 9,52–56; 17,11). Chociaż scena z początku sekcji podróży nie stawia Samarytan

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Inni zwracali uwagę, że już w BH spotkać można pozytywne tradycje o Samarytanach (2 Krn 28,5–15); zob. McDonald, „The View from the Ditch – and Other Angles", 30–32.

44   Obydwie egzegetki opierają się w znacznym stopniu na studium M. Chalmersa („Rethinking Luke 10: The Parable of the Good Samaritan Israelite", *JBL* 139/3 [2020] 543–566), który z kolei nawiązuje do rozważań amerykańskiego dominikanina M. Gourguesa („The Priest, the Levite, and the Samaritan Revisited: A Critical Note on Luke 10:31–35", *JBL* 117/4 [1998] 709–713); zob. J.K. Brown – K. Yamazaki-Ransom, „The Parable of the Good Samaritan and the Narrative Portrayal of Samaritans in Luke-Acts", *JTI* 15/2 (2021) 233–246. Za podobnym rozwiązaniem zdaje się opowiadać również Michael Wolter (*The Gospel according to Luke*. II. *[Luke 9:51–24]*, 79), który akcentuje w przypowieści motyw właściwego kultu, deklarując: „Luke identifies the Σαμαρίτης clearly as 'Samaritan', i.e., as a member of the Yahweh-loyal Samaritan religion." Szerszy zarys na temat relacji Samarytan i Żydów czytelnik znajdzie również w artykule Jörga Freya („Gute Samaritaner? Das neutestamentliche Bild der Samaritaner zwischen Juden, Christen und Paganen", *Die Samaritaner und die Bibel: Historische und literarische Wechselwirkungen zwischen biblischen und samaritanischen Traditionen/ The Samaritans and the Bible: Historical and Literary Interactions between Biblical and Samaritan Traditions* [red. J. Frey – U. Schattner-Rieser – K. Schmid] [Studia Samaritana 7; Berlin: De Gruyter 2012] 203–233); zob. też K.N. Snodgrass, „Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25–37)", 267, 271.

45   J. Jervell, „The Law in Luke-Acts," *HTR* 64/1 (1971) 25.

46   Brown – Yamazaki-Ransom, „The Parable of the Good Samaritan", 237. Szczegóły na temat tła historycznego tych stosunków czytelnik znajdzie w obszernej monografii Gary'ego N. Knoppersa: *Jews and Samaritans: The Origins and History of Their Early Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013).

47   J. Bourgel, „Brethren or Strangers? Samaritans in the Eyes of Second-Century B.C.E. Jews," *Bib* 98/3 (2017) 407.

48   Brown – Yamazaki-Ransom, „The Parable of the Good Samaritan", 238; por. J. Bourgel, „John 4:4–42: Defining a Modus Vivendi between Jews and the Samaritans," *JTS* 69/1 (2018) 39–65.

49   Motyw ten omawiał już kilka dekad temu Gerard S. Sloyan, „The Samaritans in the New Testament", *Hor* 10/1 (1983) 7–21.

w najlepszym świetle, Jezus odżegnuje się od jakichkolwiek przejawów wrogości (9,55)[50], a sam ewangelista wyjaśnia, że powodem nieprzyjęcia Jezusa przez mieszkańców wioski był Jego religijny cel podróży: zmierzał do Jeruzalem (Łk 9,53)[51].

Dwa kolejne teksty o pojedynczych postaciach pochodzących z Samarii są już jednoznacznie pozytywne. Perykopa o uzdrowieniu dziesięciu trędowatych (Łk 17,11–19) wspomina nieznanego bliżej Samarytanina, który jako jedyny wrócił po uzdrowieniu, by oddać cześć Bogu (w. 18)[52]. Łukasz określa go co prawda mianem „cudzoziemca" (ἀλλογενής – 17,18)[53], ale w przeciwieństwie do nie-Żydów nie określa go mianem „poganina" (ἐθνικός)[54]. Samarytanin wychwala tego samego Boga, którego czczą Żydzi (Łk 17,15; por. 10,27), ale nie mogąc tego zrobić w Świątyni Jerozolimskiej, oddaje cześć Bogu przed Jezusem, co może wskazywać, że Łukasz widzi Jezusa jako alternatywną świątynię[55]. Podobnie przypowieść o Samarytaninie, który wspomógł napadniętego podróżnika, przedstawia go w pozytywny sposób. Nie mając udziału w kulcie świątynnym w Jeruzalem, staje się wzorem pobożnego Izraelity, zachowującego Torę[56].

Wreszcie, misja Kościoła w Samarii (Dz 8) i brak jakichkolwiek wzmianek o kontrowersji wobec udzielania chrztu Samarytanom pokazuje, że byli oni traktowani inaczej niż poganie. Co więcej, na koniec misji wśród mieszkańców Samarii i Równiny Nadmorskiej autor Łk-Dz podsumowuje sytuację Kościoła, podkreślając jego jedność w trzech krainach, które dotychczas objęła: Judei, Galilei i Samarii (Dz 9,31). Również ostatnia wzmianka Samarii w Dz 15,3 podkreśla jedność wspólnoty uczniów Chrystusa, którzy cieszą się z dobrej nowiny o przyłączeniu pogan do Kościoła. W ten sposób, zdaniem Brown i Yamazaki-Ransom,

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50   Część kodeksów zawiera w tym miejscu interesujący wariant, który dodatkowo wzmacnia strategię jednoczącą obydwie społeczności: και ειπεν· ουκ οιδατε οιου πνευματος εστε υμεις ο γαρ υιος του ανθρωπου ουκ ηλθεν ψυχας ανθρωπων απολεσαι αλλα σωσαι; zob. E. Nestle – E. Nestle, *Nestle-Aland: NTG Apparatus Criticus* 28. revidierte Auflage (red. B. Aland *et al.*) (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2012) 223.

51   Chalmers („Rethinking Luke 10", 563) słusznie podkreśla, że cała scena zdaje się sugerować, iż Jezus i Jego uczniowie spodziewali się jednak gościnnej reakcji mieszkańców wioski.

52   Autorki zwracają uwagę, że perykopa została wprowadzona informacją o obecności Jezusa „na pograniczu Samarii i Galilei" (Łk 17,11c), którą należy rozumieć także w sensie symbolicznym, w sensie dzieła zbawienia Jezusa, które scala Izrael; Brown – Yamazaki-Ransom, „The Parable of the Good Samaritan", 241.

53   Przeciwnie, Esler, „Jesus and the Reduction of Intergroup Conflict", 336.

54   Chalmers („Rethinking Luke 10", 563), powołując się na Martinę Böhm (*Samarien und die Samaritai bei Lukas: Eine Studie zum religionshistorischen und traditiongeschichtlichen Hintergrund der lukanischen Samarientexte und zu deren topographischer Verhaftung* [WUNT 2/111; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1999] 196–203), zwraca uwagę, że przekonanie, iż tego typu określenie musi koniecznie oznaczać nienawiść między obydwoma grupami etnicznymi, jest błędne. Jego zdaniem przykład Samarytanina z przypowieści należy raczej uważać za „wewnątrzizraelski przypadek graniczny"; Chalmers („Rethinking Luke 10", 558). Przeciwnie uważał cytowany przez Böhm J. Jeremias, który określił w swoim czasie Samarytanina z Łukaszowej przypowieści mianem „verhaßte Mischlinge" (*Samarien und die Samaritai bei Lukas*, 310).

55   Böhm, *Samarien und die Samaritai bei Lukas*, 242.

56   Chalmers, „Rethinking Luke 10", 564. Amerykański egzegeta z Evanston, IL przywołuje też opinię Stewarta Penwella, który studiując postacie Samarytan w czwartej Ewangelii, sugeruje, że Samarytanin funkcjonuje tam jako „nie-Judejczyk Izraelita" (*Jesus the Samaritan: Ethnic Labeling in the Gospel of John* [BIS 170; Leiden: Brill 2019] 87).

z dzieła Łukaszowego wyłania się obraz poszerzonego Izraela, który dla trzeciego ewangelisty jest przygotowaniem dla wspólnoty Kościoła powszechnego[57].

Trudno odmówić racji powyższym argumentom, które nie znoszą jednak podstawowego napięcia obecnego w Łukaszowej narracji między kapłanem i lewitą a Samarytaninem. Samarytański podróżny przekracza ogólnie znaną barierę wrogości i niechęci, a Jezusowa przypowieść skupia odbiorcę na jego działaniach: widzi (ὁράω) człowieka w potrzebie i lituje się (σπλαγχνίζομαι)[58]. Jego wzruszenie nie jest jednak tylko pustą emocją, ponieważ podejmuje dalsze konkretne działania: podchodzi do niego (προσέρχομαι), opatruje/zawija/zawiązuje rany (καταδέω), wiezie do gospody (ἐπιβιβάζω), wreszcie pielęgnuje (ἐπιμελέομαι) i opłaca koszty[59] dalszej rekonwalescencji (δίδωμι), obiecując uzupełnić je, jeśli zaszłaby taka potrzeba (ἀποδίδωμι). W ostatnim wersecie, jak wspomniano wcześniej, Łukaszowy Jezus pozwala mu krótko przemówić do karczmarza (λέγω), ale treść jego wypowiedzi zgadza się całkowicie z wcześniejszymi działaniami i nakierowana jest na dobro poszkodowanego. Jego instrukcja dla właściciela gospody jest jedyną wypowiedzią w całej przypowieści, co dowodzi, że intencją opowiadającego jest skupić uwagę odbiorcy nie tyle na deklaracjach ile na czynach.

Co charakterystyczne, Jezus nie dzieli się ze słuchaczami ewentualnym szczęśliwym zakończeniem tej historii, zostawiając ich w niepewności, czy na pewno wszystko dobrze się skończyło. Dzięki temu ich uwaga skupia się całkowicie na postawie Samarytanina wobec poszkodowanego, który zrobił wszystko, co mógł, by otoczyć go opieką i usunąć skutki dramatycznego wydarzenia.

Wyrażenie: „wszystko, co mógł" domaga się jeszcze krótkiej uwagi, która często bywa pomijana przez komentatorów, a która zawiera się w ostatnim czasowniku określającym Samarytanina: ἐπανέρχομαι („powrócić"). Łukaszowy Jezus traktuje tę sprawę bardzo skrótowo i tylko na podstawie znacznika czasowego z w. 35 (ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον) i czasownika ἐπανέρχομαι czytelnik dowiaduje się, że po jednodniowej opiece Samarytanin opuścił napadniętego i wyruszył w dalszą drogę, realizując swoje wcześniejsze plany. Najwyraźniej jego zawód musiał wiązać się z wielokrotnym przemierzaniem drogi pomiędzy Jerychem a Jeruzalem, skoro zapowiedział właścicielowi gospody swoją kolejną wizytę. Zestawianie postaci Samarytanina z Jezusem prowadzi wielu kaznodziejów do przesady w ocenie jego miłosiernej postawy jako totalnego oddania. Warto jednak zwrócić uwagę, że epilog przypowieści przynosi inny obraz. Samarytanin podejmuje ostatecznie swoje codzienne zajęcia,

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57   Na tej podstawie obydwie egzegetki interpretują przypowieść Łk 10,24–37, eklezjologicznie raczej niż etycznie sugerując, że Samarytanin z przypowieści jest po prostu ideałem Izraelity; zob. Brown – Yamazaki-Ransom, „The Parable of the Good Samaritan", 245–246.

58   Czasownik odgrywa w dziele Łukasza bardzo ważną rolę i stanowi punkt zwrotny w każdej z perykop, w której występuje; zob. M.J.J. Menken, „The Position of *Splanchnizomai* and *Splanchna* in the Gospel of Luke", *NovT* 30 (1988) 107–114.

59   Według J.A. Fitzmyera „the two denarii would have provided for very basic board and lodging for about two weeks"; zob. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke*, II, 885–891; Nolland, *Luke 9:21–18:34*, 596. Levine („Good Samaritan", 113) podkreśla, że datek Samarytanina świadczy o jego zasobności. Myli się jednak, sądząc, że dwa denary udzielone karczmarzowi stanowią swego rodzaju czek *in blanco*; *ibidem*, 114.

zostawiając napadniętego pod opieką właściciela gospody (w. 35). Nie podporządkowuje zatem całego swojego życia ofierze napadu, lecz wspomaga go na miarę jego potrzeb i swoich możliwości.

Jego postawa nie jest przejawem braku odpowiedzialności czy miłosierdzia. Przeciwnie, wskazuje na jego umiejętność pogodzenia miłosiernych działań z wymaganiami codziennego życia. Okazując współczucie, rozumie, że nie może oznaczać porzucenia swoich obowiązków. Zamiast tego jest w stanie zaangażować w dzieło miłosierdzia innych, którzy skutecznie podejmą jego zadanie, dając tym samym odbiorcom lekcję zaufania, praktycznej zasady delegowania odpowiedzialności i trwałości dobrych uczynków. Przy okazji staje się też postacią realną, która nie jest ograniczona do czynu w przypowieści, lecz niesie ze sobą świat wcześniejszych i późniejszych zaangażowań, będących częścią jego życia.

5. Właściciel gospody

Jeżeli charakterystykę poszczególnych postaci w przypowieści można uznać za bardzo oszczędną, to w przypadku ostatniego bohatera można w zasadzie mówić o jej braku. Czytelnik nie dowiaduje się o nim właściwie nic, ponieważ gospodarz (πανδοχεύς)[60] nie tylko nie wypowiada ani słowa, ale nie podejmuje nawet żadnego działania. Jednakże, podobnie jak kapłan czy lewita jest on reprezentantem pewnej ogólnie znanej kategorii ludzi. Na tej podstawie odbiorca może wyrobić sobie pobieżne wyobrażenie o wspomnianej postaci.

Jak relacjonuje Bruce W. Longenecker[61] w opracowaniach naukowych, spotkać można trzy postawy wobec tej postaci. Część komentatorów pomija ją, uznając ją za narracyjnie nieistotną. Inni widzą sens jej uwzględnienia jedynie w interpretacji alegorycznej, w której często bywa zestawiana np. z Pawłem Apostołem[62]. Trzecia grupa natomiast dąży do jej eliminacji dla uwydatnienia roli Samarytanina. Tylko bardzo nieliczni widzieli do tej pory potrzebę uwzględnienia karczmarza w swojej interpretacji. Powodem takiej sytuacji wydaje się bardzo kiepska reputacja przedstawicieli tego zawodu wśród starożytnych[63]. Uczony z Baylor University przytacza kilka znamiennych przykładów ze starożytnych źródeł, które doskonale ilustrują niskie mniemanie starożytnych o karczmarzach.

Platon (*Prawa* 918–919)[64], omawiając kwestię cnoty umiarkowania, zalicza karczmarzy do ludzi o nieograniczonych pragnieniach zysku, a przez to uciekających się do czynów haniebnych. Jego zdaniem trudy i niebezpieczeństwa podróżnych są dla oberżystów

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60 Zimmermann podkreśla znaczenie terminologii odniesionej do karczmarza (πανδοχεύς) i karczmy (πανδοχεῖον) („The Good Samaritan [Luke 10:30–35]", 310–311). W starożytności istniały dwa różne typy gospód – niehandlowe (κατάλυμα), oparte na obowiązku gościnności, oraz handlowe (πανδοχεῖον), które w całym starożytnym świecie cieszyły się złą sławą, ponieważ branie pieniędzy od gościa uważano za niehonorowe.

61 Longenecker, „The Story of the Samaritan and the Innkeeper (Luke 10:30–35)", 427.

62 Longenecker, „The Story of the Samaritan and the Innkeeper (Luke 10:30–35)", 428–429.

63 J.R. Donahue, *The Gospel in Parable: Metaphor, Narrative, and Theology in the Synoptic Gospels* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 1988) 133.

64 Zob. Platon, *Prawa* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Alfa 1997) 439–440.

okazją do zdzierstwa i traktowania przybyszów jak wrogów i jeńców, ponieważ są oni zdani na ich łaskę.

Józef Flawiusz (*A.J.* 3,276) wspomina o szczególnych przepisach czystości obowiązujących kapłanów, które zakazują ożenku z nierządnicami, niewolnikami, jeńcami lub kimkolwiek, kto zarabiałby na życie, oszukując lub prowadząc gospody (τὰς εκ καπηλείας και του πανδοκεύειν πεπορισμένας τὸν βίον). Podobne ostrzeżenia spotkać można w Misznie (*Aboda Zarah* 2,1), która zakazuje pozostawiania bydła w gospodach gojów, ze względu na zagrożenie zoofilii; samotnych kobiet, co naraziłoby je na akty lubieżne; a nawet samotnych podróżników, co mogłoby doprowadzić do rozlewu krwi.

Starożytne teksty zawierają liczne oskarżenia karczmarzy o rozwadnianie wina, fałszowanie rodzajów mięsa i inne niecne praktyki na niekorzyść gości. W Pompejach zachował się nawet krótki utwór wyrażający frustrację gościa z powodu oszustw oberżystów[65]:

> *Obyś jak najprędzej, oszukańczy karczmarzu,*
> *Poczuł boski gniew,*
> *Ty, który sprzedajesz ludziom wodę*
> *A sam pijesz czyste wino.*

Taki stan rzeczy może skłaniać czytelnika, by widział w karczmarzu zagrożenie dla rannego podróżnika. Przypowieść jednak tego nie sugeruje. W opowiadaniu nie ma nawet cienia aluzji do ewentualnych zabiegów Samarytanina wobec właściciela gospody, by zapewnić opiekę napadniętemu. Przeciwnie, skrótowość opisu zdaje się zakładać otwartość i zaufanie. Można nawet zaryzykować twierdzenie, że wspomnienie Samarytanina o powrocie do gospody może być aluzją do dobrej znajomości między obydwoma postaciami. Inaczej mówiąc, Samarytanin zna karczmarza, bo spotkał go wielokrotnie, ma do niego zaufanie i może na niego liczyć. W tej sytuacji zaproszenie go do pomocy w opiece nad rannym jest swego rodzaju „rozciągnięciem" cechy „bliźniego" na kolejną osobę. Samarytanin

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65 Oryginalna inskrypcja została zapisana po łacinie: „Talia te fallant / utinam me(n)dacia copo / tu ve(n)des acuam et / bibes ipse merum" (CIL 4.3948); zob. A. Mau, *Pompei, Its Life and Art* (New York – London: MacMillan 1899) 396. Graffiti z pompejańskiej gospody zawiera jednak błąd ortograficzny. Forma „copo" powinna być zapisana „caupo"; por. C. Henriksén, *A Commentary on Martial Epigrams. Book 9* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2012) 380. Katon starszy świadom zagrożeń oszustwa przy sprzedaży wina zapisał nawet praktyczną radę dla swoich czytelników: „Si voles scire in vinum aqua addita sit, nec ne. Si voles scire in vinum aqua addita sit, nec ne, vasculum tacito de materia hederacia. Vinum id, quod putabis aquam habere, eodem mittito. Si habebit aquam, vinum effluet, aqua manebit. Nam non continet vinum vas ederaceum"; Marcus Porcius Cato, *De re rustica*, CX (LCL 283; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1967) 100–103. Tłumaczenie polskie: Porada 111. „Jeżeli chcesz wiedzieć, czy wino zawiera wodę, czy jej nie zawiera: Jeżeli chcesz wiedzieć, czy do wina została dolana woda, czy nie, zrób z bluszczowego drewna małe naczynie. Wlej do niego tego wina, które według ciebie zawiera wodę. Jeżeli będzie zawierało wodę, wino wycieknie, a pozostanie tylko woda. Albowiem naczynie z bluszczu nie zatrzyma wina." (Marek Porcjusz Katon, *O gospodarstwie rolnym* [tłum. I. Mikołajczyk] [Toruń: WN UMK 2009], 164). Zob. Cato – Varro, *On Agriculture* (tłum. W.D. Hooper – H.B. Ash) (LCL 283; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1934) 100–103.

uruchamia w karczmarzu postawę do bycia bliźnim wobec konkretnego potrzebującego. Jego ostatnie działanie wpisuje się w całą sekwencję działań, które mają służyć dobru poszkodowanego.

Niezależnie od tego, czy Samarytanin znał oberżystę, czy też nie, warto zauważyć, że jego postawa wobec karczmarza doskonale pasuje do pozostałych działań. Tak jak przekroczył on barierę strachu, niepewności i religijnego dystansu wobec nagiej ofiary napaści, tak również nie zważając na obecne wśród starożytnych stereotypy nieuczciwych karczmarzy[66], wychodzi do właściciela z prośbą o opiekę nad rannym i oferuje sprawiedliwe wynagrodzenie. Longenecker idzie jednak za daleko, spekulując na kolejnych stronach swojego studium na temat postawy samego karczmarza. Narracja Łukaszowej przypowieści pozostaje otwarta i nie pozwala stwierdzić, jak zachował się właściciel gospody. Podobnie jak miłosierny ojciec nie uzyskał odpowiedzi od swojego starszego syna, gdy go przekonywał do wejścia do domu i wzięcia udziału w uczcie (Łk 15,32)[67]. Powód takiego narracyjnego zabiegu jest dość oczywisty. Karczmarz jest tylko pozytywnym tłem działań Samarytanina. Uwaga odbiorcy ma skupić się na ratującym podróżnego obcym. Rolą karczmarza jest przedłużyć postać bliźniego wobec napadniętego, co dodatkowo ubogaca proponowaną przez Jezusa wzorcową postawę. Być bliźnim wobec innych to nie tylko pokonywać barierę obcości i stereotypów, to także włączać w takie działania wszystkich, którzy mogliby w nich uczestniczyć.

6. Wszyscy „uczestnicy" narracji

Na kanwie funkcji karczmarza w relacji do Samarytanina można pokusić się o krótki szkic pozostałych elementów przypowieści w relacji do ludzkich postaci. Wspomniane w pierwszej części artykułu narracyjne detale można uporządkować w odniesieniu do poszczególnych bohaterów. Wspomniani na samym początku rozbójnicy (λῃσταί) przynależą do świata napadniętego podróżnika, przenosząc go ze stanu zdrowia i samodzielności do stanu ogołocenia, zagrożenia życia i bezbronności. Do strefy, którą dzielą z podróżnikiem, należą szaty i rzeczy osobiste podróżnika, które w wyniku napaści zmieniły właściciela (ἐκδύω), a także rany (πληγαί), którymi rozbójnicy „hojnie" obdarzyli podróżnego. Mimo że nieszczęśliwy podróżnik jest w narracyjnej łączności z każdym z analizowanych wyżej bohaterów, to jednak świat Samarytanina w opowiadaniu jest znacznie szerszy. Jak zauważono, karczmarz (πανδοχεύς) jest przedłużeniem jego postawy bliźniego, ponieważ zostaje zaproszony do działań na rzecz potrzebującego. Podobną funkcję, choć bez własnej woli, mają

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66 Do takiego wniosku słusznie dochodzi również Longenecker, zob. „The Story of the Samaritan and the Innkeeper (Luke 10:30–35)", 439–440.

67 Longenecker, „The Story of the Samaritan and the Innkeeper (Luke 10:30–35)", 440–443. Otwarte narracje są swego rodzaju znakiem firmowym trzeciego ewangelisty; por. np. scenę zakończenia Dziejów Apostolskich, gdzie spotkanie zamyka cytat z Izajasza (Iz 6,9–10) przywołany przez Apostoła Pawła, ale narrator milczy na temat reakcji zgromadzonych u niego Żydów (Dz 28,28).

wszystkie przedmioty wykorzystane przez Samarytanina[68]. Chodzi tu w pierwszej kolejności o oliwę, wino, opatrunki (ἔλαιον, οἶνον, καταδέω), osła/juczne zwierzę (κτῆνος) i gospodę (πανδοχεῖον) oraz dwa denary (δύο δηνάρια), które stały się istotnymi elementami jego działań na rzecz ratowania życia napadniętego.

Odrębną funkcję ma w opowiadaniu droga (ὁδός)[69], która okazała się wspólną przestrzenią działań większości bohaterów (zbójców, poszkodowanego, kapłana, lewity i Samarytanina z jego osłem), a także gospoda (πανδοχεῖον), która jest w opowiadaniu sferą bezpieczeństwa dla Samarytanina i rekonwalescenta, a także prywatną przestrzenią karczmarza.

Na schemacie ilustrującym całość opowiadania ukazano, w jaki sposób poszczególne postacie są ze sobą powiązane. Wynika z niego, że największy dystans dzieli kapłana i lewitę od poszkodowanego. Wspólnym motywem więzi dla wszystkich trzech przechodniów jest zmysł wzroku (ὁράω)[70], ale w pierwszych dwóch wypadkach nie przynosi on żadnych dalszych działań, które zmieniłyby sytuację napadniętego. Relacja rozbójników jest znacznie bliższa w stosunku do podróżnika, ale ma charakter negatywny, ponieważ polega na zadaniu mu ran i pozbawieniu własności. Z kolei Samarytanin jest powiązany z napadniętym podróżnikiem przez szereg elementów i poprzez nieuwzględnioną w schemacie sferę wewnętrzną, którą Łukasz odsłoni po spojrzeniu Samarytanina na rannego (w. 33b).

Sfera drogi

Sfera gospody

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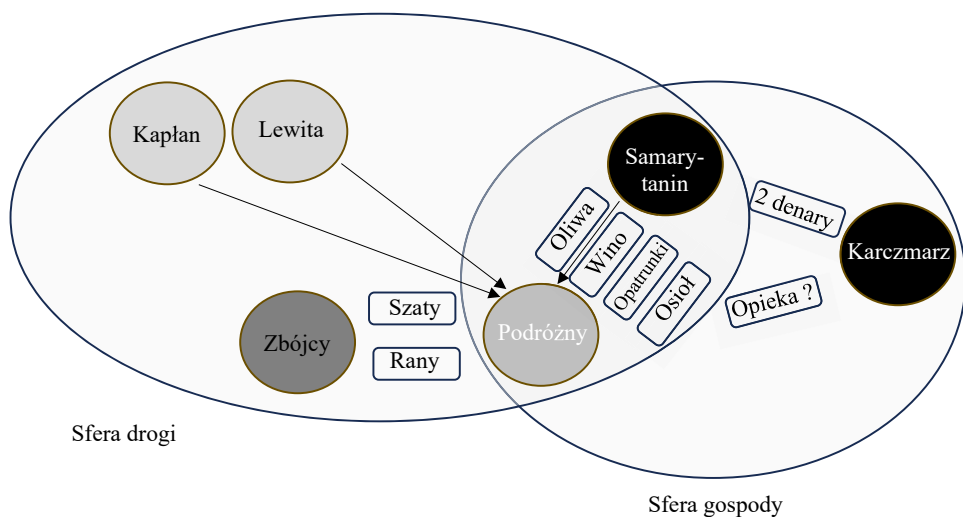
68   Już dawno temu ten sposób przedstawienia Samarytanina zauważył J.A. Fitzmyer (*The Gospel according to Luke X–XXIV*, II, 888). Amerykański egzegeta ograniczył się jednak tylko do własności Samarytanina i nie wliczył gospody do wykorzystanych przez niego rzeczy.

69   W tym kontekście warto wspomnieć o drodze Jezusa opisywanej przez Łukasza w dziesięciu rozdziałach Ewangelii (Łk 9,51–19,28) oraz o tym, że rzeczownik ὁδός nabiera nowego znaczenia w drugim tomie dzieła Łukasza: Dz 9,2; 16,17; 18,25–26; 19,9.23; 22,4; 24,14.22.

70   Czasownik ten powtarza się trzykrotnie: ww. 31–33 w odniesieniu do każdego z głównych bohaterów, co zostało w schemacie zaznaczone strzałką.

Scena między pierwszymi pięcioma postaciami rozgrywa się w sferze drogi (ww. 30–34b), podczas gdy ostatni jej etap został przeniesiony do sfery gospody (ww. 34c–35). W drugim wypadku można założyć wystąpienie kolejnych elementów składających się na opiekę Samarytanina nad poszkodowanym, ale ewangelista Łukasz ich nie wymienia, ograniczając się do jednego słowa: ἐπιμελέομαι ("troszczyć się"/"pielęgnować"). Natomiast karczmarz zostaje włączony w akcję "bliźniego" dzięki dwóm denarom, choć jego aktywność nie została już ukazana[71].

Jedyną postacią w opowiadaniu, która w sposób widoczny podlega transformacji, jest poszkodowany podróżnik. Pozostali bohaterowie, mimo swoich działań, pozostają w swoim pierwotnym narracyjnym miejscu: bandyci napadają, kapłan i lewita zachowują dystans wobec potrzeby podróżnego (być może z motywacji religijnych), Samarytanin dąży do realnego poprawienia losu napadniętego[72], a karczmarz zostaje zaproszony do działań podobnych do Samarytanina, chociaż czytelnik nie wie, czy jest to sytuacja przemiany, czy też stała dyspozycja postaci.

Podsumowanie

Przedstawiona panorama postaci i jej drugoplanowych elementów przyniosła obraz bogatej sieci wzajemnych odniesień w ramach fabuły. Napadnięty podróżnik, mimo iż łączą go więzi z każdym z pozostałych bohaterów, jest bierny i stanowi tło działań postaci pierwszoplanowych: kapłana, lewity i Samarytanina. Spośród wymienionej trójki szczególną postacią jest z pewnością Samarytanin, któremu Łukasz nie tylko poświęca najwięcej miejsca w opowiadaniu, ale również opisuje go wieloaspektowo, a nawet pozwala mu przemówić. Jego najbogatsza charakterystyka została dodatkowo uzupełniona inną, drugoplanową postacią karczmarza. Wspólnie tworzą niezwykłą parę ludzi postrzeganych negatywnie przez odbiorców nauki Jezusa: pierwszy jako pogardzany wyrzutek, drugi jako postać o wątpliwej reputacji. Kontrast tej pary z reprezentantami religijnego establishmentu Izraela jest wyraźny[73]. Jednocześnie tworzą oni rodzaj zespołu nakierowanego na czynienie dobra, chociaż *spiritus movens* tego układu jest niewątpliwie Samarytanin, który nie tylko potrafi osobiście pokonywać bariery strachu i stereotypów społeczno-religijnych, ale także zapraszać do takich działań innych. Angażując w swoje dzieło miłosierdzia karczmarza, daje mu okazję do konkretnej duchowej przemiany poprzez działanie na rzecz dobra drugiego, potrzebującego człowieka. Czyn Samarytanina pogłębia jego charakterystykę, ukazując go jako człowieka, którego nie tylko stać na współczucie i odważne indywidualne działania, ale również

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71 Samarytanin i karczmarz zostali zaznaczeni w schemacie ciemnym kolorem, ponieważ reprezentują postacie postrzegane negatywnie zarówno przez świat żydowski, jak i przez słuchaczy przypowieści. Zbójcy również należą do tej samej grupy, ale ich negatywny status został dodatkowo potwierdzony przez działanie.

72 Chociaż czyni to w sposób twórczy, to jednak jego determinacja w kierunku okazania czynnego miłosierdzia potrzebującemu jest stała, w czym przypomina postać miłosiernego ojca z Łk 15,11–32.

73 O parach bohaterów w przypowieści pisał już R. Zimmermann, "The Good Samaritan (Luke 10:30–35)", 301.

na szerszą operatywność i umiejętność inspiracji innych ku dobru. Obok postaci ludzkich warto docenić również obecne w fabule przypowieści rekwizyty włączone w ich działanie – osioł, szaty, rany, oliwa, wino itd. stanowią istotny czynnik ubogacający charakterystykę poszczególnych postaci.

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The Tenth Hour in John 1:39:
From Narrative Detail to Eschatological Symbol

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Abstract: This article offers a comprehensive analysis of the reference to 'the tenth hour' in John 1:39, a detail frequently dismissed as minor or incidental. The study identifies three principal interpretative approaches: (1) literary or narrative readings, which view the hour as a marker of eyewitness memory, narrative precision, or structural closure; (2) temporal-pragmatic interpretations, which link the hour to historical chronology, social customs (e.g., hospitality, Sabbath observance), or practical details of the disciples' encounter with Jesus; and (3) symbolic-theological interpretations, which understand the tenth hour as a signal of eschatological or theological significance. The central argument affirms a dual-layered Johannine narrative strategy: the tenth hour functions both as a literal temporal detail and as a symbolic expression of divine revelation, discipleship, and eschatological fulfilment. Drawing from early Jewish texts – including *Testament of Adam*, 2 *Enoch*, and the works of Philo – the article offers a new proposal that situates the tenth hour within broader traditions of visionary ascent, divine encounter, and symbolic numerology. The study concludes that the 'tenth hour' is not merely a temporal detail, but a deeply theological marker that inaugurates a new era of divine revelation and discipleship.

Keywords: Gospel of John, John 1:39, tenth hour, Johannine symbolism, vision of God, 2 *Enoch*, Targumic tradition, Philo of Alexandria, discipleship

1. Introducing the Exegetical Problem

Time and again, while reflecting on the text of the Gospel of John, I am surprised to discover that some inconspicuous detail, some seemingly innocent point, suddenly reveals its previously hidden meaning. Does the tenth, or the sixteenth hour, mentioned almost in passing, likewise conceal such a deeper, less-than-obvious sense? Would changing the translation from the original 'tenth' to the modern 'four' or 'sixteenth' hour hide the author's intended meaning associated with the number ten? If Andrew and the other disciple of John the Baptist met Jesus at the tenth hour, what implications does this have for understanding the significance of this encounter? What message does the Evangelist want to convey to the reader by mentioning the specific time of this encounter?

Reviewing even a small number of commentaries on the Gospel of John allows us to see that their authors do not agree on the meaning of the Johannine mention of the tenth hour in 1:39. The reason for this is obvious, as Martinus de Boer soberly noted: 'there is no explanation of the given time, and the reader is left guessing.'[1] No wonder, as Ernst Haenchen writes, 'The "tenth hour" has given exegetes trouble.'[2] In turn, William Hendriksen supposes that '[c]ommentators will probably never agree on the meaning of the expression *the tenth hour*.'[3] Robert H. Lightfoot remarks almost with resignation that the significance of this information 'is lost to us.'[4] Similarly, Christian Dietzfelbinger states that to modern readers 'the original meaning of the note is no longer accessible to us.'[5] Yet, these very difficulties and unknowns make the mention of this hour intriguing, and have long provoked the search for explanations.[6] Some commentators ignore the mention of the tenth hour, thus suggesting its negligible value for understanding the Johannine narrative.[7] Others justify their lack of comments by regarding this note as marginal or secondary.[8]

Indeed, the Evangelist's use of the expression ὡς ('about') may allow us to suppose that precision in telling the time is not the essence of his message. The Evangelist might only have wanted to point to the afternoon hour, which was not yet evening. Moreover, as Martinus de Boer noted, 'It is not clear why a punctiliar moment is mentioned in view of the expression τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην that precedes, which indicated an extended period of time.'[9] In fact, it is difficult to grasp the sense of the whole, namely the information that the two disciples remained with Jesus 'on this day', which suggests the whole day, followed by the additional note that there were only two hours left of this day. This double chronological information suggests that there is a specific rationale for the mention of the tenth hour. This intuition is corroborated by the placement of the ordinal δέκατος ('tenth') at the end

1   M. de Boer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to John*. I. *Introduction and Commentary on John 1–6* (ICC; London: Clark 2025) 332.

2   E. Haenchen, *John 1. A Commentary on the Gospel of John, Chapters 1–6* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia, PA: Fortress 1984) 159.

3   W. Hendriksen, *Exposition of the Gospel according to John* (NTC; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker 1953; reprint 2002) I, 104.

4   R.H. Lightfoot, *St. John's Gospel. A Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon 1956) 103.

5   C. Dietzfelbinger, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*. I. *Johannes 1–12* (Züricher Bibelkommentare 4; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag 2004) 55 ('der ursprüngliche Sinn der Notiz ist uns nicht mehr zugänglich').

6   B. Byrne, *Life Abounding. A Reading of John's Gospel* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 2014) 46, note 16 ('The intriguing time marker [...] has defied explanation').

7   G.L. Borchert, *John 1–11* (NAC 25A; Nashville, TN: B&H 1996) 141–142; R.A. Whitacre, *John* (IVP New Testament Commentary Series 4; Downers Grove, IL – Leicester: InterVarsity 1999) 69–72; A.T. Lincoln, *The Gospel according to Saint John* (BNTC; London: Continuum 2005) 117; J.H. Neyrey, *The Gospel of John* (New Cambridge Bible Commentary; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007) 54–61.

8   L. Stachowiak, *Ewangelia według św. Jana. Wstęp, przekład, komentarz* (Pismo Święte Nowego Testamentu 4; Poznań – Warszawa: Pallottinum 1975) 138 ('Inne szczegóły są drugorzędne, np. godzina dziesiąta [szesnasta] [Other details are secondary, e.g. the tenth hour (sixteenth)]').

9   Boer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to John*, 332.

of the account, in an emphatic, climactic position.[10] This fact alone may suggest to the reader the importance of the chronological information, and therefore of the number ten. Moreover, the mention of 'the tenth hour' is the first reference to a specific hour in the Gospel of John. This is one of four places in the Johannine Gospel in which the Evangelist refers to an exact hour of the day: 1:39 (tenth hour); 4:6 (sixth hour); 4:52 (seventh hour); and 19:14 (sixth hour). As Rinaldo Fabris notes, in the first two cases the hours describe the time of transformative personal encounters with Jesus, whereas the last two mark decisive salvific moments.[11] Thus, is there a deeper theological message behind the expression 'the tenth hour'?

The difficulties that exegetes encounter while trying to determine the meaning of the mention of the tenth hour hinge on at least two issues. The first one is chronological, the other pragmatic. In the first place, some commentators on the Gospel of John believe that there were two ancient systems of reckoning hours: the first one called Roman or Egyptian, in which the hours of the day were counted from midnight, and the other one termed Jewish or Babylonian, in which the twelve hours of the night were counted from evening (6:00 p.m.) till morning (6:00 a.m.), and the twelve hours of the day from morning (6:00 a.m.) till evening (6:00 p.m.). If the Evangelist had the Roman system in mind, they say, then the tenth hour meant 10:00 a.m. However, if he was following the Jewish reckoning of hours, the tenth hour would refer to 4:00 p.m.[12] Unfortunately, the supposed distinction between these two systems of counting the hours of the day is baseless and unconfirmed in ancient sources. In actuality, there were two systems of setting the beginning of a day (understood as a 24-hour day), but there was only one system of reckoning the hours of the day. The Romans counted the beginning of a civil day (*dies civilis*, *dies legitimus*) from midnight, but the hours of the day (*dies naturalis*, *dies verus*) were always counted from sunrise. Even though the Jews counted the beginning of the day from the evening,[13] the hours

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10   T.L. Brodie, *The Gospel according to John. A Literary and Theological Commentary* (New York – Oxford: Oxford University Press 1993) 160.

11   R. Fabris, *Giovanni. Traduzione e commento. Seconda edizione riveduta e ampliata*, 2 ed. (Commenti biblici; Roma: Borla 2003) 162.

12   The basis for this conviction that John 1:39 refers to 10 p.m. is not entirely clear. See Hendriksen, *Exposition of the Gospel according to John*, I, 104 ('the expression "the tenth hour" can mean 4 P.M. or 10 A.M. or even 10 P.M. However, the context makes it quite impossible to think of 10 P.M.').

13   How the beginning of a day is demarcated in Jewish time is debated as well. However, it seems that a consensus has evolved that ancient Jews treated sunset as the beginning of a new day. See P.J. Heawood, "The Beginning of the Jewish Day," *JQR* 36/4 (1946) 393–401 (according to Heawood, morning was indicated as the beginning of the Jewish day); S. Zeitlin, "The Beginning of the Jewish Day during the Second Commonwealth," *JQR* 36/4 (1946) 403–414 (before the Babylonian exile – morning, and after the exile – evening); H.R. Stroes, "Does the Day Begin in the Evening or Morning? Some Biblical Observations," *VT* 16 (1966) 460–475 (evening was the beginning of the Jewish day); J.A. McGuire, "Evening or Morning: When Does the Biblical Day Begin?," *AUSS* 46/2 (2008) 201–214 (preferring 'evening theory').

of the day were likewise counted from sunrise. Therefore, in using 'about the tenth hour', the Evangelist must have meant the afternoon hours.[14]

The second, pragmatic issue concerns the meaning that the Evangelist wanted to convey to his readers by so precisely specifying the time when Andrew and the unknown disciple followed Jesus. Attempts to clarify this issue have given rise to a whole range of more or less hypothetical interpretations. They can be grouped into three categories: (1) Interpretations referring only to the very presence of the mention of the hour, wherein the specific indication of the tenth hour as the tenth is of only secondary or incidental importance. As Hendriksen states, '[t]he really important point in this connection is not, "What is meant by the tenth hour?" but, "Why does the author mention the hour at all?".'[15] (2) Interpretations referring to the temporal significance of the tenth hour, i.e. afternoon, early evening or even evening, in which view the precise indication of the tenth hour is actually crucial. (3) Interpretations referring to the symbolic meaning of the number ten.

This article undertakes an examination of all three categories of interpretation, with particular attention given, where appropriate, to the respective strengths and limitations of each approach. In each instance, representative scholars advocating for a given interpretation will be referenced. The discussion concludes with the presentation of our own interpretative proposal.

2. Interpretations Focusing on the Mention of the Hour Itself

2.1. Narrative Explanations

According to Ernst Haenchen, '[t]he temporal designation [...] marks the end of the narrative unit, not the end of the visit' and describes another day of Jesus' activity.[16] In a similar vein, Xavier Léon-Dufour suggests that the mention of the tenth hour constitutes a narrative pause, a kind of pause in the plot.[17] Thus the reader can reflect on the meaning and importance of the events described.[18] In turn, Barnabas Lindars states that the mention 'is simply a narrative device to get the disciples into Jesus' entourage, so that they are with him when he goes to Galilee' (1:43).[19] The tenth hour is therefore intended to complement, confirm or emphasise the information that John's two disciples remained with Jesus that day.

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14   For an extensive review of this issue, see A. Kubiś, "Roman versus Jewish Reckoning of Hours in the Gospel of John. An Exegetical Misconception that Refuses to Die," *BA* 11/2 (2021) 247–280.

15   Hendriksen, *Exposition of the Gospel according to John*, I, 104.

16   Haenchen, *John 1. A Commentary on the Gospel of John, Chapters 1–6*, 159 ('The temporal designation [...] marks the end of the narrative unit, not the end of the visit').

17   X. Léon-Dufour, *Lecture de l'Évangile selon Jean*. I. *Chapitres 1–4* (Parole de Dieu; Paris: Seuil 1988) 190 ('la notule offre aussi une pause dans le récit').

18   J. Frey, *Die johanneische Eschatologie*. II. *Das johanneische Zeitverständnis* (WUNT 110; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1998) 190–191.

19   B. Lindars, *The Gospel of John* (NCB; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott 1972) 114.

2.2. Credibility and Earthliness

Hartwig Thyen interprets the mention of the tenth hour as an almost protocol-like note ('nahezu protokollarische Notiz'), functioning as a literary device employed by the Evangelist to enhance the credibility ('Verisimile') of the narrated event.[20] In this sense, the reference to the tenth hour serves to underscore the reliability of the account. In a similar vein, Michael Theobald observes: 'What is striking is the role that numbers play overall in the *Zeichenquelle* ('Signs Source'), although this may have served merely to suggest the precision (*Genauigkeit*) of what it narrates.' He further cites other Johannine passages in which such numerical references appear: 2,1.6; 4,6.18.52.54; 5,5; 6,7.9.13.[21] Frederick Dale Bruner argues that '[t]he prosaic character of the reference (what difference does it make what time it was?) at least gives a certain earthliness, a certain "it happened in time and space" character, to this very modestly described creation of the first Church.'[22]

2.3. Eyewitness and Authorship

As a considerable number of commentators assert, this precise temporal designation supports the view that the Evangelist was an eyewitness of the events described (see 4:6.52; 18:28; 19:4; 20:19). As Brooke F. Westcott already noted, 'the mention of the time is one of the small traits which mark St John,' allowing the reader to perceive the Gospel's author as an eyewitness.[23]

As a corollary to the above thesis, one may posit an additional hypothesis, namely that the unnamed disciple who remained with Jesus that day was, in fact, the author of the Fourth Gospel.[24] Regardless of the question of the Beloved Disciple's authorship of John's Gospel,

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20 H. Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 2 ed. (HNT 6; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2015) 128.

21 M. Theobald, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes. Kapitel 1–12* (RNT; Regensburg: Pustet 2009) 181.

22 F.D. Bruner, *The Gospel of John. A Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI – Cambridge: Eerdmans 2012) 104.

23 B.F. Westcott, *The Gospel according to St. John. The Authorized Version with Introduction and Notes* (London: Murray 1882) 24; F. Tillmann, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 9 ed. (Die Heilige Schrift des Neuen Testaments; Bonn: Hanstein 1916) 56 ('der Pulsschlag persönlicher Erinnerung des Schriftstellers'); J.H. Bernard, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John* (ICC; Edinburgh: Clark 1928) I, 57; R.C.H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. John's Gospel* (Lenski's Commentary on the New Testament; Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg 1961) 149 ('evidence that he himself wrote this Gospel'); H. van den Bussche, *Giovanni. Commento del Vangelo spirituale*, 3 ed. (Assisi: Cittadella 1974) 139; L. Morris, *The Gospel according to John. Revised Edition* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1995) 139 ('John's habit of noticing the time of day is one of the small touches that point to an eyewitness [see 4:6, 52; 18:28; 19:14; 20:19]'); S.A. Panimolle, *Lettura pastorale del Vangelo di Giovanni*. I. *Gv 1–4*, 5 ed. (Lettura pastorale della Bibbia; Bologna: EDB 1999) 174 (as a possibility: 'probabilmente è un indice che l'evangelista fu testimone degli eventi'); G.M. Burge, *John* (NIV Application Commentary; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 2000) 76; C.L. Blomberg, *The Historical Reliability of John's Gospel* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity 2001) 81 ('a seemingly unmotivated detail that could reflect eyewitness recollection'); A.J. Köstenberger, *John* (BECNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2004) 75 ('Clearly, by mentioning the time, the evangelist gives evidence of eyewitness testimony'); Bruner, *The Gospel of John*, 104; M. Grilli, *Il Vangelo secondo Giovanni. Elementi di introduzione e teologia* (Bologna: EDB 2016) 67–68 (as a possibility: 'forse un ricordo personale').

24 Hendriksen, *Exposition of the Gospel according to John*, I, 104; L. Bouyer, *Il quarto Vangelo* (Le idee e la vita 14; Torino: Borla 1964) 80; E. Bosetti, *Vangelo secondo Giovanni (Capitoli 1–11). I segni dell'Amore* (Dabar – Logos – Parola. Lectio divina popolare; Padova: Messaggero di Sant'Antonio 2013) 42.

which is, indeed, a long-debated point within Johannine scholarship, there is one interesting fact associated with the presence of this disciple in the narrative. According to Derek Tovey, 'at every point where the beloved disciple appears […] the narrative includes items of close detail which suggest "on the spot," eyewitness report.'[25] This view is also supported by Richard Bauckham: 'The occasions on which the Beloved Disciple appears in the narrative are marked by observational detail.'[26] However, this thesis has been challenged by Andrew Lincoln: '[v]ivid details are part and parcel of an omniscient narrator's perspective in good storytelling and in this narrative are also found at points where the Beloved Disciple does not appear.'[27] Indeed, as Bauckham himself notes, the presence of narrative detail does not, in itself, prove that the Gospel's author was an eyewitness. Nevertheless, Tovey's point is more nuanced. As Bauckham explains in defence of Tovey's argument, the Fourth Gospel

> portrays the Beloved Disciple as one qualified to give eyewitness reports of the occasions on which he was present. Although there is observational detail in other passages of the Gospel, what is notable is how consistently the appearances of the Beloved Disciple are accompanied by such detail.[28]

Bauckham continues: 'On the one hand, in many cases the detail is, of course, *significant* detail, with a clear role in the narrative, while, on the other hand, vivid detail is the stock-in-trade of a skilled storyteller, such as the author of this Gospel most certainly was.'[29] Bauckham provides the following list of such details: (1) In 1:39, referring to the unnamed disciple (possibly the Beloved Disciple), there is the specific mention of the tenth hour. (2) In 13:26, the Beloved Disciple observes Jesus dipping a morsel of bread and handing it to Judas. (3) In 18:18 – assuming the 'other disciple' mentioned in 18:15–16 is to be identified with the Beloved Disciple – the detail about the fire is 'considerably more vivid'[30] than the corresponding element in Mark's parallel account (14:54). (4) In 19:33–35, the Beloved Disciple witnesses that Jesus' legs were not broken, but that his side was pierced, resulting in the outflow of blood and water. (5) In 20:6–8, the Beloved Disciple sees the linen wrappings in the tomb and the cloth that had been on Jesus' head rolled up separately. In the following two instances, the Beloved Disciple is likewise present: (6) in 21:9, the narrative records that Jesus had prepared breakfast; and (7) in 21:11, the precise number of fish is noted.[31] (8) To Bauckham's list, one may add an additional detail: in 20:4 and 20:8, the Beloved Disciple is described as running ahead of Peter and arriving first at the tomb. Richard Bauckham conludes his argument, '[a]ll the same, these details do help to

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25   D. Tovey, *Narrative Art and Act in the Fourth Gospel* (JSNTSup 151; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1997) 140.

26   R. Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses. The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony*, 2 ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2017) 398.

27   A.T. Lincoln, "The Beloved Disciple as Eyewitness and the Fourth Gospel as Witness," *JSNT* 24/3 (2002) 5.

28   Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 398.

29   Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 399.

30   Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 398.

31   Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 398–399.

give readers the impression that the Gospel portrays the Beloved Disciple as an observant witness of what happened.'[32]

Naturally, there are sceptical views regarding the thesis presented above.[33] It should be noted that the entire argument linking the mention of the tenth hour with the eyewitness testimony of the Beloved Disciple depends on the identification of the 'unnamed disciple' as the Beloved Disciple – an issue that remains a matter of debate within Johannine scholarship.[34]

2.4. The Unforgettable Hour and Day

The precise designation of the hour of the encounter with Jesus suggests that this event – and the entire day – was truly 'unforgettable' for both disciples.[35] As Michael Theobald noted, 'the note – like those in 4:6 and 19:14 – preserves the significance of the encounter: it is the kind of hour one does not forget.'[36] As several commentators have noted, this moment left such a lasting impression that it is believed to have remained vivid in the Evangelist's memory until the end of his life.[37]

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32   Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 399.

33   G. MacGregor, *The Gospel of John* (MNTC; New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company 1929) 36 ('it is unlikely that "the Witness" was so early a member of Jesus' company').

34   This issue of the identity of the unnamed disciple is discussed in depth by B.F. Neirynck, "The Anonymous Disciple in John 1," *ETL* 66 (1990) 5–37, reprint in *Evangelica. Gospel Studies – Études d'évangile. Collected Essays*. II. *1982–1991* (ed. F. van Segbroeck) (BETL 99; Leuven: Peeters 1991) 617–649; U. Schnelle, "Der ungenannte Jünger in Joh 1:40," *The Opening of John's Narrative (John 1:19–2:22). Historical, Literary, and Theological Readings from the Colloquium Ioanneum 2015 in Ephesus* (eds. R.A. Culpepper – J. Frey) (WUNT 385; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2017) 97–117. There is a compelling theory that identifies the Beloved Disciple with the 'unnamed disciple' mentioned in John 1:40, based on the *inclusio* of eyewitness testimony in the Fourth Gospel. The Beloved Disciple is portrayed as the ideal witness, upon whose testimony the Gospel is founded (John 21:24), while the qualification of a true witness is defined as being with Jesus 'from the beginning' (15:27). At both the beginning and end of the narrative, Peter (1:40–42; 21:15–22) and the Beloved Disciple (1:37–40; 21:20–24) are juxtaposed through lexical parallels, notably the verbs 'follow' (1:37–38; 21:20) and 'stay' (1:38–39; 21:22). Richard Bauckham (*Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 129) observes, 'The proximity of the two ends of the *inclusio* of the Beloved Disciple to the two ends of the Petrine *inclusio* functions to indicate that this Gospel's distinctive contribution derives not from Peter's testimony but from the Beloved Disciple's witness.'

35   MacGregor, *The Gospel of John*, 36 ('the unforgettable moment'); Hendriksen, *Exposition of the Gospel according to John*, I, 104 ('That day with Jesus changed his whole life! It made such a deep impression upon him that he never forgot the exact hour when the invitation had been received and the decision to accept it had been taken'); H.N. Ridderbos, *The Gospel according to John. A Theological Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI – Cambridge: Eerdmans 1997) 82 ('The unforgettable beginning for Jesus' first followers is precisely dated – down to the hour'); Bosetti, *Vangelo secondo Giovanni*, 42 ('giornata indimenticabile').

36   Theobald, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 181.

37   A.T. Robertson, *Word Pictures in the New Testament*. V. *The Fourth Gospel* (Nashville, TN: Broadman 1932) *ad locum* ('To his latest [sic] day John never forgot the hour when first he met Jesus'); Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. John's Gospel*, 149 ('That hour shone bright in his memory until his dying day').

2.5. The Hour of Becoming a Disciple

Numerous commentators interpret the mention of the specific hour as the moment when John, the author of the Gospel, became a disciple of Jesus[38] – a moment marking the beginning of his Christian life,[39] the start of a new life,[40] and his spiritual birth.[41] As John Peter Lange states: 'The first hour of his Christian life was indelibly fixed upon the memory of John, as a great and glorious turning point, as a transition from darkness to light.'[42]

2.6. The Importance of the Event

The information about the specific hour of the encounter with Jesus – perhaps given even unconsciously and spontaneously by the Evangelist[43] – points to the importance of this event in the disciples' lives. In Pierre Moulin's opinion, '[w]hat happened was so important that they remember all the details.'[44] According to Hermann Strathmann, the mention of the tenth hour is 'psychological realism', because important experiences are inextricably linked to external realities that have no meaning in themselves.[45] Santi Grasso, looking for a common meaning behind all four indications of specific hours in the Gospel of John (1:39; 4:6, 52; 19:4), notes their common function in emphasising the importance of a given moment.[46]

The intensity of the encounter and the quality of the experience. Udo Schnelle believes that the indication of the time, as well as of the place where the disciples were to stay, emphasises the intensity of their first encounter with Jesus.[47] According to Jean Zumstein, the mention of the tenth hour implies 'the quality of the experience' (*la qualité de cette expérience*) – the disciples meet Jesus.[48]

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38   R. Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St John*. I. *Introduction and Commentary on Chapters 1–4* (New York: Crossroad 1990) 309 ('It also suggests the importance of the hour for the disciples – the hour in which they enter into fellowship with Jesus').

39   M.R. Vincent, *Word Studies in the New Testament*. II. *The Writings of John, the Gospel, the Epistles, the Apocalypse* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1887) 72 ('the marking of the specific hour of accompanying Jesus as the first hour of his Christian life').

40   G.R. O'Day, "The Gospel of John. Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections," *The New Interpreter's Bible. General Articles & Introduction, Commentary, & Reflections for Each Book of the Bible Including the Apocryphal/ Deuterocanonical Books in Twelve Volumes* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon 1995) 531 ('a decisive beginning point for the disciples' new life').

41   Westcott, *The Gospel according to St John*, 24 ('He [John] is here looking back upon the date of his own spiritual birth').

42   J.P. Lange, *The Gospel according to John* (A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures. New Testament 3; New York: Scribner 1871) 92.

43   van den Bussche, *Giovanni*, 139–140 ('importanza che sembra dare incosciamente e spontaneamente').

44   P. Dumoulin, *Giovanni. Il vangelo dei segni. Il vangelo dell'ora* (Lettura pastorale della Bibbia; Bologna: EDB 2016) 20 ('Ciò che è avvenuto era così importante che essi ricordano tutti i dettagli').

45   H. Strathmann, *Il vangelo secondo Giovanni* (Nuovo Testamento 4; Brescia: Paideia 1973) 92.

46   S. Grasso, *Il Vangelo di Giovanni. Commento esegetico e teologico* (Roma: Città Nuova 2008) 90 ('sottolineare l'importanza').

47   U. Schnelle, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 4 ed. (THKNT 4; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt 2009) 63 ('Zeitangabe unterstreichen die Intensität der Begegnung').

48   J. Zumstein, *L'Évangile selon saint Jean (1–12)* (CNT IVa. Deuxième série; Genève: Labor et Fides 2014) 87.

3. Interpretations Referring to the Temporal Significance of the Tenth Hour

3.1. Passover

Karl Hanhart asserts that the Johannine mention of the tenth hour specifically refers to the day of the calendar year when the disciples encountered Jesus. In his opinion, it took place on Nisan 14. The meeting between the two disciples and Jesus would allude to the celebration of the Passover liturgy by John the Baptist's community in accordance with Old Testament law, on the evening of Nisan 14 (a new day was counted from sunset, thus it was Nisan 15). John's text would reflect the practices of the Quartodecimians described by Eusebius of Caesarea (*Hist. eccl*. V, 23, 1), who began celebrating the Passover on the evening of Nisan 14.[49] According to Hanhart, the whole pericope of 1:35–40 would be 'a cryptic reference to the Easter experience' of the community of the Johannine Church.[50] The Johannine '*about* the tenth hour' would indicate the end of a three-day fast and the beginning of the Eucharistic Easter liturgy. Therefore, the Evangelist would contrast 'Jewish Passover' (2:13) with the Christian Passover, the Passover of Jesus, 'the Lamb of God' (1:29, 37), slaughtered on the afternoon of Nisan 14. The chronological references to the first week of Jesus' ministry, described in the first chapter of the Gospel of John, would refer to the chronology of Holy Week: Thursday is Nisan 14 (1:29), Friday is Nisan 15 (1:35), followed by Saturday (1:43), and Easter Sunday (2:1). Thus, the encounter between Andrew and the second disciple and Jesus, and their 'staying' with Jesus, took place on Good Friday, the day of Jesus' death. Moreover, the expression 'about the tenth hour would exactly reflect the chronology in the Gospel of Mark, in which between the sixth and ninth hour darkness came over the whole land, and after the ninth hour Jesus gave a loud cry and breathed his last (Mark 15:22–37).'[51]

Karl Hanhart makes yet another assumption about the meaning of the tenth hour, this time drawing inspiration from the content of the letter of Irenaeus of Lyon (d. 202) cited by Eusebius (*Hist. eccl*. V, 24,12), speaking about four groups of believers fasting in the Asian Churches before Passover: some fasted one day, others two days, others longer than two days, and still others fasted for 40 hours, day and night. Hanhart presumes that this last, fourth group referred to Christians who fasted from the sixth hour on the morning of Nisan 14 till the sixteenth hour of Nisan 15, which would correspond to the tenth hour in John 1:39. As above, the tenth hour is the hour of Jesus' death/exaltation and as such marks the beginning of the Easter celebration of the Eucharist.[52] Karl Hanhart argues,

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49 K. Hanhart, "'About the tenth hour'... on Nisan 15 (Jn 1,35–40)," *L'Évangile de Jean. Sources, rédaction, théologie* (ed. M. de Jonge) (BETL 44; Leuven: Leuven University Press – Peeters 1987) 335–346.

50 K. Hanhart, "The Structure of John I.35 – IV.54," *Studies in John. Presented to Professor Dr. J. N. Sevenster on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (NovTSup 24; Leiden: Brill 1970) 28.

51 Hanhart, "'About the tenth hour'," 338.

52 Hanhart, "'About the tenth hour'," 340.

[t]o the Johannine community 'about the tenth hour' on Nisan 15 was the hinge of time leading from fasting to rejoicing and from death to life. It was at that time that the celebration of agape and eucharist began and from then on the unknown disciple and Andrew were bidden to abide with Jesus.[53]

At another place Hanhart adds, 'Jn 1,29–41 refers to Nisan 15 as the day of the crucifixion/exaltation of Jesus.'[54]

The aforementioned proposals have elicited a mix of both favourable reception and decided scepticism from later commentators. Stanisław Mędala, for example, does not exclude this hypothesis.[55] On the other hand, Rinaldo Fabris argues that the mention of the tenth hour is so discreet (*tanto discreto*) that it does not allow for formulation of hypotheses regarding the religious calendar of the Fourth Gospel.[56]

3.2. Remaining with Jesus Throughout the Day

Many authors believe that the mention of the tenth hour indicates the length of time the disciples spent with Jesus. Robert Kysar speculates that the reference to the tenth hour may have a symbolic meaning. However, 'more likely it simply indicates the fact that they spent some time with their new master.'[57] According to Gary M. Burge, the mention of the afternoon hour 'signals something of Jesus' intention. This is the end of the day and may refer to the fact that here Jesus has invited them to spend the entire day with him.'[58] In turn, some commentators suggest that the mention emphasises the disciples' staying with Jesus for the entirety of the short time they had: between 16:00 and dark, there remained only two hours. According to Brendan Byrne, the disciples were 'fascinated with their newly discovered Master and reluctant to leave, [so] the disciples remained with Jesus as long as they could throughout the day right up till when they had to leave so as to be home before dark.'[59] J. Ramsey Michaels noted that the reference to the tenth hour 'qualifies or even subverts the notice that "they stayed with him that day". In Michaels's opinion, '[i]t is possible to read the subversion as deliberate, as if to say, "Yes, they stayed with him that day, but the day was practically over!"'[60] Hermann Strathmann likewise believes that in the evening the dis-

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53   Hanhart, "'About the tenth hour,'" 340–341.

54   Hanhart, "'About the tenth hour,'" 345.

55   S. Mędala, *Ewangelia według świętego Jana. Rozdziały 1–12. Wstęp, przekład z oryginału, komentarz* (Nowy komentarz biblijny. Nowy Testament 4/1; Częstochowa: Edycja Świętego Pawła 2010) 326.

56   Fabris, *Giovanni*, 162.

57   R. Kysar, *John* (ACNT; Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg 1986) 39. The same conclusion is reached by Jean-Pierre Lémonon, *Pour lire l'Évangile selon saint Jean* (Paris: Cerf 2020) 95 ('L'indication de l'heure [...] laisse entendre que les deux disciples ont passé un certain temps avec Jésus').

58   Burge, *John*, 76.

59   Byrne, *Life Abounding*, 46.

60   J.R. Michaels, *The Gospel of John* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI – Cambridge: Eerdmans 2010) 121. Michaels (*ibidem*, 121, note 15) adds, 'Yet there is no hint that the writer wants to minimize or make light of the disciples' faith [...]. At most it could be argued that he is simply being careful not to overstate his case for the disciples' status as eyewitnesses. Such honesty gains him credibility with his readers.'

ciples returned to their homes in order to – which is obvious – come back to Jesus the next morning, and remained with him forever.[61]

3.3. Staying Overnight

The late afternoon hour of the meeting, practically early evening, suggests to some that staying with Jesus that day – so short, because it was limited to two hours – was not the Evangelist's intended emphasis. Charles Kingsley Barrett rightly observes that 'the incident took place at 4 p.m. – not a natural point for the beginning of a day's stay'[62] of the disciples with Jesus. This difficulty may be solved by proposing that the disciples remained with Jesus throughout the evening hours and through the night. In fact, the tenth hour, a time when many daily activities start to wind down, may indeed suggest that the disciples stayed with Jesus overnight. This suggestion, that the late afternoon tenth hour implies the disciples remained with Jesus overnight, can already be found in commentary by Hugo Grotius (1583–1645): *Eo die inde non discesserunt, ac proinde ibidem pernoctarunt, quia iam serum erat.*[63] Some modern commentators have also eagerly followed this interpretation. For instance, Leon Morris expressed this view stating, '[c]oming to Jesus in the late afternoon and then having the kind of conversation that the circumstances indicate almost requires us to understand "spent that day" as "remained overnight".'[64] Another contemporary commentator, Colin G. Kruse, believes that the mention of the hour indicates a late time of day, too late for the two disciples to return to their homes. Consequently, both were invited to stay overnight at Jesus' dwelling, with the conversation between them and Jesus probably lasting until late night.[65] In his recent commentary on the Gospel of John, Martinus de Boer argued similarly that the whole point of introducing the mention of the tenth hour was that 'there was by this time of the day no turning back […]. The two new followers of Jesus had passed the point of no return.'[66]

The famous hospitality of the ancient, biblical world would even have obligated Jesus to offer accommodation to John's disciples, especially taking into account a late afternoon hour for the beginning of their encounter.[67] As Craig S. Keener noted: 'This would prob-

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61   Strathmann, *Il vangelo secondo Giovanni*, 92.

62   C.K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John. An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text*, 2 ed. (London: SPCK 1978) 181.

63   H. Grotius, *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (Groningae: Zuidema 1828) IV, 27.

64   Morris, *The Gospel according to John*, 139. See also G.R. Beasley-Murray, *John*, 2 ed. (WBC 36; Waco, TX: Word Books 1999) 26 ('The hour suggests a time of conversation, perhaps even that the disciples stayed overnight with Jesus'); Fabris, *Giovanni*, 162 ('tutta la notte').

65   C.G. Kruse, *John. An Introduction and Commentary*, 2 ed. (TNTC 4; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press 2017) 85.

66   Boer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to John*, 332.

67   M.-J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon saint Jean*, 5 ed. (Études Bibliques; Paris: Gabalda 1936) 36; C.S. Keener, *Gospel of John. A Commentary* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson 2003) 470 ('ancient hospitality would have required him to have offered for them to spend the night').

ably be too late in the afternoon to walk a long way home before dark; a hospitable person would invite them to spend the night.'[68]

Edgar Bruns, however, refutes this interpretation about the overnight stay of the disciples. In his opinion, if the Evangelist wanted to convey such information, he would have done it explicitly, just as he talks about the night hours in other passages (see John 13:30; 21:3).[69]

3.4. Staying the Next Day, the Sabbath

In his most famous work, *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae*, edited in 1671, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, John Lightfoot (1602–1675) suggested that in asking Jesus about his dwelling, the disciples were asking him also where he intended to keep the Sabbath:

> Ποῦ μένεις; Where dwellest thou? The proper and most immediate sense of this is, Where dwellest, or, Where lodgest thou? But I could willingly render it as if it had been said, 'Where dost thou keep thy sabbath?' and from thence conjecture that day was the evening of the sabbath. For whereas it is said, "and they abode with him that day," it would be a little hard to understand it of the day that was now almost gone; and therefore we may suppose it meant of the following day, for it is added, ὥρα ἦν δεκάτη, it was now the tenth hour. It was about the middle of our November when these things fell out in Bethabara, as will easily appear to any one that will be accurate in calculating the times, and that little that was left of that day was then the tenth hour. It was then about sunset, and, as it were, the entrance of a new day: so that it might more properly have been said, "They abode with him that night," rather than that day; only the evangelist seems to point out that they remained with him the next day; which that it was the sabbath I will not so much contend, as (not without some reason) suppose.[70]

Raymond E. Brown (1928–1998), one of the most esteemed Johannine scholars of the 20th century, also suggests that the day the disciples met Jesus was 'a Friday, hence Sabbath eve; thus, the disciples had to stay on with Jesus from 4 p.m. on Friday until Saturday evening when Sabbath was over, for they could not move any distance once Sabbath had begun on Friday evening.'[71] In putting forward his hypothesis, Brown refers to a passage in the Mishnah (*Ketuboth* 1) which states that virgins' weddings were held on Wednesdays. Therefore, the wedding at Cana of Galilee would have taken place on a Wednesday (John 2:1). This assumption allows for a chronological reconstruction of the preceding days: Andrew and the unnamed disciple, described in 1:39, encounter Jesus on Friday. The events depicted in 1:40–42 (including the calling of Peter) take place the following day – that is, from Saturday evening to Sunday inclusive. Then the events of 1:43–50 (the calling of Philip and Nathanael) occur from Sunday evening to Monday. Following in the

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68   C.S. Keener, *John* (ZIBBC 2A; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 2019) 17.

69   J.E. Bruns, "The Use of Time in the Fourth Gospel," *NTS* 13/3 (1967) 286.

70   J. Lightfoot, *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae. Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations upon the Gospels, the Acts, some Chapters of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans and the First Epistle to the Corinthians. A New Edition by R. Gandell* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1859) III, 244–245.

71   R.E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John (i-xii). Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 29; Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1966) 75.

same vein, from Monday evening till Tuesday Jesus is on his way to Cana, where he arrives on Tuesday evening or Wednesday morning.[72]

Brown's view met with sympathetic reactions from some quarters.[73] The interpretations proposed by both Lightfoot and Brown are indeed noteworthy, as they align with the Sabbath theology and creation theology present in John's Gospel. However, Hartwig Thyen, considering the above proposal to be a manifestation of exegetical fantasy ('phantasienvoll'), notes that the only reason for the disciples' remaining with Jesus 'in this highly symbolic scene is Jesus himself, and not the commandment of the Sabbath.'[74] In a similar vein, Andreas Köstenberger remarks that the reason for the disciples' intention to remain with Jesus was motivated by the nature of their 'desired conversation' with him. Consequently, their day with Jesus could have been any day of the week.[75]

3.5. Conversation with Jesus

Many commentators emphasize the significance of the mention of the hour as drawing the reader's attention to the element of the disciples' ongoing conversation with Jesus. On that day, the disciples engaged in their first encounter and dialogue with him. The specific reference to the tenth hour also 'serves to indicate the length and fruitfulness of the conversation, which went on all the evening.'[76]

3.6. Moment of the Disciples' Staying with Jesus or Leaving Him

Thomas L. Brodie notes that the Greek text of John 1:39, despite the use of the numeral δέκατος in the final, climactic position, does not clearly articulate whether the tenth hour refers to the moment of the disciples' remaining with Jesus or to the assumed moment when the disciples left the place Jesus was staying.[77] In the first case, the tenth hour suggests the early evening hour, giving a reason for the disciples to remain with Jesus: 'and they stayed with him that day, *for* it was about the tenth hour.'[78] In the other case, the disciples remained with Jesus for a short part of that day and then returned to their homes, since

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72   Brown, *The Gospel according to John (i-xii)*, 98

73   R. Teed, *The Gospel of John* (Wheaton, IL: Teed 2010) 20 ('Since Jewish weddings were usually on Wednesdays, it would make this third day [Jn 1:39] the Sabbath. So on this Sabbath Day Jesus began selecting His disciples'); A. Marchadour, *Venite e vedrete. Commento al Vangelo di Giovanni* (Lettura pastorale della Bibbia; Bologna: EDB 2013) 35 (as a possibility); Grilli, *Il Vangelo secondo Giovanni*, 68.

74   Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 128–129.

75   Köstenberger, *John*, 76, note 68.

76   Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St John*, I, 309. See also Beasley-Murray, *John*, 26 ('time of conversation'); Köstenberger, *John*, 76 ('the disciples stayed overnight because of the nature of the desired conversation').

77   Brodie, *The Gospel according to John*, 160 ('What happened at the tenth hour – did they come or did they leave?').

78   This understanding can be found in many contemporary English versions of the Bible which add the word 'for', which does not occur in the Greek version – *English Standard Version* (2016), *The New American Standard Bible* (1977, 1995), *Revised Standard Version* (1952, 1971), *English Revised 1833 Webster Update* (1995).

it was growing dark, because they met him at the late tenth hour.[79] The second option can also be understood to mean that the disciples met Jesus quite early that day and stayed with him for a long time during the same day, until the tenth hour. This latter understanding of the tenth hour has been preferred by several authors.[80] Interestingly, the Ethiopic version of John 1:39 renders it: 'they remained with him that day unto the tenth hour.'[81]

3.7. End of Work and Beginning of Rest

George MacGregor recognises the symbolic significance of the tenth hour as a time of fullness and perfection, marking the beginning of the new Christian era. However, in the literal sense it was 'just the time when men would leave their work. This is the only interpretation of "the tenth hour" admissible in the NT.'[82] His interpretation has been shared by others. According to Silvano Fausti, it was the fourth hour in the afternoon when the hard work ended and rest began.[83]

3.8. The Hour of Table Fellowship

The tenth hour was the time of supper, many times the only meal eaten that day (see Luke 17:7–8). Joachim Jeremias, followed by other exegetes, regards the mention of the tenth hour as the hour when 'Jesus admits the two disciples of John the Baptist to his table fellowship.'[84] In turn, John McHugh, who reads the entire text of John 1:38–40 as an allusion to the Old Testament images of seeking wisdom and descriptions of its dwelling places, understands taking note of the tenth hour as an allusion to the feast prepared by wisdom (Prov 9:5–6). Just as the first day of Jesus' public ministry ends with an evening

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79   According to B.M. Newman and E.A. Nida, the reference to the tenth hour 'refers to the time when Jesus invited the two men to visit him, and therefore it is appropriate to introduce it earlier in the verse. Otherwise it could be misunderstood to refer to the time when the two men left Jesus after their visit.' Consequently, the authors propose the following translation of the entire verse Jn 1:39: '"Come and see," he answered. (It was then about four o'clock in the afternoon.) So they went with him and saw where he lived, and spent the rest of that day with him.' B.M. Newman – E.A. Nida, *A Handbook on the Gospel of John* (UBS Handbook Series; New York: United Bible Societies 1980) 43. This translational suggestion was adopted in the *New Living Translation* (1996, 2004, 2007), which renders the verse as follows: 'It was about four o'clock in the afternoon when they went with him to the place he was staying, and they remained with him the rest of the day.'

80   F. Martin – W.M. Wright IV, *The Gospel of John* (CCSS; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2015) 48 ('The two disciples stayed with Jesus all that day, until four in the afternoon'); F.J. Moloney, "The First Days of Jesus and the Role of the Disciples: A Study of John 1:19–51," *ABR* 65 (2017) 72 ('They spend the day with him, leaving late in the afternoon, "about the tenth hour," matching our 4 pm').

81   J. Gill, *An Exposition of the New Testament* (London: Mathews and Leigh 1809) I, 752.

82   MacGregor, *The Gospel of John*, 36.

83   S. Fausti, *Rozważaj i głoś Ewangelię. Wspólnota czyta Ewangelię według św. Jana* (Kraków: Bratni Zew 2015) 45.

84   J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress 1977) 45, note 1; J. Becker, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes. Kapitel 1–10* (Ökumenischer Taschenbuchkommentar zum Neuen Testament 4/1 – Gütersloher Taschenbücher. Siebenstern 505; Gütersloh – Würzburg: Gütersloher Verlagshaus– Echter 1979) 102 ('hinreichend Zeit zum gemeinsamen Gespräch und zur Abendmahlzeit'); Boer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to John*, 332 ('presumably the tenth hour was the time when the final meal of the day was taken').

meal, Jesus' last day on earth will end with a meal. Just as during the Last Supper Jesus reveals the fullness of his love for his disciples, so for the disciples 'remaining' with Jesus on that evening in 1:39, which brings their first experience of his revelation.[85]

3.9. The Hour of the Lamb Sacrifice

In light of the Mishnah (*Pesah.* 5:1), the evening hour of bringing and slaughtering a lamb – *tāmîḏ* (תָּמִיד), the daily burnt offering – at the Jerusalem Temple was approximately eight-thirty (2:30 p.m.). The lamb was then sacrificed around nine-thirty (3:30 p.m.), meaning that the burnt offering was completed between the ninth and tenth hours. The Johannine reference to the tenth hour may be, according to John Gill, an allusion to the death of Jesus, Lamb of God (John 1:29, 36), an anti-type of the daily Temple sacrifice.[86] If this interpretation is combined with the timing of the evening meal, it would suggest that Jesus ate supper with his disciples in a context imbued with sacramental meaning, serving as a prefiguration of the Eucharist.[87] However, other commentators regard this explanation as speculative, or even as a figment of exegetical fantasy.[88]

3.10. Eagerness of Jesus

Thomas Aquinas interprets the mention of the tenth hour in John 1:39 as a reference to Jesus being *studiosus* ('eager', 'zealous', 'keen', 'diligent').

> The time is given when he says, it was about the tenth hour. The Evangelist mentions this in order that, considering the literal sense, he might give credit to Christ and the disciples. For the tenth hour is near the end of the day. And this praises Christ who was so eager (*studiosus*) to teach that not even the lateness of the hour induced him to postpone teaching them; but he taught them at the tenth hour. In the morning sow your seed, and in the evening do not let your hands be idle (Eccl 11:6).[89]

Aquinas' interpretation might have been inspired by the image of John the Baptist as described by John Chrysostom in his *Homily 18* on John 1:35–41. Referring to this passage in John's Gospel, Chrysostom comments on the zeal of John the Baptist in the following way:

> Now, the tenth hour may seem to someone too late a time of day to be adapted to a discussion of this kind (and I say this, for that was then the time, since 'It was about the tenth hour,' the Evangelist says). Such a man seems to me to be very much in error. In the case of most men, to be sure, and especially those

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85   J.F. McHugh, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on John 1–4* (International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; London – New York: Clark 2009) 153.

86   Gill, *An Exposition of the New Testament*, I, 752.

87   H.H. Huber, *Der Begriff der Offenbarung im Johannes-Evangelium. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der Eigenart des vierten Evangeliums* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1934) 49; J. Jeremias, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes. Eine urchristliche Erklärung für die Gegenwart* (Chemnitz – Leipzig: Müller 1931) 90.

88   R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John. A Commentary* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster 1971) 101, note 9 ('Fantastic!'); Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 128 ('phantastisch').

89   St. Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Gospel of John. Chapters 1–21. English Text* (Latin/English Edition of the Works of St. Thomas of Aquinas 35 & 36; Green Bay, WI – Steubenville, OH: Aquinas Institute – Emmaus Academic 2018) I, 119.

enslaved to the flesh, probably the time after dining is not very suitable for any serious matters because of the heart's being weighted down by food. But here was a man who partook not even of common food, but spent the evening with as much sobriety as we do the morning, or, rather, with much more (for in our case, whatever of the evening's food is still left within us often distracts our soul with imaginations, but he weighed down his vessel with none of these). And so, it was likely that he might speak about such matters in the late afternoon (*Hom. in Jo.* 18.2).[90]

3.11. Eagerness of the Disciples

In the same homily, John Chrysostom speaks about the zeal of John the Baptist's disciples in the following way:

> They did not desert their master, but, rather, desired to learn what Christ had to offer more than he [John the Baptist]. Further, notice that their eagerness was accompanied by reverence. When they had approached Jesus, they did not at once question Him about essential and important matters, and they did not converse with Him publicly, in front of everybody, openly and casually, but they made haste to have a talk with Him in private. They knew that the words of their teacher proceeded not from false modesty, but from truth.[91]

> A bit further Chrysostom continues:

> As I have said before, they wished to say something quietly to Him and to hear something from Him, and thus to learn. Therefore, they did not delay, nor did they say: 'By all means we shall come tomorrow, and we shall listen to you speaking in public', but they proved how eager they were to hear Him by not being deterred even by the time of day. And I say this for, as it happened, it was near sunset, since 'It was about the tenth hour,' the Evangelist said. This was also the reason why Christ did not tell them the appearance of His dwelling, or its location, but drew them on to follow Him by showing that He had accepted them. And for this reason, likewise, He did not say any such thing as: 'It is not a good time now for you to come to my dwelling. Be among my listeners tomorrow if you wish something, but now go home.' On the contrary, He spoke as if to friends and those who had been acquainted with Him for a long time (*Hom. in Jo.* 18.3).[92]

According to Chrysostom, Jesus rewards the disciples' zeal by not sending them away, but rather accepting them, inviting them to follow him, and speaking to them as if they were friends.

This interpretation may also have inspired Thomas Aquinas, who, in continuing his commentary on John 1:39, gives the same rationale behind the mention of the tenth hour:

> The moderation (*temperantia*) of the disciples is also praised, because even at the tenth hour, when men usually have eaten and are less self-possessed for receiving wisdom, they were both self-possessed and prepared (*sobrii et apti*) to hear wisdom and were not hindered because of food or wine. But this is not

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90   St. John Chrysostom, *Commentary on Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist. Homilies 1–47* (trans. T.A. Goggin) (FC 33; Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press 1957; reprint 2017) 178.

91   St. John Chrysostom, *Commentary on Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist. Homilies 1–47*, 180.

92   St. John Chrysostom, *Commentary on Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist. Homilies 1–47*, 181–182.

unexpected, for they had been disciples of John, whose drink was water and whose food was the locust and wild honey.[93]

4. Symbolic Interpretations

4.1.   Critics and Advocates of the Symbolic Interpretation, and the Via Media

A significant number of commentators have attributed symbolic value to the mention of the tenth hour in John 1:39. Before examining the arguments in support of this symbolic interpretation, and exploring the various symbolic explanations, it is worth considering several dissenting perspectives. Hartwig Thyen argues that the entire scene of the calling of Jesus' first two disciples is highly symbolic, and that the nearly formal mention of the tenth hour functions as a signal of this symbolic mode. At the same time, he also notes that, in contrast to allegory or metaphor, there exists no hermeneutical key or code by which the symbolic meaning of the tenth hour might be definitively decoded. In other words, while the symbolic character of the passage is apparent, the specific meaning of the symbol remains indeterminate.[94] In a similar vein, John Lightfoot argued: 'If, as is likely, the notes of time in this gospel sometimes carry a significance beyond their surface meaning, in this case it is lost to us.'[95] Also Alexandra R. Brown observes that the tenth hour in John 1:39 represents 'a time of no obvious symbolic significance'.[96] Rudolf Schnackenburg, one of the foremost German interpreters of the Gospel of John, likewise concludes: 'The time mentioned (the tenth hour, four in the afternoon) can hardly have a symbolic meaning.'[97] Jörg Frey, another leading figure in contemporary Johannine scholarship, also rejects the symbolic reading of the tenth hour, describing such interpretations as *wenig überzeugend* ('not very convincing').[98] Similarly, Michael Theobald maintains that we simply do not know whether the reference to the tenth hour is intended to bear any symbolic significance at all.[99]

One of the most highly regarded English-speaking commentators on the Fourth Gospel, Francis Moloney, argues that 'there is no evidence for symbolic reading,'[100] and therefore the mention of the tenth hour has 'no symbolic value'.[101] Similarly, Prosper Grech states

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93   St. Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Gospel of John. Chapters 1–21*, I, 119.
94   Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 128–129.
95   Lightfoot, *St. John's Gospel*, 103.
96   A.R. Brown, "John 1:35–42. Exegetical Perspective," *Feasting on the Gospels. John*. I. *Chapters 1–9* (eds. C.A. Jarvis – E.E. Johnson) (A Feasting on the Word Commentary; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox 2015) 35.
97   Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St John*, I, 309.
98   J. Frey, *Vom Ende zum Anfang. Studien zum Johannesevangelium. Kleine Schriften IV* (WUNT 492; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2022) 90. Cf. also Frey, *Die johanneische Eschatologie*, II, 189–191.
99   Theobald, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 181 ('Ob sich damit en symbolischer Sinn verbindet? [...] wir wissen es nicht').
100   F.J. Moloney, *The Gospel of John* (SP 4; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 1998) 54.
101   Moloney, *The Gospel of John*, 60.

Commentators on the Gospel of John often present both literal and symbolic approaches to interpretation, but typically prioritising one over the other, or showing greater sympathy toward a particular reading. One illustrative example of such a dual approach is provided by Adam Sikora in his commentary on the tenth hour in John 1:39. He writes:

> Exegetes of the patristic period, as well as many contemporary commentators, interpret it symbolically – as a perfect number pointing to the 'hour of fulfillments,' the moment of definitively finding the Messiah. Without denying the validity of such an interpretation, it seems that the primary emphasis here is on highlighting the actual time – 'the hour' – from which the disciples' association with Jesus began.[109]

An alternative approach, however, is also worth considering. Given the two-layered character of the Gospel itself – where literal and symbolic (or spiritual) levels of meaning often coexist within the same text – it may be assumed that both meanings were intended by the Evangelist. Accordingly, the reader or audience is not required to choose between them, but may instead appreciate the theological richness offered by their interplay.

4.2. Arguments Supporting a Symbolic Interpretation

While acknowledging the legitimacy of the objections outlined above, there remain several reasons why the symbolic reading of the tenth hour in John 1:39 should still be taken seriously. Taken together, these form a persuasive case suggesting, at minimum, the plausibility of a symbolic dimension to this temporal reference.

4.2.1. Patristic and Contemporary Tradition

Symbolic interpretations of temporal references in the Fourth Gospel have a long tradition, reaching back to the patristic era. In conducting biblical scholarship in the spirit of rigorous exegesis – which includes attention to the history of interpretation and reception (*Wirkungsgeschichte*, *histoire de la réception*) – such a longstanding interpretative tradition ought neither to be ignored nor dismissed.

4.2.2. The Symbolic Character of the Fourth Gospel

Justification for a symbolic reading of the hour might be sought in the symbolic character of the Gospel itself. Already in antiquity, the Fourth Gospel was described as 'spiritual' – a characterisation attributed to Clement of Alexandria (cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.14.7). The symbolic nature of John has been thoroughly studied in contemporary exegesis and is rarely called into question.[110]

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[109] A.R. Sikora, *"Zobaczył i uwierzył" (J 20,8). Droga wiary umiłowanego ucznia Jezusa w ujęciu egzegezy teologicznej* (Studia i Materiały – Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu. Wydział Teologiczny 120; Poznań: Wydawnictwo Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu 2012) 32–33.

[110] M.F. Wiles, *The Spiritual Gospel. The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel in the Early Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1960) 22–40 (chapter 'Historicity and Symbolism'); G. Stemberger, *La symbolique du bien et du mal selon Saint Jean* (Parole de Dieu 5; Paris: Seuil 1970); J. Mateos – J. Barreto, *El Evangelio de Juan. Análisis lingüístico y comentario exegético*, 2 ed. (Lectura del Nuevo Testamento 4; Madrid: Cristiandad 1982);

4.2.3. Symbolic Context of John 1:39

Hartwig Thyen argues that the entire scene of the calling of Jesus' first two disciples is highly symbolic ('hochsymbolischen Szene').[111] For this reason, the mention of the tenth hour within this narrative may also carry symbolic meaning. A symbolic context invites symbolic readings of its constituent narrative elements. Thyen earlier observed that it is the mention of the tenth hour that signals the symbolic mode of the entire scene ('deren symbolischen Modus signalisiert').[112] Thus, in his view, the tenth hour is what renders the scene symbolic. This may seem circular: the hour is symbolic because the scene is symbolic, and the scene is symbolic because it includes a symbolic hour. However, as we will argue below, additional considerations support viewing the entire passage as symbolically charged. Hence, a symbolic context may encourage the symbolic reading of a particular narrative detail.

William C. Weinrich argues that the reference to the tenth hour may not, in isolation, carry symbolic weight. However, its placement in a theologically dense context in 1:39 – marked by key terms such as ἐλθαν ('they went'), εἶδαν ('they saw'), ποῦ μένει ('where he stays'), and ἡμέρα ('day') – suggests otherwise.[113] The verb μένω ('to remain') appears three times in 1:38–39. Weinrich concludes: 'It is doubtful, then, that "the tenth hour" is without symbolic meaning.'[114] Martinus C. de Boer, however, offers a critique, denying a theological use of μένω in this passage, arguing that it lacks the theological depth seen when the verb is paired with the preposition ἐν ('in'), as in 'abide in' Jesus:

> Many interpreters would also attribute a deeper meaning to the verb μένω ("stay"), which occurs three times in 1:38–39. There are another thirty-seven instances in GJohn, often with a deeper theological meaning ("abide"). In most of those cases, however, the verb is accompanied by the preposition ἐν ("in"), e. g., to "abide in" Jesus or his word (cf. 5:38; 6:56; 15:4–6, 10). But that is not the case in 1:38–39. Two instances concern Jesus himself staying (lodging) somewhere in an evidently mundane way (for similar usage, cf. 2:12; 11:6). The third instance, which concerns Andrew and his companion "staying with (σύν)" (rather than "in") Jesus, has a temporal limitation ("that day"), and that is unlike the notion of "abiding in" elsewhere in GJohn, where the idea is ongoing union between the believer and Christ.[115]

P. Diel – J. Solotareff, *Le symbolisme dans l'évangile de Jean* (Petite Bibliothéque Payot 200; Paris: Éditions Payot & Rivages 1983); D.A. Lee, *The Symbolic Narratives of the Fourth Gospel. The Interplay of Form and Meaning* (JSNTSup 95; Sheffield: JSOT 1994); C.R. Koester, *Symbolism in the Fourth Gospel. Meaning, Mystery, Community*, 2 ed. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2003); R.A. Culpepper, "Symbolism and History in John's Account of Jesus' Death," *Anatomies of Narrative Criticism*: *The Past, Present, and Futures of the Fourth Gospel as Literature* (eds. T. Thatcher – S.D. Moore) (Society of Biblical Literature. Resources for Biblical Study 55; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2008) 39–54; E.W. Mburu, *Qumran and the Origins of Johannine Language and Symbolism* (Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies 8; London: Clark 2010); J.G. van der Watt, "Symbolism in John's Gospel. An Evaluation of Dodd's Contribution," *Engaging with C.H. Dodd on the Gospel of John. Sixty Years of Tradition and Interpretation* (eds. T. Thatcher – C.H. Williams) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2013) 66–85.

111   Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 129.
112   Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 128.
113   W.C. Weinrich, *John 1:1–7:1* (ConcC; Saint Louis, MO: Concordia 2015) 259.
114   Weinrich, *John 1:1–7:1*, 259.
115   M.C. de Boer, "Andrew. The First Link in the Chain," *Character Studies in the Fourth Gospel. Narrative Approaches to Seventy Figures in John* (eds. S.A. Hunt – D.F. Tolmie – R. Zimmermann) (Grand Rapids, MI:

For accuracy, it must be noted that the preposition used in 1:39 is παρά, not σύν. De Boer's critique does not consider the redactional development of the Gospel. Consequently, the theological use of a term elsewhere in John invites the reader to consider its theological significance when it appears again, even if the immediate context differs.

4.2.4. The Gospel's Dual-Layered Text

One must consider the dual-layered nature of the Johannine text, in which literal and symbolic interpretations are not mutually exclusive. A compelling example is found in Thomas Aquinas' commentary: he first offers two literal readings of the tenth hour – as a sign of Jesus' zeal in teaching and of the disciples' eagerness to listen, based on its being a late afternoon hour. He then presents a third, symbolic interpretation drawn from Augustine.[116] A similar pattern is seen in Hartwig Thyen, who views the tenth hour as a narrative device that lends verisimilitude, while simultaneously acknowledging its symbolic dimension.[117] John's Gospel invites this dual approach: it is to be read both literally and spiritually (i.e., symbolically). For example, when Jesus speaks of his 'lifting up' (3:14; 8:28; 12:32, 34), he refers both to his physical crucifixion and to the revelation of his glory, victory over the ruler of this world, the arrival of his hour, his enthronement, and his messianic marriage with his people. The tenth hour, in the same way, need not be understood in a one-dimensional fashion. Literal and symbolic readings are not exclusive alternatives, but can be mutually enriching.[118]

4.2.5. The Function of 'that day' (John 1:39)

Thomas L. Brodie argues that the phrase 'that day', which immediately precedes the mention of the tenth hour, undermines the function of the reference as a precise time of day. He writes:

> The phrase ('that day') which precedes the references to the tenth hour is such that it subverts its possible function as a reference to a particular hour of the day. The implication is that that is not its function. To insist that it is means implying that the Evangelist could not tell the time of day. [...] the reference is primarily symbolic.[119]

4.2.6. Narrative Excess and Symbolic Mode

In a similar vein, Hartwig Thyen considers the chronological note of the tenth hour – especially following the phrase 'that day' – as something superfluous. Such narrative excess, or

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Eerdmans 2016) 141, note 27.

116 St. Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Gospel of John. Chapters 1–21*, I, 119.

117 Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 127–129.

118 R. Infante, *Giovanni. Introduzione, traduzione e commento* (Nuova versione della Bibbia dai testi antichi 40; Cinisello Balsamo: Edizioni San Paolo 2015) 68 ('Risulta difficile dire se le indicazioni dell'ora di alcuni eventi (cfr. 4,6) abbiano un significato simbolico o puramente cronologico. Le due possibilità, come è evidente in 19,14, non si autoescludono').

119 Brodie, *The Gospel according to John*, 160.

what Umberto Eco terms a 'waste of words' (*Wortverschwendung*), serves as a narratological signal that the narrative has entered a symbolic mode (*symbolischen Modus*).[120]

4.2.7. Narrative Redundancy as a Criterion of Symbolism

The detail of the tenth hour serves no clear narrative purpose, nor would its removal disrupt the narrative logic. This fact corresponds to one criterion for detecting symbolic meaning in a text.[121] Juan Leal proposes four such criteria for identifying symbolic and historical meaning in narrative: (1) the presence of seemingly irrelevant details, (2) discourse embedded in a narrative in such a way that both illuminate each other, (3) emphasis on a figure who otherwise plays no significant role in the context, and (4) the use of later liturgical or Christian expressions.[122] The reference to the tenth hour in John 1:39 fulfils the first of these criteria.

4.2.8. The Broader Symbolism of 'hour' in John

In support of a symbolic meaning for the tenth hour, Brodie points to the clearly symbolic use of the term 'hour' elsewhere in the Gospel, particularly in 13:1 and 17:1.[123] In the same vein, Ramsey J. Michaels noted, 'Yet while "tenth" is not symbolic, "hour" may very well be, for Jesus will soon begin to speak of another decisive "hour" (2:4).'[124] In fact, symbolic references to the hour appear as early as 2:4 and 4:23, where the hour is said to be both coming and already present – a reference to the saving work of Jesus (cf. 5:25; 12:23, 27). Bernadeta Jojko argued:

> There is only one 'hour' of Jesus, in the fullest theological sense of the word, which sums up all other temporal terminologies by looking towards the supreme act of Jesus' self-revelation on the cross. It is the hour of fulfillment; his hour par excellence: the hour of his exaltation on the cross when he fulfils all the prophesies of the Scriptures and accomplishes the salvation of the world.[125]

4.2.9. Symbolism of Other Time References in John

Edgar Burns has argued that virtually all four of the Johannine time references (1:39; 4:6; 4:52; 19:14) carry symbolic significance.[126] The symbolic value of the sixth hour in John 4:6

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120   Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 127.
121   M.L. Coloe, *John 1–10* (Wisdom Commentary 44A; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 2021) 49 ('The time detail, which seems to have no other purpose in the narrative, is one indicator to the reader that the evangelist may be working with symbolism; that is, the meaning of this detail is to be found beyond the narrative').
122   J. Leal, "El simbolismo histórico del IV Evangelio," *EstBib* 19/4 (1960) 344–346. The above summary of Leal's view after Coloe, *John 1–10*, 49.
123   Brodie, *The Gospel according to John*, 160.
124   Michaels, *The Gospel of John*, 121.
125   B. Jojko, "The Hour of Jesus and the Wedding Feast at Cana (Jn 2:1–11)," *VV* 38/1 (2020) 144. See also P.J. Creevey, "God's δικαιοσύνη and Jesus' 'Hour' in John's Gospel. Divine Love in Action," *Bib* 104/1 (2023) 93–109; S.C. Amador, *The Hour of Justification in the Fourth Gospel* (WUNT II/622; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2025).
126   Bruns, "The Use of Time in the Fourth Gospel," 285–290.

and 19:14 has already been noted by several scholars, and their arguments appear compelling to a certain degree.[127] Interestingly enough, *Codex Alexandrinus* (5th c.) changes δεκάτη ('tenth') into ἕκτη ('sixth') in John 1:39. The symbolic import of the seventh hour in 4:52 is less obvious, but Burns explains:

> The 'seventh hour' of iv. 52 would, merely as seventh, appeal to this evangelist who selects only seven miracles for his gospel and otherwise shows himself disposed to make use of this number. Moreover it may be that the seventh hour is noted here because it was believed to be the hour of crisis in an illness, or because seven, the perfect number, is appropriate for a miracle of healing. But perhaps we may go beyond these significations to see in the first hour after noon the beginning of a decline, a decline which progresses until it reaches its climax at xiii. 30.[128]

If three of the four explicit time references in John are plausibly symbolic, it is difficult to regard the fourth (1:39) as purely literal.

4.2.10. The Symbolism of the Number Ten

The number ten itself may point to symbolic significance, as it (1) carries considerable weight in the Old Testament, and (2) was regarded as a perfect number in Pythagorean philosophy and by Philo of Alexandria.[129] In the Old Testament, one finds ten patriarchs from Adam to Noah (Gen 5), Abraham's negotiation over ten righteous men (Gen 18:32), the tithe (Gen 28:22), the Ten Commandments (Exod 20:2–17; Deut 5:6–21), the ten plagues of Egypt (Exod 7–11), ten curtains of the Tabernacle (Exod 26:1), ten tests in the wilderness (Num 14:22), ten basins in Solomon's temple (2 Chr 4:6), ten lampstands (4:7), ten tables (4:8), the ten servants of Gideon (Judg 6:27), and the ten elders summoned by Boaz (Ruth 4:2). In the New Testament, ten appears in parables of Jesus: ten virgins (Matt 25:1), ten coins (Luke 15:8), ten talents (Matt 25:28), and ten servants who receive ten minas (Luke 19:13). In Rev 2:10, ten designates a period of tribulation.

Given the prominence of the number ten in both Scripture and Hellenistic thought, it is unsurprising that Origen comments on the tenth hour in John 1:39 in the following way:

> Now it was reserved for those who asked where Jesus was staying, who followed the teacher, and saw, to remain with Jesus and to spend that day with the Son of God. And since the tenth number has been observed to be holy, no few mysteries being recorded to have occurred in the number ten, we must think that it is not without reason that in the gospel too the tenth hour is recorded as the time when John's disciples went down with Jesus. Andrew, Simon Peter's brother, was one of these. After

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127   For an extensive study of the sixth hour in Jn see S. Witetschek, "Die Stunde des Lammes? Christologie und Chronologie in Joh 19,14," *ETL* 87/1 (2011) 127–187; S. Witetschek, "The Hour of the Lamb? Some Remarks on John 19,14 and the Hour of Jesus's Condemnation and/or Crucifixion," *Jesus, John, and History*. III. *Glimpses of Jesus through the Johannine Lens* (eds. P.N. Anderson – F. Just – T. Thatcher) (ECL 18; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2016) 95–107.

128   Bruns, "The Use of Time in the Fourth Gospel," 288.

129   This argument is invoked by Brown, *The Gospel according to John (i-xii)*, 75. This exegete, one of the foremost authorities in modern Johannine studies, does not explicitly advocate any symbolic interpretation of the tenth hour in John 1:39.

he had been benefitted because he remained with Jesus, he found his own brother Simon (for perhaps he had not found him before) and says that he has found the Messiah, which is, translated, 'Christ' (*Comm. in Jo.* 2.220).[130]

Origen does not specify what deeper meaning he believed the Evangelist intended in referencing the tenth hour, leaving that question open to the reader's discernment. His commentary on John 1:39 has not survived.

4.3. Examples of the Symbolic Interpretation of the Tenth Hour

The following section presents various symbolic interpretations of the tenth hour in John 1:39. We will begin with those attested in patristic literature and then proceed to contemporary explanations.

4.3.1. The Torah and the Decalogue

According to Augustine, the tenth hour in John 1:39 symbolises the Torah, as the Torah contains the Ten Commandments. The Bishop of Hippo writes:

> Do we reckon that the evangelist had no reason to tell us what the time was? Can it be that he did not want us to notice anything, to ask ourselves what it might mean? It was the tenth hour. This number stands for the law, because the law was given in ten commandments. But the time had come for the law to be fulfilled through love, seeing that the Jews were unable to fulfill it through fear. That is why the Lord says, I have not come to undo the law, but to fulfill it (Mt 5:17). So it was entirely suitable that it was the tenth hour when these two followed him, on hearing the testimony of the bridegroom's friend, and that it was the tenth hour when he heard "rabbi," which is translated "teacher." If the Lord heard "rabbi" at the tenth hour, and the number ten belongs to the law, the master of the law is nobody else but the law-giver. Let nobody say that one gave the law, and someone else teaches the law; the one who gave it teaches it; he is the master of his own law and teaches it. Mercy is on his tongue, and that is why he teaches the law mercifully, as it says about Wisdom, She carries the law and mercy on her tongue (Pr 31:26). Do not be afraid that you are unable to keep the law, take refuge in mercy. If keeping the law is too much for you, make use of that agreement, make use of that signed document, make use of the prayers which the heavenly jurist has set out and composed for you.[131]

Augustine's interpretation is adopted by Bede the Venerable (*In sanctum Johannem evangelistam expositio* 1,39, PL 92, 652), who wrote: *Ex lege veniebant ad Evangelium, ad fidem Christi mittebat illos legis Decalogus* ('From the Law they came to the Gospel; the Decalogue of the Law sent them to faith in Christ'). The same explanation was also embraced by Thomas Aquinas, who states:

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130   Origen, *Commentary on the Gospel according to John. Books 1–10* (trans. R.E. Heine) (FC 80; Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press 1989) 154.

131   Augustine, *Homilies on the Gospel of John 1–40* (trans. E. Hill) (Works of Saint Augustine. A Translation for the 21st Century III/12; Hyde Park, NY: New City Press 2009) 153–154.

According to Augustine, however, the tenth hour signifies the law, which was given in ten precepts. And so the disciples came to Christ at the tenth hour and remained with him to be taught so that the law might be fulfilled by Christ, since it could not be fulfilled by the Jews. And so at that hour he is called Rabbi, that is, Teacher.[132]

This interpretation of the tenth hour, based on the ten words of the Decalogue, is echoed by some contemporary commentators, who consider it a plausible symbolic explanation.[133]

4.3.2. Lateness of Christ's Coming

For Cyril of Alexandria the tenth hour in John 1:39 is 'a symbol of the lateness of Christ's coming.'[134] In all probability, he was alluding to the idea that the twelve hours of the day reflect twelve ages of human history, or the world's history. Cyril comments:

When it says, "It was about the tenth hour," on this very point we make an application that is beneficial and appropriate to everyone. We say that the one who compiles the divine sayings subtly teaches us again that the great mystery of our Savior was not made known at the beginning of the present age but now, as the time draws to a close. As it is written, in the last days, we are all shown to be "taught by God" [Is 54:13]. Take as another image of what I am saying about the tenth hour the disciples who are at the Savior's side. The Evangelist says that once they stayed with him, they clung to him so that those who enter God's house by faith and run to Christ may learn that they must remain with him and not desire to be estranged again either by departing to sin or by rushing back to unbelief.[135]

It is worth noting that while commenting on John 7:30, Cyril gives a long excursus attacking heretical notions of the power of hours. He offers one particularly pointed example, in which in the very same hour one person is prospering and someone else dies miserably. He concludes: 'Will not this teaching about the hours, then, be exposed as an ignorant myth and an invention of demonic madness? I think that everyone will agree to this without hesitation and will condemn those who think this way.'[136]

4.3.3. The Time of Salvation, the Time of the Church, the Christian Era

Based on the information found in John 11:9, where a day is described as consisting of twelve hours, some have proposed the thesis that these twelve hours symbolize the span of all history – the entire course of the world's events. Within this framework, the tenth hour would represent the moment of Christ's entry into history and the beginning of the Christian era. In this vein, George H.C. MacGregor argues:

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132   St. Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Gospel of John. Chapters 1–21*, I, 119.
133   Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 128.
134   Wiles, *The Spiritual Gospel*, 33.
135   Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on John* (trans. D.R. Maxwell) (Ancient Christian Texts; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity 2013) I, 87.
136   Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on John*, I, 298.

if any particular significance is to be attached to 'the tenth hour' it is probably symbolical; thus in 11:9 the twelve hours of the day perhaps represent the duration of the universe, 'the last hour' (1 Jn. 2:18) would be the Evangelist's own day, while 'the tenth hour,' the number of perfection, would mark the beginning of the Christian era.[137]

However, Rudolf Bultmann rejects such an interpretation, emphasising the actual meaning of the 'day' and its 'twelve hours' in John 11:9. In that context, they refer specifically to the period of Jesus' earthly ministry (cf. John 9:4–5; 12:35).[138]

4.3.4. The Hour of Fulfilment

Philo of Alexandria argued that the sin of the Egyptians, brought to its full measure, corresponded to the 'perfect number' (τέλειος ἀριθμός) of punishments inflicted in the form of the ten plagues: Δέκα δὲ ἐπάγονται τῇ χώρᾳ τιμωρίαι, κατὰ τῶν τέλεια ἡμαρτηκότων τέλειος ἀριθμὸς κολάσεως – 'The punishments inflicted on the land were ten – a perfect number for the chastisement of those who brought sin to perfection' (*Mos.* 1.96).[139] For Philo, therefore, the number ten represents perfection.[140] This same meaning was attributed to the number by both Pythagoreans and Gnostics. These considerations led Rudolf Bultmann, and subsequently other commentators, to regard this symbolic value of the number ten as the proper key for understanding the Johannine reference to the tenth hour in John 1:39. In this reading, the tenth hour becomes the hour of fulfilment,[141] an hour of completion and perfection.[142] When reading the previously cited commentary by St. Augustine, we also encounter this theme of fulfilment – specifically, the fulfilment of the Law and the Decalogue.

Among some commentators, however, Bultmann's interpretation has been met with scepticism.[143] Craig Koester, for example, observes that other hours could also signify completion or perfection. A notable case is the seventh hour, the time at which Jesus heals the royal official's son (John 4:52). Koester speculates that had Jesus met his disciples at

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137   MacGregor, *The Gospel of John*, 36.
138   R. Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, 21 ed. (KEK 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1986) 70.
139   Philo, *On Abraham. On Joseph. On Moses* (trans. F.H. Colson) (LCL 289; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1935) 324 (Greek text), 325 (English text).
140   F. Hauck, "δέκα," *TDNT* II, 37. See also other works of Philo, *Spec.* 2.201; 4.105; *Congr.* 109.
141   Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, 70 ('die zehnte Stunde ist die Stunde der Erfüllung').
142   J. Gnilka, *Johannesevangelium* (NEchtB 4; Würzburg: Echter 1983) 21 ('Die zehne Stunde has als Studne der Erfüllung symbolischen Sinn'); Léon-Dufour, *Lecture de l'Évangile selon Jean*, 190 ('elle évoque une heure particulière, celle de l'accomplissement'); Panimolle, *Lettura pastorale*, 174 (as a possibility: 'Ora il numero dieci potrebbe indicare la pienezaa, il compimento e la perfezione, come presso Filone alessandrino. Quindi l'ora decima sarebbe il tempo di compimento'); G. Zevini, *Vangelo secondo Giovanni*, 8 ed. (Commenti spirituali del Nuovo Testamento; Roma: Città Nuova 2009) 96 ('l'ora del compimento in cui si conclude la ricerca dei discepoli: l'incontro con Gesù'); W. Kleiber, *Das Johannesevangelium*. I. *Joh 1,1 – 10,42* (Die Botschaft des Neuen Testaments; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2017) 59 (as one possible explanation).
143   Köstenberger, *John*, 76, note 68 ('very questionable').

the seventh hour and healed the boy at the tenth hour, the meaning of these Johannine texts would remain essentially unchanged.[144]

4.3.5. The Ten Creative Words of God

Hartwig Thyen has noted the possibility of a symbolic interpretation of the tenth hour as an allusion to the tenfold occurrence of the phrase 'And God said (וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים)' in Gen 1:3, 6–7, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26, 28–29.[145] According to later Jewish tradition, 'the world is created by ten divine words' (*b. Meg.* 21b).[146] Thus, the Evangelist may be making a subtle reference to the idea of new creation, a concept synonymous with salvation, into which the two disciples enter as they remain with Jesus.[147]

4.3.6. The Most Perfect Hour in the History of the World

Marie-Émile Boismard, the French exegete from the École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem, argued that the tenth hour mentioned in John 1:39 should be understood symbolically, much like the sixth hour in John 4:6 and 19:14. Drawing on the ancient understanding of the number ten as a symbol of perfection, Boismard maintained that it represents the perfect hour in the history of the world. This hour is the moment of the coming of the Kingdom of God, when Jesus calls his disciples and allows them to remain with him. The fulfilment of this tenth hour is the act of dwelling with Jesus in the Father's house, where there are many dwelling places (John 14:2–3).[148]

4.3.7. The Twelve Hours of the Day: The Time of Jesus' and the Disciples' Activity

Rinaldo Fabris suggests that the tenth hour may be read symbolically within the framework of the Johannine symbolism of the twelve hours of the day, which represent the period of Jesus' activity (cf. John 9:4; 11:9–10; 12:35–36). The mission of Jesus, 'the light of the world' (8:12), is also the mission of the disciples, 'the children of light' (12:36). Thus, the twelve hours of the day signify not only the time of Jesus' activity, but also that of his disciples.[149]

4.3.8. Messianic Wedding

According to Mary L. Coloe, the mention of the tenth hour is also symbolic, as the late afternoon and the approach of sunset were traditionally associated with the time of wedding celebrations. At the very moment when the disciples – identified with the bride – encounter

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144 Koester, *Symbolism in the Fourth Gospel*, 314.

145 Thyen, *Das Johannesevangelium*, 128.

146 Hauck, "δέκα," *TDNT* II, 36.

147 A. Kubiś, "The Creation Theme in the Gospel of John," *ColT* 90/5 (2020) 375–414.

148 M.-É. Boismard – A. Lamouille, *L'évangile de Jean. Commentaire*, 2 ed. (Synopse des quatre Évangiles en français 3; Paris: Cerf 1987) 98.

149 Fabris, *Giovanni*, 162.

Jesus, the bridegroom, John the Baptist exits the scene.[150] The Australian exegete interprets the first three chapters of John as thoroughly structured around allusions to nuptial imagery.[151]

In the context of nuptial symbolism, one textual issue concerning the tenth hour in John 1:39 merits attention. A single manuscript, *Codex Alexandrinus* (5th c.), currently held at the British Library, reads ἕκτη ('sixth') in John 1:39. However, this reading is difficult to accept, especially in the absence of broader textual support. The alteration from the original δεκάτη ('tenth') to ἕκτη ('sixth') may plausibly be explained as a copyist's intentional change – a harmonisation with two other Johannine passages (4:6 and 19:14), both of which feature the phrase ὥρα ἦν ὡς ἕκτη ('it was about the sixth hour'). *Codex Alexandrinus* preserves identical phrasing in all three cases: ΩΡΑΗΝΩΣΕΚΤΗ (1:39; 4:6; 19:14). If this was in fact a deliberate emendation, it may reflect a scribal theological agenda: to associate the calling of the first disciples (1:39) explicitly with the hour of Jesus' meeting with the Samaritan woman (4:6) and the moment of Pilate's pronouncement of the death sentence (19:14). In this case, the sixth hour would frame each of these events as a revelatory moment in the messianic mission. Jesus would thus be portrayed as the Messianic Bridegroom who meets his bride – symbolised by the nascent messianic community, represented by Andrew and the unnamed disciple – at a significant eschatological hour.

Edgar Bruns also links these three occurrences of the sixth hour in *Codex Alexandrinus*, arguing for the presence of 'a clearly discernible symbolism'. In an interpretation largely consistent with the one presented here, he writes:

> Jesus has won his first disciples, the work of forming the Christian community has begun; the Incarnate Word has, for the first time, given 'to those who received him, power to become children of God' (i. 12). For this reason it is noon, with the sun in the high heavens. Moreover, if John wrote 'sixth hour' here, we can detect a real progression in his three uses of this hour in the gospel. At this point it symbolizes the light which breaks upon the small group of disciples; at iv. 6 it symbolizes the light breaking upon a much larger group of believers; at iv. 6 it symbolizes the light breaking upon a much larger group of believers outside the circle of disciples, a group itself symbolic of the masses to be enlightened by the gospel; and at xix. 14 it symbolizes the light which shines over the entire world, over all men for whom the true light is made available by the Lord's saying death: 'and I, if I am lifted up from the earth, shall draw all men to myself' (xii. 32).[152]

4.3.9. The Beginning of the New Humanity

Two Spanish commentators, Juan Mateos and Juan Barreto, observe that the tenth hour is close to the beginning of a new day, which, for the Jews of antiquity, commenced in the evening with the setting of the sun – at the twelfth hour, or 6:00 p.m. This new day

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150   M.L. Coloe, "Witness and Friend. Symbolism Associated with John the Baptizer," *Imagery in the Gospel of John*: *Terms, Forms, Themes, and Theology of Johannine Figurative Language* (eds. J. Frey *et al.*) (WUNT 200; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2006) 327; Coloe, *John 1–10*, 49.

151   Coloe, "Witness and Friend," 330.

152   Bruns, "The Use of Time in the Fourth Gospel," 290.

signifies the emergence of a new people and simultaneously the end of the old one: the old Israel, once the people of God, is to be replaced by a new humanity. In a symbolic reading of the chronology of the entire Johannine Gospel, the end of this day corresponds to the 'great sabbath' mentioned in John 19:31 (ἦν γὰρ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνου τοῦ σαββάτου), which marks the conclusion of one era and the beginning of another. This transition is further symbolised by the first day of the week (20:1), inaugurated by the Paschal event of Jesus. The tenth hour thus signifies the beginning of the end of the epoch of the old people. Jesus initiates a community of believers that constitutes the foundation of a new humanity. As it turns out, the Savior arrives precisely on time – to redeem and rescue his people, Israel, from total ruin.[153]

4.3.10. Dwelling in God

Thomas L. Brodie affirmed Rudolf Bultmann's interpretation of the number 'ten' as symbolically significant. At the same time, he observed that the use of the term 'hour' in the Gospel of John is also symbolic (cf. 13:1; 17:1). As Brodie notes, the 'hour' 'refers, among other things, to a time of intimacy between Jesus and the disciples, and between Jesus and the Father. It is used in the context of the foot-washing and the final prayer (chaps. 13 and 17). Thus "ten" and "hour" both have symbolic meaning in themselves. Placed together, as they are here, they connote a perfect indwelling of the disciples with Jesus.'[154]

The phrase 'that day' (τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην – 1:39), which shifts the expression 'the tenth hour' from a strictly chronological to a symbolic meaning, is used in the Farewell Discourses to refer to the time of shared dwelling – 'abiding with' and 'being in' – among Jesus, the Father, and the disciples: 'On that day [ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ] you will know that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you' (14:20); 'On that day [ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ] you will ask nothing of me [...] whatever you ask of the Father in my name, he will give it to you' (16:23); 'On that day [ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ] you will ask in my name. I do not say to you that I will ask the Father on your behalf; for the Father himself loves you, because you have loved me and have believed that I came from the Father' (16:26–27). Thus, 'that day' becomes a symbolic expression of deep communion and mutual indwelling between God and the community of believers, anticipated already in the symbolic meaning of the 'tenth hour'.

4.3.11. Disobedience

Martin Hengel drew attention to rabbinic texts in which Adam is portrayed as having been created on the sixth day and breaking God's commandment on that same day at the tenth hour. For instance, according to the *Babylonian Talmud* (*Sanh.* 38b), the day of Adam's creation is divided into twelve hours, each marking a significant event. In the tenth hour, both Adam and Eve transgressed the divine commandment not to eat from the Tree of Knowledge. In *Pesiq. Rab.* 46:6, one reads, 'in the ninth hour, God commanded him: Eat of

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153   J. Mateos – J. Barreto, *Il vangelo di Giovanni. Analisi linguistica e commento esegetico*, 5 ed. (Commenti e studi biblici; Asisi: Cittadella 2016) 111.

154   Brodie, *The Gospel according to John*, 160.

this tree, but do not eat of that one; in the tenth hour, [Adam] sinned; in the eleventh hour, he was judged; in the twelfth hour, the verdict was pronounced against him.'[155] As the dating of these sources is relatively late (e.g., *Pesiq. Rab.* was compiled in the ninth century), the conclusions drawn from them should be approached with caution. The calling of Jesus' first two disciples – one of whom remains unnamed and may, as some scholars suggest, be the anonymous Beloved Disciple mentioned in John 19:26 – takes place precisely at the tenth hour (John 1:39). This narrative detail may therefore be interpreted as a deliberate reversal of the situation in the Garden of Eden, effected through the person and work of Jesus. A striking contrast emerges between the obedience of Jesus, the new Adam, and that of his disciples, who choose to remain with him, and the disobedience of the first Adam, who was banished from Eden.[156]

4.3.12. The Apocalyptic Hour of the End Times

Some commentators interpret the Johannine 'tenth hour' in light of Jewish apocalyptic literature. In the Ethiopic *First Book of Enoch*, we read that during the tenth week (or Sabbath), the angels will carry out a great and eternal judgement (91:15). The first heaven will pass away, and a new one will appear (91:16). This will usher in an unending era of goodness and righteousness, in which sin will no longer exist (91:17).[157]

In the *Sibylline Oracles*, the history of the world is divided into ten periods, referred to as generations (see 2:15; 4:20–21; 4:86; 7:97; 8:199) or kingdoms. As we read in the Fourth Oracle, in the tenth generation (4:47), judgement will come upon the world (4:41). God Himself will carry out this judgement upon both the wicked and the righteous (4:42). The wicked will be cast into fiery darkness (4:43), where they will become fully aware of their acts of impiety (4:44). The righteous, by contrast, will remain upon a fertile land (4:45), and God will grant them spirit, life, and grace (4:46). Similar signs – catastrophic for the wicked but filled with peace and prosperity for the righteous – are found in the description of the final, tenth generation in *Sibylline Oracles* 2:6–38. In the Eighth Oracle, the era of the tenth generation (8:199) is marked by the resurrection of the dead and the healing of the infirm: the lame will walk, the deaf will hear, the blind will see, and the mute will speak (8:205–207). All will receive life, wealth, and land (8:208–209).

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155 R. Ulmer, *A Bilingual Edition of Pesiqta Rabbati*. II. *Chapters 23–52* (Studia Judaica. Forschungen zur Wissenschaft des Judentums 105; Berlin – Boston, MA: De Gruyter 2022) 570. See also *Pesiq. Rab.* 46:2 ('Adam sinned [on Friday towards the end of the day] and was expelled [from the Garden of Eden] during the day' – *ibidem*, 567). The idea of Adam's sin being committed in the tenth hour, within a narrative framework that describes his creation in twelve stages marked by twelve hours, is also found in *Pesiq. Rab. Kah.* 23:1 ('in the tenth, he [Adam] transgressed the command'); *Midr. Ps.* 92 §2 ('In the tenth hour, he sinned'); and *Lev. Rab.* 29:1 ('in the tenth he transgressed'). Cf. M. Hengel, "Die Schriftauslegung des 4. Evangeliums auf dem Hintergrund der urchristlichen Exegese," *Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie* 4 (1989) 249–288.

156 For more on the theme of the new creation in John, see Kubiś, "The Creation Theme in the Gospel of John," 375–414.

157 Walter Klaiber (*Das Johannesevangelium*, I, 59) identifies the concept of the 'ten weeks' found in *1 Enoch* 93 and 91:12–17 as a possible interpretative framework for understanding John 1:39.

Our own analysis would also adduce here *Targum Sheni* to Esther 1:1, which lists ten kings/kingdoms:

> Now these are the ten kings. The first kingdom that ruled is that of the Lord of Hosts – may it be speedily revealed to us. The second kingdom is that of Nimrod, the third is that of the Pharaoh, the fourth kingdom is that of Israel, the fifth that of Nebukhadnezzar, king of Babylonia, the sixth that of Xerxes, the seventh that of Rome, the eighth that of Greece, the ninth that of the son of David, the Messiah, the tenth that of the Lord of Hosts again, may it be speedily revealed to all the inhabitants of the earth.[158]

A fifteenth-century manuscript of this Targum (Heb. 110, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1455–56) expands the notice concerning the tenth kingdom: 'Finally the tenth kingdom, that of the King of Kings, the Lord of Hosts, may His name be blessed, and His kingdom be speedily revealed to all inhabitants of the earth.'[159]

Then in the *Fourth Book of Ezra* (*4 Ezra* 4:12), in the Ethiopic version, the course of world history is likewise divided into ten parts. At the time the book was written (at the turn of the first and second centuries CE), the final, tenth period was said to have just reached its midpoint: 'For the world is divided into ten parts, and has come to the tenth, and half of the tenth remains.'[160]

Ulrich Wilckens has noted that, from the perspective of such apocalyptic writings – he refers specifically to *1 Enoch* 91:15–17; *Sibylline Oracles* 4:47; and *4 Ezra* 14:11–12 – the Johannine 'tenth hour' signifies a universal hour (*Weltstunde*) marking the beginning of the final events associated with the advent of the messianic age. In other words, with the moment of discovering Jesus' dwelling place, the beginning of the end of world history is set in motion (see John 4:23–26; 5:25).[161] For Wilckens, the phrase τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ('on that day', John 1:39) is symbolic: it is the 'day of Jesus' (*der Tag Jesu*), the day which Abraham already anticipated with joy and which he indeed saw, rejoicing because of the salvation it signified (John 8:56).[162] Building on the same apocalyptic background, Jean Zumstein argues that seeing the place where Jesus dwells marks the beginning of eschatological fulfilment ('l'accomplissement eschatologique').[163] Yves Simoens likewise notes that the apocalyptic connotation of the tenth hour is positively confirmed by the use of the term 'hour'

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158 B. Grossfeld, *The Two Targums to Esther. Translated, with Apparatus and Notes* (ArBib 18; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 1991) 96–97. A late rabbinic work, *Pirke Rabbi Eliezer* 11 – generally dated between the seventh and ninth centuries CE – lists the following ten kings of ten kingdoms: God, Nimrod, Joseph, Solomon, Ahab, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Alexander, Messiah, and God.

159 Grossfeld, *The Two Targums to Esther*, 97.

160 B.M. Metzger, "The Fourth Book of Ezra," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. I. *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth) (Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1983) 553.

161 Wilckens, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, 47.

162 William C. Weinrich (*John 1:1–7:1*, 280) asserts that Abraham saw the sacrifice of his son Isaac (cf. Gen 22).

163 Zumstein, *L'Évangile selon saint Jean (1–12)*, 87, footnote 89.

in the broader Johannine narrative.[164] Clearly, the Johannine meaning of the term 'hour' is connected to its apocalyptic usage in the Book of Daniel (8:17–19; 11:35, 40, 45; 12:1).[165]

4.3.13. The Hour of Truth, the Cross, and the Revelation of the Disciple's Destiny
William Weinrich agrees with the symbolic readings of Rudolf Bultmann (the hour of perfection) and Ulrich Wilckens (the hour initiating the messianic era), yet offers his own interpretation. He sees the 'tenth hour' as 'the hour of truth, of consummation, of the revelation of the destiny of discipleship.'[166] Since Weinrich interprets the phrase 'that day' in light of the day Abraham saw (Jn 8:56) – understood as the moment of the sacrifice of his son Isaac (Gen 22) – the phrase 'they remained with him that day' (Jn 1:39) signifies the cross as the place where the disciple abides with Jesus. As he explains: 'the cross, the perfecting act of divine love, is the place where the true disciple remains with Jesus.'[167]

5. Broadening the Interpretative Horizons: Toward New Proposals

To the wide range of interpretive proposals discussed above regarding the mention of the 'tenth hour' in John 1:39, I would like to add a further line of inquiry by drawing attention to several apocryphal texts and the works of Philo. These texts may offer new perspectives and open additional avenues for exploring the meaning of this cryptic Johannine detail, potentially providing an even deeper understanding than those interpretations presented thus far.

5.1. The Healing by the Descent of the Spirit
In *Testament of Adam* (2:10), one reads:

> The tenth hour is the visitation of the waters when the spirit descends and broods upon the waters and upon the fountains. And if the spirit of the Lord did not descend and brood upon the waters and upon the fountains, human beings would be injured, and everyone the demons saw they would injure. And at that hour the waters (are) taken up and the priest of God mixes them with consecrated oil and anoints those who are afflicted and they are restored and healed.[168]

In light of this passage, the Johannine 'tenth hour' may symbolise the hour of the Spirit's descent and restoration of human health. Within the broader literary context of

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164   Y. Simoens, *Secondo Giovanni. Una traduzione e un'interpretazione* (Testi e commenti; Bologna: EDB 2000) 189.
165   S. Mihalios, *The Danielic Eschatological Hour in the Johannine Literature* (LNTS 436; London – New York: Clark 2011).
166   Weinrich, *John 1:1–7:1*, 280.
167   Weinrich, *John 1:1–7:1*, 280.
168   S.E. Robinson, "Testament of Adam," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. I. *Apocalyptic, Literature and Testaments* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth) (Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1983) 993.

John's Gospel, the descent of the Spirit (John 7:37–39) is associated with the image of 'rivers of living water', which in turn recalls Ezek 47 and Zech 14:8. In Ezekiel's vision, the river flowing from the temple nourishes trees on both banks whose leaves bring healing (47:12), and its waters flow into the Dead Sea, transforming it into a source of life teeming with creatures: 'everything will live where the river goes' (47:9). This imagery reappears in Rev 22:1–2, where on either side of 'the river of the water of life' stands 'the tree of life', whose leaves are 'for the healing of the nations'. In the Gospel of John, water – associated with the gift of the Spirit – also plays a crucial role in the healing of the man born blind (John 9), a paradigmatic figure of one who comes to faith through healing.

One concern about drawing upon the *Testament of Adam* is its relatively late dating, traditionally placed between the second and fifth centuries AD. Nevertheless, this is not so far removed from the composition of the Gospel of John (late first century AD) that the text's ideas must be dismissed outright. It is plausible that some of the traditions and themes reflected in the *Testament of Adam* were already circulating among Jewish and Christian communities in the first century and may have influenced, or at least paralleled, elements within the Johannine narrative.

5.2. Seeing the Face of God

A particularly promising parallel for interpreting the 'tenth hour' is found in *2 Henoch* 22:1, an apocalyptic text that, according to F.I. Andersen, may date to the late first century AD. Chapter 22 opens with a striking scene: 'In the 10th heaven the archangel Michael brought Enoch in front of the face of the Lord.' The passage continues:

> [1] And on the 10th heaven, Aravoth, I saw the view of the face of the Lord, like iron made burning hot in a fire and brought out, and it emits sparks and is incandescent. Thus even I saw the face of the Lord. But the face of the Lord is not to be talked about, it is so very marvelous and supremely awesome and supremely frightening. [2] And who am I to give an account of the incomprehensible being of the Lord, and of his face, so extremely strange and indescribable?[169]

Already in the seventh heaven, Enoch had been granted a distant vision of the Lord seated on His exalted throne in the tenth heaven:

> And they showed (me) the Lord, from a distance, sitting on his exceedingly high throne. For what is on the 10th heaven, since the Lord is present there? And on the 10th heaven is God, and it is called in the Hebrew language Aravoth. And all the heavenly armies came and stood on the ten steps, corresponding to their ranks, and they did obeisance to the Lord (*2 En* 20:3).[170]

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[169]   F.I. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. I. *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth) (Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1983) 136. According to Andersen (*ibidem*, 95), scholarly proposals for dating this work range from pre-Christian times to the late Middle Ages. For example, R.H. Charles argued that *2 Enoch* was written by a Hellenized Jew in Alexandria in the first century BCE, whereas J.T. Milik maintained that it was composed by a Christian monk in Byzantium in the ninth century CE.

[170]   Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 134.

In *2 Enoch*, the tenth heaven is the locus of God's direct presence and the place where Enoch is granted a vision of His face. Similarly, in the Gospel of John, Jesus' disciples are granted the opportunity to behold God's face. Philip requests: 'Lord, show us the Father, and it is enough for us' (14:8), to which Jesus replies: 'Have I been with you so long, and you still do not know me, Philip? Whoever has seen me has seen the Father. How can you say, "Show us the Father"?' (14:9). The very first encounter with Jesus, when the disciples saw his face, took place 'about the tenth hour' (1:39).

The surrounding context in John further reinforces the theme of seeing God. Jesus promises the disciples that they will see 'heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man' (John 1:51), echoing Jacob's dream of a ladder reaching to heaven with angels ascending and descending (Gen 28:12). Nathanael – 'an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile (δόλος)' (John 1:47; see the description of Jacob as acting with δόλος in Gen 27:35) – will witness something greater than Jacob did: not angels on a ladder, but angels surrounding the Son of Man. In Jewish tradition, Jacob is portrayed as one who has seen God: 'I have seen God face to face' (εἶδον γὰρ θεὸν πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον – Gen 32:31 LXX). According to the apocryphal work *The Ladder of Jacob* (1:1–6), Jacob saw in a dream the fiery face of God at the top of the ladder, while angels of God were ascending and descending upon it.[171] Similarly, in John's Gospel, it is Nathanael and the other disciples who behold the divine face in the person of Jesus. It is also significant that, even in the etymology of the name 'Israel' popular in the first century AD, the new name of Jacob (and by extension 'Israelite', as applied to Nathanael) reflects the idea of divine vision: אִישׁ רָאָה אֵל – 'the one who sees God.'[172]

Another point of contact between Jacob's narrative and John's Gospel is the expression 'come and see', which appears in John 1:39 ('ἔρχεσθε καὶ ὄψεσθε') and in the rendition in *Tg. Neof.* of Gen 28:12 (אתון חמין). The targumic passage elaborates:

> And behold, the angels that had accompanied him from the house of his father ascended to bear good tidings to the angels on high, saying: 'Come, see the pious man whose image is engraved in the throne of Glory, whom you desired to see.' And behold, the angels before the Lord ascended and descended and observed him.[173]

This invitation to 'come and see' refers to the face of Jacob, whose image is believed to be engraved upon the heavenly throne. The angels, familiar with Jacob's heavenly image,

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171 According to H.G. Lunt, the date and provenance of the document are unknown, although he tentatively places it in the first century CE. Cf. H.G. Lunt, "Ladder of Jacob. A New Translation and Introduction," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. II. *Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth) (Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1985) 404, 407.

172 See Philo, *Congr.* 51 (Ἰσραὴλ γὰρ ὁρῶν θεὸν ἑρμηνεύεται – *for [the name] Israel is interpreted [as] 'the one seeing God'*); *Mut.* 81 (ὁ δὲ Ἰσραὴλ ὁρῶν τὸν θεὸν καλεῖται – *for Israel is called 'the one seeing God'*); *Fug.* 208; *Somn.* 2,173; *Abr.* 57; *Praem.* 44; *Legat.* 4.

173 M. McNamara, *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis. Translated, with Apparatus and Notes* (ArBib 1A; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 1992) 139.

desire to compare it with his earthly appearance. This concept is richly attested in rabbinic literature, which often represents Jacob's likeness as engraved on the throne of glory.[174] Let us remember that Jacob was synonymous with Israel (cf. *Gen. Rab.* 68:12). According to *Hekhalot Rabbati*, God lovingly embraces and kisses Jacob's countenance upon hearing the Israelites chant the *Kedushah*.[175] Tomasz Mazurek explains that this exalted portrayal of Jacob in the Targums stems from an emphasis on divine election: despite Jacob's deceitfulness, he is God's chosen patriarch.[176] In this light, Jesus' invitation to the disciples to 'come and see' may echo the angelic invitation in the *Targum*: Jesus, like the heavenly messengers, invites the disciples – representatives of Israel – to enter into communion with God. Their abiding with him marks the beginning of their transformation into God's chosen people. The term 'true Israelite', as applied to Nathanael, thus signifies the disciples' identity as a renewed Israel – new Jacobs who behold the face of God.

Is is also worth noting that Jacob received a promise of divine presence: 'I in my Memra am with you' (*Tg. Neof.* Gen 28:15), a rendering of the Masoretic 'I am with you.' In John's Gospel, Jesus, identified with the divine Word (*Memra*), is present with his people, as he took up residence among them (Jn 1:14).

Further, just as Jacob's vision took place at Bethel, 'the house of God' and 'the gate of heaven' (Gen 28:17.19), so too in John Jesus becomes the new Bethel – the dwelling place of divine glory and the true temple (John 1:14; 2:19–21; 4:21–24). Early Jewish sources likewise shift Bethel-traditions to the Jerusalem temple (*Tg. Ps.-J.* Gen 28:11; 28:16–17; *Tg. Neof.* Gen 28:17; *Gen. Rab.* 69:7; *Pirqe R. El.* § 35). In John's Gospel, however, is it Jesus himself who becomes the locus of divine glory (see John 2:11): to see Jesus is to see God.[177]

A serious weakness in the hypothesis linking the 'tenth hour' to *2 Enoch* is the possibility that the entire passage about seeing God's face in the tenth heaven is a later interpolation. Andersen notes that *2 Enoch* 20:3 and 22:1 are absent from manuscript R, and that

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174   Cf. *Tg.* 1 Chron 21:15; *Gen. Rab.* 78:3; 82:2; *Num. Rabba* 43; *Lam. Rabba* 2:2; Targumic Tosefta to Ezek 1:16, *Hekhalot Rabbati*. Broad rabbinic tradition concerning the motif of Jacob's image engraved on the divine throne is presented by A. Damsma, *The Targumic Toseftot to Ezekiel* (Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture 13; Leiden: Brill 2012) 125–128. Cf. also E.R. Wolfson, "The Image of Jacob Engraved Upon the Throne: Further Reflection on the Esoteric Doctrine of the German Pietists," *Along the Path. Studies in Kabbalistic Myth, Symbolism, and Hermeneutics* (ed. E.R. Wolfson) (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press 1995) 1–62.

175   Damsma, *The Targumic Toseftot to Ezekiel*, 127.

176   T. Mazurek, "The Formula 'come, see' in the Palestinian Targums," *VV* 42/4 (2024) 1030–1031 ('From the narrative point of view, the targumic revelation provided by the angels aims to change the not entirely positive image of Jacob. The one who will become the founder of twelve tribes of Israel has to be not only a man accepted by God, but even more, he has to be the chosen one. Thus, the invitation to observe the patriarch encourages the reader to see Jacob in a new light – in the light of the God's choice. The angels who used to reveal the mysteries of the Lord now disclose this one: that despite Jacob's dishonesty, God chooses him, gives him a blessing even greater than those give to Abraham and Isaac, and keeps his image engraved on his divine throne. [...] It is not the deceit and the stolen blessing of Issac which make from Jacob one of the greatest patriarchs of Israel. What makes him great is the free will of God to choose him despite his complicated life story.')

177   J.H. Neyrey, "The Jacob Allusions in John 1:51," *CBQ* 44/4 (1983) 586–605; M. Morgen, "La promesse de Jésus à Nathanaël (Jn 1,51) éclairée par la hagaddah de Jacob-Israël," *RevScRel* 67/3 (1993) 3–22.

several shorter manuscripts omit both the Hebrew term *Aravoth* and any reference to the tenth heaven. He concludes that these passages are 'clearly interpolations'.[178] Nevertheless, the presence of Hebrew terminology such as *Aravoth* suggest an origin much earlier than the Middle Ages – possibly compatible with a first-century Jewish apocalyptic context.

5.3. Philo of Alexandria

The third new avenue of research into the meaning of the mysterious mention of the tenth hour in John 1:39 is the symbolism of the number ten found in the works of Philo. As already mentioned, following the insights of Greek philosophy, he sees ten as the number of perfection.[179] Most importantly, however, Philo applies this meaning for the number ten to his theological and allegorical expositions of the Scriptures. For instance, referring to Gen 14, Abraham is seen as the tenth king, who made an end of all nine previous governments (*Congr.* 92). The figure of Moses is entirely read by Philo through this number:

> Now the lore of the decad has been carefully discussed in detail in the schools of the musicians, and is extolled in no ordinary degree by the holiest of men, Moses, who connects with it things of special excellence, governments, the first-fruits, the recurrent gifts of the priests, the observation of the passover, the atonement, the liberation and return to the old possessions in the fiftieth year, the furnishing of the permanent tabernacle, and others without number (*Congr.* 89,503; LCL 261).[180]

The priests 'are commanded to offer always the tenth of the ephah of fine flour, for they have learned to rise above the ninth, the seeming deity, the world of sense, and to worship Him who is in very truth God, who stands alone as the tenth' (*Congr.* 103,509; LCL 261). The Greek phrase here θεὸν τὸν δέκατον καὶ μόνον ὄντα ἀψευδῶς can also be translated as 'Him who is tenth and alone truly exists' or 'Him who is truly tenth and alone' (Congr. 103,508–509; LCL 261). The idea of God being the tenth is repeated in the same work a few more times: 'maker God, who is the tenth', 'the priest offers recurrently a tenth to Him who is tenth and alone and eternal (τῷ δεκάτῳ καὶ μόνῳ καὶ αἰωνίῳ)' (*Congr.* 105,511; LCL 261), 'beginning with the tenth day we shall sanctify to Him that is tenth,' and 'the soul is suppliant to God the tenth' (*Congr.* 107,511; LCL 261). Philo, following Solon, divided the span of the human life into ten stages: 'during the tenth comes the desirable end of life' (*Opif.* 103,85; LCL 226).[181]

In conclusion, interpreting the Johannine 'tenth hour' through Philo's numerology suggests a transformative moment marking the disciples' spiritual rebirth as true children of

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178   Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 135, 137.

179   *Abr.* 244; *Congr.* 89, *Decal.* 20 ('the supremely perfect, Ten. Ten contains all different kinds of numbers' – Philo, *On the Decalogue. On the Special Laws, Books 1–3* [trans. F.H. Colson] [LCL 320; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1937] 15).

180   Philo, *On the Confusion of Tongues. On the Migration of Abraham. Who Is the Heir of Divine Things? On Mating with the Preliminary Studies* (trans. F.H. Colson – G.H. Whitaker) (LCL 261; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1932) 503.

181   Philo, *On the Creation. Allegorical Interpretation of Genesis 2 and 3* (trans. F.H. Colson – G.H. Whitaker) (LCL 226; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1929) 85.

Abraham (cf. John 8:33–57), embodying the tenth generation – the faithful of the messianic era. If Jesus represents the tenth, then abiding with him transforms disciples into representatives of this eschatological tenth generation, fully participating in the fulfilment initiated at that hour.

Conclusions

This article has offered a thorough, multi-layered exegetical analysis of the reference to the 'tenth hour' in John 1:39. The lack of scholarly consensus on this detail – ranging from historical to theological to symbolic interpretations – reflects the complexity and richness of the text. The study identified three major interpretative approaches:

(1) Narrative/Descriptive: this approach views the mention of the hour as a narrative device that adds realism, signals narrative progression, enhances credibility, or serves as a memory cue possibly linked to eyewitness testimony.

(2) Temporal/Practical: the tenth hour is understood in its literal temporal context – as late afternoon or early evening – potentially implying an overnight stay, a Sabbath setting, or a setting for shared meal or conversation.

(3) Symbolic: the number ten and the hour itself are interpreted as bearing theological significance, symbolising, for instance, the fulfilment of the Law, the inauguration of the eschatological age, or the birth of a new humanity.

Contemporary scholarship increasingly supports the symbolic character of the Fourth Gospel, encouraging interpretations that transcend merely literal readings. Apocalyptic and eschatological motifs drawn from *1 Enoch*, *4 Ezra*, and the *Sibylline Oracles* reinforce the view of the tenth hour as an 'eschatological hinge', a pivotal moment in salvation history. Thus, the 'tenth hour' emerges as a theologically charged moment that initiates the disciples' intimate fellowship with Jesus – the one who embodies the divine presence and glory. It marks the beginning of a transformative process: the dawn of a new creation, the vision of God's face in Christ, and the inauguration of the messianic age.

The symbolism of the number ten – rich with connotations of completeness, divine order, and perfection, in both biblical and Hellenistic traditions – amplifies this theological reading. Parallels with *Testament of Adam*, *2 Enoch*, and the writings of Philo further align this moment with a broader apocalyptic and mystical tradition in which the tenth hour signifies access to divine mysteries, visionary encounter, and covenantal communion.

In conclusion, the most compelling interpretation recognises that the reference to the tenth hour functions both literally (as a chronological marker) and symbolically (as a theological signal). The Evangelist likely intended both levels to be appreciated, inviting the reader to enter into a layered experience of narrative, memory, and revelation.

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The Rich in the *Epistle of Enoch* and the Epistle of James: A Comparative Analysis

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Abstract: The article deals with the problem of critical assessment of the negative behaviour of wealthy people, taken up in two different works: the *Epistle of Enoch* (*1 En.* 92–105) and the Epistle of James. Due to the incomplete surviving Aramaic and Greek versions of the *Epistle of Enoch*, which could be a potential source for the author of the Epistle of James, diachronic research would not be fruitful. A comparative analysis in a synchronic approach was used to examine whether one can talk about the dependence or identity of the approach represented in the Epistle of James on the concept of wealth and the rich from the *Epistle of Enoch*. The conducted analyses indicate far-reaching analogies between these texts. The authors judge the rich by looking at their actions, considering the purpose of human life and the eschatological purpose. The authors are united by the concept of understanding man and his relationship with God and other people. Despite the different persuasive goals of their works, both stigmatise attitudes that oppose God's will, and their substantively rich sins catalogues can be considered convergent. Both authors point to the irrevocable judgement of God, which includes the punishment of destruction for the rich criticised in those works.

Keywords: James 4:13–5:6, *1 Enoch*, *Epistle of Enoch*, criticism of the rich, final judgement, punishment and reward

The issue of the parallels between the apocalyptic literature of the Second Temple period, particularly the *First Book of Enoch*, or *1 Enoch*, and the texts of the New Testament is the subject of many studies, focusing mainly on understanding the concept of the Son of Man, the Parousia and the concept of judgement on the world.[1] *1 Enoch* is an important link between Jewish theological thought and early Christian concepts of eschatology and how to address eschatological reality.[2] The eschatological vision of history, present in

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1   See A.E. Richter, *Enoch and the Gospel of Matthew* (Princeton Theological Monograph Series 183; Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications 2012); L.T. Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Enoch: Its Reception in Second Temple Jewish and Christian Tradition," *Early Christianity* 4/1 (2013) 7–40; G. Boccaccini, *Paul's Three Paths to Salvation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2020); E.F. Latifaga, *Apocalyptic Sheep and Goats in Matthew and 1 Enoch* (Atlanta, GA: SBL 2022).

2   Cf. J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. I. *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (New York – London – Toronto: Doubleday 1983) 9. Larger, A.E. Craig, *Non-Canonical Writings and the New Testament Interpretation* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson 1992).

apocalyptic texts and Jewish paraenesis, was transferred to Christian ground. It can be seen in the texts of the New Testament, including epistolography, where we often encounter a combination of motifs of Christ's Parousia and judgement on the world, as well as instructions on morality. Reminding about judgement in didactic texts is a motivating factor and draws attention to the fundamental goal of Christian life.[3]

The theme of judgement on the rich, present in the New Testament texts, expressed in Gospel parables, instructive exhortations or warnings, has not yet been examined in detail in the context of the analogy to *1 Enoch*. A relevant work in this area is an article by George W. E. Nickelsburg concerning the texts of the Gospel of Luke.[4]

The subject of this paper is a comparative synchronic analysis of two texts of the Epistle of James (4:13–17 and 5:1–6), containing an assessment of the conduct of the rich and selected texts of the criticism of the mighty contained in the *Epistle of Enoch* (*1 En.* 94:6–11; *1 En.* 96:4–8; *1 En.* 97:8–10), to verify whether the assessment of the conduct of the rich in the *Epistle of Enoch* can be considered a source shaping the teaching of the author of the Epistle of James, and, the potential influence of the *Epistle of Enoch* on the alleged addressees of the Epistle of James and on their interpretations of the teaching concerning the rich in the Epistle of James.[5] We are particularly interested in the problem of whether the adoption of an eschatological perspective results in analogous evaluations of the rich, and whether the theological teaching represented by these authors is the same.

1. Warnings to the Rich in the *Epistle of Enoch*

The composition of the *Epistle of Enoch* is unclear, and previous critical studies of this text indicate that this work may consist of texts from different periods and with different provenance.[6] Identification of the historical circumstances and potential addressees of the various calls and warnings is also unclear. Several hypotheses have been put forward, but none has gained support among most scholars, making the issue open. One theory suggests the addressees as the Pharisees (identified with the righteous and persecuted mentioned in

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3   For more on this topic, see J.C. VanderKam – W. Adler (eds.), *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (CRINT 4; Assen – Minneapolis, MN: Van Gorcum – Fortress 1996); J. Starr – T. Engberg-Pedersen (eds.), *Early Christian Paraenesis in Context* (BZNW 125; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2004); B.E. Reynolds – L.T. Stuckenbruck (eds.), *The Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition and the Shaping of New Testament Thought* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2017).

4   G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "Riches, the Rich, and God's Judgment in 1 Enoch 92–105 and the Gospel according to Luke," *NTS* 25 (1978–79) 324–344.

5   Cf. P.H. Davids, "Tradition and Citation in the Epistle of James," *Scripture, Tradition, and Interpretation* (eds. W.W. Gasque – W.S. LaSor) (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1978) 113–126.

6   Cf. L.T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108* (CEJL; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2007) 187, 191–192; D. Iwański, "Księga Henocha – starożytny apokryf w świetle współczesnej wiedzy," *Teologia i Człowiek* 21/1 (2013) 123–139; G. Boccaccini, "Enochians, Urban Essenes, Qumranites: Three Social Groups, One Intellectual Movement," *The Early Enoch Literature* (eds. G. Boccaccini – J.J. Collins) (Leiden: Brill 2007) 301–328.

the *Epistle*) and the Sadducees (identified with the powerful, wealthy, persecuting the poor mentioned in the *Epistle*). Others propose to interpret these two opposing groups as conflicted circles within the Essene movement, between the representatives of urban Essenism and the radical community residing at Qumran, or between the group referred to as Enochians and the privileged group within Judaism.[7] Contrary to the consensus regarding the dating of the oldest parts of the Enochic corpus (between the third and second centuries BC),[8] there is no such consensus among scholars regarding the *Epistle of Enoch*. However, despite the many possible historical identifications, it is generally assumed that the work was written at the beginning of the second century BC[9] or at the end of the second or beginning of the first century BC.[10] This indicates a long enough tradition of functioning by the time of its reception by the author and recipients of the Epistle of James.

Regardless of the possible historical addressees of the various consolatory and condemnatory speeches in the *Epistle of Enoch*, they carry a specific message in a synchronic approach. It is in this view that they could also be interpreted, both by the primary and later recipients.

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7   R.H. Charles considered the conflict between the Sadducees and Pharisees under Alexander Jannai, from the period between 95–79 B.C., as the relevant historical situation ("Book of Enoch," *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*. II. *Pseudepigrapha* [ed. R.H. Charles] [Oxford: Clarendon 1913] liii-liv). This hypothesis was challenged by J.C. VanderKam, seeing rather the historical background in the period of the rise of the Maccabees (*Enoch and the Growth of Apocalyptic Tradition* [CBQMS 16; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America 1984] 144). An even different identification of the potential audience was made by G. Boccaccini in "Enoch, Qumran, and the Essenes: The Rediscovery of a Forgotten Connection: A Response to 'The Epistle of Enoch and the Qumran Literature'" (*George W.E. Nickelsburg in Perspective*: *An Ongoing Dialogue of Learning* [eds. J. Neusner – A.J. Avery-Peck] [JSJSup 80; Leiden: Brill 2003] 127–132) and in "Qumran and the Enoch Groups: Revisiting the Enochic-Essene Hypothesis" (*The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Princeton Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls*. II. *Scripture and the Scrolls* [ed. J.H. Charlesworth] [Waco, TX: Baylor University Press 2006] 51–53), considering the letter as an expression of the conflict between the Enochians and the community at Qumran, which was a reaction to what the Qumranites claimed. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "The Epistle of Enoch and the Qumran Literature," *JJS* 33/1–2 (1982) 333–348.

8   See J.H. Charlesworth, "A Rare Consensus among Enoch Specialists: The Date of the Earliest Enoch Books," *The Origins of Enochic Judaism: Proceedings of the First Enoch Seminar, University Michigan, Sesto Fiorentino, Italy (June 19–23, 2001)* (ed. G. Boccaccini) (Torino: Zamorani 2002) 243.

9   G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1. A Commentary on the Book of Enoch, Chapters 1–36, 81–108* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2001) 440–441; VanderKam, *Enoch*, 142–149; M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes in Consultation with James C. VanderKam* (Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigraha 7; Leiden: Brill 1985) 288; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 60–62.

10   This coincides with the hypothesis put forward by J.T. Milik, who, based on comparative analyses with the Aramaic fragments found at Qumran and the problems of structural affiliation of the *Apocalypse of Weeks* to the *Epistle of Enoch*, suggested that the most likely date of the composition of the *Epistle of Enoch* is the end of the second or beginning of the first century BC. Cf. J.T. Milik [with collaboration of M. Black], *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon 1976) 255–256.

1.1.   The Persuasive Function of Warnings to the Rich in the *Epistle of Enoch*

In the *Epistle of Enoch*, we find several passages where the author addresses exhortations and instructions to the rich directly, for example, 94:6–11; 96:4–8; 97:8–10; 102:9–103:8, and indirectly, in 98:1–3, 11. In the structure of the *Epistle of Enoch*, all these passages are found in the main body of the work.[11] Regardless of the differences in the proposals for the structural division of the work, the passages of interest to us, located in the main part, are independent of each other. As a result, the individual statements do not constitute a unified sequence of argumentation regarding the rich and their conduct; they do not continuously describe the thought taken up, and there is no indication that they refer each time to a specific and the same group of addressees.

G. Nickelsburg believes that the text of the work was composed in observance of the general principles of epistolography that operated in ancient Mediterranean civilisation. He also thinks it is possible to show it has typical compositional elements, such as the address, introductory greetings and prayers, an introduction to the letter's subject (revealing its purpose), the body of the letter and the final encouragements and wishes.[12] However, this author does not attribute a specific epistolographic genre to the *Epistle of Enoch*. Considering the much later Greek theoretical elaborations of the principles of epistolography,[13] this work most closely corresponds to the category of consoling letters,[14] but with elements of a threatening letter. Indeed, adopting the epistolary structure, one can clearly see that the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* separates the addressees of the letter mentioned in the address, to whom he mainly directs words of comfort, support, encouragement to persevere, from the group of those to whom he directs words of warning and promises of punishment. This tone of speech corresponds most closely to the category of threatening letters, in which the

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11   In the literature, the most widely accepted proposals for the structure of the *Epistle of Enoch* are those put forward by translators and commentators on the *1 Enoch*: G.W.E. Nickelsburg or L.T. Stuckenbruck. Nickelsburg distinguishes six thematic discourses in the body of the *Epistle of Enoch* (94:6–104:8), while Stuckenbruck divides the main part of the work (94:6–104:8) into three thematic discourses.

12   See G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 416, 420–421.

13   There are no known ancient theoretical studies on the principles of writing and composing letters in the Aramaic tradition that would be analogous to the letter patterns of Pseudo Demetrius or Libanius, created in the tradition of Greek epistolography and rhetoric. Preserved artefacts of Aramaic letters, especially those written on parchment and papyrus and dated between 200 BC to AD 200, as well as literary letters and letters transmitted in literary texts (in historiographic, propaganda and sapiential texts), confirm that these traditions are not distant from each other, and most of the phenomena regarding the composition of the letter, its arrangement, style and epistolary genres are related. It also applies to letters written in Jewish circles, which show features of both epistolographic traditions. Aramaic epistolographic traditions are assumed to be as important as Greek traditions in terms of their influence on the authors of New Testament epistolography. Therefore, it can be assumed that the *Letter of Enoch* also reflects Aramaic epistolary traditions, provided that it is a work composed after the model of the addressed text. For more on Aramaic epistolography, see, for example, J.A. Fitzmyer, "Some Notes on Aramaic Epistolography," *JBL* 93/2 (1974) 201–225; L. Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters and the Beginnings of Christian Epistolography* (WUNT I/298; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2012).

14   In the handbook of Pseudo Demetrius *Typoi epistolikoi* 5, a consoling letter is provided for situations when something bad, unpleasant, difficult has befallen the addressee. The letter is intended to give comfort to the addressee, to assure that the sender sympathises with his pain, to give the addressee hope and to improve his mood.

sender writes to the addressee because of what the addressee has done wrong or intends to do, to show that the addressee will not escape accountability, judgement or punishment for such actions, and the addressee's guilt will be revealed.[15]

The author of the *Epistle of Enoch* strongly encourages his primary recipients to rejoice, the reason for which is supposed to be the conviction that a just judgement will take place, that all injustice and sin will be removed, and that the righteous will receive mercy and experience peace, goodness, and a share in wisdom. In such a context, all the announcements of eschatological judgement on the world, which run continuously through the content of the letter, for the addressees are first and foremost announcements of freedom, justice and peace and not of punishment, anguish and destruction, which will be inextricably linked to the judgement. However, these will not affect the primary addressees of this letter, but sinners, whom the author of the letter warns, reminding them of the judgement to come and retribution appropriate to their deeds. In this way, indirectly, the sinners criticised in the letter also become the addressees of this work. The author of the *Letter of Enoch* provides, as it were, instructions in the tone of threats, warnings and announcements of punishment to sinners. However, they are not mentioned in the address of the letter.[16]

A similar proposal for the structural division of the *Epistle of Enoch* was made by Loren Stuckenbruck.[17] However, he differs from Nickelsburg on several fundamental points. He notes that considering this text in terms of genres of epistolography is not obvious, and, in his opinion, it is doubtful that the work was originally a letter. He shows that calling this work a 'letter' is an anachronism. However, he does not rule out that in the process of composition, this text was given the characteristics of an 'addressed' work, which is confirmed by the presence of epistolary formulas in the compositional frame of the text.[18] The work, however, also comes close to sapiential texts, although it would also be difficult to classify it into a specific wisdom genre. It is considered most often as an example of a testament, a genre that combines sapiential and apocalyptic traditions, or an instructive prophetic speech.[19]

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[15] Cf. Pseudo Demetrius, *Typoi epistolikoi* 8.

[16] In the letters, especially the so-called open letters, you can notice the presence of a 'hidden addressee', who is not mentioned directly in the address formula but to whom the sender often addresses the letter's content. It does not have to be a direct phrase. It may appear, for example, in the form of veiled criticism or a reference to the views of this 'hidden addressee'. So, it is a kind of secondary addressee.

[17] See Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 193–196.

[18] Stuckenbruck disagrees with the opinion of Nickelsburg and Boccaccini that the absence of content from the corpus of the *Epistle of Enoch* (94:6–104:8) among the Dead Sea texts is sufficient argument to consider this part of the *Epistle of Enoch* as a later composition, also later incorporated into the epistolary framework of the Epistle, already as a compositional element of *1 Enoch* ("The 'Epistle of Enoch': Genre and Authorial Presentation," *DSD. Rethinking Genre: Essays in Honor of John J. Collins* 17/3 [2010] 373, n. 26; contra Boccaccini, "Enoch, Qumran, and the Essenes," 123–132).

[19] See R.A. Argall, "Competing Wisdoms: 1 Enoch and Sirach," *Hen* 24/1–2 (2002) 169–178; J.C. Collins, "An Enochic Testament? Comments on George Nickelsburg's Hermeneia Commentary," *George W.E. Nickelsburg in Perspective*, 373–378; M.A. Knibb, "Enoch Literature and Wisdom Literature," *Hen* 24/1–2 (2002) 197–203; Stuckenbruck, "The 'Epistle of Enoch'," 359–361; M.A. Knibb, "The Book of Enoch in the Light of the Qumran Wisdom Literature," *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez) (Leuven: Peeters 2003) 193–210.

The structure of the *Epistle of Enoch*, as seen by Stuckenbruck, draws attention to several essential features of the work, important for the issues of interest in this article. Putting aside that the text has features of a letter and focusing on its apocalyptic aspects allows us to better explain the work's persuasive strategy, surprising to the modern reader, in which criticism and warnings against sinners dominate over words of consolation to the addressees. Indeed, such an overload of antithetical content can rightly be considered a risky move for a typical consolation letter.

In this apocalyptic reflection, the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* presents the recipients with a picture of two realities. The first one appears grossly unjust, in which those who act wickedly are successful, prosper, and enjoy privileges and riches they possess even though they acquired them in a wicked manner, often enjoying impunity and rarely facing punishment during their lifetime for their iniquitous conduct. Those who are righteous, on the other hand, endure persecution, suffer poverty and experience sorrow from tribulations. The second reality is that which will come in the future, referred to by the author with a number of expressions ('in those days', 'on that day', 'on the day of judgment', 'on the day of great judgment', 'on the day of tribulation and dishonour of spirits', 'on the day of destruction', 'on the day of fulfilment'). The expected reality is related to the completion of judgement on the world, after which the existing unjust order will be destroyed, all sins annihilated, and righteousness rewarded. The texts against the rich in the *Epistle of Enoch* thus belong to a set of instructions related to the eschatological perspective of the history of creation.

These types of rhetoric, both the one obtained by giving the work epistolary features and the one that is inscribed in the apocalyptic-sapiential goals of the work, integrally contribute to the persuasion of the *Epistle of Enoch*. They do not contradict each other but complement its reading.

1.2. Analysis of Exhortations Addressed to the Rich in the *Epistle of Enoch*

As mentioned above, in the corpus of the work, we can find several texts in which people associated with material wealth are addressed, and their conduct is criticised. Three of them are particularly close in content to the exhortations in the Epistle of James.

> 6 Woe to those who build iniquity and violence, and lay deceit as a foundation; for quickly they will be overthrown, and they will have no peace. 7 Woe to those who build their houses with sin; for from all the foundations they will be overthrown, and by the sword they will fall. And those who require gold and silver in judgment will quickly perish. 8 Woe to you, rich, for in your riches you have trusted; from your riches you will depart, because you have not remembered the Most High in the days in your riches. 9 You have committed blasphemy and iniquity; and you have been prepared for the day of bloodshed and the day of darkness and the day of great judgment. 10 Thus I say and make known to you: He who created you will overturn you; and for your fall there will be no compassion, and your Creator will rejoice at your destruction. 11 And your righteous ones in those days will be a reproach to the sinners and the wicked. (*1 En.* 94:6–11)

The above passage is part of the first speech against the wicked (94:6–95:2). It draws particular attention to naming the guilt of the rich. Although the direct naming of the addressees as rich appears only in verse 8, the earlier verses (94:6–7) may also refer to the same group of addressees. The semantics of the sense of the guilt of the rich is made precise by these two preceding warnings. The rich thus appear here as the same or analogous group of sinners, or a specific subgroup of them, whose faults are of the same nature as those to whom the warnings are directed earlier. The actions, therefore, attributed to these addressees, such as laying foundations out of wickedness and violence and erecting houses out of sin, can also be seen as describing the actions of the rich.[20] Verse 94:7b (where the coveters of gold and silver are mentioned) may be the keystone of this group of sinners with the rich (94:8–9), to whom the warning is already given directly ('Woe to you, rich...').[21] The meaning of verse 94:7b is uncertain.[22] Indeed, it could be either about the coveting and accumulating gold and silver *per se* or about the specific conditions for demanding gold and silver in a court situation. In that case, it would be tantamount to wicked judgements rendered in accordance with, gained or not, profit.[23] This corresponds well with the earlier warnings, explaining what the iniquity mentioned there, the wickedness on which the houses were built, would include.[24] The metaphor of building, used in verses 94:6–7, suggests the meaning that the reference is to those who earned their position by wicked means.[25] However, regardless of which meaning we take, broader or narrowed to court cases, the phrase coveting gold and silver in 94:7b is semantically related to some extent to the second warning (94:8–9), where the author is already explicitly addressing the rich.

Noteworthy, this semantic connection of the phrase 'lusting after gold and silver' with the word 'rich' in 94:8 (πλούσιοι in Greek manuscripts) indicates in the first place that what

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[20] The later term 'coveting gold and silver', semantically referring to material wealth, can be seen as a synonymous parallel to the earlier descriptions due to the absence of the formula 'woe'. Cf. M.M. Dewayne, *Riches, Poverty, and the Faithful: Perspectives on Wealth in the Second Temple Period and the Apocalypse of John* (Ph.D. Diss. Durham University; Durham 2010) 61.

[21] In the earlier verses (6 and 7) the third person form is used, in verse 8 there is a change to the second person. Thus, the author directly addresses the rich with the warning 'woe'. Cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 262.

[22] Some researchers consider 7b to be a later interpolation, Cf. Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 296.

[23] The problematic word here is 'in judgment' (*waBaKwennanë* in the Ethiopian manuscript *Lake Tana 9*), which can refer both to the action of requesting, demanding, and to the moment of eschatological judgement. A possible twofold understanding is advocated in his translation by Nickelsburg, 1 *Enoch 1*, 461. The meaning of the earlier verses, which may refer to bribed judgements, may be indicated by another passage, parallel to this one, from *1 En.* 99:12–13, where social injustice or slave labour is exposed. Rather, Stuckenbruck ('And [woe to] those who acquire gold and silver: in the judgment they will be quickly destroyed,' *1 Enoch 91–108*, 263) is in favour of associating the word with the term eschatological judgement, in which the destruction of these covetous ones will occur 'quickly'. In his opinion, this corresponds with such expressions in the canonical prophetic texts.

[24] In biblical tradition, 'building houses' often refers to the erection of the Temple, the building of residences, palaces, cities, families, dynasties, including metaphorically. See e.g. Deut 25:9; Ruth 4:11; 1 Sam 2:35; 2 Sam 7:27; 1 Kgs 11:38; 1 Chron 17:10, 25; Ps 127:1; Prov 24:3; Job 22:23; Jer 18:9; 31:28.

[25] Perhaps in this passage, we are dealing with conscious allusions to Jer 17:11, where reference is made to the dishonest acquisition of silver and gold, and Jer 22:13, where there is a picture of building a house on injustice, which is, among other things, labour without pay.

is meant is those possessing material wealth, but also the power or social position from riches resulting from or allowing enrichment at the expense of justice. The definition of the guilt of the rich in this warning suggests that the author need not be concerned only with riches in the material sense (although in Greek, the word usually occurred in such contexts). For the accusation portrays them as sinners against the Most High, and their riches as the cause of their disregard for Him (*1 En.* 94:8b–9). Thus, it does not relate only to the dimension of material wealth, in which the rich put their trust (*1 En.* 94:8a). That wealth (the Greek versions use the noun πλοῦτος) of which they will be deprived also seems to be everything that the 'rich' consider most important, which gives them a sense of independence, power, superiority over others, and does not necessarily imply a direct connection to the possession of material goods. However, this is not explicitly mentioned in the text. This could be an analogy: just as material wealth, in possession of which one places one's trust, becomes an obstacle to giving the Most High his due honour and is no different from an attitude of idolatry and depriving the rich of their material possessions is a legitimate punishment, so too, placing trust in all other goods, including immaterial ones (e.g. power, fame), instead of trusting God, demands adequate action.

The author does not explain what he means by blasphemy, insults to God and forgetting God in a state of wealth (*1 En.* 94:8b–9). These charges are not directly equated with idolatry, although, in essence, it can be seen in this accusation. Understanding them becomes clearer by elaborating on the description of the punishment due in *1 En.* 94:10. God is called the Creator ('He who created you', 'your Creator'), who will be pleased by the fall and destruction of the rich. The rich are thus nothing more than creatures dependent on the Creator. Even more so, their riches *vis-à-vis* the Creator are nothing and belong to Him just as much as the people who possess them. Blasphemy and insults to God can thus be understood as denying this truth through one's actions and words, i.e. in effect, falsifying the image of God and denying Him the status of Creator and ascribing to oneself the causal power to acquire and multiply wealth.[26] In the charges of lawlessness, disregard, and forgetfulness of the Most High, one can see echoes of the practical interpretation of the Torah's injunctions related to the obligation to pay tithes due (Deut 14:22–29), which these wealthy did not fulfil. The generality of these accusations, however, suggests that it is not just a matter of narrowing down to cultic duties but a parallel with the attitude of ignoring God and even following other gods in the experience of abundance, success, wealth (cf. Deut 32:15–18), which are apparently considered factors not conducive to remembering dependence on the Creator.

It is also significant, however, that it is not clear from the text of *1 En.* 94:8 that the author considers the mere possession of wealth a fault. It is reasonable to assume that he remains consistent with the belief, clearly evident in the canonical texts, that wealth can be one of the signs of God's endowment and blessing.[27] In another part of the *Epistle of Enoch*,

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26   Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 463.
27   Similarly, Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 264.

in the complaint of the righteous experiencing suffering and persecution, this mindset also makes itself known: 'Blessed are the sinners all their days that they have seen. And now they have died with goods and wealth, and affliction and murder they have not seen in their lives' (103:5b–6). From this, we can see that the second warning deals with a different situation of wealth from that which the author called for in the warning of 94:6–7. Here, the author makes it clear that the guilt of the rich is their attitude towards the Most High, and there is no question of an unrighteous way of acquiring wealth.

So, we can speak of a kind of development of thought in these juxtaposed warnings. This is highlighted by the composition's construction of parallelisms, which dynamise the message. One level of parallelism is, of course, formed by juxtapositions of the guilt-punishment type. It is present in both warnings: 6a–6b; 7a–7a'; 7b–7b'; 8a–8b; 9a–9b. The second level of parallelism is formed by synthetic parallelism, present in both the description of the guilt of rich people and the anticipated punishment. The first element of parallelism in the presentation of the charges is the statement of building on lawlessness, violence, lies and sin; the second is the coveting of gold and silver and placing trust in wealth; and the third is ignoring God in the experience of wealth, blasphemy and wickedness. In this way, the author gives a more complete description of the guilt of the rich. When speaking of punishment, the synthetic parallelism has four elements, and the last element is a synthesis of the earlier announcements of punishment. First, there is a prediction of the overthrow, lack of peace, annihilation by the sword; then, swift annihilation at the time of judgement, deprivation of riches that are the delusion of power; further, a statement of being prepared (in the sense of a judgement that cannot be avoided) for the day of blood, the day of darkness and the day of great judgement. Therefore, in *1 En.* 94:10–11, a sentence of judgement is given, introduced with the formula 'I say and make known to you.' This judgement foreshadows being brought to destruction by the Creator, lacking mercy and suffering reproach from the righteous,[28] and the Creator's joy at the accomplished judgement of destruction.

A kind of progressive intensification can be seen in these parallelisms. This effect is influenced by the vocabulary used concerning punishment, revolving around deprivation, fall and destruction but also expressing the certainty of the pending judgement by God (*1 En.* 94:10).[29] The author of the *Epistle of Enoch* reminds us that God, making judgement, will not deliberate in the future whether these deeds of the rich deserve punishment. They are already judged. In the future, this judgement will become a reality through the

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28   The translation of verse 94:11 is uncertain since the records of the Ethiopian manuscripts convey a text that is inconsistent with the context, for the reference of the phrase translated as 'your righteous ones' is unclear when we are dealing with a formula of judgement on the wickedly acting rich. It is likely that the Ethiopian versions reflect a mistranslation into Greek of the Semitic dative. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 463.

29   The idea of God preparing those who act wickedly for the judgement and sentence to be carried out over them frequently appears elsewhere in the *Epistle of Enoch*, e.g. 98:10; 99:6, and is also known from canonical texts, e.g. Isa 30:33. In the *Epistle of Enoch*, a contrasting image is that of preparing the righteous for the reward of their deeds, e.g. 103:3. Cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 98–108*, 265.

fulfilment of judgement. The author thus indicates to the addressees of this judgement that knowing God's 'view' of the rich's conduct compounds their guilt. They understand how God sees their actions (they have not been deprived of the ability to know what pleases God and what does not), but they ignore it. Therefore, the presence at the time of the judgement of the righteous people, whose conduct is contrasted with the deeds of the rich, will additionally speak against them.

This statement is further intensified by the motif of God's rejoicing at the judgement made and its fulfilment, which in *1 En.* also appears in the *Animal Apocalypse* (89:58) and can be recognised in Deut 28:63. In the *Epistle of Enoch*, reference is made to the angels' rejoicing at the destruction of the wicked (97:2).[30]

A similar amplification can be seen in the parallelism in the description of guilt. The guilt of those who acquired wealth in a wicked manner and in opposition to the law of God is undoubtedly tremendous since it prepares them for the judgement of destruction. However, the guilt of those who have been enriched by God, who have experienced His blessing, who have been blessed with many goods, and who have turned this abundance into wickedness and turned away from the Giver of these goods is seen by the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* as terrible, for whom a highly harsh judgement of lack of mercy is prescribed.

> 4 Woe to you, sinners, for your riches make you appear to be righteous, but your heart convicts you of being sinners; and this word will be testimony against you, a reminder of (your) evil deeds. 5 Woe to you who devour the finest of the wheat, and drink wine from the krater, while you tread on the lowly with your might. 6 Woe to you who drink water from every fountain, for quickly you will be repaid, and cease and dry up, because you have forsaken the fountain of life. 7 Woe to you who commit iniquity and deceit and blasphemy; it will be reminder against you for evil. 8 Woe to you, mighty, who with might oppress the righteous one; for the day of your destruction will come. In those days, many good days will come for the righteous – in the day of your judgment. (*1 En.* 96:4–8)

The above passage is another speech against the wicked in the *Epistle of Enoch*. In it, the author combines the issue of having wealth and power, which he stigmatises as reprehensible. From the point of view of our topic, it is most relevant to develop the description of the guilt of the rich, whom the author also addresses directly in this speech. The author outlines specific situations that he considers despicable. As stated earlier, the individual passages with warnings against the wicked are not given in a logical/contextual sequence. Thus, the situation presented here is not a continuation of the previous speech nor a typical development of one. However, it does not mean that it fails to explain what the author considers wicked in the conduct of the rich. It is difficult to assume that this speech defines in more detail the faults of the same group previously subjected (in *1 En.* 94:6–11) to criticism of the rich. It may, in some part, also characterise their guilt. Still, one should rather see in this subsequent series of 'woe' warnings also for the rich, whose guilt is different from

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30   Cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 98–108*, 268.

those the author addressed earlier. Here, the addressees are not identified as in the previous speech. Still, this speech covers the same issue of the guilt of the rich. Hence, it certainly adds new categories to the definition of the misconduct of the rich.[31]

In this discourse, we do not have such contrasting juxtapositions of the guilt-punishment type; however, the author does not limit himself to criticising the recipients of this warning. Indeed, he repeats the characteristic phrase announcing that this warning will be a reminder of their evil deeds (*1 En.* 96:4b, 7b) and finishes the speech by stating that 'in those days', which he understands as days of righteous retribution, will be a day of judgement for those who act wickedly.

The thing that draws the reader's attention is the demonstration of the duplicity of the rich, who pretend to be righteous and pious (*1 En.* 96:4). It is difficult to answer what specifically makes up this picture. It may simply be about enjoying wealth, success, prosperity, and social position, which bear the mark of God's blessing. Other people may consider the rich, to whom the warning is addressed, as those who enjoy God's special favour because of their righteousness. Perhaps what is meant is a situation in which the rich come across as righteous in the eyes of others, as admirable, through the actions they take due to their wealth. Their achievements may be seen as virtuous or useful, but their motivation is not the true good, and their actions are actually calculated for their own gain. Before God, they are unable to stand as righteous and upright, and their riches will not change their image before God as sinners. The addressees of this warning can thus be equated with hypocrites. The phrase about accusing through the heart (*1 En.* 96:4b) indicates that such rich people are aware of their sinful behaviour or motivations for their actions but stand in truth neither before God nor before those who believe them righteous. Moreover, they behave as if they choose to create their image before others at the expense of the truth. Continued living a lie can be considered a manifestation of their pride. Therefore, the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* considers 'this word' as a testimony against their evil deeds. This most likely refers to the very word spoken in the hearts, being the accuser of the rich.[32]

From the subsequent warnings, in *1 En.* 96:5–6, new categories of guilt of the rich can be read. It is reasonable to treat these two warnings as a whole since the announcement of judgement appears only in verse six.[33] Here, we have two more specific expressions of guilt, which are not entirely easy to decode. These are metaphorical images, showing the consumerist lifestyle of the rich, the social injustice they commit and their abandonment of the source of life.

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31 In a slightly different view, Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 296. In his opinion, this speech is a detailed elaboration of what was mentioned in 94:7–8, showing what sin is, which is the foundation of the buildings erected by the rich.

32 Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 471. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 297, sees in the word that will bear witness to the reminder of sin a reference to what the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* conveys, giving instruction about judgement in the end times.

33 Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 298.

   The first warning indicates that the guilt of the rich is experiencing wealth, described metaphorically as access to the best food and drink while exploiting the poor.[34] Many commentators have attempted to explain the expressions of this passage and their possible semantic connotations in canonical texts.[35] It is plausible that *1 En.* 96:5 is an echo of the criticism in Am 5:11, where the prophet denounces the exploitation of the poor through excessive tributes in grain, and also in Am 6:6, where there is a picture of those living in splendour and drinking pitchers of wine, or in Am 4:1, where the prophet criticises the rich women of Samaria. They oppress the poor to fulfill their whims, encouraging their husbands to act wickedly until they get what they want. Alternatively, it could echo the criticism of the wicked shepherds of Israel in Ezek 34:2–4, 18–19, who primarily cater to their own needs and, instead of caring for those under their care, exploit them for their own gain. This supports the interpretation of verse *1 En.* 96:5 that the phrase 'you tread on the lowly with your might' refers to the immoderate use of wealth, including exploiting the poor and those of lower social status, which means abusing their position by the rich in social relations and contributing to social injustice.

   The translation of L. Stuckenbruck, taking into account the different versions transmitted by the manuscripts in the Ethiopian and Greek versions, should be considered convincing.[36] He retained the recurring word *naqe'* in v. 5 and v. 6, which can be translated as 'fountain' or 'spring', thus bringing out the tension built up in the passage; namely, the image of the rich who drink from the spring without restraint is presented first. This literalism allows us to recreate potential situations of what this source is. In the most basic sense, it can refer to a physical source of water to which they always have access, consider themselves privileged to use it, satisfy their needs first without regard for the needs of others, and perhaps control the source of water. The word can also have a metaphorical sense, like wheat, symbolising abundance, affluence, not experiencing lack and dependence or uncertainty. Then, another image is outlined with the formulation of guilt and the justification for punishment. The rich are accused of abandoning the fountain of life ('because you have forsaken the fountain of life'). This metaphor is made easier to understand by the foreboding announcement that these sources from which the rich have drawn are temporary, transient, illusory. There is a shift here from object to subject. It is not the sources that will cease, but those who draw from them will become exhausted and shrivelled. Unequivocally, this shift indicates that what the rich draw from and feed on does not give them life; on the contrary, it leads to destruction. The juxtaposition of the noun *Ḥäyl*, 'strength' (in Nickelsburg's translation 'might') of the rich and the verbs describing their

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34   Many commentators have attempted to explain the expressions that appear in this passage.

35   The discussion, translation solutions adopted by R.H. Charles, M. Knibb, M. Black, G.W.E. Nickelsburg, among others, and their critical evaluation are presented by Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 298–300.

36   96:5–6 'Woe to you, who devour the best of the wheat and drink the strength of the root of the fountain and trample upon the lowly with your strength. Woe to you who drink water all the time, for quickly you will become exhausted and dry up because you have forsaken the fountain of life.' Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 294–295, 300.

later 'exhausted' state (in Nickelsburg's translation 'cease'), as well as the contrast with the metaphorical 'fountain of life' emphasises the drama of their actual situation. The metaphor is familiar from canonical texts in which the term refers to God, e.g. Jer 2:13 and 17:13, God is called the 'fountain of living water' (LXX: 'fountain of life'), in Ps. 36:9 in God is the source of life. The image of drying up could no doubt also be reinforced by the memory of events known from the history of the chosen people. For example, 1 Kgs describes a prolonged drought that prevailed during the times of the prophet Elijah, preceded by the Israelites' sin of idolatry – the worship of Baal as the deity of fertility, crops and rain, and the gift of abundant rain given by God only after the judgement on the prophets of Baal and the punishment of depriving them of life. The conduct of the rich can, therefore, be seen in terms of the sin of idolatry. Consequently, the eschatological judgement foretold will reveal the tragic situation of these rich: the lack of hope for salvation because they have consistently cut themselves off from God, who is the source of life, choosing what will not provide life for them.[37]

This corresponds well with the falsity of the righteousness and uprightness of the rich in *1 En.* 96:4 and the lack of mercy during judgement. Although the addressees need not be the same category of people, the similarity of the sin of the two groups makes it possible to juxtapose the warnings addressed to them in a single speech. The first and second are those whose wealth leads them to a life of lies and delusion.

The last two warnings in this condemnatory speech (*1 En.* 96:7–8) are not directly addressed to the rich. The addressees that appear here as those who 'commit iniquity and deceit and blasphemy' and 'mighty, [...] who oppress the righteous one' can be considered superior to those that were detailed in the first two warnings. Tying these warnings together is, in particular, an accusation against the mighty, the powerful, who persecute the righteous (*1 En.* 96:8). The rich who exploit the poor (in *1 En* 96:5) can be recognised in this group. The guilt of the rich is treated as belonging to the category of sins of wickedness and blasphemy against God, so the punishment for their actions is also appropriate. The rich who, because of their wealth, have abandoned the source of life in *1 En.* 96:6 face destruction, as do those guilty of blasphemy, deceit and wickedness.

> 7 Woe to you, sinners, who are in the midst of the sea and upon the dry land; the reminder against you is evil. 8 Woe to you who acquire gold and silver unjustly and say, "We have become very wealthy, and we have gotten possessions, and we have acquired all that we have wished. 9 And now let us do what we have wished, for silver we have treasured up in our treasuries, and many goods in our houses; and as water they are poured out". 10 You err! For your wealth will not remain, but will quickly ascend from you; for you have acquired everything unjustly, and you will delivered to a great curse. (*1 En.* 97:8–10)

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37   Similarly Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 301.

Translation from Greek versions[38]:

(7) Woe to you, O sinners, who are in the midst of the sea and upon the dry land; there is an evil reminder against you. (8) Woe to you, who gain gold and silver without righteousness, and you will say, "We have become rich with riches and we have acquired possessions. (9) And let us do everything what we wish, for we have treasured up silver in our treasuries and many goods in our houses, and they are poured out like water." (10) You are in error, for your wealth will not remain, but quickly (it will go away) from you because you have acquired everything unjustly, and you will be delivered over to a great curse.

Reading the next speech with the condemnation of the rich allows us to see many elements present in the earlier two speeches addressing this issue. However, this does not mean that we are dealing with mere repetitions.

As in the previous speeches, the addressees are defined in general terms at the beginning as sinners who are at sea and on land, which may imply the universality of the attitude, which the speech will describe in detail in a moment.[39] It is possible, however, that despite the generality of the statement, it might be a clue concerning the identity of its addressees. It could be about a particular group of the wealthy involved in commerce, for whom sea and land travel was part of their lives, or the wealthy often travelling for entertainment.[40]

What draws attention in this speech is the difference in expressing criticism. The author of the *Epistle of Enoch* enlivens the description of guilt, introducing elements of narration and showing the criticised in the role of an active speaking protagonist of the outlined scenes. From a rhetorical point of view, we can see here a combination of two figures: *evidentia* and imitation (*mimesis*, also known as *ethopoeia*, *sermocinatio*, *dialogos*).[41] Rhetorical

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38   This fragment is also preserved in a Greek version, in the Chester Beatty – Michigan Papyrus collection, in a manuscript marked CB 185. See F.G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri. Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscript on Papyrus of the Greek Bible*. VIII. *Enoch and Melito* (London: Walker 1949). Translation into English by Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 316.

39   This is the understanding of Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 473.

40   Archaeological research confirms that during the Hellenistic period in the Palestinian territories, especially in the cities of the Mediterranean coast, there was an increase in the occurrence, including in Israelite homes, of gold and silverware, often imported from outside, with designs other than the native ones. See D. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1960) 90–120. This may go some way to explaining the distinctive phraseology of 'gold and silver' found in the speech, but it also indicates the intensity of contacts and trade trips.

41   These rhetorical figures and techniques were described in ancient Greco-Roman rhetorical theories as phenomena present in narratives and characterised by their persuasiveness. We do not mean here that the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* used Greek patterns of figures of speech, transposing them from rhetoric manuals into his text, written in a Semitic language. In these theoretical descriptions of methods of rhetorical expression, one can find universal phenomena of utterance construction that go beyond the features of a given language. It applies to a large part of the so-called thought figures but also to tropes that do not depend on the language's grammar. Phenomena such as metonymy, metaphor, irony, hyperbole and others are features of linguistic communication. They are not assigned to the Greek language, although the first theoretical descriptions of these phenomena were described in this language in ancient times in rhetoric theory. The same applies to specific ways of talking about something. Creating a hero in a narrative and using direct speech, quoting the characters' statements, creating 'live' dialogues and thus reflecting the characters' behaviour can also be considered a universal means of storytelling. It can be observed in the literature of various languages, including Hebrew texts of

and literary devices are used to present the issues at hand to the readers more fully and provide a better opportunity to involve them in the message, stimulating evaluation and change of views or attitudes. Typically, *evidentia* is used to make the readers more familiar with the situation being described, putting them, for example, in the role of an eyewitness, direct viewer or participant, through an appropriate way of describing or telling so that they can, as it were, participate in what is presented. The visualisation is perfectly served by such devices as the creation of characters, into whose mouths appropriate words are put so that they express the essence of their views, attitudes, behaviour, and character (*ethopoeia*). Through their own expressions, the characters present themselves at the narrative level. Thus, the readers get to know the character directly and discover an independently related problem with the character. The author or narrator is hidden, so the author's point of view or evaluation does not influence the readers. In this way, the recipients can form their opinions based on their assessment of the words, views, and manner of speaking of the character of the situation they are getting to know.

In the case of the text of interest here, we have direct speech in *1 En.* 97:8–9, quoting the words of the rich. This device is interesting in that the author makes the narrative's protagonists the very recipients of the criticism to whom he speaks directly earlier (*1 En.* 97:8a: 'Woe to you'). They win the gold and silver in an unrighteous manner and are the main recipients of this statement. This would suggest that the author wants the wealthy under criticism to see themselves better in their behaviour. This introduces an element of hope that, with a change in conduct, the announced judgement of the court will not affect them. The author further confirms this by pointing out to the rich that they are stuck in error (*1 En.* 97:10a) and that their riches will not stand because they have achieved everything wickedly. This supposes that the addressees of this warning did not necessarily view their conduct as reprehensible. It is, therefore, impossible to clearly identify the addressees of this criticism with the addressees of *1 En.* 96:4–8, who are shown as being aware of their sinful behaviour. By far, the characterisation brings its addressees closer to the rich of *1 En.* 94:7b–9a, coveting gold and silver, who were accused of departing from God and putting their trust in their riches. The purpose of such stylisation is also to enable all audiences of the work to recognise the guilt of the criticised rich from their proper modes of expression.

We have two repetitions in this passage with the content of the determination of guilt, which was also presented in the earlier warning, in *1 En.* 94:7b. One is the designation of the addressees as 'gainers of gold and silver' (*1 En.* 97:8). The other is the prediction of the swift deprivation of these possessed riches in *1 En.* 97:10 (transl. from Gr. 'quickly it will go away from you'; transl. from Eth. 'will quickly go up from you'),[42] analogous to the announcement in *1 En.* 94:7b. However, we also have a thought that does not appear there explicitly. In the criticism of *1 En.* 94:7, wealth is not expressly linked to the wicked manner

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biblical narratives. Using the concept of *ethopoeia* here, we want to draw attention to the persuasive features of this method of storytelling, so named because of the use of rhetoric behind the created ethos of the characters who are the heroes of this way of storytelling.

42   The following is translated here from the Ethiopian version after Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 316.

in which it was acquired. It is possible to derive such a conclusion from earlier statements in this condemnation speech. Still, such a correlation is not expressed explicitly. In this case, on the other hand, in the speech of *1 En.* 97:7–10, both in the Greek and Ethiopic versions, the message is unambiguous. The author repeats twice that the wealth of the rich is unrighteous and achieved unjustly (*1 En.* 97:8, 10).

The criticised characteristics of the rich in this warning (*1 En.* 97:7–10) are not addressed so explicitly in the preceding speeches (*1 En.* 94:6–11 and 96:4–8). However, the connotation of possessed wealth with wickedness is implicitly written into the meaning of both preceding speeches.

How the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* understands the iniquity of the rich in this context is made clear by the rhetorical figure (*ethopoeia*) used in the quoted speech of the rich. What emerges unequivocally from it is a picture of wealth in the material sense, evident in both versions of the message (estates, houses, treasuries, silver and possessions). However, since the author previously did not consider it reprehensible to be wealthy *per se*, it would be unreasonable to assume such a sense here.[43] If these rich had acquired their wealth while maintaining integrity and handling it decently, it would be difficult to condemn their attitude (a positive picture of wealth is shown in Sir 10:30–31; 11:14; 40:25, for example).

Note that the Ethiopian version, more than the Greek text, exposes (by doubling the statement[44] of the rich having achieved everything they wanted and an expression of encouragement to continue such a course of action) the issue of the rich actively acquiring everything they wanted (*1 En.* 97:8b 'and we have acquired all that we have wished'). The subtext carries the understanding that the rich did not have to reckon with anyone or anything in acquiring their wealth. Thus, their actions could often involve harming and exploiting others (an echo of the allegations in *1 En.* 96:8 can be noticed here). Moreover, the rich present themselves as proud of their deeds and see sense in continuing their conduct (*1 En.* 97:9a 'And now let us do what we have planned'). It is these words that carry content indicating the hidden wickedness behind the actions of the rich.[45]

The Greek version, on the other hand, while also indicating a kind of self-indulgence in pursuits, through the absence of this repetition concerning the will of the rich, provides more of a description of wealth, i.e. the pride of the rich, and particularly the excess of the wealthy's possessions or the extravagance in their use ('they are poured out like water'). This allows us to infer that it is not the possession itself but this excess, the immoderation

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43 Nickelsburg believes that the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* undertakes an interpretation of a theme not often shown, especially in the pages of canonical wisdom literature, concerning wealth, the possession of possessions, which is treated as an expression of divine blessing, which includes the enjoyment of possessions. Although wealth is a fleeting, transient good (Sir 11:18–19; Prov 23:4–5), the inability to enjoy it is considered a misfortune (Eccl 6:1–2). At the same time, however, wealth in this literature is shown as leading to neglect in religious life and distancing one from the worship of God. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "Revisiting the Rich and the Poor in 1 Enoch 92–105 and the Gospel According to Luke," *George W.E. Nickelsburg in Perspective*, 550–551.

44 On the repetition of the phrase 'what we want' in the Ethiopian version or its absence in the Greek version, see the discussion in Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 318–319.

45 Similarly, Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 474.

of wealth accumulation, or squandering it on useless, often immoral, things that are the criticised iniquity.[46]

The iniquity and injustice that the author accuses the rich of (*1 En.* 97:8a, 10a) are even more vividly described by other elements of the quoted statement of the rich (*1 En.* 97:8b–9). First, it is striking to note their boasting about their wealth and the arrogance associated with it. This statement shows them as people who think they can do whatever they want, satisfying their desires regardless of circumstances. There is not the slightest mention in this statement, for example, of the difficulties they have to overcome, the hard work involved in acquiring wealth, and the help they have received. The statement conveys a disordered attitude to the riches they have acquired and their relationships with other people, who are shown to be treated as objects in this characteristic passivity. In attaining everything they want, the rich regard themselves as more important than others. The wealth they accumulate is clearly for themselves. There is no indication of bringing any good for others in their desires. This shows immorality regarding others and an inappropriate attitude towards the objects and properties they own.

But this iniquity, which appalls the author of the *Epistle of Enoch*, is exposed even more strongly when we look at this statement of the rich from the perspective of the rich's relationship to God. He is seen as superfluous, and His existence is completely ignored. This is most evident in the Greek version of the message, in the expression, 'We have become rich with riches' (πλούτῳ πεπλουτήκαμεν). It emphasises that they consider their possessions to be their wealth, their desire and the goal of their pursuits, and, at the same time, the means to satisfy their desires. In this utterance, it is impossible to see God at all, neither as the Giver of gifts, nor as the greatest Treasure, only worthy of all pursuits, nor as the Lawgiver who sets the measure of deeds, nor as the Judge who accounts for conduct. This statement, therefore, expresses the godlessness of the rich. Although the author does not say so explicitly, it is not difficult to perceive. To the alleged addressees of the *Epistle of Enoch*, this *ethopoeia* helped them see the true picture of the criticised rich, who could be regarded as ungodly, as to whom there was a conviction of punishment appropriate to their attitude (cf. Sir 41:8–11). We have already seen similar charges in *1 En.* 94:8 ('you have not remembered the Most High in the days in your riches') and in *1 En.* 96:7 ('you have forsaken the fountain of life'). Their punishment was deprivation of wealth, destruction on the day of judgement, and lack of mercy. Here, too, the author announces the deprivation of their wealth and a 'great curse', which is the antonym of blessing. It thus implies everything that is

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46 Occurring in the CB 185 manuscript, the word εκσχιστε is not easy to interpret in this form and in this context; it is unclear from which verb it is derived and how it relates to the following verb πεπλάνησθε. For example, R. Charles, "The Book of Enoch", understands it as deceptions and translates the phrase: καὶ ὡς ὕδωρ εκσχισστε πεπλάνησθε as 'Yea and like water your lies shall flow away.' C. Bonner understands them as an immoral, depraving possession in which they went astray (*The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek* [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftlische Buchgesellschaft 1968] 33). M. Black associates the whole expression with corruption, demoralization (*Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* [PVTG 4; Leiden: Brill 1970] 37). However, it can also be taken in the sense of excess, in a negative colouring of the word. This is the option taken by L. Stuckenbruck, which he expresses in his translation from the Greek version. See Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 316.

opposed to the bestowal resulting from God's blessing. In the Greek version, the expression used, κατάραν μεγάλην παραδοθήσεσθε, has a juridical origin, meaning an irrevocable judgement and punishment pronounced in a court of law.[47] Thus, the announced punishment is very severe, analogous to the punishment of destruction and lack of mercy.

1.3. Concluding Remarks

What emerges from the above speeches condemning the rich in the *Epistle of Enoch* is a broadly drawn picture of the reality being criticised and subject to future punishment. Although the rich are the addressees of these speeches, the various orations reveal other aspects of their guilt.

One plane on which the author shows the sins of the rich is the sphere of human relations. In this sphere, the behaviours of the rich that involve mistreating another person are stigmatised. Although not always directly named by the author of the *Epistle of Enoch*, the sins of the rich include exploiting the poor through injustice, slave labour, treating others as objects, persecuting the poor, using their dominant social position, power or possessed talents against another person, acting unjustly towards the weak, using deception and living a lie, selfishness and disregard for the needs of others.

Another tier is marked by guilt resulting from the rich's attitude towards wealth. In this group, we can mention focusing on wealth and ways of amassing it, greed, stinginess, placing trust in possessions, immoderate and improper use of acquired wealth at the expense of the welfare of others and one's own moral good, prioritising material goods over other ones.

Among the guilt of the rich, the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* also includes behaviours that directly undermine one's relationship with God. This group, of course, encompasses all of the above trespasses, which are treated as sins of wickedness that God does not condone. Above all, the references to the blasphemy and pride of the rich, who lose their sense of dependence on the Creator, who disregard God and His authority over them, who see in their actions the source of their success, that is, who put themselves and their riches above God, and who forget God in the days of their prosperity and live a lie, should be considered most significant.

2. Exhortations to the Rich in the Epistle of James

The theme of relating to rich people recurs several times in the Epistle of James (it is introduced in 1:9–11 and is developed in various contexts, 2:1–9, 2:14–17, 4:13–17 and 5:1–6). All of these texts are part of the rhetoric of the letter's author's teaching focused on building a community of believers characterised by friendship with God.

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[47]   One can see the connection of the expression used here with the terminology also present in the *Book of Watchers* (e.g. 5:5–7), in *Codex Panopolitanus I*, where the ultimate 'great curse' (κατάρα μεγάλη) is upon the ungodly (ἀσεβεῖς).

In the Epistle of James, the behaviour of rich people and the threat of complicity with evil that stems from wealth and power is a manifestation of the attitude of 'friendship with the world' criticised by the author, which he warns his addressees against because it excludes friendship with God (Jas 4:4). Two exhortations, concerning wealthy people found in Jas 4:13–17 and 5:1–6, can be considered a warning against behaviour that ruins friendship with God, both of which are very harsh in their expression. The first is an unabashedly ironic, strong criticism of the addressees' boastful hubris linked to their business plans. The second, on the other hand, is related to the announcement to the rich of the torments their riches will bring upon them, including the torments of fire consuming their bodies in the Last Days.

2.1.   Semantic Relationship of the Exhortations in James 4:13–17 and 5:1–6

Not all commentators on the Epistle of James agree on the consistency of these two exhortations. First, because the author himself distinguishes the addressees into λέγοντες, 'speaking' (Jas 4:13), and πλούσιοι, 'rich' (Jas 5:1 οἱ πλούσιοι). Second, because there are no clear parallels in the composition of these invocations, where the constant would be the guilt-punishment scheme. In the case of the first one, there is no explicit announcement of judgement or punishment in the end times, as there is in Jas 5:1, 3. On the contrary, there is a call to repentance missing in the second exhortation.[48]

Despite these apparent differences, however, it would be misguided to consider these exhortations entirely independent. Both of these passages, although they have different addressees, share the same formula of ἄγε νῦν, which opens the exhortation addressed to them. This form of an attention-getting call was popular in literary and conversational Greek.[49] Not only within the Epistle of James but throughout the New Testament, it is found only in these two places (Jas 4:13; 5:1), which can be considered sufficient reason for the consistent distinction of these two exhortations. Despite the dissimilarity of the represented situations in which it was used, these statements can be treated as a semantic whole. Thus, the announcement of judgement in Jas 5:1, 3 can be considered a form of instructive warning for the first group of addressees as well.[50]

In addition, although the addressees are described with different designators, these groups are linked by the author treating them as wealthy and acting inappropriately, even if the type of guilt incumbent on them is not the same. In social classification, these addressees may have constituted separate groups, such as merchants and landowners, and, in practice,

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[48]   Cf. R.P. Martin, *James* (WBC 48; Waco, TX: Word Books 1988) 175–176.

[49]   We meet it, for example, in its various modifications (ἄγε and ἄγετε plus another element), in the diatribe texts of Epictetus (*Dissertationes* 1.2.20, 25; 1.6.37; 3.1.37), but also in Homer (*Iliad* 3.441), in Aeschylus (Aeschylus, *The Persian* 140). The imperative form (imperative of ἄγω) was used as an adverb, in the sense of calling out, attracting attention, so it is most often translated as 'watch out', 'listen', 'look', 'come', or more literally 'hey!', 'beware!'.

[50]   Cf. P.H. Davids, *The Epistle of James. A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Exeter: Paternoster 1982) 171; L.T. Johnson, *The Letter of James. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 37a; New Haven, CT: Doubleday 1995) 291–292.

they differed in behaviour and wealth.[51] However, having the same foundation, they were characterised by erroneous conduct, mainly in relation to God, which places them in the group of enemies of God, living in friendship with the world.

2.2. Comparative Analysis of Exhortations to the Rich in the Epistle of James with Those in the *Epistle of Enoch*

The first exhortation of interest, from Jas 4:13–17, is an ironic criticism of the attitude of unrestrained multiplication of one's wealth in the sense of power and independence in plotting such schemes. It resembles the ironic criticism or warnings against foolishness found in sapiential instructions (cf., e.g. Prov 27:1; Prov 27:22–23; Eccl 8:7; 9:12; Luke 12:16–21) and prophetic speeches (cf., e.g. Isa 5:13; 15:34).

Undoubtedly, parallels with *1 En.* 97:8–10 can also be noticed in the passage. The similarity is striking. For it relates to the type of addressees of the exhortation (focus on acquiring and amassing wealth), the problem taken up (pride associated with possession), the stylisation of the composition of the statement (*ethopoeia*), and the assessment of the problem (wickedness) expressed by the authors of both statements.[52]

Let us note the analogies of composition style. The author of the Epistle of James uses the same convention of the rhetorical figure of ethopoeia. Those directly addressed in the passage are defined by the author of the letter as λέγοντες ('speakers') and, through the author's use of independent speech, become the 'authors' of their own speech. This choice of words should be considered symbolic, characterising the attitude of those whom the letter's author thus distinguishes from other addressees. As in the case of the warning in *1 En.* 97:8–10, those subjected to criticism are, as it were, describing themselves, their actions and attitude. However, the author of the Epistle of James, through the continuation of the *ethopoeia*, introduces an important element that can be considered a reinterpretation of the concept contained in the condemnatory oration of *1 En.* 97:8–10. The author of the Epistle of James definitely aims to make the addressees change their behaviour and gives them a clear indication of what must change. To do so, he uses the sophisticated procedure of continuing the *ethopoeia*. He further assigns to the 'speakers' a specific statement in indirect speech (Jas 4:15). This time, the author indicates what kind of utterance we should hear from them. These words 'spoken' by the addressees are the opposite of their earlier ones and contain content that, by indicating what kind of thinking they should have, exposes the total lack of such an attitude in the criticised addressees. Such correcting statements within the framework of *ethopoeia*, on the one hand, intensify the effect of irony from these business people (the author expresses irony directly in his own commentary in Jas 4:14). On the other hand, and more importantly, this unambiguously reveals the essence of the criticism,

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51	Cf. P.U. Maynard-Reid, *Poverty and Wealth in James* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books 1987) 68–98.

52	Of course, in the case of both authors, this may be a derivative of the use of this way of building expression in the narrative and does not have to indicate the technique of imitating the statements of the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* by the author of the Epistle of James.

which is not levelled at business plans and efforts made and the desire to accumulate wealth but at the boastfulness, hubris and belief in the self-determination of the addressees.[53]

The criticised addressees are thus similar to the rich of *1 En.* 97:8–10, convinced that they can achieve anything they desire because it depends only on them and who boast about their wealth. These recipients are accused by the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* of having gained their wealth through exploitation and injustice, which is one of the reasons for the punishment foretold for them. In James' critique, no such ground of the problem can be seen in the words of this *ethopoeia*.

The addressees of the exhortation in Jas 4:13–17 are also similar to the rich in *1 En.* 94:8, putting their trust in their riches, forgetting the Most High because, like them, they disregard His will. The author of the Epistle of James shares the conviction, evident in many canonical texts, as well as in the *Epistle of Enoch*, that the problem is not wealth itself, the possession and multiplication of wealth, but the thinking and behaviour that can accompany those who are rich or who focus their lives, actions and wills on amassing wealth.

Unlike the author of the *Epistle of Enoch*, however, the author of the Epistle of James strongly emphasises the possibility and necessity of changing one's behaviour and relegates the aspect of punishment for wicked behaviour to the background in this exhortation. He adopts a different way of speaking to the addressees. At the beginning of the exhortation, he draws their attention differently, avoiding the word 'woe' (οὐαί), which we have in the Greek version of *1 En.* 97:7,8, and which is semantically associated with the announcement of punishment. The author of the Epistle of James, like the author of the *Epistle of Enoch*, is unequivocally negative about the attitude of the addressees of his statement, recognising the wickedness (Jas 4:16) and sinfulness of this type of behaviour (Jas 4:17).[54] However, he does not make a judgement on their conduct. It thus remains in harmony with the pre-emptive exhortation in 4:13–17 with the instruction not to judge your neighbour (Jas 4:11–12). In the case of the passage in *1 En.* 97:8–10, by contrast, the message of punishment is dominant. The picture outlined there exposes the guilt of injustice and wickedness associated with acquiring and using wealth, reminding us of the inevitable punishment of the curse on the Day of Judgement for such conduct. In contrast, the author of the Epistle of James does not aim to show the addressees the punishment. He has a different persuasive strategy: by demonstrating the absurdity and even ridiculousness of such a way of thinking and behaving, he wants to get the addressees to change their attitude, pointing out what they should change – the rich should be constantly aware of their dependence on God's will and be submissive to it, grateful to Him for everything they achieve (Jas 4:15). The fact that the author does not directly address the subject of judgement and due punishment for boastfulness, pride, or sins of the tongue in this exhortation, however, does not

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53   Cf. D.J. Moo, *The Letter of James* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2000) 202.

54   'To the "speakers" of 4:13, he accuses them of boastfulness, also expressed in boasting in speech, includes them among the sinners in the tongue mentioned earlier in the letter, and shows them, above all, an attitude of lack of wisdom "from above", which is characteristic of "friendship with the world". Cf. Davids, *The Epistle of James*, 174.

mean that he omits such a cause-and-effect relationship. He repeatedly draws the address-ees; attention to the reality of God's judgement (Jas 2:12; 3:1; 4:12; 5:7–9, 12). But this is more forcefully expressed in the gnosis (Jas 4:17), in which the letter's author sums up the entirety of the exhortation. He leaves no doubt that failure to change the addressees' think-ing and behaviour will bring them punishment because the current conduct is sinful. Pre-cisely, what earlier in the statement could have been perceived as a criticism of foolishness is here explicitly defined as sin (ἁμαρτία), that is, deliberately wrong in thinking and acting.[55] With this, the author of the Epistle of James expresses his conviction that the addressees of the call do not really lack awareness of the need to submit to God's will and do good. They are the ones who ignore it.[56] This sentence thus shows that the author of the Epistle of James interprets the situation of the addressees of this exhortation analogously to how the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* understood the guilt of the rich in one of his condemnatory speeches when he called the attention of the rich to their awareness of their wrongdoing but nonetheless persisting with their attitude (*1 En.* 96:4) and to whom he foretold destruction on the day of judgement (*1 En.* 96:8).

The second exhortation of interest, in Jas 5:1–6, is a prediction of end-time punish-ment for the rich. As in the previous exhortation, here, the author also makes the problem evident (*evidentia*) to the audience, but this time he uses a description (*ekphrasis*).[57] This description (Jas 5:2–3) includes the basic elements symbolising affluence in ancient times, such as wealth (land and food), robes, gold and silver.[58] It illustrates the wealth of address-ees through a paradox. It is a thoroughly pejorative description, showing rot, tears made by vermin, and rust on bullion that is known not to rust. To be sure, this image is not what the recipients would expect when hearing about wealth and imagining accumulated wealth and luxury. However, it defines the actual value in a remarkably appropriate way, which is appar-ently perceived differently by the addressees of the call. This ekphrasis is further reinforced by irony (ἐθησαυρίσατε), used for amplification purposes, as it emphasises both the futility of what the rich consider their treasures and the futility of their efforts (Jas 5:3: 'You have laid up treasure for the last days').

In this ekphrasis, the author simultaneously reveals the truth about the fate awaiting the rich. He begins by calling on the rich to weep, wailing over themselves (Jas 5:1) because of what is to come. There is an element of contrast to the picture of the addressees' situation that emerges from the contents of the Epistle of James: the addressees are experiencing tri-als and tribulations (Jas 1:2–3, 12–13), and the admonished rich, as if they did not belong to this group, on the suffering and tribulations are yet to come. Their 'treasures' providing them with abundance and good fortune are now apparent. Therefore, the author goes on

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55   Cf. Davids, *The Epistle of James*, 174.

56   Cf. Johnson, *The Letter of James*, 298.

57   Ekphrasis, especially in the second sophists, was an important speech factor and, as such, was one of the pre-paratory elements for persuasive speeches in the *progymnasmata*. This is because accurate description (both prose and poetic) was considered a useful tool for building arguments.

58   Cf. Martin, *James*, 176.

to foretell to the rich that these 'treasures' will testify against them, like material evidence of guilt demanding an adequate judgement, which the author shows here as fire devouring the bodies of the rich (we also have an analogous punishment for those who sin in words and deeds, for example, *1 En.* 100:9). The treasures of the rich are thus like the fire of the end times, they are what will lead them in the final judgement to total destruction (Jas 5:3).[59] This image leaves no hope or margin for negotiation. It is powerful and emphatic in its message. In this style of speech, one can see a similarity to how the author of the *Epistle of Enoch* builds his speeches, announcing harsh judgement and sentences to the rich and relief and comfort to the righteous.

One element of the guilt of the rich is also clearly seen in this description. Their guilt is to live a life of splendour, but above all, to lose themselves in wealth and focus on material possessions, the possession and use of which becomes the principle and point of reference in their lives, which can be understood as idolatry. Although the author does not use the term, the description of the punishment in the end times points to such an understanding of their sin, analogous to that in *1 En.* 96:6. The outlined picture of the rich criticised in Jas 5:1–6 and the punishment awaiting them is very reminiscent of the charged in the *Epistle of Enoch* and the harsh judgement foretold. Sinful splendour is condemned in *1 En.* 97:9–10a, and putting one's trust in one's riches and forgetting God in *1 En.* 94:8. But we can see a much stronger degree of analogy in the juxtaposition of the text in Jas 5:1–6 with the passage in *1 En.* 96:4–8. The similarity is noticeable in the compositional and thematic layers.

1 En. 96:4–8	Jas 5:1–6
96:4 foreshadowing of punishment (accusation of the heart will bear witness to evil deeds)	5:1 announcement of punishment (coming torment, suffering)
96:5–8a description of guilt (splendour, violence against the weak, rejection of God, wickedness, blasphemy)	5:2–3 description of guilt (splendour, zeal for riches, 'rejection' of God)
96:7–8 description of judgement and punishment (destruction on judgement day)	5:2–3 description of punishment (destruction, loss of riches, punishment of fire consuming the bodies of the rich)
	5:4–6 continuation of description of guilt (wickedness, injustice, debauchery and superfluity feeding the hearts of the rich, unjust judgement, violence, murder of the righteous)

The author of the *Epistle of Enoch* begins by foreshadowing what awaits the recipients and declares that their actions will testify against them (96:4). He then describes the actions

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59   The comparison 'like fire' (ὡς πῦρ) can be semantically and syntactically attributed to the verb 'will devour' (ἐσθίω) and then the comparison would show an image of bodies being eaten by fire, just as rust consumed their possessions. It could also be a reference to 'hoarding and securing treasures' (θησαυρίζω) and then it could be taken as an ironic image showing that their accumulated wealth is like fire in the Last Days. The scholars' discussion is presented, for example, by Johnson, *The Letter of James*, 300–301.

of the rich, depicting the splendour in which they live and the violence they use against the poor (96:5), formulates an accusation (abandonment of the source of life, wickedness and blasphemy 96:6–7) and crowns the speech by announcing to the rich their total destruction on the day of judgement (96:8). The author of the Epistle of James almost replicates this structural pattern (although we have a break in the pattern of 'announcement of punishment – description of guilt – description of punishment' with the additional development of the description of guilt) and the problem of the sin of the rich taken up. After the announcement of the punishment by fire, the author of the Epistle of James continues to criticise the conduct of the rich, which reveals to the reader further proof of their guilt. These are the wicked ways of getting rich by exploiting workers and depriving them of their payment (Jas 5:4), taking pleasure in splendour, intentional superfluity, and debauchery in the face of the poverty of others (Jas 5:5)[60] and the unjust judgement and murder of the righteous one (Jas 5:6).

The last accusation and the crowning statement of the entire exhortation about the lack of opposition on the part of the righteous one (Jas 5:6: κατεδικάσατε, ἐφονεύσατε τὸν δίκαιον οὐκ ἀντιτάσσεται ὑμῖν) causes exegetes considerable problems.[61] The reference to the Enochic tradition helps to understand this Jamesian formulation adequately to the universal sense assumed in the diatribes. In the first place, it can be related to the phrase in the analogous passage in *1 En.* 96:8a, where there is an identical charge of violence by the powerful against the righteous. This motif also appears in *1 En.* 95:7; 99:15. 'The righteous' (δίκαιος) judged and killed (Jas 5:6a) is thus an icon of any human being treated unjustly, including the taking of life, and that too in situations like a trial, which especially demand justice.[62]

The statement about not opposing this type of persecution (Jas 5:6b) can also be understood in the context of the entire *Epistle of Enoch*, whose author, as shown earlier, repeatedly comforts the addressees in light of the persecution they suffer while looking to the success of their persecutors, reminding them of God's judgement in the end times when justice will be meted out. The wicked will suffer adequate punishment, and the persecuted will be rewarded. The rich, who are the addressees of this exhortation in the Epistle of James, can be certain of the response from God to their wicked conduct. God's silence and

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60 The author of the Epistle of James uses the word 'heart' in a biblical sense, as a symbol of the human will (Jas 1:26; 3:14; 4:18; 5:8). The juxtaposition of 'feed the heart' and 'for the day of slaughter' expands this meaning – for it brings in the context of the sacrificial ritual but also of the eschatological end, similar to this type of expression found in prophetic speech, for example Isa 34:2; Jer 12:3). Here we have an analogy to the earlier construction of Jas 5:3, where with riches the rich prepared themselves for the sentence of being executed in the fire on the day of judgement, in the same way here they prepare themselves with their choices and aspirations to be delivered to the slaughter, which expresses the deprivation of life.

61 Already, early tradition and later many commentators on the Epistle of James have historically identified the person of the righteous in 5:6 with Jesus or James. Most convincing, however, is the adoption of a more general sense, pointing to the violence and iniquity that also occurs in courts in which the rich take advantage of their privileged social position. Cf. Johnson, *The Letter of James*, 304.

62 The vocabulary used in James 5:6a, especially the term used κατaδικάζω, 'I convict', has formal legal connotations, which is a strong indicator that this may not be about general judgement and figuratively sentencing someone to something, but precisely the formal situation of a pending trial before a court of law.

lack of response are only apparent. The author of the Epistle of James leaves this fact with-out elaborate commentary because of the obviousness of the judgement and punishment of fire, which he had already mentioned (Jas 5:3), and because he already explained that friendship with the world is enmity with God (Jas 4:4), reminding us that God opposes the proud and gives grace to the humble (Jas 4:6: ὁ θεὸς ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσιν χάριν). Thus, the criticised attitude of the rich can be seen as one of pride and enmity with God.[63]

This whole sequence of guilt (Jas 5:4–6) also corresponds very well with the speech in *1 En.* 94:6–11, where we have a discourse on violence, on the acquisition of wealth through injustice, on exploitation, on the fact that accumulated wealth is made the source and cause of trust, on the wickedness and blasphemy of the rich, and on the fact that all this will be subjected on the day of judgement to the punishment of deprivation of wealth, destruction and lack of mercy.[64] Breaking the announcement of punishment – description of guilt – description of punishment pattern by adding an element that broadens the description of the guilt of the rich can be considered a conscious reference to the two accusatory speeches of the rich in the *Epistle of Enoch* (96:4–8 and 94:6–7) due to the depiction of the full spectrum of sin of the rich criticised by the author of the Epistle of James, which cannot be reduced to the possession and use of wealth.

The way adopted by the author of the Epistle of James to present the problem of the rich leaves the audience in no doubt as to what the future holds for those who lose themselves in their wealth to the point of ignoring God, defying Him, as best evidenced by their use of violence and injustice against the poor and the weak. This is a form of instruction inherent in many apocalyptic texts when directing the audience's attention to the eschatological di-mension of their existence and revealing what is somehow veiled serves to assess the actual value of present actions and ways of thinking.

2.3.   Concluding Remarks

In the passages of interest, Jas 4:13–17 and 5:1–6, the author directly addresses people set on acquiring wealth and already possessing it, drawing their attention to them. This means that they are indeed the addressees of his words. However, the manner of addressing the recipients is not identical to that prevalent in the Epistle of James ('my beloved brothers', ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί). In fact, it is not apparent that those whom the author calls brothers, also in the exhortations immediately adjacent to the two passages (that is, in Jas 4:11 and again in Jas 5:7), are the same addressees to whom he directs the instructions concerning

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63   The connection of the term 'opposing', 'opposition' between James 4:6 and 5:6 (in the text in the form ἀντιτάσσεται) is pointed out by L.A. Schökel, "James 5:2 and 4:6," *Bib* 54/1 (1973) 73–76 (verse 5:2 is cited in the title of the article, but in the body of the text the author considers the issue of verse 5:6). The author of the objection is therefore God, as is the giver of the reward. Such an idea in the author of the Epistle of James is confirmed, as the author of the article rightly notes, by the following further (James 5:7) exhortation to the brethren to be patient for the coming of the Lord, supposing righteous judgement.

64   Cf. D.G. McCartney, *James* (BECNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2009) 237.

the attitude to wealth, namely, to the 'speaking' (λέγοντες in Jas 4:13) and to the 'rich' (πλούσιοι in Jas 5:6). Treating them as someone other than the addressees has no logical justification. This is because it is difficult to explain, apart from using the rhetorical figure of apostrophe (*apostrophe*), the legitimacy of a direct turn in the argument being made to someone who has no connection with the letter's circle of addressees. If we assume that it is a rhetorical figure, then the actual addressees of the letter should treat these calls as a warning, as pathetically expressed examples of an attitude with which the addressees should have nothing to do.[65] However, it is more reasonable to consider that the letter's author found the addressees of these specific statements (λέγοντες and πλούσιοι) in the community of believers. By addressing the statements in this way, the intention was to draw attention to reprehensible behaviour among the brethren, whom the author wishes to encourage to make an unequivocal, radical change of conduct, showing them and other members of the community of believers that the real danger is not so much material affluence, but a particular attitude of pride behind the behaviour of both the 'talkers', spinning boastful plans, and the 'rich', focused on the acquisition and use of material goods.[66] The failure to call the addressees brothers is intentional and underscores that with such an attitude, they exclude themselves from this group, denying friendship with God.

The eschatological context of these exhortation warnings is of particular importance here. The statements in both passages (Jas 4:13–17 and 5:1–6) are not in a tone of good advice or multi-faceted deliberation, as one might expect given the advisory rhetoric prevalent in the Epistle of James. Nor are they a typical paraenesis explaining to the addressees the problem of having wealth, the proper attitude towards it and its potential moral dangers.[67] Thus, the eschatological feature of the speech associated with these exhortations should not

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65   For example, S. Laws, while not recognising here a typical rhetorical device in communicating with the addressees, considers that the addressees of this statement are not Christians, whom the author addresses in the Epistle, but are unbelievers whose conduct is wrong and will be punished, that is, by implication: the believing addressees should not imitate such behaviour (*A Commentary on the Epistle of James* [London: Black 1980] 190). Thus, this would be an identification similar to that if we assume that we are dealing with a typical apostrophe figure, in which the addressees are exemplary, antithetical, in order to show the contrast and at the same time to encourage an unambiguous choice of the right attitude, by pointing to a negative example. From a different point of view, this issue is considered by R.P. Martin (*James*, 159–160) recognising, among other things, that the historical background of the Epistle of James makes it possible to identify the addressees of 4:13 and 5:6 as violators of the idea of brotherhood: they may be referring either to Jews opposed to faith in Christ, or to those Judeo-Christians who, for the sake of business benefits, maintained contacts that were risky for the community of believers, exposing the communities of Christ's followers to persecution by the Jews. P.H. Davids on the other hand, believes that both groups of addressees, and λέγοντες and πλούσιοι are members of the community of Christians addressed by the letter's author (*The Epistle of James*, 171). C.F. Sleeper, expresses the belief that the addressees of these warnings are primarily unbelievers, but that some of the community of Christians addressed by the letter's author, because of their adoption of analogous behaviour, may have identified themselves with these unbelievers (*James* [ANTS; Nashville, TN: Abingdon 1998] 117).

66   Cf. Moo, *The Letter of James*, 200.

67   Most of the instructions contained in the Epistle of James are typical of genres growing out of deliberative rhetoric, where advice is the main means of persuasion. Cf. S.K. Stowers, *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (LEC; Philadelphia, PA: Westminster 1986) 91–152.

be regarded merely as a rhetorically successful way of arguing, using the emotive, amplifying functions of the judgement motif, to provide more effective forms of persuasion. However, undoubtedly, the style in these passages bears such characteristics. The eschatological perspective should be considered a skeleton on which the entire teaching in the Epistle of James is grounded.[68] The methods of transmitting wisdom chosen by the author of the Epistle of James seem natural to him. He is an author who grew up in this way of teaching and transmitting information. It also appears to be an ideally suited way of reaching the letter's original recipients. It is difficult to reconstruct the exact paths of distribution of this teaching method or to indicate specific environments of Judaism from the beginning of the first century because, in the Epistle of James, there are parallels not only to the texts of the Old Testament, but also to the literature of the Qumran community, to the Enochic tradition, and Hellenistic patterns of paraenesis, considering and transmitting ethical patterns.[69]

Both of these passages express the thinking the letter's author shares with the author of the *Epistle of Enoch*. From this perspective, the problem of the rich and their conduct is not elaborated in detail in Jas 4:13–5:6 but is condensed into short, essentially cautionary indications, whose form and the perspective of eschatological judgement adopted therein were sufficiently clear to the primary recipients of the Epistle of James.[70]

Final Conclusion

This analysis of selected texts from the *Epistle of Enoch* and the Epistle of James concerning the rich and their conduct leads to several conclusions.

First, both authors evaluate the conduct of the rich, taking the criterion of God's pending judgement in the end times as important. Although similar, the persuasive goals of both authors in the criticism expressed are not the same. The author of the *Epistle of Enoch* first and foremost criticises the rich and their conduct by exposing their sinfulness to remind both them and, in the first instance, the primary addressees, that in the eschatological reality, the

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[68]   On the importance of eschatological thought for the structure and unity of the Epistle of James, which is, along with the wisdom concept, essential for a proper understanding of the letter's message, see T.C. Penner, *The Epistle of James and Eschatology. Re-reading an Ancient Christian Letter* (JSNTSup 121; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1996) 121–211; also: R.W. Wall, "James as Apocalyptic Paraenesis," *ResQ* 32 (1990) 11–22.

[69]   On the relationship to the teachings of the Qumran literature, see: D. Lockett, "The Spectrum of Wisdom and Eschatology in the Epistle of James and 4QInstruction," *TynBul* 56/2 (2005) 131–148; D. Muszytowska, "Relacje międzytekstowe Listu Jakuba i qumrańskich 4QPouczeń," *StBob* 2 (2015) 59–70. In more detail on the possible patterns and features of parenesis in the Epistle of James, see L.G. Perdue, "Paraenesis and the Epistle of James," *ZNW* 72 (1981) 3–4, 241–256; M. Kamell Kovalishyn, "James and Apocalyptic Wisdom," *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage*, 293–306; B. Wold, "James in the Context of Jewish Wisdom Literature," *Reading the Epistle of James* (eds. E.F. Mason – D.R. Lockett) (RBS; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2019) 73–86.

[70]   More on the reception of Enochic traditions in New Testament texts is presented, for example, in M.A. Knibb, "Christian Adoption and Transmission of Jewish Pseudepigrapha: The Case of 1 Enoch," *JSJ* 32 (2001) 396–415. Regarding the presence of apocalyptic motifs having their potential source in *1 Enoch*: M. Kamell Kovalishyn, *James and Apocalyptic Wisdom*, 294.

wicked await punishment and destruction and the righteous await reward. The universal didacticism of his teaching is thus geared towards giving hope to those who are persecuted, who suffer, and who endure injustice. The author of the Epistle of James also uses the theme of God's judgement in the letter to encourage his addressees to persevere and be patient in the face of afflictions suffered (Jas 1:2–4, 12–16; 5:7–11), but in the exhortations to the rich themselves this is not prominently displayed. Here, the author, focused on indications of building a community of believers to abide in friendship with God, shows the addressees those attitudes that contradict this. The motif of judgement on the world and the punishment of destruction show the truth about the purpose of human life and, above all, make the addressees of the statement change their wrong behaviour and build a relationship of friendship with God.

Second, it can be noted that despite the different persuasive purposes of these works, the adoption of the criterion of the truth about God's judgement awaiting every person in both cases, in criticising the conduct of rich people, brings analogous criticism. Such a criterion is an effective tool to show the transient value of material riches, but neither author limits himself to delivering a sapient lecture about the futility of this world's goods and their uselessness in the life to come. By invoking God's judgement, the authors of both works show their audiences that all people will be judged not by richness, but by how they acquired wealth, how and for what purpose they used it, how they treated other people, what wealth meant to them, and how they understood themselves before God. What is striking about both texts is the convergence on what pleases God, what arouses His wrath and the effect of judgement. The very perspective of eschatological judgement and its concept is certainly not the only element determining this convergence. It is also comprised of shared ideas of the understanding of human beings and their place in the work of creation, the conception of God as Creator and Lord of creation, and a similar vision of the 'end' of history.

Third, the perceived parallels between the Epistle of James and the *Epistle of Enoch* suggest that the author of the former not only referred to the same terms, similar theological concepts and traditions of their understanding as the author of the latter but referred specifically to the text of the *Epistle of Enoch*, sharing the opinion of its author on essential matters when it comes to evaluating the wickedness associated with wealth. However, it is difficult to conclude from these similarities that the author of the Epistle of James deliberately referenced the speeches in the *Epistle of Enoch* to evaluate them. Indeed, no explicit polemic is undertaken in the Epistle of James, no elaboration, no deliberate re-interpretive travesty, no semantic change in terms, etc. The differences, such as the change regarding the use of a different formula than 'woe', are certainly not a sufficient argument to infer a deliberate reinterpretation. We also do not have a quotation from the *Epistle of Enoch* in the Epistle of James, which, if there were one, would indicate a high degree of conscious reference to the text of the former. It is difficult, even based on the incomplete surviving textual versions of the *Epistle of Enoch* in Aramaic and Greek, to decide which of these versions was known to the author of the Epistle of James, which one he used, and whether they differed. The Greek version seems to be a more reliable source because of its shared language with the Epistle

of James. However, such a statement is arbitrary, and it is difficult to support it with arguments from textual evidence. The author of the Epistle of James may have known the text of the *Epistle of Enoch* in the Aramaic version. The similarities in constructing criticism of the rich and the ways of presenting it, such as showing through example or building a narrative through direct statements of the characters in this narrative, are not only a feature of Greek literature and the domain of the Greek language. It is most appropriate to consider, based on the analyses carried out, that the *Epistle of Enoch*, with its harsh criticism of the rich, was an inspiration for the author of the Epistle of James on how to speak to the addressees about the sins associated with wealth. One can easily see that the author of the Epistle of James refers to several speeches from the *Epistle of Enoch*, mixes references to them, combines some of the content and draws on what was useful to him, adapting the content to his persuasive purposes. This is somewhat reminiscent of the procedure of pesher reading, with its decontextualisation and recontextualisation. It is challenging, however, to assess unequivocally whether the author of the Epistle of James wanted the recipients of his letter to refer to the *Epistle of Enoch* and interpret the instructions given to them in such a broadening key. However, excluding such a mechanism of dependence in the reading would be a mistake, especially among the letter's alleged addressees.

Fourth, a first comparison of the two works shows a much more sparse catalogue of the rich's guilt in the Epistle of James relative to what we can find in the *Epistle of Enoch*. In fact, things are similar when we consider the spectrum of coverage of the rich's sins. This could suggest that the author of the Epistle of James, among the dangers of wealth to the addressees of his letter, recognised only some of those described in the *Epistle of Enoch*. However, a more careful comparative reading of the two works leads to the conclusion that these catalogues of guilt and their scope are very similar in substance. In the short two exhortations in the Epistle of James, we can see that the key faults of the rich are pride, idolatry and lying. That is because the most important sphere for making judgements about the conduct of the rich is the relationship to and with God. It is through this prism that the author of the Epistle of James shows the sins of the rich against other people, such as wickedness, injustice, exploitation, splendour and boasting, analogous to the *Epistle of Enoch*. Perhaps despite the generality of the style of expression in the *Epistle of Enoch*, we are dealing with criticism concerning specific audiences. In the Epistle of James, on the other hand, at the root of these exhortations are not necessarily specific groups of addressees but a kind of universalisation intended to cover in a short form the essence of the many abuses associated with wealth in general perceived by the author and considered extremely dangerous for the addressees if they persist in this kind of behaviour. The image of judgement becomes a means for the author of the Epistle of James to show the extent to which the criticised rich are hurting themselves, which is also evident in the *Epistle of Enoch* in all the warnings of deprivation and destruction on the day of retribution.

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Jesus' Itineraries in the Light of GIS Research:
Three Case Studies

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Abstract: This paper discusses select itineraries known from the Gospels using the tools of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and satellite archaeology. As a result, several conclusions on the geohistorical and sociohistorical context are suggested. First, the Roman imperial road from Jericho to Jerusalem covered an earlier ancient road; given the road's length (29 km) and inclination (6.9 degrees), it entailed a 9-hour travel route unlikely to be undertaken on foot within one day. Second, it appears that travellers between Khirbet Qana and Capernaum had two good options for one-day travel in Early Roman times – a topographic route via the valley of Nahal Tsalmon (28 km/7 hours) or a route via the Arbel Valley (30 km/8 hours). Third, the most probable direct route from the Hajlah ford to Khirbet Qana led via the vicinity of the Nazareth Range. The travel distance between the Hajlah ford and Khirbet Qana amounts to at least 130 km and as such requires five or six full days of travel on foot. Fourth, as for the routes from the northern identifications of the baptism site (Yardenit, Gesher, Makhadet Abara) to Khirbet Qana, travel only from Yardenit may be achieved within one long travel day (40 km).

Keywords: Gospels, Jesus of Nazareth, GIS, satellite archaeology, road archaeology, Jericho, Jerusalem

The aim of this paper is to discuss select itineraries known from the Gospels using the tools of Geographic Information Systems (hereinafter GIS) and satellite archaeology. In this context, it should be noted that this paper is part of an interdisciplinary research project which aims, among other things, to discover actual roads or suggest potential routes between chosen ancient settlements in the kingdom of Herod the Great.

For a long time, it was widely held in scholarship that no remains of ancient interurban roads older than Roman imperial roads had been preserved, neither in the ancient Near East[1] nor in the southern Levant in particular.[2] However, research in recent decades has brought about fundamental changes to our knowledge in this regard. Through both satellite archaeology and fieldwork, many remains of ancient roads known as hollow ways have been discovered, especially in northeastern Syria and Iraq.[3] The hollow ways (also known as sunken lanes or linear hollows) can be defined as 'broad and shallow linear depressions in the landscape, thought to be formed by the continuous passage of human and animal traffic.'[4] Hollow ways can usually be first detected on satellite imagery as linear concentrations of vegetation or moisture; they can also be verified on the ground, although often with some difficulty. Second, remnants of several pre-Roman roads were revealed in recent decades in the southern Levant (modern Israel, the Palestinian territories, and Jordan), especially the Wadi Zarqa-Main Road, the Callirrhoe–Machaerus Road, the Aroer Ascent, 'Glueck's Road', Naqab Dahal and the Masada–Hebron Road.[5] In this context, a new research project entitled 'Travel and Mobility in Hellenistic and Early Roman Palestine', financed by the National Science Centre in Poland, was launched in 2021. An important

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1   B.J. Beitzel, "Roads and Highways (Pre-Roman)," *ABD* V, 776.

2   D.A. Dorsey, *The Roads and Highways of Ancient Israel* (ASOR Library of Biblical and Near Eastern Archaeology; London: John Hopkins University Press 1991) 28.

3   J. Ur, "CORONA Satellite Photography and Ancient Road Networks: A Northern Mesopotamian Case Study," *Antiquity* 77/295 (2003) 102–115; T.J. Wilkinson – C. French – J. Ur, "The Geoarchaeology of Route Systems in Northern Syria," *Geoarchaeology* 25/6 (2010) 745–771; M. de Gruchy – E. Cunliffe, "How the Hollow Ways Got Their Form (and Kept It): 5000 Years of Hollow Ways at Tell al-Hawa," *New Agendas in Remote Sensing and Landscape Archaeology in the Near East: Studies in Honour of Tony J. Wilkinson* (eds. D. Lawrence – M. Altaweel – G. Philip) (Oxford: Archaeopress 2020) 124–143.

4   Ur, "CORONA," 102.

5   A. Strobel, "Ancient Roads in the Roman District of South Peraea: Routes of communication in the Eastern area of the Dead Sea," *Studies* 6 (1997) 271–280; A. Kloner – C. Ben-David, "Mesillot on the Arnon: An Iron Age (pre-Roman) Road in Moab," *Bulletin of the American Society of Overseas Research* 330 (2003) 65–81; C. Ben-David, "Iron Age Roads in Moab and Edom – the Archeological Evidence," *SHAJ* 10 (2009) 723–730; C. Ben-David, "The Ancient Road from Callirhoe on the Dead Sea to Machaerus – a Built Wide Road of the Second Temple Period," *ErIsr* 31 (2015) 20–29; C.C. Ji, "The Ancient Road in Wadi Zarqa – Main, North of Khirbat Ataruz," *SHAJ* 13 (2019) 143–157; S. Bar *et al.*, "An Archaeological Survey and a Test Pit in the Ceremonial Path at the Southern Slope of the Sartaba," *Jordan Valley Research Studies* 6 (2021) 7–17; U. Davidovich – C. Ben-David – R. Porat, "The Roman-period Road Network in Southern Moab: A Geographic and Historical Enquiry," *PEQ* 154/2 (2022) 141–159. Furthermore, leaving the category of the city streets aside, the roads directly ascending the ancient cities could be seen as another category. Some of these roads were also identified in literature, e.g., at Masada (a snake path), Tell Medeyne, and Khirbet Ataruz.

part of the project is a large-scale attempt to discover more ancient pre-Roman roads.[6] This attempt, realised through GIS simulations, satellite archaeology, and fieldwork, is mainly focused on searching for ancient roads between chosen settlements – the toparchies (lowest administrative centres) in the kingdom of Herod the Great at its largest extent (thus, roughly speaking, in the last quarter of the first century BCE). At the same time, another potential source of interest for this project may be the itineraries indicated by ancient written sources. Accordingly, in this paper, we set out to showcase our working methodology for select itineraries mentioned in the Gospels.[7]

Upon a preliminary reading of the geographic data in the Gospels (Mark, Matthew, Luke, and John), the following itineraries have been chosen: (1) from Jericho to Jerusalem; (2) from Cana to Capernaum; (3) from the baptism site to Cana (Fig. 1). Given the well-established tradition of New Testament exegesis, including problems of sources and editorial compilation, dating, and historicity,[8] it should be stressed that we focus on the chosen itineraries as geographical and socio-historical phenomena regardless of historicity or the accuracy of episodes narrated in the Gospels.[9]

1. GIS Sources and Methodology

In the past, scholars sporadically touched on the topic of how the courses of ancient roads could be reconstructed.[10] In short, it has been concluded that the following clues may be indicative of the existence of ancient roads: information in written sources (ancient sources including ancient itineraries or the Madaba Map as well as travelogue literature from the 19th and early 20th centuries and old maps), existence of settlement along the potential route, topography, and later analogies (Roman imperial roads, Ottoman roads,

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6   M. Marciak – B. Szypuła – D. Sobczyński, "In Search of Ancient pre-Roman Imperial Roads: State of Research and Some Methodological Recommendations," *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 15/118 (2023) 1–19; M. Marciak *et al.*, "In Search of Ancient Pre-Roman Imperial Roads: A Case Study of the Application of Remote Sensing in Road Archaeology in the Southern Levant," *Remote Sensing* 15/18 (2023), https://doi.org/10.3390/rs15184545.

7   A similar GIS methodology, though much more limited, was used for some of the itineraries of Paul from Tarsus by V. van Altena *et al.*, "GIS as a Heuristic Tool to Interpret Ancient Historiography: A Case Study to Reconstruct What Could Plausibly Have Happened According to the Accounts in New Testaments Texts," *Transactions in GIS* 25/3 (2021) 1193–1212.

8   D.E. Aune, *The Blackwell Companion to the New Testament* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell 2010); P. Gray, *The Cambridge Companion to the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2021).

9   For geography as a hermeneutical category, see B.J. Beitzel – K.A. Lyle (eds.), *Lexham Geographic Commentary on the Gospels* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham 2017); for 'spatiality' in biblical literature, see V.H. Matthews, "Social Science Models," *The Cambridge Companion to the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament* (eds. S.B. Chapman – M.A. Sweeney) (Cambridge Companions to Religion; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2016) 147–162.

10 For instance, Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* (Philadelphia, MA: Westminster Press 1979) 45; Dorsey, *The Roads*, 52; A. Faust – A. Erlich, *The Excavations of Khirbet er-Rasm: The Changing Faces of the Countrysid* (BAR International Series 2187; Oxford: Archaeopress 2011) 225.
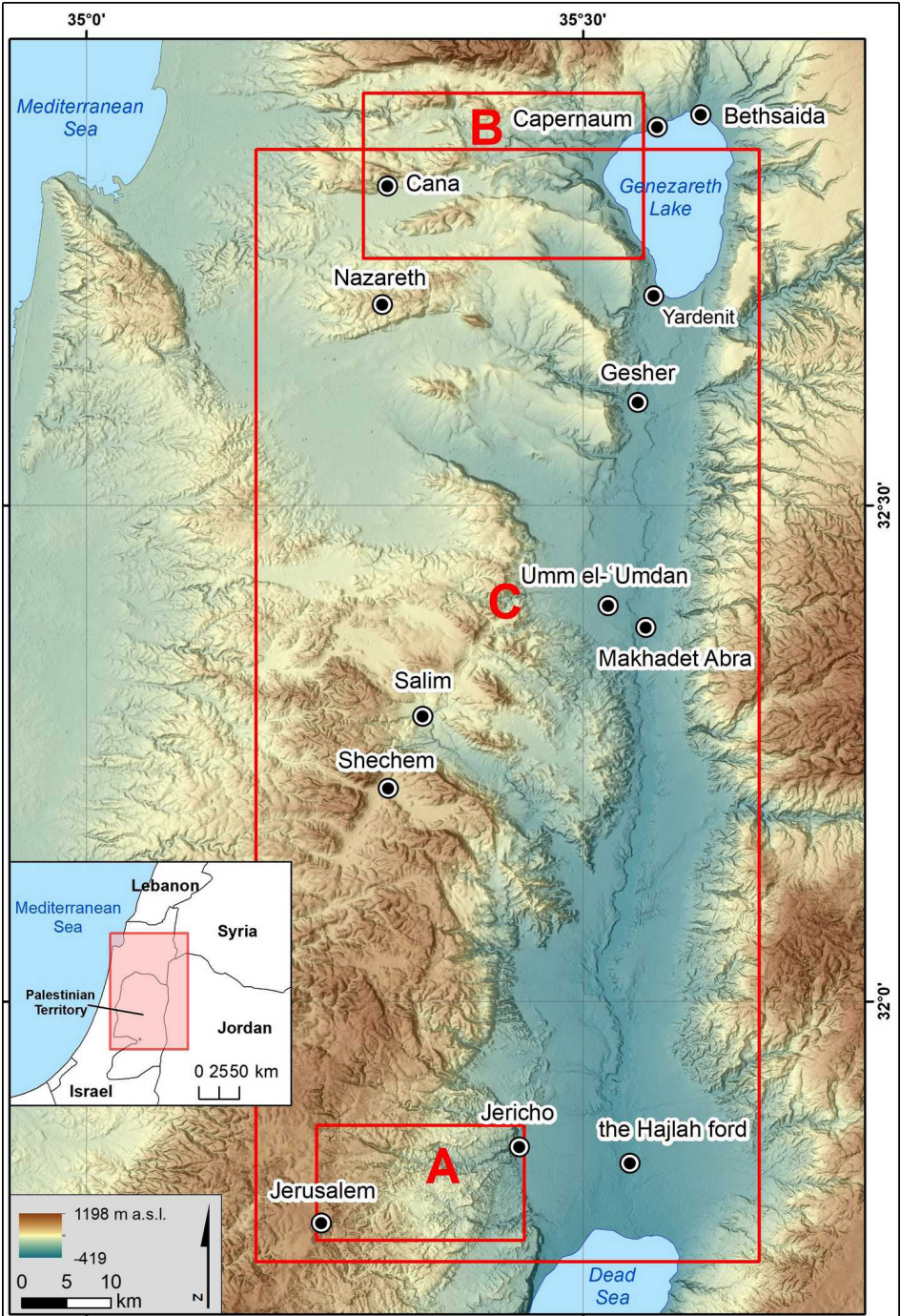
Fig. 1. Geographical extent of the case studies: A – Jericho to Jerusalem; B – Cana to Capernaum; C – baptism site to Cana. Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)

or even modern roads). By translating this past state of research into modern scientific nomenclature and including our own experience from Near Eastern archaeology, our team has identified the following sources and methods: archival cartographic sources; archival aerial imagery; archival satellite imagery; GIS simulations, especially Least Cost Paths (hereinafter LCPs); archaeological data, especially on settlement; recent open-access high-resolution satellite imagery and very high-resolution, multispectral satellite imagery.[11]

The archival sources – that is, old topographic maps, archival aerial photography, and archival satellite imagery – have one significant advantage over newer and usually more detailed sources of knowledge – they document the Near Eastern environment prior to the major 20th-century changes in civilisation that dramatically altered the landscape – especially through industrialised agriculture and urbanisation. Old topographic maps, despite their smaller scales and cartographic imperfections, are particularly valuable because of their content. For instance, maps published by the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* in 1872–1881 explicitly associate some places with biblical topography. Likewise, the *Karte des Ostjordanlandes* from 1890 by Gottlieb Schumacher identifies some roads as Roman (ger. *Römerstraße*) or old (ger. *Alte Straße*). For the purpose of our project, seven archival topographic maps have been digitalised (see Table 1) and, as a result, shapefiles called 'Ottoman roads', 'Ancient roads', and 'Roman roads' have been created.[12]

Table 1. Archival cartographic sources used in research

Name	Year	Scale	Author
Map of Western Palestine	1880	1:63,360	Palestine Exploration Fund (Claude Conder, Herbert Kitchener)
Survey of Eastern Palestine	1881	1:63,360	Palestine Exploration Fund (Claude Conder)
Karte des Ostjordanlandes	1890	1:63,360	Palestine Exploration Fund (Gottlieb Schumacher)
Arabia Petraea	1906	1:300,000	Alois Musil
Map of Palestine	1918	1:50,000	German Military Service
Map of the Levant	1946	1:50,000	British Military Service
Map of Israel	1956	1:100,000	Survey of Israel

The first category shows the entire road network from Ottoman times, mainly based on the maps of *Palestine Exploration Fund* and Schumacher, thus coming from 1880–1890,

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11   Marciak, in search.

12   The shapefiles are stored in the project's repository and can be downloaded at any time in both GIS formats and kml. formats, the latter openable in Google Earth (D. Sobczyński – M. Marciak, "GIS dataset from the NCN project 'Travel and Mobility in Hellenistic and Early Roman Palestine' (grant no. UMO-2020/38/E/HS3/00031)," https://doi.org/10.26106/ynta-ff42).

while the second and third categories contain the digitalised roads from the same sources, but only those explicitly identified by cartographers as ancient or Roman. Another valuable type of data in the scientific quest for ancient roads is archival aerial and satellite imagery. The first aerial photographs of the southern Levant were taken by British and German military aircrafts at the beginning of the 20th century and can obtained from public repositories, especially the Aerial Photographic Archive for Archaeology in the Middle East project (APAAME), the Map Library and Aerial Photograph Archive of the Department of Geography of the Hebrew University[13] and the Digital Media Center of the University of Haifa.[14]

Next, archival satellite images come from aerial and satellite intelligence missions during the Cold War, especially the US missions. Their datasets are regularly declassified and, once declassified, are made available through public repositories. Of great popularity are the datasets of the CORONA satellite imagery from 1959–1972. For our project, a dataset of CORONA images was obtained from the repository of the Corona Atlas & Referencing System hosted by the Center for Advanced Spatial Technologies.[15] However, it should be noted that in practical terms, archival imagery (especial aerial imagery) is used rather selectively: whenever a specific object (an ancient road) is suspected to have existed in a given area because of indications in other sources, archival imagery is additionally checked. In the case of the Jericho–Jerusalem road, CORONA imagery revealed the course of the Roman imperial road as the satellite imagery was taken before the construction of Jerusalem's suburbs and a modern highway completely changed this area forever (Fig. 2).

It goes without saying that travel, especially over long distances, cannot be considered without the context of settlement. Ancient travellers, much like modern ones, had to rely on settlements in order to rest, replenish food and water resources, and, finally, to find security.[16] When working on a large-scale travel network, it is necessary in practical terms for researchers to use pre-existing electronic datasets of archaeological sites rather than trying to create new ones on the basis of literature. Several valuable datasets currently exist, particularly two official repositories connected with the archaeological authorities of Israel and Jordan, the Archaeological Survey of Israel platform[17] and the MEGA-Jordan database,[18] as well as several academic projects including the Pleiades project,[19] the Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire,[20] the Digital Archaeological Atlas of the Holy Land,[21] and the Geographic

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13 *Map Library and Aerial Photograph Archive of the Department of Geography of the Hebrew University*, https://geohub.huji.ac.il/ [access: 10.04.2025].

14 *Digital Media Center of the University of Haifa*, https://lib.haifa.ac.il/departments/yaaz/hadracha/menus/library/digitool/abakhoushy.htm [access: 4.10.2025].

15 *Corona Atlas & Referencing System*, https://corona.cast.uark.edu [access: 4.10.2025].

16 C. Hezser, *Jewish Travel in Antiquity* (TSAJ 144; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2011) 144.

17 *Archaeological Survey of Israel*, http://survey.iaa.org.il/ [access: 10.04.2025].

18 *MEGA-Jordan*, http://megajordan.org/ [access: 10.04.2025].

19 *Pleiades*, https://pleiades.stoa.org/places [access: 10.04.2025].

20 *Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire*, https://imperium.ahlfeldt.se/ [access: 10.04.2025].

21 *Digital Archaeological Atlas of the Holy Land*, https://daahl.ucsd.edu/DAAHL [access: 10.04.2025].

Data for Ancient Near Eastern Archaeological Sites.[22] However, it should be noted that all these repositories have their own issues and present certain challenges. For instance, the Survey of Israel is not complete, while access to MEGA-Jordan is restricted for unknown reasons. Likewise, the global academic projects, though helpful, often only offer information about major sites and tend to lack geographical accuracy.
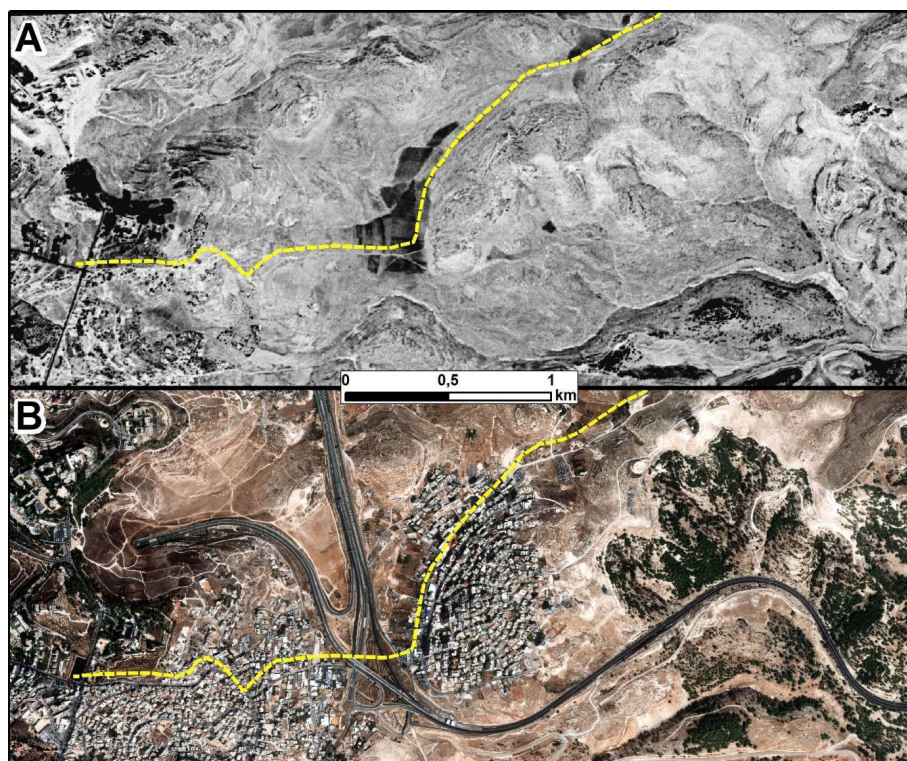

Fig. 2. Comparison of archival and modern satellite imagery near Jerusalem: A – CORONA imagery (2x2 m, 1970), https://isac-idb.uchicago.edu/id/47496939-9f80-45fb-b518-c206b51e251f [access: 26.06.2025]; B – satellite image (5x5 m, 2024, Esri/Maxar/Earthstar Geographics). Yellow dashed line indicates a course of Roman imperial Road

It is often stated that few ancient pre-Roman roads were preserved because they were reused and covered by later roads, especially Roman imperial roads.[23] Thus, at least to some extent, the course of the Roman imperial roads may indicate the course of ancient pre-Roman roads. The earliest professional attempts to comprehensively gather data on Roman

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22   *Geographic Data for Ancient Near Eastern Archaeological Sites,* https://www.uu.se/en/department/archaeology-ancient-history-and-conservation/research/research-projects/geographic-data-near-east [access: 10.04.2025].

23   Ben-David, "Iron Age Roads," 723.

roads in the southern Levant go back to W. Smith,[24] but two modern publications of the cartographic data of the Roman imperial road network in this area are the *Tabula Imperii Romani*[25] and the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*.[26] Surprisingly, it is in fact only the latter publication that has been adapted into a GIS environment by well-known platforms, especially Mapping Past Societies,[27] led by Harvard University, and the Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire,[28] hosted by the University of Gothenburg. For this reason, the relevant maps of the *Tabula Imperii Romani* were also digitalised in our project, as were sketch maps from the publications of Israel Roll.[29] Nevertheless, a great deal of discrepancies between these four resources resulting from cartographic imperfections have been noted in both our digital research and fieldwork. In this context, the latest digital research on the Roman imperial network by the Minerva project must be mentioned. Using mainly methods of satellite archaeology, A. Pažout created the latest digital presentation of Roman imperial roads in the southern Levant in 2024.[30] While its review goes beyond the scope of this project, it appears at first glance to offer a level accuracy that has not been seen in any other cartographic products.

Concerning topography as one of the sources, previous scholars paid attention to the existence of terrain obstacles as one of the aspects determining the course of ancient roads, but they did so mainly in the light of cartographic sources or their own fieldwork experience.[31] However, given recent scientific developments, it is nowadays possible to use more precise and quantitative tools, especially digital elevation models and related GIS simulations, usually known as least cost paths. In short, a digital elevation model is a digital representation of the Earth's surface (with or without overlaying objects such as vegetation or buildings) created from a variety of sources (field surveys, topographic maps, photogrammetric surveys, laser scanning and radar interferometry). The least cost path is a method for determining an optimal route over a surface between two chosen points that has the least accumulative cost along the way. The cost may be defined in various ways (most often as a degree of slopes, but possibly also as other factors such as land cover, settlement, or blockades). In our project, we have decided to simultaneously use two different Digital Elevation Models (hereinafter DEMS) and calculate the least cost paths on each of them using two different definitions of cost. The two DEMs chosen for our analyses are the

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24   W. Smith – G. Grove, *An Atlas of Ancient Geography, Biblical and Classical to Illustrate the Dictionary of the Bible and the Classical Dictionaries* (London: Murray 1874) 51.

25   Y. Tsafrir – L. Di Segni – J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani: Iudaea Palestina: Eretz Israel in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods: Maps and Gazetteer* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities 1994).

26   R. Talbert, *The Barringron Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2000).

27   *Mapping Past Societies*, https://darmc.harvard.edu/ [access: 10.04.2025].

28   *Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire*, https://dh.gu.se/dare [access: 10.04.2025].

29   I. Roll, "Imperial Roads Across and Trade Routes Beyond the Roman Province of 'Judaea-Palestina' and 'Arabia': The State of Research," *TA* 32/1 (2005) 107–118, Fig. 1.

30   *Itiner-e – The Digital Atlas of Ancient Roads*, https://itiner-e.org/ [access: 10.04.2025].

31   Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, 45; Dorsey, "The Roads," 52.

latest versions of two DEMs with a long and respected tradition of use in Near Eastern satellite archaeology: ASTER – Advanced Spaceborne Thermal Emission and Reflection Radiometer (ASTER GDEM 2009), and SRTM – Shuttle Radar Topography Mission (SRTM v3 2013). ASTER is the result of the satellite recording of reflected radiation (14 bands of the electromagnetic spectrum, ranging from visible to thermal infrared light), while SRTM is the outcome of the measurements employing interferometric synthetic aperture radar. Thus, while both DEMs feature a similar resolution of about 30 m, the data was obtained using two different methods leading to slightly different values of individual pixels. In turn, two chosen definitions of travel cost include one based only on the degree of slope and another based on Tobler's Hiking Function, which takes into account both degree of slope and related travel speed. The choice to use two different DEMs and different LCP algorithms results from an obvious desire to diversify scientific methods and reduce the subjectivity of using only one source or method. As LCPs based on Tobler's Hiking Function attempt to find relatively short routes, only avoiding very high slopes, the LCPs based directly on slope degree are looking for alternative routes that avoid even relatively small inclinations at the expense of longer distances to be covered. This approach does not serve to obtain the highest probability of LCP, but allows us to consider different travel options.

Satellite archaeology would not have been possible without the existence of high-resolution satellite imagery. First and foremost, this imagery offers the basic capability to analyse the GIS data on an orthophotograph. In our project, the data source employed for remote sensing analysis was Bing Maps Aerial with aerial Maxar images offering a spatial resolution of 50 cm and declared accuracy of 5 m. The imagery was used in the WGS-84 (EPSG:4326) coordinate system. Additionally, multispectral satellite images (different bands of the electromagnetic spectrum) offer more advanced capabilities, especially to detect signs (in the form of spectral responses) of archaeological artifacts buried under the surface or at least not easily visible to the naked eye. However, it should be noted that the large geographic area of our project and the cost of such commercial imagery only allow for the sporadic and selective use of this imagery once an area of considerable importance is chosen and deemed to be promising for the use of multispectral imagery (e.g., traces of a paved Roman road not visible on the ground due to coverage by the current land use). Such imagery has not been used for the itineraries analysed in this paper.

2. Jesus' Itineraries

2.1. Jericho–Jerusalem

The existence of a direct route between Jerusalem and Jericho is well documented by various ancient sources, including the New Testament (e.g., Luke 10:30–35; John 11:17–18) and Josephus' writings for the Roman period (e.g., *Ant.* 14:5–6/*J.W.* 1:120–122; *Ant.*

14:407–411/*J.W.* 1:299–302; *Ant.* 15:5–56/*J.W.* 1:437; *J.W.* 5:42 and 69).[32] At the same time, the route is believed to have also been used in pre-Roman times as indicated by D. Dorsey in his reconstruction of the Iron Age road network in ancient Israel (route J32).[33] However, the only remains preserved until today are those of a Roman imperial road, sometimes intermingled with Ottoman and British road sections (consisting of repairs, adaptations, and course changes to the Roman road).[34] It should be stressed that the course of the Roman imperial road has been previously studied by many scholars (with two of the most detailed studies by R. Beauvery and J. Wilkinson[35]). Sections of road remains (pavement and four mile-stations including 12 milestones) and remains of related archaeological structures (especially four Roman guard posts [watchtowers] along the Wadi Qelt, Khan Hatrura with some Second Temple remains, a Herodian palatial structure near Khan Hatrura, and Roman road stations including one at Qasr ʿAli) are known to have been identified along the route.[36] This fact suggests a great opportunity for the present study, as our use of various sources (in practical terms, the courses of various shapefiles) may be verified with regard to the extant remains.[37] In this light, this study will focus on select examples of well-preserved remains clearly visible on satellite imagery.

If the Ottoman road network is used as an analogy (see Fig. 3), the journey between Jericho and Jerusalem could take place via Ottoman Road no. 106 (OR 106 hereinafter),[38] Roman Road no. 7 (RR 7 hereinafter), OR 107, RR 26, or OR 110. The course of these roads when joined together (as shapefiles) closely follows the course of a Roman imperial road that once connected Jericho and Jerusalem (see Fig. 4). The cartometric error between the road section on the old map and its real course is on average about 100 m (it is relatively small, especially in the central and eastern part of the road); however, near Jerusalem, the error increases to almost 700 m. The total route of the joined Ottoman roads is 23 km from Jericho to Jerusalem, but this is underestimated due to the generalisation of old maps. The aforementioned spatial analysis suggests that the Roman imperial road was also used in Ottoman times.

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32   J. Flavius, *The Jewish War*. I. *Books I–III* (trans. H.S.J. Thackeray) (LCL 203; Cambridge, MA – London: Harvard University Press 1927); J. Flavius, *The Jewish War*. III. *Books IV–VII* (trans. H.S.J. Thackeray) (LCL 210; Cambridge, MA – London: Harvard University Press 1928); J. Flavius, *Jewish Antiquities*. VI. *Books XIV–XV* (trans. R. Marcus – A. Wikgren) (LCL 489; Cambridge, MA – London: Harvard University Press 1943).

33   Dorsey, "The Roads".

34   J. Wilkinson, "The Way from Jerusalem to Jericho," *BibAr* 38/1 (1975) 10–24.

35   R. Beauvery, "La route romaine de Jérusalem à Jéricho," *RB* 64/1 (1957) 72–101; Wilkinson, "The Way".

36   For a recent overview, see A.D. Riddle, "The Passover Pilgrimage from Jericho to Jerusalem. Jesus's Triumphal Entry. Matt 21:1–9; Mark 11:1–10; Luke 19:28–40; John 12:12–19," *Lexham Geographic Commentary on the Gospels* (eds. B.J. Beitzel – K.A. Lyle) (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press 2017) 395–407.

37   According to Wilkinson ("The Way") who was working about 20 years after Beauvery (but was himself working around half a century ago!), some structures noticed by Beauvery did not survive until his times.

38   The numbers reflect the order of digitalizing and can be consulted in the original file downloadable from the repository of the project: https://ruj.uj.edu.pl/xmlui/handle/item/307393 [access: 10.04.2025]. It should be noted that Ottoman roads in Palestine did not possess any numbers in historical times.
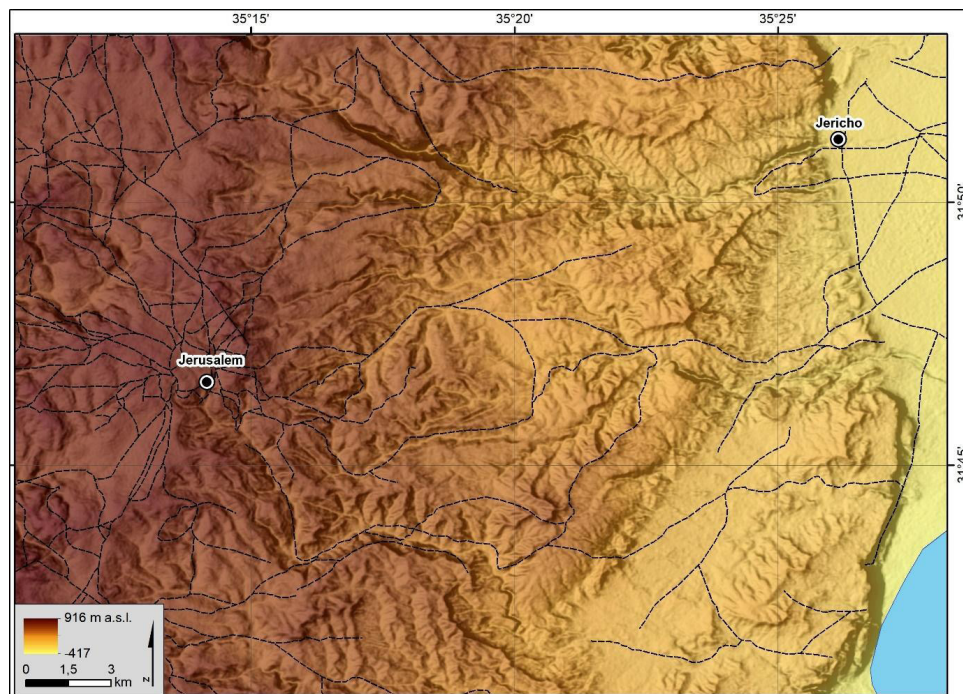
Fig. 3. The entire Ottoman road network between Jerusalem and Jericho.
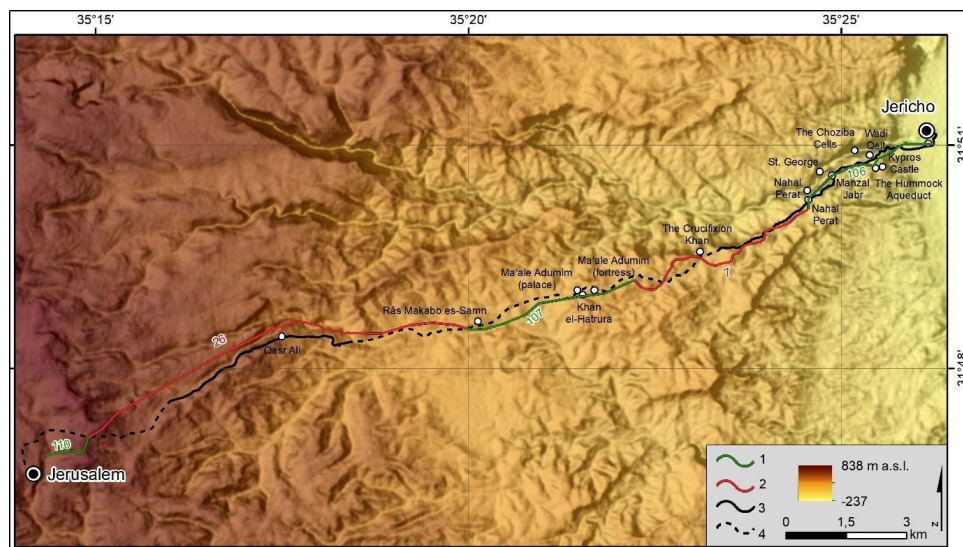Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)

Fig. 4. From Jericho to Jerusalem using the Ottoman road network:
1 – 'Ottoman' roads; 2 – 'Roman' road (used in Ottoman times); 3 – Roman imperial road
identified on satellite imagery; 4 – uncertain course of the Roman imperial road.
Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)

In the case of the Roman imperial road network, travel between Jericho and Jerusalem could be accomplished via ID 2162[39] (see Fig. 5). The course of this road closely follows the course of the Jericho–Jerusalem Roman imperial road as identified on satellite imagery (the route has a real length of 29 km), but exact sections of the road cannot be derived from the Harvard dataset[40] due to its generalisation. This type of data only indicates a general area for more detailed research performed using high-resolution satellite imagery (according to this data, the route is only 21 km) or fieldwork. A much more detailed dataset on the course of Roman imperial roads will be published in the near future as the result of the Itiner-e project (https://itiner-e.org/). This pioneering project marked out the courses of Roman imperial roads on a large scale using satellite images, offering an incredible increase in the detail of the data (see Fig. 5). Only in a few cases, at the most controversial points of the road's course, is there a slight discrepancy between the course suggested by the Itiner-e project and our remote sensing research.
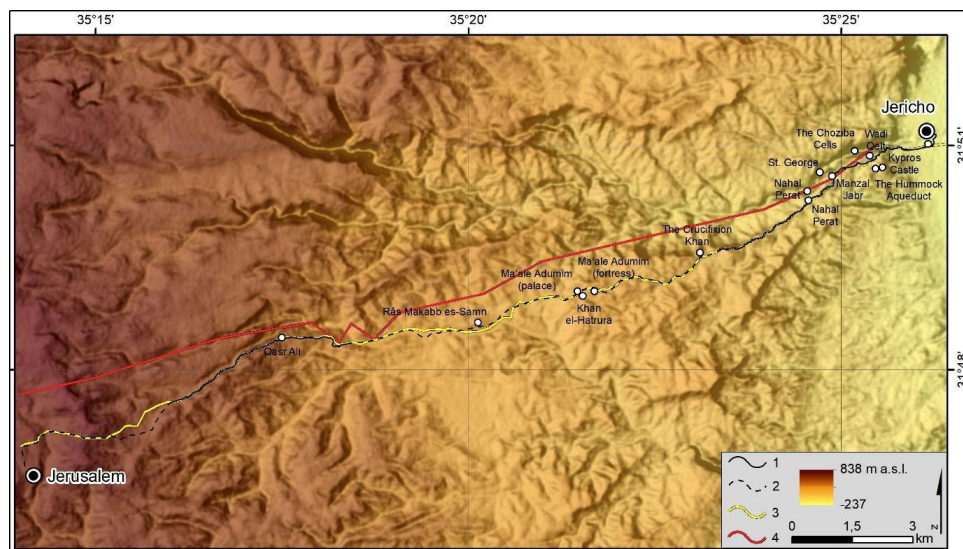

Fig. 5. From Jericho to Jerusalem using the Roman imperial road network:
1 – the course derived from satellite imagery; 2 – uncertain course derived from satellite imagery;
3 – the course from the Itiner-e project (Adam Pažout, Jerusalem-Jericho,
https://itiner-e.org/route-segment/22162 [access: 25.06.2025]); 4 – the course from
Harvard Dataverse/Barrington Atlas.
Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)

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39   ID number comes from the original dataset. See M. McCormick *et al.*, "Roman Road Network (version 2008),"
      Harvard Dataverse V1 (2013), https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/TI0KAU.
40   The source of this data in the Harvard dataset is the R. Talbert, *The Barringron Atlas* in a scale of 1:500,000.

In the case of the Least Cost Path simulations (LCPs) (see Fig. 6), three of four variants successfully predicted the course of the Roman imperial road. The main pattern of ancient roads following and traversing the ridge is preserved. Three LCPs in the central and eastern section of the route follow the ridge along the Roman imperial road. In the western section of the route, the LCPs follow the riverbed of Wadi Qelt instead of ascending the ridge through Qasr Ali, which is a fairly common feature of LCPs favouring a slight road gradient.

The most southern LCP suggests an alternative route (see Fig. 6), and although it is quite favourable in terms of the terrain gradient, it is difficult to consider it probable due to the longer distance (47 km) and navigation difficulties on the route, which repeatedly crosses many valleys. The length of the LCP most similar to the road remains derived from satellite imagery is 27 km.
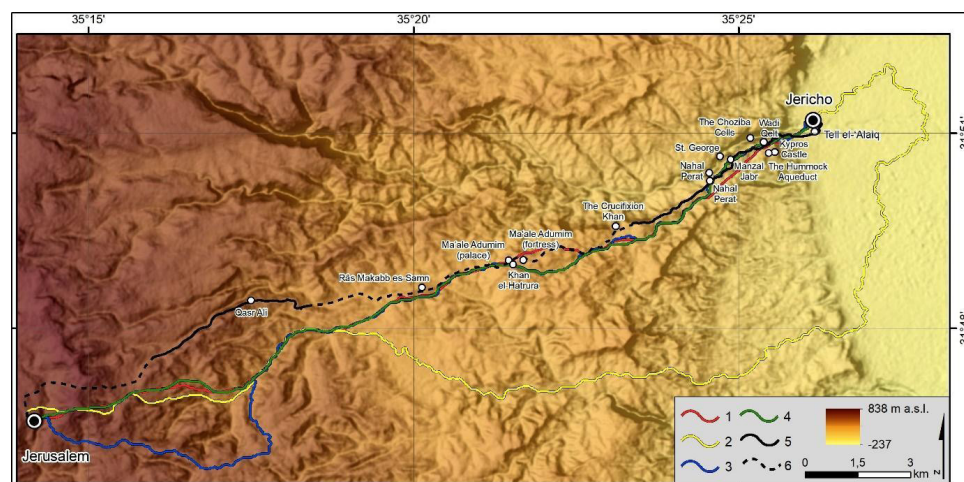

Fig. 6. Least cost path simulation for Jericho to Jerusalem: 1 – srtm/tobler; 2 – srtm/slope;
3 – aster/slope; 4 – aster/tobler; 5 – the course derived from satellite imagery;
6 – uncertain course derived from satellite imagery.
Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)

A partially preserved road from Jericho to Jerusalem starts with the elevation of 229 m below sea level up to 793 m above sea level with an average inclination of 6.9 degrees (see Fig. 7). Total ascent along the route is 1,594 m and, as the route is 29 km, it is estimated that the continuous march from Jericho to Jerusalem could take 9 hours.[41] This in turn means that it was very difficult to reach Jerusalem from Jericho on foot within one day of

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41   Add the topographic distance in km with the sum of all 100 m of ascent and then divide by 5 to obtain the number of hours of continuous walking. In this case, we add 29 and 16 to get 45, which, when divided by 5, gives 9 hours.

travel; all travellers who were not at the prime age or strength or were not very experienced travellers must have needed overnight accommodation on their travel.[42] Due to the context of the archaeological sites discovered along the route, it seems likely that the resting places along the route were the Crucifixion Khan, Khan el-Hatrura, or Qasr Ali – 8 km, 12 km and 20 km distant from Jericho, respectively.
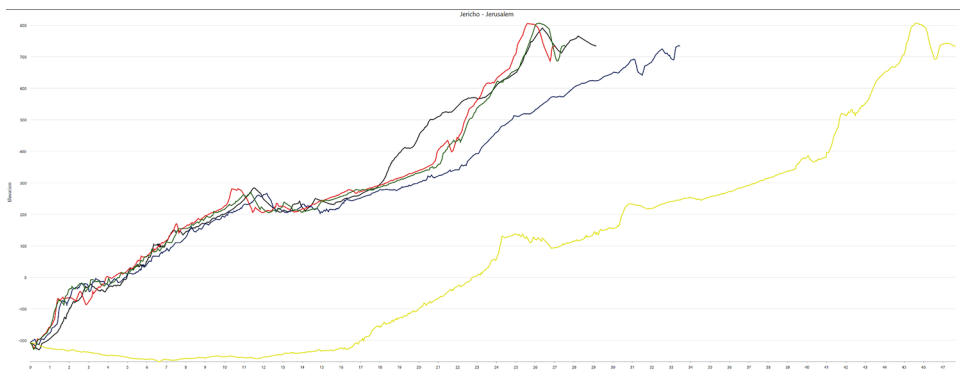

Fig. 7. Least Cost simulation profiles for Jericho to Jerusalem.
© Travel and Mobility in Hellenistic and Early Roman Palestine Project

In the case of Roman and pre-Roman roads, it is quite common that the roads, despite having a slightly greater inclination, led along ridges to avoid the need to build the many bridges and retaining walls associated with building a road along a valley. This is also apparently related to the fact that the erosive power of water is greatest at the bottom of a valley, so road builders marked the road out along ridges, where the roads would have a greater chance of surviving. This example shows that when considering ancient routes, it is best to take into account archaeological sites as intermediate points for determining LCP for longer distances, as the least inclined route was not always chosen by Roman road engineers for building roads.

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42   Various estimates of the maximal distance that could possibly be covered during daily travel in ancient times can be found in literature. For an overview, see J.W. Hanson, *An Urban Geography of the Roman World, 100 BC to AD 300* (Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 18; Oxford: Archaeopress 2016) 81. Obviously, the distance could vary depending first on the mode of travel, next on the condition and experience of the traveller, and finally on seasonal conditions (rain or snow and less daylight in winter/rainy seasons versus extremely high temperatures and sun exposure in hotter months). As for the most widespread mode of travel in ancient times, i.e. on foot, it is most often suggested that an individual of average health and fitness (not a trained soldier) could travel between 30 and 40 km in eight hours, a full day's worth of travel. However, the present authors consider 40 km a day as a possible distance only for shorter travels and opt for 30 km a day as the norm for two reasons. First, it is unlikely that travellers would keep the same pace for several consecutive days of travel due to fatigue. Second, the calculation of 40 km a day ('about 5 km could be travelled in an hour and about 40 km in a full day of eight hours'; according to Hanson [*Urban Geography*, 81]) apparently does not take into account the necessary breaks during travel.

2.2. Cana–Capernaum

The Cana–Capernaum itinerary is explicitly mentioned twice in the Gospel of John (John 2:12: Jesus, his mother, and disciples traveling to Capernaum; John 4:46: a royal official from Capernaum traveling to Cana to have his son healed). In this context, it should, however, be noted that the identification of the New Testament village of Cana is not self-evident. Over the course of the research, four main identifications were suggested: Ain Kana (2.4 km southeast of Nazareth),[43] Kefr Kenna (4.8 km northeast of Nazareth),[44] Karm er-Ras (1 km northwest of Kefr Kenna)[45] and finally Khirbet Qana (13.7 km north of Nazareth).[46] While the traditional Christian identification of Cana is Kefr Kenna,[47] the latest archaeological research seems to favour Khirbet Qana thanks to the discovery of substantial remains of a thriving rural site from the Early Roman period.[48] Therefore, the site of the NT Cana chosen for our analysis is placed at Khirbet Qana.[49]

If the Ottoman road network is used as an analogy, travel from Cana to Capernaum[50] takes 39 km (see Fig. 8). The route leads east for the first 3 km via OR 1051 and then turns

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43   Starting with C.R. Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine: A Record of Discovery and Adventure* (London: Bentley 1879) I, 154–155. This identification is based mainly on the toponymic similarity and the presence of the perennial water source.

44   A turning point in the modern evaluations of ancient traditions over New Testament Qana in favour of Kefr Kenna came with Franciscus Quaresmius (1583–1650). See P. Richardson, *Building Jewish in the Roman East* (Leiden: Brill 2005). The presence of Christian sites commemorating the Gospel's events has always been the most important argument in favour of Kefr Kenna. Recent archaeological research has begun to reveal ancient remains at the site, although not necessarily from the Early Roman period or in large quantities.

45   Y. Alexandre, "The Archaeological Evidence of the Great Revolt at Karm er-Ras (Kfar Kanna) in the Lower Galilee," *The Great Revolt in the Galilee* (ed. O. Guri-Rimon) (Haifa: Hecht Museum – University of Haifa 2008) 73–79; Y. Alexandre, "Karm er-Ras near Kafr Kanna," *Galilee in the Late Second Temple and Mishnaic Periods* (eds. D.A. Fiensy – J.R. Strange) (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2015) II, 146–157. The discovery of remains from the Early Roman period may support this identification. However, the toponymic connection is weak.

46   Beginning with E. Robinson – E. Smith, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea: A Journal of Travels in the Year 1838* (Boston, MA: Crocker & Brewster 1841) III, 204–208. Next to the toponymic similarity and the presence of substantial Early Roman remains recently unearthed, the site is located in the Beit Netofa Valley, matching well Josephus' description of Cana of Galilee (Josephus, *Life* 207).

47   See J.C. Laney, "The Identification of Cana of Galilee," *Selective Geographical Problems in the Life of Christ* (Diss. Dallas Theological Seminary; 1977) 90–107 and E.J. Thomassen, "Jesus' Ministry at Cana in Galilee. John 2:1: 4:46–54: 21:2," *Lexham Geographic Commentary on the Gospels* (eds. B.J. Beitzel – K.A. Lyle) (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press 2017) 74–83.

48   C.T. McCollough, "City and Village in Lower Galilee: The Import of the Archaeological Excavations at Sepphoris and Khirbet Qana (Cana) for Framing the Economic Context of Jesus," *The Galilean Economy in the Time of Jesus* (eds. D.A. Fiensy – R.K. Hawkins) (ECL; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2013) 56–72.

49   It may also be speculated that given the recent considerable increase in archaeological research in Galilee, the current state of research is far from the final word on the matter.

50   The NT Capernaum is nowadays widely identified with the site known in the 19th century as Tell Hum. Archaeological excavations run by Franciscan archaeologists, especially Virgilio Corbo and Stanislao Loffreda, revealed substantial remains of an Early Roman village. For an overview, see S. Loffreda, "Capernaum," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* (ed. E.M. Meyers) (New York – Oxford: Oxford University Press 1997) I, 416–419. In the 19th century, a site called Khirbet Minyeh (or Minnim) was also identified with Capernaum by E. Robinson, who was followed by some of the earliest explorers. However, this identification
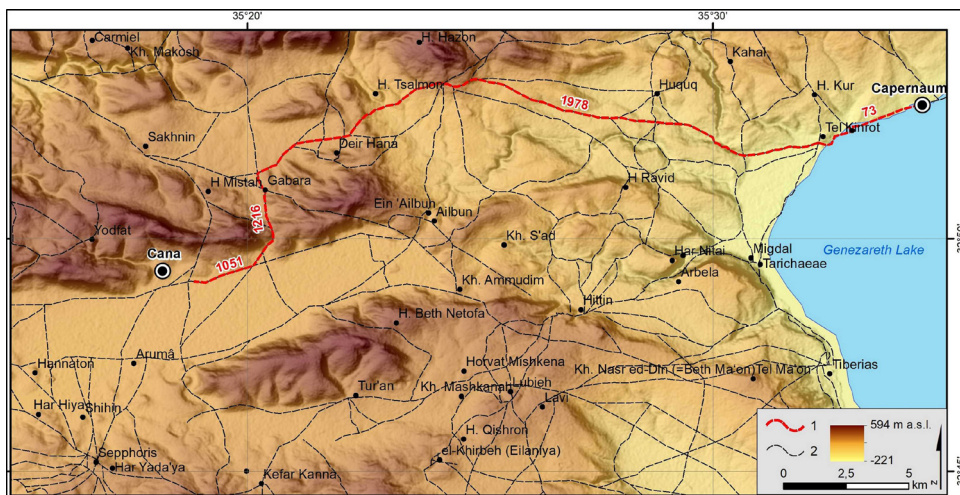
Fig. 8. From Cana to Capernaum using the Ottoman road network:
1 – 'Ottoman' roads, 2 – other 'Ottoman' roads.
Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)

north via OR 1216 and 3163 through Gabara. From there, the route leads northeast via OR 1978 through Horvat Tsalmon and, after passing this site, turns southeast, descending into Nahal Amud near Huquq. Following the wadi, the route uses the narrow passage near Amud Cave to descend to Lake Galilee, which it finally reaches near Tel Kinrot. The route next continues along the shores of Lake Galilee for around a one-hour walk via OR 73 to reach Capernaum. Potential resting places on this route include Horvat Tsalmon (14 km from Cana) and Huquq (23 km from Cana).

In contrast, the Roman imperial road network (see Fig. 9) passes around 5 km south of Cana and would have to be reached via a local road, e.g. OR 1207. The main corridor of movement marked by the Sepphoris–Tiberias road passes to the southeast and northeast for approximately 45 km. The route through Tiberias could be accomplished via ID 2745, 7096 (Harvard Dataverse). Altogether, the route from Cana to Capernaum using the Roman imperial network (including a local road near Cana) is approximately 45 km. Potential places for overnight stays on this route are Horvat Mishkenah (18 km from Cana) and Tiberias (30 km from Cana),[51] as the Roman imperial road crossed these important sites.

In the case of the Least Cost Path simulations (see Fig. 10), all lead directly through the eastern part of the Beit Netofa Valley and the valley of Nahal Tsalmon in the direction of

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quickly gave way to Tell Hum. See C.R. Conder – H.H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs of the Topography, Orography, Hydrography and Archaeology*. I. *Sheets I–VI: Galilee* (London: Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund 1881) 404. The site of Khirbet Minyeh features remains of a palatial structure dated to the Early Muslim period. See H.P. Kuhnen – M. Pines – O. Tal, "Horbat Minnim. Preliminary Report," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 130 (2018), https://www.jstor.org/stable/26691685.

51 Although it should be noted that pious Jews would avoid Tiberias since it was considered to be unclean as it was partly located on the territory of an old cemetery.
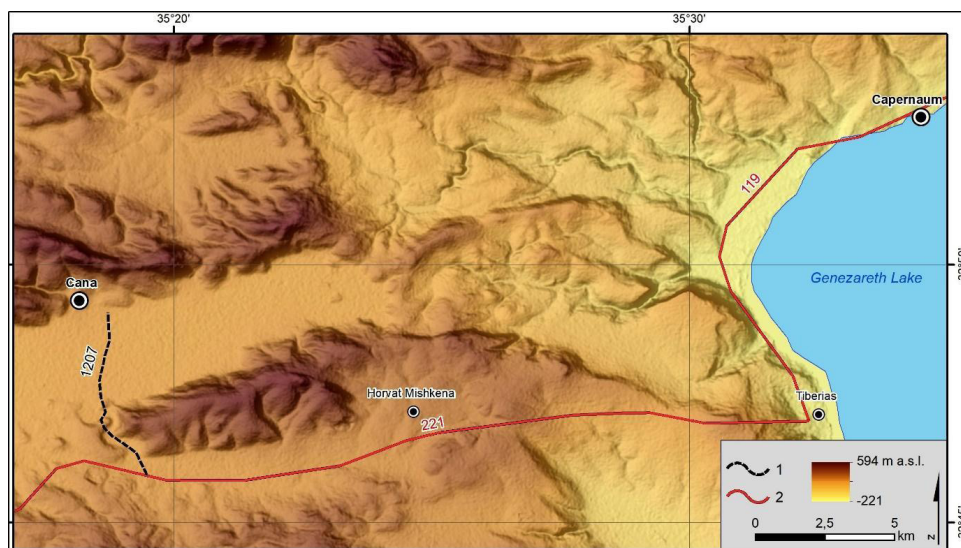
Fig. 9. From Cana to Capernaum using the Roman imperial road network:
1 – Roman imperial roads (Harvard Dataverse/Barrington Atlas),
2 – 'Ottoman' road as a connector.
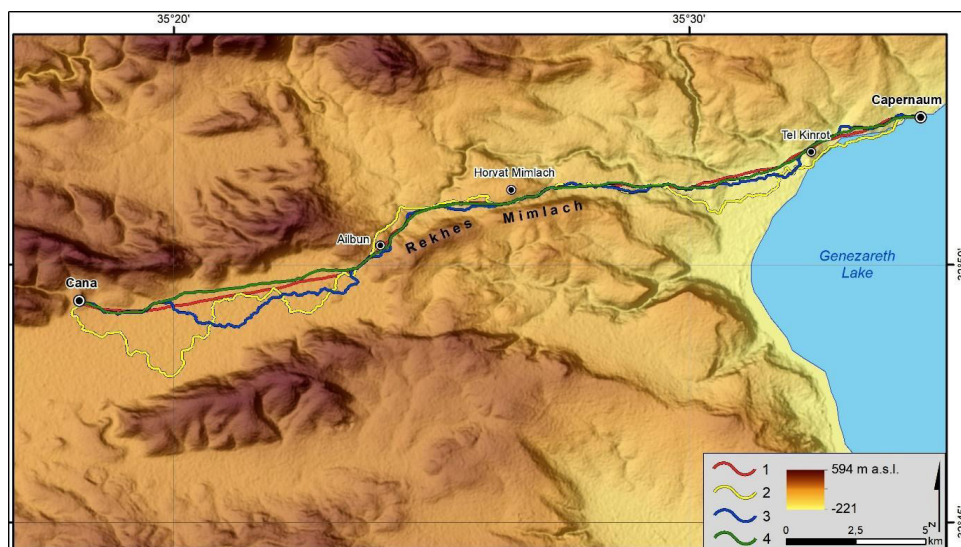Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)

Fig. 10. Least cost path simulation for Cana to Capernaum: 1 – srtm/tobler;
2 – srtm/slope; 3 – aster/slope; 4 – aster/Tobler.
Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)

Lake Galilee. The route slowly descends along Rekhes Mimlah and continues along Nahal Tsalmon until it reaches Capernaum from the west. The total length of this route is 28 km. Potential places to rest on this route are Ailbun (12 km from Cana) and Horvat Mimlach (18 km from Cana), where travellers could stock up on water from nearby springs. It should also be noted that on the same corridor of movement, several Ottoman roads can be identified between Cana and Capernaum (OR 1051 to Ailbun, OR 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1989,1977 to Tell Kinrot, and OR 73 to Capernaum).
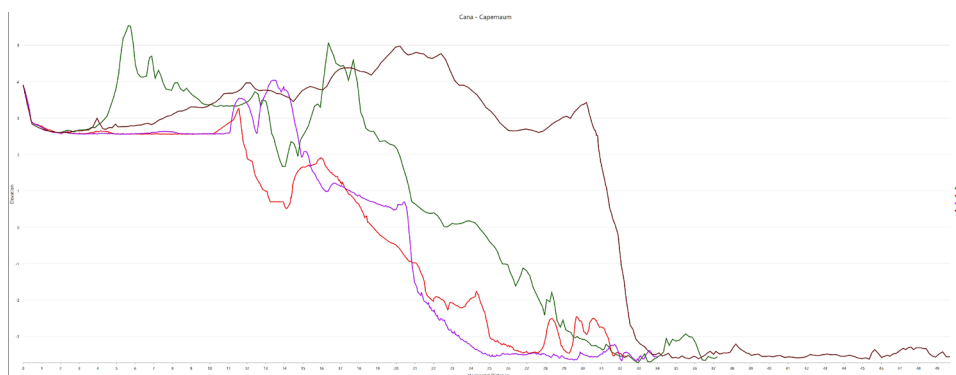

Fig. 11. Profiles of all routes for Cana to Capernaum (green line – Ottoman road,
red line – LCP simulation [SRTM/Tobler],
purple line – route indicated by archaeological sites, brown line – Roman imperial road).
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All in all (see Fig. 11 and 13), the results of our remote sensing research suggest that the fastest travel between Cana and Capernaum in Early Roman times would have been via the valley of Nahal Tsalmon, as indicated by the analogy of the GIS simulations (and several Ottoman roads). No archaeological remains of roads or road infrastructure directly related to the route along the valley of Nahal Tsalmon are known. In the case of future fieldwork in search of such archaeological remains, the most promising section of this route is a descent to the shores of Lake Galilee from the eastern part of the Beit Netofa Valley and the valley of Nahal Tsalmon, since this area is not urbanised. In contrast, a route following the Roman imperial road network and a route using the Ottoman road via Khirbet Tsalmon would have implied detours and would have been considerably longer by about 15 and 11 km, respectively. These two routes would have required two days of travel on foot.

At the same time, it should be noted that the pattern of archaeological settlement may also suggest an alternative. Namely, if we take account of archaeological settlement and its administrative role, another route may still be recommended (Fig. 12). First, southeast of Ailbun, there existed a number of important sites, including Khirbet Ammudim, Hittin, Arbela and Tarichaeae. These sites, especially Arbela and Tarichaeae, which functioned as
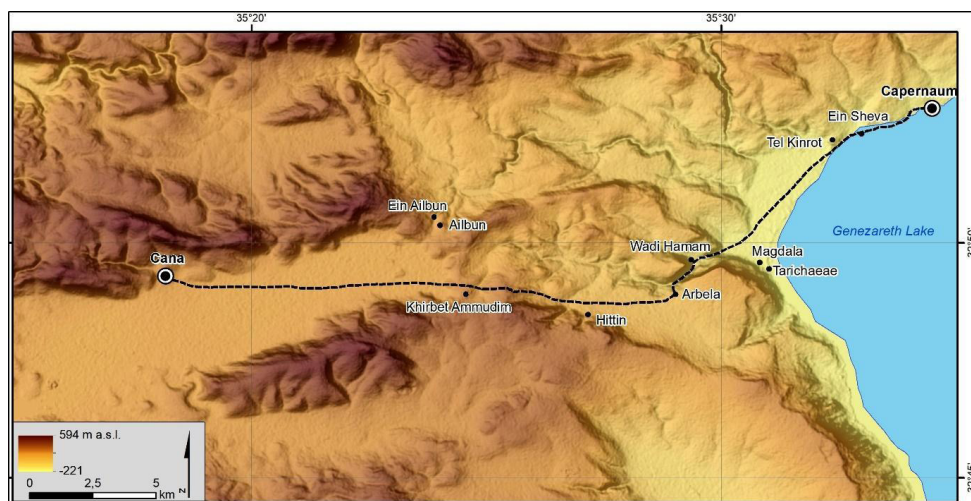
Fig. 12. Least cost path simulation for Cana to Capernaum route through Arbela.
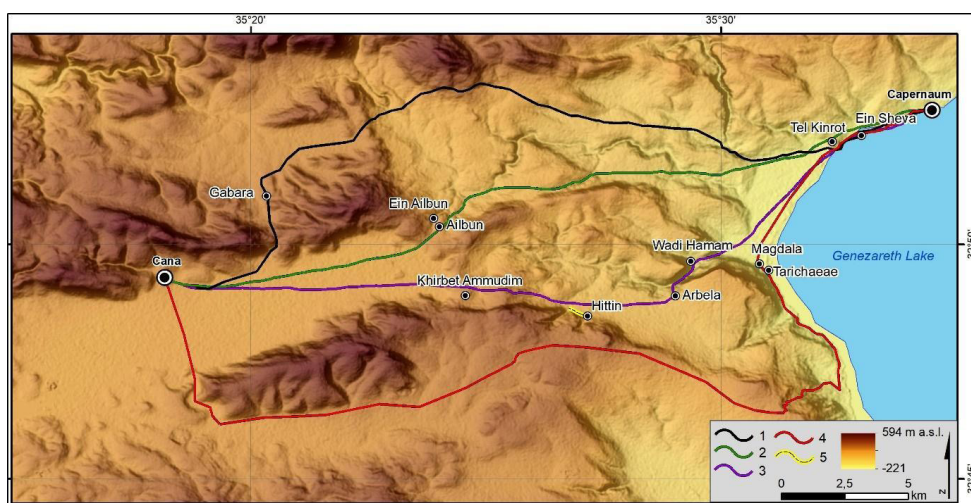Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)

Fig. 13. Situation map – Ailbun, Khirbet Ammudim, Hittin, Arbela and Tarichaeae.
The four lines indicate different routes: 1 – Ottoman road; 2 – LCP simulation (srtm/tobler);
3 – LCP through Arbela; 4 – Roman imperial road (Harvard Dataverse/Barrington Atlas);
5 – pre-Roman road near Hittin.
Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)

administrative centres (*toparchiai*), must have been connected with other administrative centres, especially with Sepphoris and Gabara in the west, in the vicinity of which Khirbet Qana was located. Reconstructed connections between Gabara and Arbela led via Kh. Ammudim, while the connection between Sepphoris and Tarichaeae went via Hittin, Arbela, and Wadi Hammam.[52] It follows that the area of Arbela and Tarichaeae functioned as an important travel hub. Although the route from Cana to Capernaum via Arbela is slightly longer (30 km) than the route via the valley of Nahal Tsalmon, it may have been preferable if, for instance, a stopover was necessary on the way. Larger sites may have offered more options in this regard than small villages. Despite the relatively short distance, which could be covered during a one-day trip, the necessity of a stopover could have arisen if the journey began late in the day or during the shorter days of winter.

Fig. 14. Tepper and Tepper's rock-cut steps near Arbela.
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52   A route via Wadi Hammam is also discussed by U. Leibner, *Settlement and History in Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Galilee. An Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Galilee* (TSAJ 127; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2009) 14–15, Map 3.

What is more, tentative archaeological data may suggest the existence of road remains along this route. First, one of the series of rock-cut steps identified by Yotam and Yigal Tepper is located north of Arbela.[53] The steps are located on a very steep hillside (see Fig. 14) and apparently served the travel between the hilltop on which the settlement of Arbela was located and the bottom of Wadi Hammam, along which an ancient route most likely led towards the western plain of the Sea of Galilee. Furthermore, to the west from Hittin, there is a modern dirt road which leads in the direction of Khirbet Ammudim (see Fig. 15). However, at some sections, the course of an old road parallel to the course of the modern dirt road can be observed (Fig. 15). What is more, ancient burial caves are located along this modern dirt road (Fig. 16), and these caves must have been accessible from a road in ancient times. Thus, it appears that the modern dirt road partly covers the ancient road, although sections of the ancient road are still preserved roughly parallel to the course of the modern dirt road (see Fig. 15).

Fig. 15. Probable section of pre-Roman road near Hittin.
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53   For a popular summary of Tepper and Tepper's research, see Y. Tepper – Y. Tepper, "Archaeological Views: Walking Roads," *BAR* 42/1 (2016) 20, 62.

Fig. 16. One of the cave tombs near Hittin (to the west).
© Travel and Mobility in Hellenistic and Early Roman Palestine Project

2.3. From the Baptism Site to Cana

Much ink has been spilled on the location of the baptising activity of John the Baptist and Jesus' own baptism.[54] In fact, the synoptic Gospels do not provide us with precise geographic or topographical data, at least not to any extent that would comply with modern geographical standards. In fact, the Synoptic Gospels suggest only a general geographical setting. For example, Mark 1:4 places John in the 'wilderness', with 'the whole Judean countryside and

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[54] For an overview, see M. Piccirillo, "The Sanctuaries of the Baptism on the East Bank of the Jordan River," *Jesus and Archaeology* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth) (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2006) 433–444; B.A. Foreman, "Locating the Baptism of Jesus. John 1:19–2:1," *Lexham Geographic Commentary on the Gospels* (eds. B.J. Beitzel – K.A. Lyle) (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press 2017) 65–73; A.L. Taylor, "Ministry in the Wilderness. Matt 3:13–4:11, Luke 3:21–4:15," *Lexham Geographic Commentary on the Gospels* (eds. B.J. Beitzel – K.A. Lyle) (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press 2017) 42–52; A.L. Taylor, "Wilderness Events: The Baptism and Temptation of Jesus. Matt 3:13–4:11, Luke 3:21–4:15," *Lexham Geographic Commentary on the Gospels* (eds. B.J. Beitzel – K.A. Lyle) (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press 2017) 53–64; J. Knust, "Where Did John Baptize? From Bethany to Bethabara and Back Again," *JAC* 63 (2020) 217–239.

all the people of Jerusalem' coming to him. Matt 3:1–6 locates John's activity in the 'wilderness of Judea' and along the Jordan River and mentions people coming to John from 'Jerusalem and all Judea and the whole region of the Jordan'. Luke 3:2–3 enigmatically states that John may be found both in the 'wilderness' and in 'all the country around the Jordan'. At the same time, the Gospel of John (John 3:22) employs two toponyms to locate John the Baptist's activity: Aenon near Salim and Bethany beyond the Jordan.

Many topographic identifications have been suggested over the centuries on the basis of the aforementioned textual evidence.[55] However, building on a recent consensus, it may be stated that the main identifications of Aenon near Salim are the Arab village of Salim near Shechem and, more likely, Umm el-ʿUmdan, south of Scythopolis.[56] In turn, Bethany has long been widely identified with the vicinity of the Hajlah ford near Jericho.[57] However, in a recent and important study building on previous scholarship going back to as late as 1706, R. Riesner revived and substantiated the other alternative – a northern location if Bethany is emendated to Bathanea.[58] However, within this general identification, several distinctive sites have been postulated: from north to south, Yardenit (a ford south of the Jordan's outlet from Gennesaret); Gesher (a ford near the confluence of the Jarmuk and Jordan rivers); and Makhadet Abara (a ford northeast of Scythopolis). It should be stressed that the two general identifications, the Hajlah ford, and all the other fords in the north lie far apart.[59] Several arguments have been raised over the course of the discussion of these two general identifications, some of which may be discussed in the light of GIS methods. First, following the time sequence in John 1:19–2:1,[60] it has been stated that after the meeting with John at Bethany, Jesus travelled to Cana (John 2:1), and that it took him two or three days to cover this distance.[61] Second, still following the time sequence in John 1:19–2:1, the meeting of Jesus with Philipp of Bethsaida (John 1:43–44) has been interpreted as an indication that Jesus' journey following his meeting with John the Baptist and on his way to Galilee (John 1:43) ran through Bethsaida.[62] Third, it has been stressed that the distance from the Hajlah ford to Cana is too large to be covered within one or two days.[63]

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55 For an overview, see R. Riesner, "Bethany Beyond the Jordan (John 1:28): Topography, Theology and History in the Fourth Gospel," *TynBul* 38 (1986) 29–63.
56 Taylor, "Ministry in the Wilderness," 44.
57 Taylor, "Wilderness Events," 54, n. 2.
58 Riesner was criticized by J.M. Hutton ("Bethany Beyond the Jordan in Text, Tradition and Historical Geography," *Bib* 89 [2008] 315–316), but followed by others, apparently particularly in American scholarship, e.g. by Foreman, "Locating the Baptism of Jesus," 65–73, and Taylor, "Wilderness Events," 53–64.
59 Riesner, "Bethany Beyond the Jordan," 45–47; Forman, "Locating," 72.
60 This time sequence may of course also be interpreted symbolically and not chronologically. See J.M. Hutton, "Bethany Beyond the Jordan," 315–316.
61 Riesner, "Bethany Beyond the Jordan"; Forman, "Locating," 72.
62 Foreman, "Locating the Baptism of Jesus," 72.
63 Riesner, "Bethany Beyond the Jordan," 47; Foreman, "Locating the Baptism of Jesus," 72.

2.3.1. The Hajlah Ford

2.3.1.1. The Hajlah Ford–Cana

If the Ottoman road network is used as an analogy for an Early Roman route from the Hajlah ford to Cana (see Fig. 17), the total travel distance is 138 km. The route leads west via OR 1948 and OR 1947 to Jericho and then turns north via RR 9 and RR 40 to Scythopolis (87 km from the Hajlah ford). From Scythopolis, it turns west via ancient road no. 69 (AR 69 hereinafter) and continues via OR 1833 and 1029 to Tel Yizreel. From Tel Yizreel via OR 208 and 191, the route passes through Nazareth to Sepphoris. From Sepphoris, Cana could be reached via OR 998 and 1211 (51 km from Scythopolis).

Next, if the Roman imperial road network is used as an analogy (see Fig. 18), the main corridor of movement passes through the Jordan Valley until Scythopolis: first, turning west via a short section of the Livias–Jericho road (ID 2212, Harvard Dataverse), and next, near Jericho, turning north using the Jericho–Archelais and Archelais–Scythopolis roads (ID 2166, 2170, 2714, Harvard Dataverse). From Scythopolis onwards, the route has two different options. The first option is to turn west towards Legio via the Legio–Scythopolis road (ID 2743, Harvard Dataverse), and next turn north near Legio towards Sepphoris via the Legio–Sepphoris road (ID 7095, Harvard Dataverse). This route requires getting off the Roman road at Sepphoris (ID 7096, Harvard Dataverse). The route from the Hajlah ford to Scythopolis is 88 km, and the continuation to Sepphoris via the Legio road takes another 49 km and 10 km by a local road, while via the Tiberias route it takes 56 km and 5 km by a local road. Thus, the total distance to be covered from the Hajlah ford to Cana using the Roman imperial road network is 147–149 km.

In the case of the Least Cost Path simulations (see Fig. 19), all LCP routes run northwards until Aenon near Salim (Umm el-ʿUmdan) and the immediate vicinity of Scythopolis, where they turn northwest to pass via the Jezreel Valley. However, the LCPs differ in their further course depending on the algorithm (surface cost) – LCPs based on slope pass around the Nazareth Range from the west, while LCPs based on Tobler's Hiking Function pass directly through the range, 6 km to the east from Nazareth. This situation is the result of methodological differences between widely used LCPs based on Tobler's Hiking Function (which favours shorter distances even at the expense of sections with a greater slope) and alternative LCPs based on slope (which favours a small degree of inclination, often at the expense of much greater distances). Both routes pass near Sepphoris and, as this route covers a long distance, it is very likely that the road ran through this important urban centre. The total length of this route is about 139–140 km for LCPs based on Tobler's Hiking Function and 206–217 km for LCPs based on slope.

It should be mentioned that no archaeological remains of a possibly pre-Roman imperial road have been found thus far for this route. In the case of future fieldwork, the most promising section of this route appears to be an ascent located to the east from Nazareth. It is noteworthy that this route passes through Umm el-ʿUmdan, which could prove its importance.

The results of our reconstruction of potential routes from the Hajlah ford to Cana are mixed. On the one hand, the Ottoman road network and the LCP simulations based on
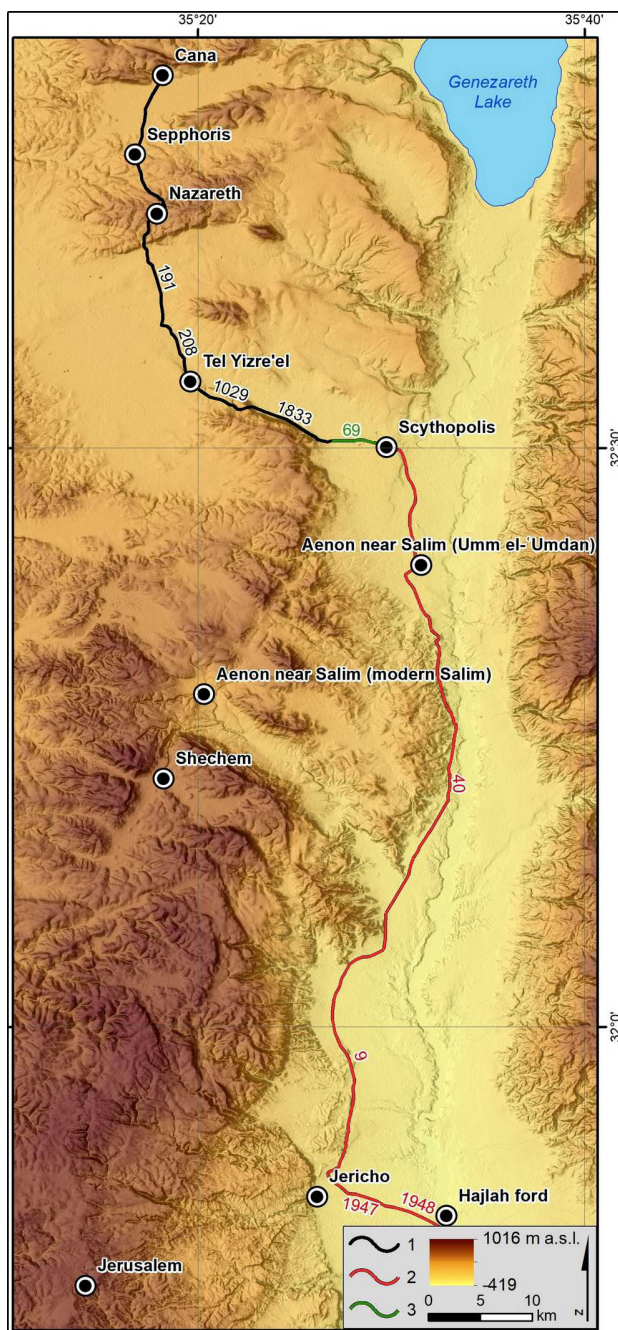
Fig. 17. From the Hajlah ford to Cana using the Ottoman road network: 1 – 'Ottoman' roads;
2 – 'Ancient' roads; 3 – 'Roman' roads. Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)
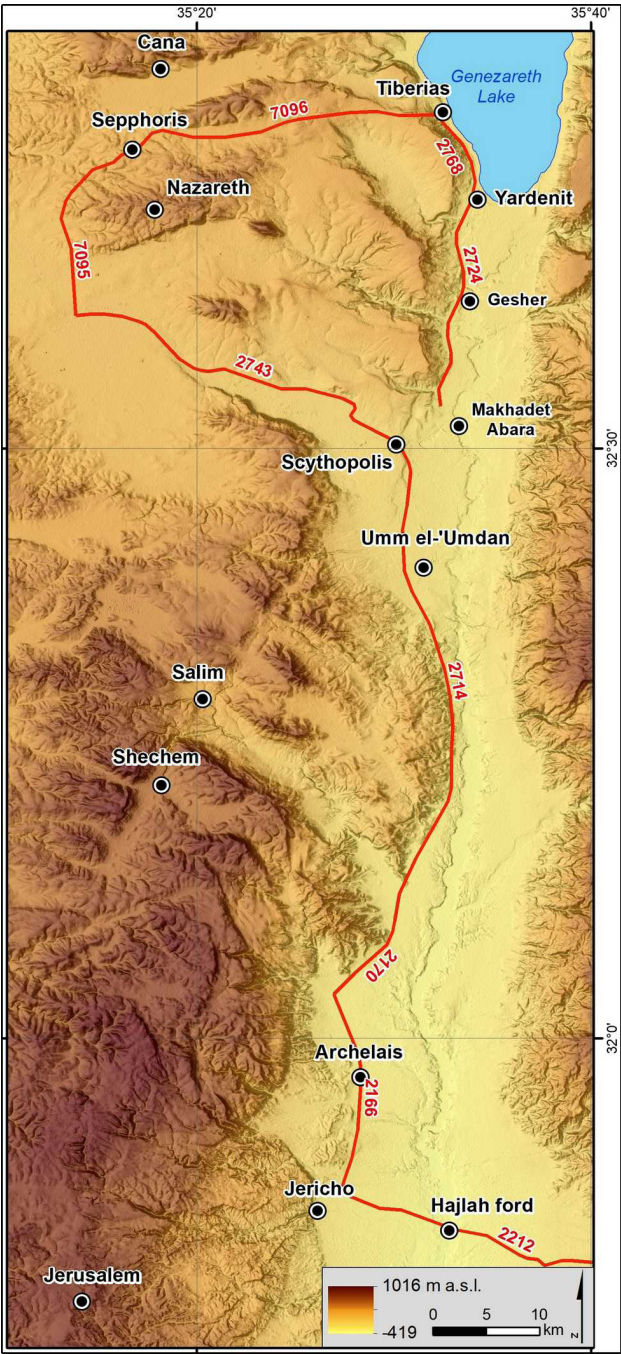
Fig. 18. From the Hajlah ford to Cana using the Roman imperial road network
(Harvard Dataverse/Barrington Atlas). Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)
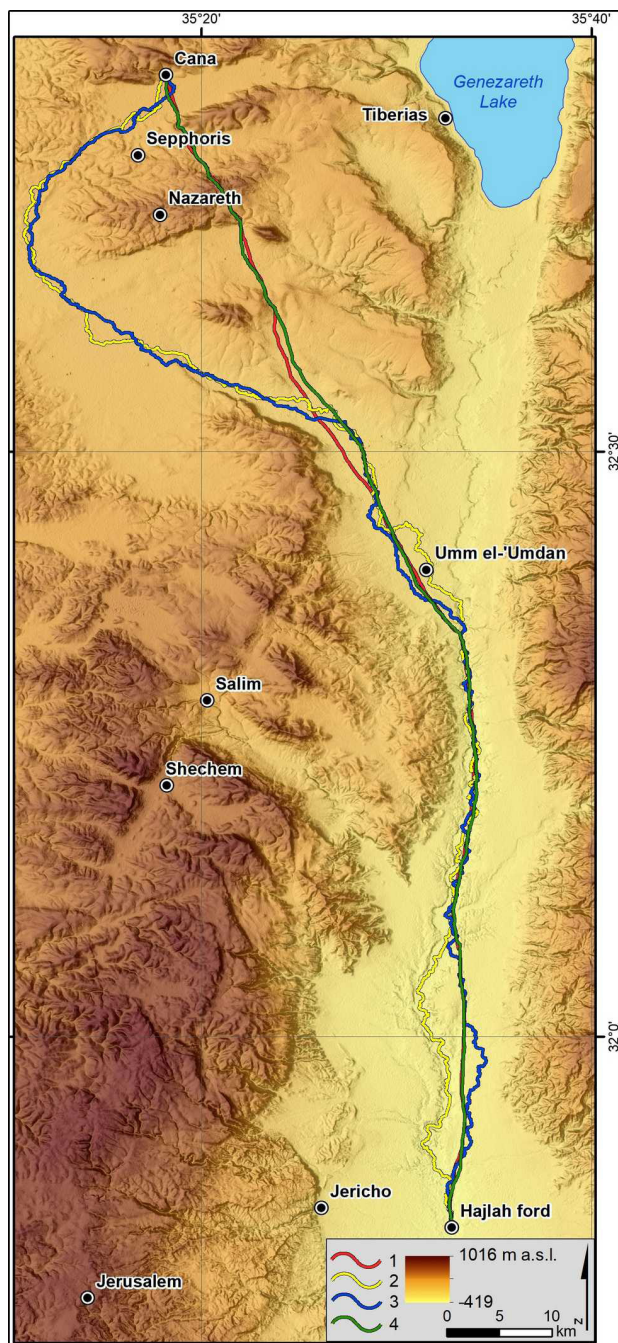
Fig. 19. Least cost path simulation for the Hajlah ford to Cana: 1 – srtm/tobler; 2 – srtm/slope; 3 – aster/slope; 4 – aster/Tobler. Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)

Tobler's Hiking Function indicate a shorter route through the Nazareth Range (138 km using the Ottoman roads and 139–140 km indicated by LCP). On the other hand, the Roman imperial road network and the LCP simulations based on slope hint at the possibility that the route may pass around the Nazareth Range through Simonias and nearby Sepphoris, but this route covers at least 159–165 km. At any rate, the journey from the Hajlah ford to Cana is at least 138 km, which requires around 5 days of travel on foot.

2.3.1.2. The Hajlah Ford–Bethsaida–Cana

If the Ottoman road network is used as an analogy for an Early Roman route from the Hajlah ford to Cana through Bethsaida (see Fig. 20), the journey takes 178 km. The route leads west via OR 1948 and OR 1947 to Jericho and then turns north via RR 9 and RR 40 to Scythopolis. From Scythopolis, it continues to the north via RR 41 and turns northeast near Gesher via OR 2369, 2370 and 74. Then, the route follows the eastern shores of Lake Galilee via OR 73 and, after passing Bethsaida, continues via OR 1977. The direction of the route OR 1978 is firstly northwest, following Nahal Amud and ascending to the west near Huquq. From Horvat Tsalmon, the route leads southwest via OR 1978. Finally, via OR 1216 and 3163, the route leads south through Gabara and, after descending to Beit Netofa Valley, turns west for the last 3 km via OR 1051.

Next, if the Roman imperial road network is used as an analogy (see Fig. 21), the main corridor of movement passes through the Jordan Valley until Scythopolis for 88 km: first turning west via a short section of the Livias–Jericho road (ID 2212, Harvard Dataverse), and next turning north near Jericho using the Jericho–Archelais and Archelais–Scythopolis roads (ID 2166, 2170, 2714, Harvard Dataverse). From Scythopolis onwards, the route continues northeast via ID 2742, 2723 (Harvard Dataverse). Then it continues to the north via ID 2730, 2727 (Harvard Dataverse). After reaching the shores of Lake Galilee, the route continues via ID 2753, 2746, 2747 (Harvard Dataverse) until Bethsaida. From there via ID 2744, 2745, 7096 (Harvard Dataverse), the route finally reaches Cana after 192 km.

In the case of the Least Cost Path simulations (see Fig. 22), all LCP routes (based on Tobler's Hiking Function and slope) indicate nearly the same route along the Jordan River, around Lake Galilee, and directly to the valley of Nahal Tsalmon and the Beit Netofa Valley through Ailbun for 181 km.

In summary, all our sources point to the same corridor of movement for an itinerary from the Hajlah ford to Cana via Bethsaida: first along the Jordan River, and next along the eastern and northern shore of the Lake of Galilee. Only at the northwestern corner of the Lake of Galilee near Tel Kinrot do our routes divide into two groups: the Ottoman network and the LCPs suggest travel via the valley of Nahal Tsalmon, while the Roman imperial network leads first south to Tiberias and next east to Sepphoris – that is, it runs about 10 km south of the Beit Netofa Valley. As for the distance, the travel between the Hajlah ford and Cana amounts to between 178–192 km if directed towards Bethsaida as an intended stop. This is a longer distance than the 138 km to Cana as a direct destination, without the detour to Bethsaida (travel to Bethsaida first requires at least 143 km). Thus,
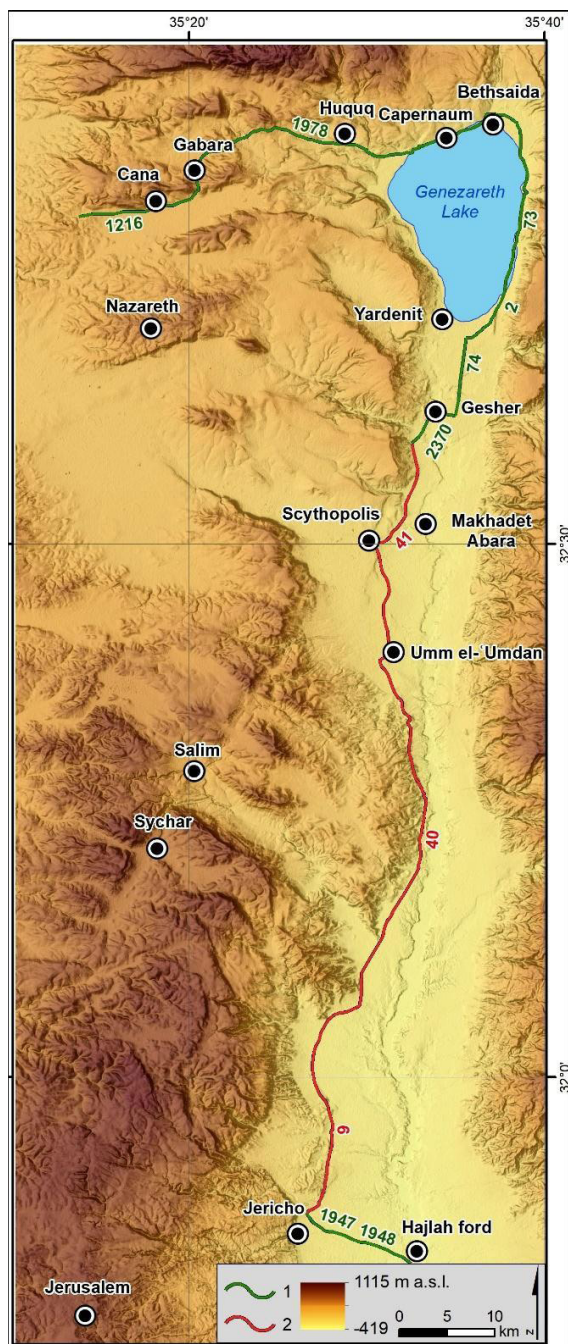
Fig. 20. From the Hajlah ford to Cana through Bethsaida using the Ottoman road network:
1 – 'Ottoman' roads; 2 – 'Roman' roads.
Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)
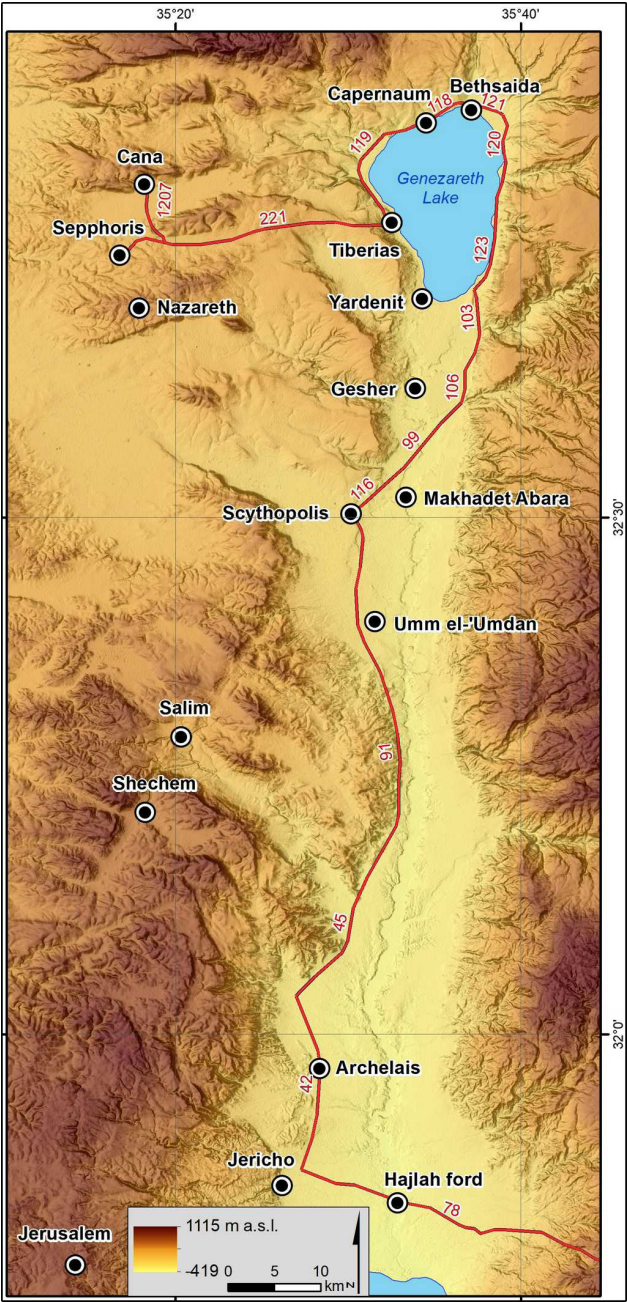
Fig. 21. From the Hajlah ford to Cana through Bethsaida
using the Roman imperial road network (Harvard Dataverse/Barrington Atlas).
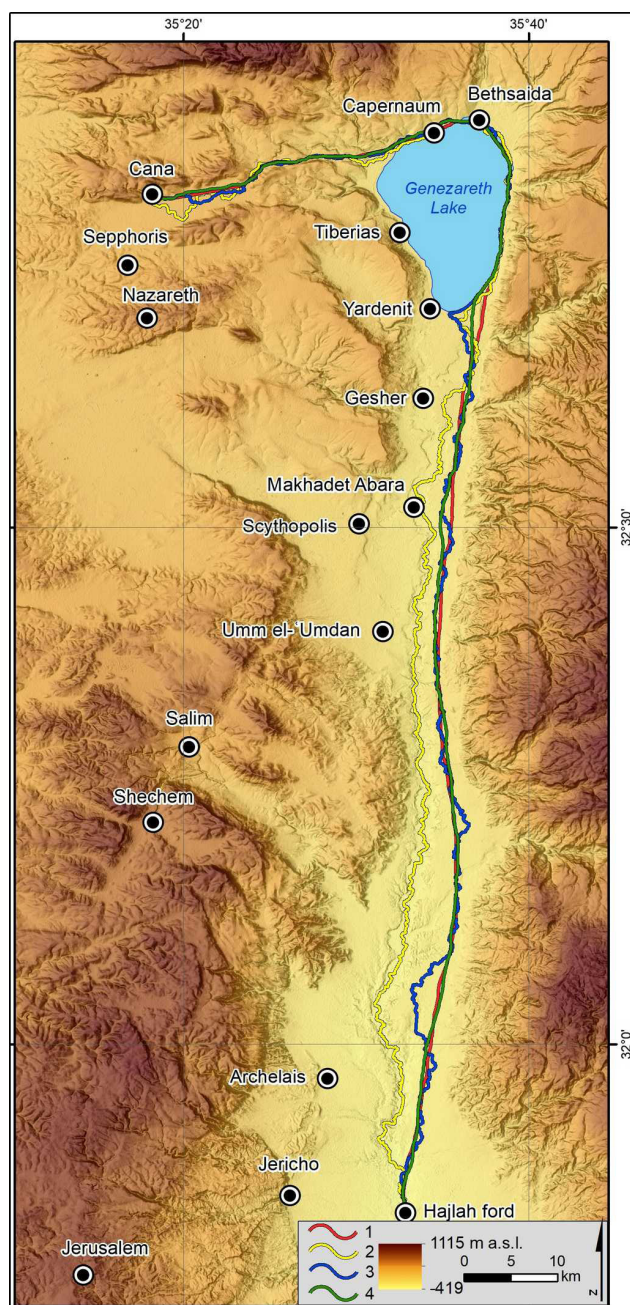Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)

Fig. 22. Least cost path simulation for the Hajlah ford to Cana through Bethsaida:
1 – srtm/tobler; 2 – srtm/slope; 3 – aster/slope; 4 – aster/Tobler.
Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)

not only can the distance not be covered within one or two days, but it requires 5 days of travel via the vicinity of the Nazareth Range and 6–7 days via Bethsaida.

2.3.2. Yardenit/Gesher/Makhadet Abara

2.3.2.1. Yardenit/Gesher/Makhadet Abara–Cana

If the Ottoman road network is used as an analogy for an Early Roman route from the northern identification of Bethany beyond Jordan to Cana, the journey takes 38 km (Yardenit), 44 km (Gesher) or 56 km (Makhadet Abara) (see Fig. 23). On the way, it was possible to stop at el-Khirbeh (Eilaniya), which was 18 km from the destination point. The route leads along the Jordan Valley via RR 41 and ascends to the Lower Galilee plateau via OR 1050, then continues by RR 47 from where OR 1211 provides a connection to Cana.
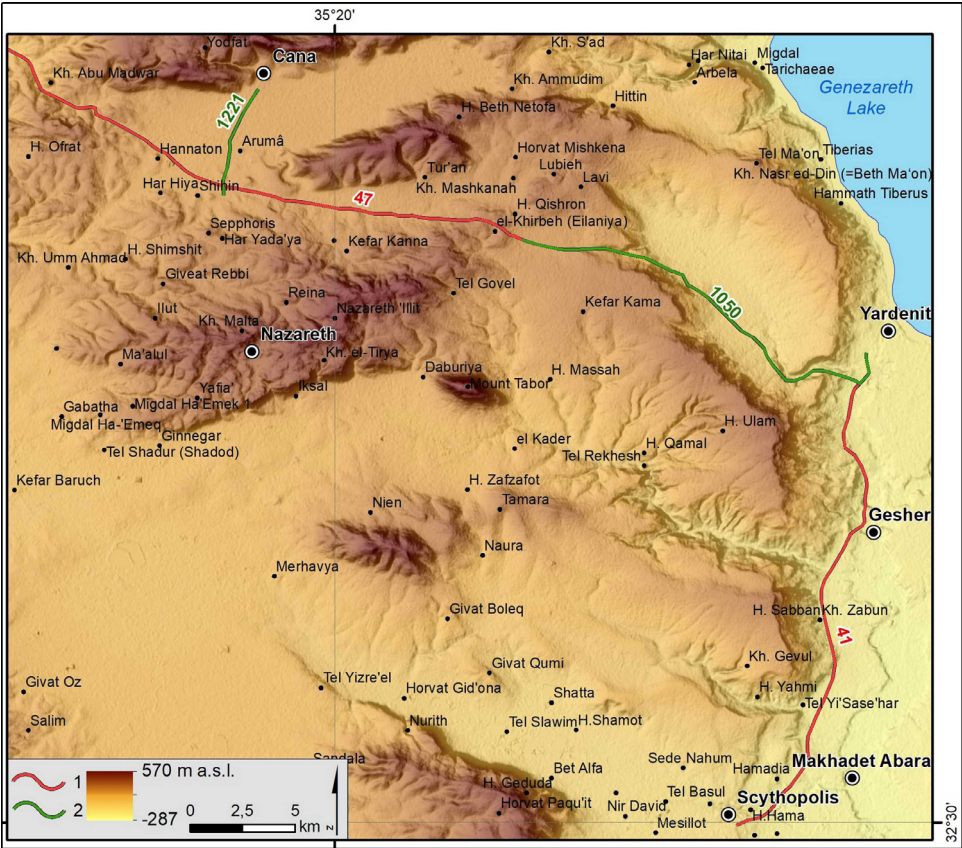

Fig. 23. From Yardenit/Gesher/Makhadet Abara to Cana
using the Ottoman road network: 1 – 'Roman' roads; 2 – 'Ottoman' roads.
Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)

Next, if the Roman imperial road network is used as an analogy, the main corridor of movement passes to the north through the Jordan Valley via the Scythopolis–Tiberias road (ID 2742, 2724, 2768, Harvard Dataverse). From Tiberias, the road turns west and ascends up to Sepphoris via ID 7096 (Harvard Dataverse). The journey takes 43 km (Yardenit), 50 km (Gesher) or 58 km (Makhadet Abara) (see Fig. 24). In the case of Makhadet Abara, Tiberias could be a preferable stop (32 km from the destination point). At the same time, it could be possible to reach Cana from Makhadet Abara by first going west through the Yezreel Valley and next via Tel Yizreel and Simonias (63 km in total).
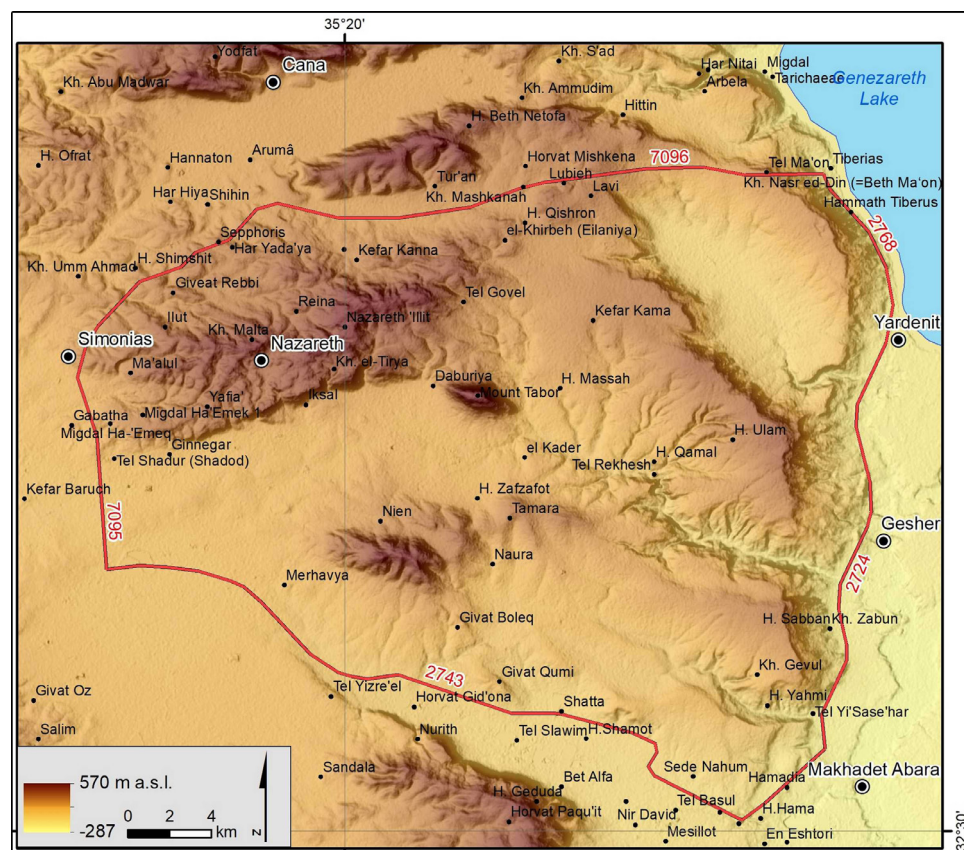

Fig. 24. From Yardenit/Gesher/Makhadet Abara to Cana
using the Roman imperial road network (Harvard Dataverse/Barrington Atlas).
Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)

In the case of the Least Cost Path simulations, all LCP routes based on Tobler's Hiking Function indicate routes which minimise distance (Yardenit: 35 km; Gesher: 43 km; Makhadet Abara: 52 km) (see Fig. 25). At the same time, LCPs based on slope indicate two different routes. The first group (both ASTER and SRTM from Makhadet Abara, as well as SRTM from Gesher and Yardenit) goes via the Jezreel Valley, avoiding any hills on its way and providing cost-efficient travel (75 km long through only flat terrain), following a very similar route as the Roman imperial road from Scythopolis to Sepphoris. The second group includes routes from Gesher and Yardenit, based on ASTER, which pass through the hills like the LCPs based on Tobler's Hiking Function (45–55 km), partially overlapping with a Roman imperial road from Khirbet Mishkena to Sepphoris (Tiberias–Sepphoris).
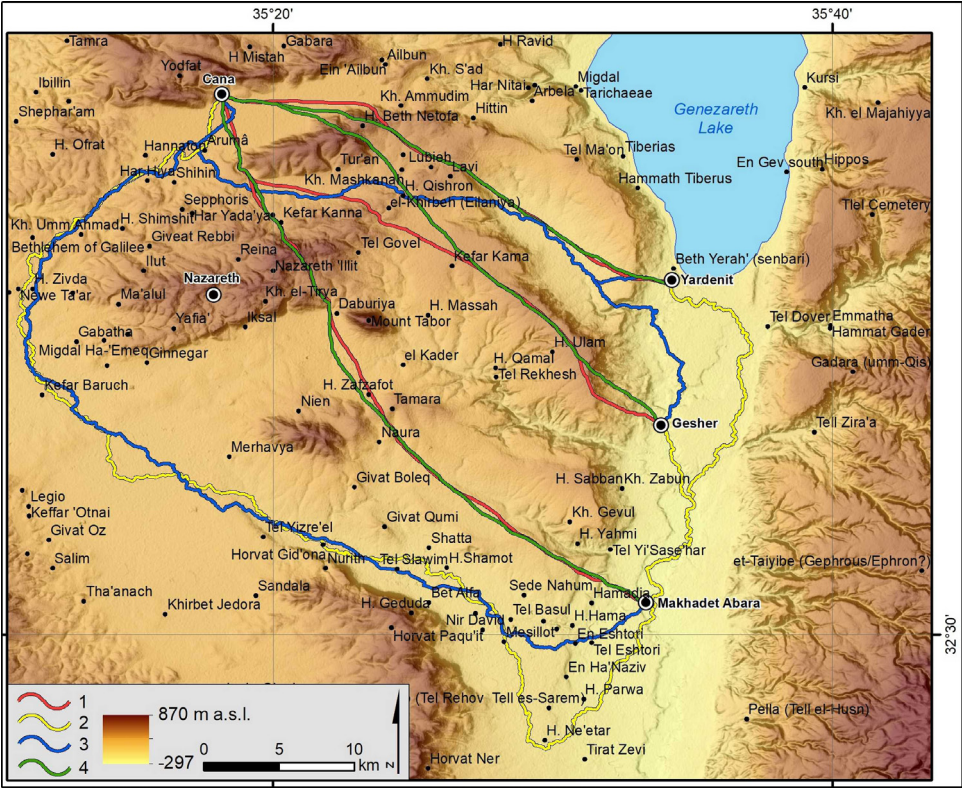

Fig. 25. Least cost path simulation for Yardenit/Gesher/Makhadet Abara to Cana:
1 – srtm/tobler; 2 – srtm/slope; 3 – aster/slope; 4 – aster/Tobler.
Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)

2.3.2.2. Yardenit/Gesher/Makhadet Abara–Bethsaida–Cana

If the Ottoman road network is used as an analogy for an Early Roman route from the northern identification of Bethany beyond Jordan to Cana through Bethsaida, the journey takes 107 km (Yardenit), 114 km (Gesher) or 126 km (Makhadet Abara) (see Fig. 26). From Makhadet Abara, the route leads to the north via RR 41 and turns northeast near Gesher via OR 2369, 2370 and 74. Then, the route follows the eastern shores of Lake Galilee via OR 73 and, after passing Bethsaida, continues via OR 1977. The direction of the route of OR 1978 is firstly northwest following Nahal Amud and ascends to the west near Huquq. From Horvat Tsalmon, the route leads southwest via OR 1978. Finally, via OR 1216 and 3163, the route leads south through Gabara and, after descending to the Beit Netofa Valley, turns west for the last 3 km via OR 1051.
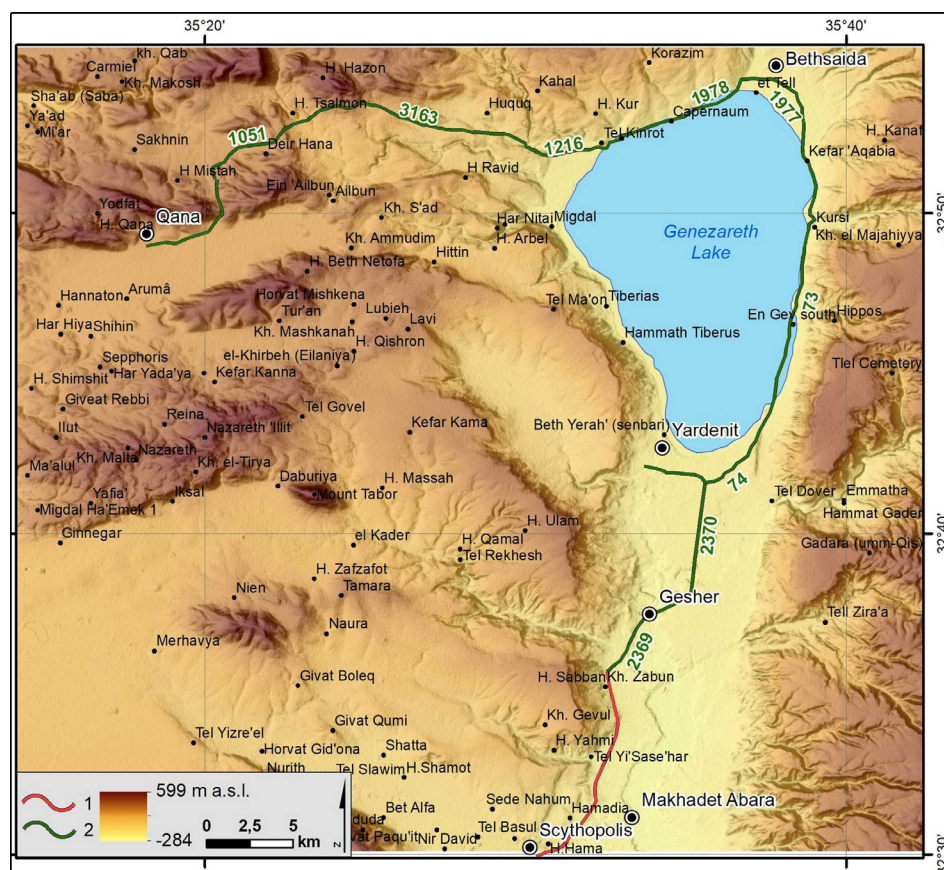
Fig. 26. From Yardenit/Gesher/Makhadet Abara to Cana through Bethsaida
using the Ottoman road network: 1 – 'Roman' roads; 2 – 'Ottoman' roads.
Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)

Next, if the Roman imperial road network is used as an analogy, the main corridor of movement passes to the north through the Jordan Valley and then along the eastern shores of Lake Galilee via ID 2724, 2725, 2726, 2753, 2746, 2747, 2744, 2745, 7096 (Harvard Dataverse). The total length of this route is 92 km (Yardenit), 101 km (Gesher) or 116 km (Makhadet Abara) (see Fig. 27).
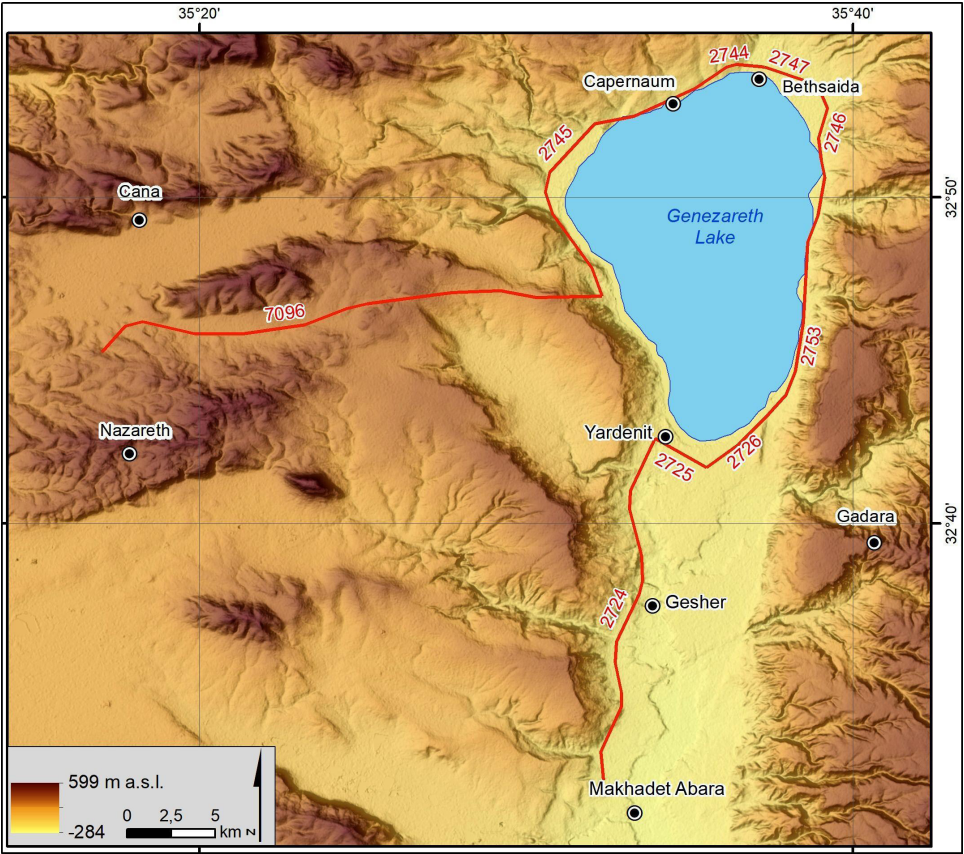
Fig. 27. From Yardenit/Gesher/Makhadet Abara to Cana through Bethsaida using the Roman imperial road network (Harvard Dataverse/Barrington Atlas). Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)

In the case of the Least Cost Path simulations, all LCP routes (based on Tobler's Hiking Function and slope) indicate almost the same route along the Jordan River, around Lake Galilee and the valley of Nahal Tsalmon, and directly to the Beit Netofa Valley through Ailbun for 69 km (Yardenit), 78 km (Gesher) and 92 km (Makhadet Abara) (see Fig. 28).
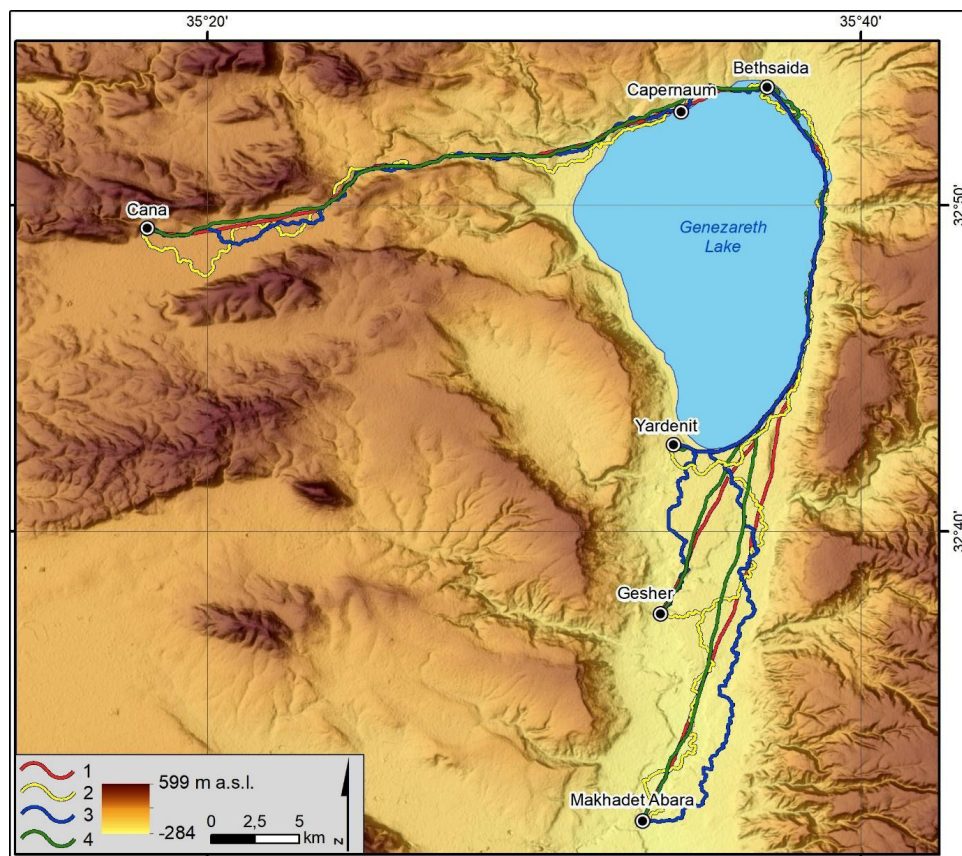
Fig. 28. Least cost path simulation for Yardenit/Gesher/Makhadet Abara to Cana through Bethsaida: 1 – srtm/tobler; 2 – srtm/slope; 3 – aster/slope; 4 – aster/Tobler. Hypsometry and hillshading based on SRTM DEM (2013)

Conclusions

Although a direct route between Jericho and Jerusalem existed both in the Iron Age and Greco-Roman times, the only extant remains are of a Roman imperial road that was used until Ottoman times. This road is about 29 km long and has an average inclination of 6.9 degrees. This means that travel between Jericho and Jerusalem on foot could have required 9 hours[64] of continuous marching and as such is very unlikely to have been completed in one day by most travellers.

It appears that travellers between Cana (Khirbet Qana) and Capernaum had two serious options for travel – a topographic route via the valley of Nahal Tsalmon or a tour via the Arbel Valley. The Nahal Tsalmon route was slightly shorter (28 km), while the Arbela Valley route was a bit longer (30 km), but at the same time it offered more convenient options for overnight accommodation. As both routes could take around 7–8 hours, the choice between them, including the decision to travel for one or two days, may have depended on the season (weather and amount of daylight) and the journey's start time. Longer routes between Cana and Capernaum, including a route via Horvat Tsalmon and Wadi Amud (39 km) and a route following the Roman imperial road from Sepphoris via Tiberias (45 km), are less likely for Early Roman times.

The most probable direct route from the Hajlah ford to Cana (Khirbet Qana) led via the vicinity of the Nazareth Range (on the analogy of Ottoman roads and LCP) and not via Tiberias. The travel distance between the Hajlah ford and Khirbet Qana could amount to 138 km/30 hours and as such would require 4 days of travel on foot.

As for the routes from the northern identifications of the baptism site (Yardenit, Gesher, Makhadet Abara) to Khirbet Qana, their length amounts to 35 km/8 hours (Yardenit), 43 km/10 hours (Gesher), and 52 km/12 hours (Makhadet Abara). In this context, it should be stressed that only from the closest destination, Yardenit, could Khirbet Qana be reached within one long travel day; from Gesher and Makhadet Abara, the journey would likely have taken 2 days.

The use of LCPs, although not an ideal solution, appears to predict general corridors of movement with a high probability. The LCPs typically agree with the courses of the Ottoman roads. Furthermore, they can also provide an accurate prediction of the course of the Roman imperial roads (as indicated by the Jericho–Jerusalem route), although they differ in one important detail – the LCPs may follow riverbeds instead of ascending ridges as they prefer a slight road gradient, while the Roman road engineers led their roads along ridges to avoid building bridges and retaining walls and evade the erosive power of water at the bottom of the valley. The use of DEMs such as SRTM and ASTER do not bring about any substantial differences. In turn, the unclassified use of slope as a cost surface may lead to striking differences in route projections. The LCP simulations based on unclassified slopes prefer routes avoiding even relatively small inclinations at the expense of longer (or even much longer) distances to be covered.

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64   For the methodology of the transition from the travel distance (km) to the travel time (hours), see footnote 41.

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The Application of Titulus Finalis, Subscriptions, Total Stichometry in the Textual Classification of Early Printed Cyrillic Liturgical Tetraevangelia

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Abstract: Subscriptions and final numerical notations are assumed to be the most succinct text entities in Greek and Church Slavonic Tetraevangelia. Their complex history was widely disregarded in these two traditions. T. Wasserman, along with his colleagues, has recently developed a new typology of subscriptions in Greek codices. The present study attempts to apply this new typological classification of subscriptions, based on their content, wording and gradual development, in a classification of Early Printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia. All the Cyrillic Gospel editions issued in the 16th–18th centuries have been successfully divided into two main groups and nine subgroups. This division agrees with the one based on textual classification of several Gospel fragments, some paratexts preceding each Gospel book and the menologion.

Keywords: subscriptions, total stichometry, early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelion, classification, textual study

1. Textual Classification of Early Printed Cyrillic Liturgical Tetraevangelia – An Overview of the Current State of Research

Liturgical Tetraevangelia were the most common type of Gospel text issued with the use of movable type printing technology in the 16th–18th centuries. Other structural types, such as lectionaries, New Testaments, and Bibles in this period, did not appear as often as Tetraevangelia. The oldest Cyrillic Gospel edition went off the press in 1512. Since then, until the end of the 18th century, i.e. in this period spanning nearly three hundred years – this structural type of book appeared a hundred and eleven times.[1] They were printed in

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1   For a complete list of extant and considered lost early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia, see J. Ostapczuk – B. Dzierżanowska, "Early Printed Editions of Cyrillic Liturgical Tetraevangelia. A Catalogue," *RTChAT* 65/3 (2023) 465–514.

the lands of medieval Romania (nine times) and Serbia (three times) as well as in Moscow (seventy-one times), Vilnius (four times), Lviv (eight times), Kyiv (ten times), Klintsy (only once[2]) and Pochaiv (five times).

A textual analysis of the several fragments of the Gospels of Matthew (3:17–8:21, 13:44–15:11 and 26:1–27:62)[3] and Mark (1:1–2:23)[4], four prefaces to the Gospels by Blessed Theophylact,[5] Archbishop of Bulgaria, four lists of chapter titles (the so-called *kephalaia*),[6] and six short lives of Evangelists[7] proved that all extant, i.e. a hundred and eleven, early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia can be divided into two main groups and several subgroups.

Twelve South Slavonic Tetraevangelia, issued in Middle Bulgarian and Serbian recension of the Church Slavonic Language, were divided into three subgroups:
(1) three Middle-Bulgarian Gospels issued in the first half of the 16th century (Târgovişte 1512, Sibiu 1546 and 1551–1553) and three Serbian ones (Rujno 1537, Belgrade 1552 and Mrkšina Crkva 1562),

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2   It is a reprint of the Moscow Gospel issued in 1648 (A.V. Voznesenskij, *Predvariteľnyj spisok staroobrâdčeskih kirilličeskih izdanij XVIII veka* [Materialy k bibliografii istorii i kuľtury russkogo staroobrâdčestva 1; Saint Petersburg: Hronograf 1994] 31 [No. 85]); E.A. Emeľânova, *Staroobrâdčeskie izdaniâ kirillovskogo šrifta konca XVIII – načala XIX v. Katalog* (Knižnye Pamâtniki Rossijskoj Gosudarstvennoj Biblioteki; Moscow: Paškov Dom 2010) 263–265 (No. 169).

3   J. Ostapczuk, "Tekstologičeskaâ harakteristika slavânskogo perevoda Evangeliâ v staropečatnom slavâno-rumynskom Evangelii tetr 1551–1553 iz Sibiu," *Slavânski tekstove i tradicii. Sbornik v čest Katrin Meri Makrob´´rt. Kirilo-Metodievski studii XXXI* (eds. C. Nikolova *et al.*) (Sofia: Blgarska Akademiâ na Naukite – Kirilo-Metodievski Naučen Centr 2021) 386.

4   J. Ostapczuk, "Tekstologiâ kirilličeskih staropečatnyh bogoslužebnyh Četveroevangelij srednebolgarskogo i serbskogo izvodov i ih otnošenie k rukopisnoi tradicii (Evagenlie ot Marka, začala 1–9)," *Slověne. International Journal of Slavic Studies* 7/2 (2018) 62–73; J. Ostapczuk, "Cyrillic Early Printed Tetragospels of Middle Bulgarian and Serbian Redaction. Textology of the First Nine Zachalas of Mark's Gospel," *Slavia* 88/4 (2019) 371–382.

5   J. Ostapczuk, "Predislovia blažennogo Feofilakta Bolgarskogo k Evangeliam v kievskih Evangeliâh tetr 1697 i 1712 gg.," *Venec hvaleniâ. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Aleksandrowi Naumowowi na jubileusz 70-lecia Latopisy Akademii Supraskiej* (ed. M. Kuczyńska) (Białystok: Akademia Supraska 2019) X, 115–126; J. Ostapczuk, "Predislovie Feofilakta Bolgarskogo k Evangeliû ot Matfeâ v kirilličeskih staropečatnyh Četveroevangeliah iz Brašova (1561/62 g.) i Buharesta (1582 i posle 1582 g.) i ih otnošenie k rukopisnoi tradicii," *Trinadcatye Zagrebinskie Čteniâ. Sbornik statei po itogam meždunarodnoi naučnoi konferencii 3–4 oktâbrâ 2018 g.* (ed. Ž. Levšina) (Saint Petersburg: Rossijskaâ Nacionalnaâ Biblioteka 2019) 315–329; J. Ostapczuk, "Warianty tekstologiczne Przedmów do Ewangelii bł. Teofilakta Bułgarskiego jako podstawa do identyfikacji wzoru cyrylickiej tetraewangelii wileńskiego bractwa św. Ducha z 1644 roku," *Słowianie w monarchii Habsburgów. Literatura, język, kultura* (eds. J. Stradomski – M. Kuczyńska – M. Čistiakova) (Krakowsko-Wieleńskie Studia Slawistyczne 17; Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka 2020) 87–97; J. Ostapczuk, "Prefaces to the Gospels by Blessed Theophylact, Archbishop of Bulgaria, in Early Printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia from Lviv," *RTChAT* 66/1 (2024) 7–25.

6   J. Ostapczuk, "Spisok glav Evangeliâ ot Matfeâ v staropečatnyh kirilličeskih bogoslužebnyh Evangeliah tetr i ih otnošenie k rukopisnoi tradicii," *Slavia* 89/2 (2020) 200–216; J. Ostapczuk, "Oglavlenie Evagenliâ ot Ioanna v staropečatnyh bogoslužebnyh četveroevangeliah," *Konštantínove Listy* 14/2 (2021) 109–125.

7   J. Ostapczuk *et al.*, "Kratkie žitiâ Evangelistov v kirilličeskih staropečatnyh Evangeliâh tetr i ix proishoždenie," *Konštantínove Listy* 13/1 (2020) 126–143.

(2) five Middle-Bulgarian Gospels issued in the second half of the 16th century (Braşov 1562 and 1579, Alba Iulia[8] 1579, Bucharest 1582 and after 1582),

(3) and one Middle-Bulgarian Gospel issued in 1583 in Braşov.

Ninety-nine East Slavonic Tetraevangelia, issued in Moscow, Vilnius, Lviv, Kyiv, Klintsy and Pochaiv were divided into five following subgroups:

(1) Moscow Gospels printed before 1655, together with the first three Vilnius editions issued by the Mamonich Printing House (1575, 1600 and c. 1620) and the one from Klintsy (1786),

(2) Moscow Gospels printed after 1655 together with Kyiv Tetraevangelia issued after the year 1720 and five Pochaiv editions,

(3) Lviv Gospels from Printing House of the Lviv Dormition Confraternity (six editions issued in 1616, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743) and one from Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit issued in 1644,

(4) two editions printed by Mykhailo Slozka in Lviv in 1644 and 1665,

(5) the first two editions from Kyiv issued in 1697 and 1712.

A textual and liturgical analysis of menologion, i.e. a special appendix providing information on feast days[9] and the commemorations of saints and sacred events for the entire liturgical year, not only proved the above-presented classification to be true but also allowed for distinguishing several additional subgroups.[10]

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8   Medieval name of this city located in Romania is Bălgrad.

9   The information given on the feasts or saints is complemented in many cases with the prescribed Gospel readings (i.e. pericopes).

10   See: J. Ostapczuk, "Early Printed Cyrillic Liturgical Tetraevangelia Issued in the Lands of the 16th Century Medieval Romania. General Characteristic and Menologia Analysis," *Biblicum Jassyense. Romanian Journal for Biblical Philology and Hermeneutics* 9 (2022) 67–125; J. Ostapczuk, "Klasyfikacja typologiczna Menologionów w cyrylickich starych drukach liturgicznych Ewangelii tetr," *Polza zelo velikaâ: sbornik naučnyh statei k 60-teliû Andreâ Vladimiroviča Voznesenskogo* (ed. N.V. Nikolaev) (Saint Petersburg: Rossijskaâ Nacionalnaâ Biblioteka 2022) 41–48; J. Ostapczuk, "Liturgical Tradition in the Romanian Tetraevangelion Issued in 1561 in Braşov and Its Relation to the Cyrillic Early Printed Gospel Editions from the 16th Century," *Receptarea Sfintei Scripturi: între filologie, hermeneutică și traductologie. Lucrările Simpozionului Internaţional "Explorări în tradiţia biblică românească și europeană, XII, Iași, 18–20 mai 2023* (eds. A.-D. Bibiri *et al.*) (Iași: Editura Universităţii "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iași 2023) 249–260; J. Ostapczuk, "Kult świętych a tożsamość wyznaniowa – zmiany w aparacie liturgicznym wschodniosłowiańskich cyrylickich starych druków liturgicznych Ewangelii tetr (na przykładzie wydań Ławry Poczajowskiej)," *Wielokulturowość Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej: doświadczenia przeszłości i wyzwania teraźniejszości* (eds. J. Getka – J. Grzybowski) (Interkulturowość Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej; Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 2023) 42–67; J. Ostapczuk, "Cyrillic Early Printed Tetraevangelia Issued in Kyiv in 1697 and 1712 – Their Liturgical Tradition and Original. Study of Saints and Feasts Present in the Menologia," *RTChAT* 65/1 (2023) 7–32; J. Ostapczuk, "Menologia of Cyrillic Early Printed Liturgical Tetraevangelia Issued in Vilnius," *Knygotyra* 80 (2023) 116–146; J. Ostapczuk, "The Cyrillic Early Printed Liturgical Tetraevangelion Issued in Vilnius/Vievis in 1644 and Its Source. Research into the Saints and Feasts Present in the Menologia," *Slavia* 93/1 (2024) 62–77.

As examples, we can point to:

(1) two Middle Bulgarian Tetraevangelia issued in 1582 and after 1582 at the Monastery of St. John the Baptist (Plumbuita on the River Colentina, now in Bucharest) by Hieromonk Laurentie,

(2) five editions from the second half of the 18th century issued in Pochaiv intended for use in the Greek Catholic Church, i.e. the Byzantine rite of the Roman Catholic Church.

This classification was based on the examination of several Gospel fragments and some paratexts[11] that precede each Gospel Book, as well as the menologion, placed at the end of the volume. In addition, early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia contain some other paratexts that close each Gospel book. Subscriptions[12] – together with Superscriptions[13] – and final numerical notations are assumed to be the most succinct text entities in Greek as well as in Church Slavonic handwritten and early printed Tetraevangelia.

2. The Scholarship of Subscriptions in Church Slavonic Tradition

Subscriptions in Glagolitic and Cyrillic Tetraevangelia were widely disregarded in Slavonic scholarship. In the first volume of Novum Testamentum Palaeoslovenice, i.e. Evangelium Secundum Ioannem,[14] no attention was paid to paratexts. In the second volume – Evangelium Secundum Mattheum – only the preface to this Gospel and its list of chapter titles were studied,[15] while the subscriptions were completely disregarded. In an article written by Bulgarian scholar Ekaterina Dogramadžieva, who studied paratexts in Church Slavonic manuscripts of Tetraevangelia, subscriptions occupy merely one paragraph, approximately half a page.[16]

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11   On the term 'paratext', see G. Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Literature, Culture, Theory 20; Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press 1997), while on various paratexts present in Gospels, see P. Andrist, "Toward a Definition of Paratexts and Paratextuality: The Case of Ancient Greek Manuscripts," *Bible as a Notepad. Tracing Annotations and Annotation Practices in Late Antique and Medieval Biblical Manuscripts* (eds. L.I. Lied – M. Maniaci) (Manuscripta Biblica 3; Boston, MA: De Gruyter 2018) 130–149.

12   Subscriptions are also called as: final titles, end-titles or postscripts.

13   Superscriptions are also called as: initial titles, beginning-titles, inscriptions, opening-titles or introductory-titles.

14   *Evangelie ot Ioanna v slavânskoj tradicii* (Novum Testamentum Palaeoslovenice 1; Saint Petersburg: Rossijskoe Biblejskoe Obŝestvo 1998).

15   *Evangelie ot Matfeâ v slavânskoj tradicii* (Novum Testamentum Palaeoslovenice 2; Saint Petersburg: Rossijskoe Biblejskoe Obŝestvo 2005) 169–180.

16   E. Dogramadžieva, "Sʹʹstav na slavânskite rʹʹkopisni četveroevangeliâ," *Palaeobulgarica* 17/2 (1993) 11–12.

3. The Scholarship of Subscriptions in Greek Tradition

In Greek tradition, subscriptions were sporadically researched and rarely included in critical editions.[17] This dismissive approach has changed over the last two decades. Bachelor[18] and PhD theses[19] have started to survey subscriptions, conference papers[20] have presented the outcomes of research on subscriptions. Articles in leading international biblical journals, as well as chapters in monographs, explore the complex history of subscriptions.[21] These succinct texts have also been included in structural visualisations of Greek manuscripts.[22]

A new typology of subscriptions in the Greek tradition has been developed[23] by T. Wasserman, L. Thorp and C.T. Elmelund based on their content, wording and gradual development. They divided subscriptions into three main types:[24]

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17   C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Lipsiae: Giesecke & Devrient 1869) 212–213, 410, 737–738, 966–968; H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1911–1913) I, 294–300; W.H.P. Hatch, *Fascimiles and Descriptions of Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1951) 33–36. See also L. Thorp – T. Wasserman, "The Tradition and Development of the Subscriptions to 1 Timothy," *Studies on the Paratextual Features of Early New Testament Manuscripts* (eds. S.E. Porter – C.S. Stevens – D.I. Yoon) (TENTS 16; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2023) 174.

18   L. Arvedal, *The Subscriptions to 1 Timothy. An Investigation of Their Traditions and Development* (Diss. Örebro School of Theology; Örebro 2016).

19   G.A. Payne, *A Textual Analysis, Critical Reconstruction, and Evaluation of the Superscriptions and Subscriptions to the Corpus Paulinum* (Diss. Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary; Forth Worth 2002); D.G. Champagne, *Scribal Habits within the Superscription and Subscription Traditions of Greek New Testament Manuscripts* (Diss. New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary; New Orleans 2013).

20   M. Vercesi, *Gospels' Subscriptions in Greek Manuscripts: Tracing the Route of Paratexts* (Presentation at the European Association of Biblical Studies Graduate Symposium, Prague 2022), https://www.academia.edu/87639811/Gospels_Subscriptions_in_Greek_Manuscripts_Tracing_the_Route_of_Paratexts [access: 20.10.2024]; E. Van Elverdinghe, *Les souscriptions des Évangiles dans la tradition manuscrite grecque: genèses d'un paratexte* (Conference Presentation at Société Belge d'Études Byzantines, 22e journée byzantine, Namur, 9 juin 2023); E. Van Elverdinghe, *Quand le nombre des témoins dépasse celui des mots ou comment éditer les souscriptions grecques des Évangiles* (Conference Presentation at Séminaire «Éditer et commenter les paratextes bibliques: enjeux et méthodes», Collège de France, Paris, 4 avril 2024).

21   T. Wasserman, *The Epistle of Jude: Its Text and Transmission* (ConBNT 43; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International 2006); C.T. Elmelund – T. Wasserman, "The Subscriptions to Mark's Gospel and History of Reception," *NTS* 69/4 (2023) 429–444; C.T. Elmelund – T. Wasserman, "Second Timothy: When and Where? Text and Traditions in the Subscriptions," *Studies on the Paratextual Features of Early New Testament Manuscripts* (eds. S.E. Porter – C.S. Stevens – D.I. Yoon) (TENTS 16; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2023) 202–226; Thorp – Wasserman, "The Tradition and Development of the Subscriptions to 1 Timothy," 172–201.

22   P. Andrist – M. Wallraff, "ParaTexBib: An ERC Project Dedicated to Paratexts in Greek Manuscripts of the Bible," *COMS Bulletin* 2/1–2 (2016) 63–68; S. Dirkse – P. Andrist – M. Wallraff, "Structural Visualisation of Manuscripts (StruViMan): Principles, Methods, Prospects," *Open Theology* 5/1 (2019) 249–258. See also descriptions of manuscripts on https://www.manuscripta-biblica.org [access: 20.10.2024].

23   This typological classification of subscriptions, as T. Wasserman and C.T. Elmelund stated ("The Subscriptions to Mark's Gospel and History of Reception," 430), corresponds to Hatch's description of subscriptions (Fascimiles and Descriptions of Minuscule Manuscripts of the New Testament 1951), and drew some terminology form D.E. Champagne's PhD thesis (*Scribal Habits within the Superscription and Subscription Traditions of Greek New Testament Manuscripts*).

24   Elmelund – Wasserman, "The Subscriptions to Mark's Gospel and History of Reception," 432–433.

(1) Type 1 – simple subscription indicates authorship (κατὰ μᾶρκον), often features the genre (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) and sometimes reverential modifiers (ἅγιον),[25]

> τὸ (ἅγιον) εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ μᾶρκον

(2) Type 2 – semi-elaborate subscription, aside from the elements mentioned above, has a terminal modifier marking the end of a book[26] (ἐτελέσθη, εἴληφεν τέλος or – only from the 9th century onwards – τέλος),[27]

> (a) εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ λουκᾶν ἐτελέσθη,
> (b) τέλος τοῦ κατὰ (ἅγιον) λουκᾶν (ἁγίου) εὐαγγελίου

(3) Type 3 – elaborate subscription features an additional chronological modifier – pointing to the date of origin (relative to the Ascension of Christ/Lord) and sometimes other modifiers[28] (for example, geographical, pointing to the place of composition).

> τὸ κατὰ ἰωάννην ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον ἐξεδόθη μετὰ χρόνους τριάκοντα καὶ δύο τῆς τοῦ χριστοῦ ἀναλήψεως (ἐν πάτμῳ τῇ νήσῳ)

This typology of subscriptions in the Greek manuscript tradition also records positive evidence of their omission (type 0).[29]

It is worth noting that some manuscripts in Greek and Church Slavonic languages feature two subscriptions simultaneously, i.e. semi-elaborate (type 2) and elaborate (type 3). They were written one after another or were separated by final numeric notations:

> τέλος τοῦ κατὰ μᾶρκον εὐαγγελίου
> τὸ κατὰ μᾶρκον εὐαγγέλιον ἐξεδόθη μετὰ χρόνους δέκα τῆς τοῦ χριστοῦ ἀναλήψεως
>
> конєцъ єже отъ марка свѧтаго єѵⷢ҇лиꙗ
>
> єже отъ марка свѧтоє єѵⷢ҇лиє иꙁдастъ сѧ по лѣтѣхъ дєсѧтихъ христова въꙁнєсєниꙗ.

A combination of these two subscriptions in one manuscript can be called a compound subscription.

The presence of two nearly identical expressions in a compound subscription, i.e. τοῦ κατὰ μᾶρκον εὐαγγελίου (in Church Slavonic єже отъ марка сⷮгаго єⷢ҇лиꙗ) and τὸ κατὰ μᾶρκον εὐαγγέλιον (in Church Slavonic єже отъ марка свѧтоє єⷢ҇лиє), was sometimes perceived as

25 This type of subscription is in fact a repetition of superscription also known as an inscription (Elmelund – Wasserman, "The Subscriptions to Mark's Gospel and History of Reception," 432).

26 A terminal modifier can also sometimes mark the end of a liturgical reading.

27 See Champagne, *Scribal Habits within the Superscription and Subscription Traditions of Greek New Testament Manuscripts*, 32–100; Thorp – Wasserman, "The Tradition and Development of the Subscriptions to 1 Timothy," 193.

28 For example, the divine-agency modifier (i.e. σὺν θεῷ), language of composition (i.e. Hebrew or Latin) or the so-called Jerusalem colophon. Subscriptions to the Apostolic Letters have several other modifiers, i.e. indication of the letter-carrier, quotations from Eusebius, tradition about Timothy's episcopate, etc. (Elmelund – Wasserman, "Second Timothy: When and Where? Text and Traditions in the Subscriptions," 205–206; Thorp – Wasserman, "The Tradition and Development of the Subscriptions to 1 Timothy," 193–199).

29 Elmelund – Wasserman, "The Subscriptions to Mark's Gospel and History of Reception", 432; Elmelund – Wasserman, "Second Timothy: When and Where? Text and Traditions in the Subscriptions," 205–206; Thorp – Wasserman, "The Tradition and Development of the Subscriptions to 1 Timothy," 191.

superfluous.[30] Therefore, to simplify a given compound subscription, one of these two may have been sometimes omitted.

In addition to the subscriptions, Tetraevangelia can also feature some additional verses (i.e. epigrams, succinct prefaces) and several final numeric notations appended to the end of the Gospel books.

4. Objectives

This paper is an attempt to legitimise, based on the presented typology of subscriptions, the final numeric notations and additional verses, textual classification of early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia and prove the significance of various succinct texts closing Gospel books for biblical scholarship.

5. Textual Classification of Early Printed Cyrillic Liturgical Tetraevangelia

5.1.   South Slavonic Tetraevangelia

All eleven[31] South Slavonic Tetraevangelia attest to the presence of subscriptions, stichometric notation and some other texts closing each Gospel book.

In contrast to East Slavonic editions, all Middle Bulgarian and Serbian Tetraevangelia have a geographical modifier included in the Subscription to the Gospel of John: въ патмѣ островѣ (ἐν πάτμῳ τῇ νήσῳ). This conveys information that the book was written on Patmos Island. Thus, as several examples presented below, this element proves that South Slavonic Gospel editions form a separate group.

Only some of the South Slavonic Tetraevangelia feature a combination of a semi-elaborate subscription (type 2) with an elaborate one (type 3), i.e. a compound subscription. In the case of the Gospel of Matthew, it is found only in one edition (Braşov 1583). In the case of the Gospel of Mark, a combination of two subscriptions was present in four (Braşov 1562, 1579 and 1583 as well as Alba Ioulia 1579), while in the case of the Gospel of Luke, in all six Middle Bulgarian Tetraevangelia issued in the second half of 16th century (i.e. Braşov 1562, 1579 and 1583; Alba Iulia 1579, Bucharest 1582 and after 1582). Thus, these facts – as the one below – point to the possibility of dividing all of the Middle Bulgarian Tetraevangelia into four subgroups.

In early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia, only two of four Gospel books may have additional verses appended to their end.

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30   A similar situation is attested to subscriptions to the Apostle Letters (see Thorp – Wasserman, "The Tradition and Development of the Subscriptions to 1 Timothy," 199).

31   The Gospel edition issued in Sibiu in 1551–1553 has only part of the Gospel of Matthew extant, all subscriptions have been lost. Thus, this edition had to be excluded from this study.

The Gospel of Mark can be supplemented with the following text: речено (же) бысть петромъ въ римѣ. сътворено же начало отъ пророческаго слова. еже съ высоты нашедша исаиина. крилать образь ев҃лиа иавлѣа (ὑπηγορεύθη [δὲ] ὑπὸ πέτρου ἐν ῥώμῃ, ἐποιήσατο δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ προφητικοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐξ ὕψους ἐπιόντος τοῦ ἠσαΐου, τὴν πτερωτικὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου δεικνύει) which can be also preceded by the expression: вѣдомо да есть иако еже отъ марка ев҃лие (ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ κατὰ μάρκον εὐαγγέλιον).

The Gospel of Luke can be supplemented with the following text: речено бысть павломъ въ римѣ отъ свѧщенничьскаго же образа сыи. отъ захарие свѧщенника кадѧща начатъ (ὑπηγορεύθη ὑπὸ παύλου ἐν ῥώμῃ, ἅτε δὲ ἱερατικοῦ χαρακτῆρος ὑπάρχον, ἀπὸ ζαχαρίου τοῦ ἱερέως θυμιῶντος ἤρξατο) always preceded with the expression: вѣдомо да есть иако еже отъ лꙋки ст҃ое ев҃лие (ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ κατὰ λουκᾶν εὐαγγέλιον).

These two additional texts, which are in fact succinct prefaces, are present only in six Tetraevangelia:

(1) two Middle Bulgarian issued in the first half of the 16th century (Târgovişte 1512 and Sibiu 1546) and three Serbian (Rujno 1537, Belgrade 1552 and Mrkšina Crkva 1562),
(2) and one Middle-Bulgarian Gospel issued in Braşov in 1583.

Two Middle Bulgarian Tetraevangelia issued in Bucharest in 1582 and after 1582 attest only to the presence of the first of the two above-mentioned additional texts, i.e. the one appended to the Gospel of Mark, while the second related to the Gospel of Luke is missing.

It is also worth noting that the expression вѣдомо да есть иако еже отъ марка ев҃лие (ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ κατὰ μάρκον εὐαγγέλιον) preceding the first additional text is present only in the 1583 Braşov Gospel edition.

Three Middle Bulgarian Tetraevangelia printed in Braşov in 1562 and 1579, as well as the one from Alba Iulia issued in 1579, and all East Slavonic Gospel editions omit these two supplementary succinct prefaces. The presence of these two additional texts appended to the Gospel of Mark and Luke reaffirms the classification of all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia into four subgroups.

All early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia issued up to 1635 feature a final stichometric notation. In all of them, the number of verses (Greek στίχοι) is indicated at the end of each Gospel. All South Slavonic and East Slavonic Tetraevangelia printed before 1635, indicate the same number of verses in Matthew, Mark and John, i.e. 2600, 1600 and 2300, respectively. Most of the editions consulted indicate that the Gospel of Luke has 2800 verses, while only five Middle Bulgarian Tetraevangelia attest to 2070 verses. These five editions were issued in the second half of the 16th century, i.e. in Braşov in 1562 and 1579, in Alba Iulia in 1579 and in Bucharest in 1582 and after 1582. Thus, these five Middle Bulgarian Gospel editions should be classified into separate subgroups.

The evidence presented above based on subscriptions, final stichometric notation, and additional verses (appended only to the Gospel of Mark and Luke) legitimates classifying all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia into one separate group and the four following subgroups:

(1) two Middle Bulgarian Gospels issued in the first half of the 16th century, i.e. Târgovişte 1512, Sibiu 1546, and three Serbian ones, i.e. Rujno 1537, Belgrade 1552 and Mrkšina Crkva 1562,

(2) three Middle Bulgarian Gospels printed in Braşov in 1562 and 1579 and in Alba Iulia in 1579,

(3) two Middle Bulgarian Gospels issued in Bucharest in 1582 and after 1582,

(4) and one Middle Bulgarian Gospel printed in Braşov in 1583.

5.2. East Slavonic Tetraevangelia

All early printed East Slavonic liturgical Tetraevangelia, as all their South Slavonic counterparts, also attest to the presence of subscriptions.

All Gospel editions issued in Moscow before 1655, including the first three printed at the Mamonich Workshop in Vilnius (1575, 1600 and c. 1620), and the edition from Klintsy (1786), which is a reprint of the Moscow edition issued in 1648,[32] feature a set of texts closing all four Gospel books, i.e. an elaborate subscription (type 3) and final stichometric notation.

All editions issued in Moscow after the year 1655 (with only one exception), in Kyiv after 1720,[33] and in Pochaiv feature the following – innovative in the second case – elements:

(1) in the Gospel of Matthew – presence of a semi-elaborate subscription (type 2) and the absence of any final numeric notation,

(2) in the Gospel of Mark – substitution of total stichometry with final numeric notations based on the modern divisions of this book, i.e. pointing to 16 chapters (ѕ҃і) and 678 verses (х҃ои) in this Gospel.

Only two early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia – the first of which was printed in Moscow in 1689 and considered exceptional in terms of size and press run,[34] and the second issued in Lviv in 1743 – in the case of all four Gospel books, feature exclusively semi-elaborate subscriptions (type 2 – indicating the end of the book), do not have any stichometric or other numeric notations.

Thus, the evidence presented concerning the type of subscription, i.e. type 3 or 2 in the case of the Gospel of Matthew, and final numeric notation, i.e. its presence or absence in the Gospel of Matthew, or substitution with the number of modern chapters and verses in the Gospel of Mark, prove that all Tetraevangelia from Moscow, eight from Kyiv (issued

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32   Voznesenskij, *Predvaritel'nyj spisok staroobrâdčeskih kirilličeskih izdanij XVIII veka*, 31 (No. 85); Emel'ânova, *Staroobrâdčeskie izdaniâ kirillovskogo šrifta konca XVIII – načala XIX v. Katalog*, 263–265 (No. 169).

33   After the year 1720, Gospel editions were printed in Kyiv in the following years: 1733, 1737, 1746, 1752, 1759, 1771, 1773 and 1784. Only two Tetraevangelia were printed in Kyiv before 1720, i.e. in 1697 and 1712.

34   A.S. Zernova, *Knigi kirillovskoj pečati izdannye v Moskve v XVI–XVII vekah. Svodnyj katalog* (Moscow: Tip. B-ki im. V.I. Lenina 1958) 119.

after 1720) as well as five from Pochaiv,[35] should be divided – with two exceptions – into two following subgroups:

(1) Gospel editions from Moscow issued before 1655, the first three Vilnius editions and the one from Klintsy issued in 1786,

(2) Gospel editions from Moscow issued after 1655, Kiev Tetraevangelia printed after 1720 and five Pochaiv editions.

Almost all Tetraevangelia issued in Lviv – except for the last one printed in 1743,[36] the fourth one from Vilnius[37] issued in 1644 – a reprint of the Lviv Gospel from 1636,[38] as well as the first two from Kyiv printed in 1697 and 1712 have final stichometry substituted with another numeric notation. In these ten editions, the numeric notation indicates the number of chapters in each Gospel according to their modern division (i.e. 28, 16, 24 and 21) and to their liturgical sections (i.e. 116, 71, 114 and 67).

Only two Lviv Tetraevangelia issued at Mykhailo Slozka Printing House[39] (1644 and 1665), as well as the first two Gospel editions from Kyiv (1697 and 1712), include in the subscription to the Gospel of Matthew expression написано бысть ([συν]εγράφη) instead of издаст ся (ἐξεδόθη) and a noun ev͠листомъ (εὐαγγελιστοῦ) added to the words самѣмъ тѣмъ (ὑπ᾽αὐτοῦ).

The addition of the expression самѣмъ тѣмъ ev͠листомъ (ὑπ᾽αὐτοῦ τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ) in the subscription to the Gospel of Luke appeared in merely two Lviv Gospel editions issued in 1644 and 1665 at the Mykhailo Slozka Printing House.

Thus, the evidence presented concerning the substitution of total stichometry with two other final numeric notations (indicating the number of modern chapters and liturgical sections) and the integration of certain additional expressions into the subscriptions to the Gospels of Matthew and Luke prove that eight Lviv Tetraevangelia, the fourth from Vilnius and the first two from Kyiv, should be divided into three following subgroups:

(1) five Lviv Gospel editions from the Dormition Brotherhood Printing House (i.e. 1636, 1670, 1790, 1704 and 1722) and the fourth from Vilnius (i.e. 1644),

(2) two Lviv Gospel editions from the Mykhailo Slozka Printing House (i.e. 1644 and 1665),

(3) the first two editions from Kyiv (i.e. 1697 and 1712).

All ninety-nine East Slavonic early printed Cyrillic liturgical Tetraevangelia based on the textual readings revealed in subscriptions and innovations in numeric notations in

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35   There are only five Gospel editions from the Pochaiv monastic printing house. They appeared in 1759, 1768, 1771 and twice in 1780. Pochaiv printers used the 1746 Kyiv Tetraevangelion as their exemplar (J. Ostapczuk, "Oryginał cyrylickich starych druków Ewangelii Tetr wydanych w Poczajowie. Analiza świąt i świętych obecnych w menologionach," *Slavistica Vilnensis* 68/1 [2023] 10–23).

36   Gospel editions were printed in Lviv eight times, i.e. in 1636, 1644, 1665, 1670, 1690, 1704, 1722 and 1743.

37   The fourth Vilnius Gospel edition appeared at the Vilnius Brotherhood Printing House.

38   Ostapczuk, "The Cyrillic Early Printed Liturgical Tetraevangelion," 75 (and cited in footnote no. 104 literature).

39   Six other Lviv Tetraevangelia appeared at the Dormition Brotherhood Printing House.

comparison to their South Slavonic Tetraevangelia constitute a separate group that can be divided into five – above enumerated – subgroups. Two editions, the 1689 Moscow and 1743 Lviv, can be treated as exceptions to these five subgroups.

Conclusion

Subscriptions to the Gospel books and final numeric notations are the most succinct text units in Tetraevangelia. Their length does not always match the number of textual variants they feature, i.e. short text units can transmit a relatively significant number of readings.

The results of several textual studies of four Gospel fragments, all prefaces to the Gospels, lists of chapter titles, short lives of Evangelists, and liturgical tradition reflected in Menologion have proven that all early printed Cyrillic Tetraevangelia should be divided into two main groups and nine subgroups in total. The textual analysis of subscriptions and final numeric notations produced the same results as in previously undertaken studies and, thus, confirmed their correctness.

This survey of subscriptions to various Gospel books and their final numeric notations has proven that these succinct text units are of great significance and should not be overlooked in biblical scholarship. Despite their succinctness they do testify – as the above presented evidence proves – to the development of the Gospel tradition and have to be employed to confirm or refute some assertions made especially when studying the textual development of the Gospels and relations between Church Slavonic handwritten and early printed traditions, and comparing them with their Greek counterparts.

Table 1. Indication of the place of origin at the subscription to the Gospel of John
in South Slavonic Tetraevangelia and its omission in East Slavonic Editions

Subscriptions in all South Slavonic Tetraevangelia, issued in Middle Bulgarian and Serbian recensions	Subscriptions in all East Slavonic Tetraevangelia, issued in Moscow, Vilnius, Lviv, Kyiv and Klintsy
еже отъ иѡана сватое еѵⷢ҇лие издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ .л҃в. христова възнесениа въ патмѣ островѣ	еже отъ иѡана сватое благовѣствование (ог конецъ еже отъ иѡана сватаго еѵⷢ҇лиа) издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ .л҃в. христова възнесениа

Table 2. Semi-Elaborate (Type 2) and Elaborate subscriptions (Type 3)
in South Slavonic Tetraevangelia

	Tărgoviște 1512, Sibiu 1546, Rujno 1537, Belgrade 1552, Mrkšina Crkva 1562	Brasov 1562 and 1579, Alba Iulia 1579	Bucharest 1582 and after 1582	Brasov 1583
Subscription to the Gospel of Matthew	еже отъ матдеа сватое еѵⷢ҇лие издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ .и҃. христова възнесениа	конецъ еже отъ матдеа сватаго еѵⷢ҇лиа издастъ са самѣмъ тѣмъ по лѣтѣхъ .и҃. христова възнесениа	конецъ еже отъ матдеа сватаго еѵⷢ҇лиа издастъ са самѣмъ тѣмъ по лѣтѣхъ .и҃. христова възнесениа	конецъ еже отъ матдеа ст҃аго еѵⷢ҇лиа. еже отъ матдеа сватое еѵⷢ҇лие издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ .и҃. христова възнесениа
Subscription to the Gospel of Mark	еже отъ марка сватое еѵⷢ҇лие издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ .і҃. христова възнесениа	конецъ еже отъ марка еѵⷢ҇лию издастъ са еже отъ марка сватое еѵⷢ҇лие по лѣтѣхъ .і҃. христова възнесениа	еже отъ марка сватое еѵⷢ҇лие издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ .і҃. христова възнесениа	конецъ еже отъ марка еѵⷢ҇лию еже отъ марка сватое еѵⷢ҇лие издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ .і҃. христова възнесениа
Subscription to the Gospel of Luke	еже отъ лоукы сватое еѵⷢ҇лие издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ .е҃і. христова възнесениа	конецъ еже отъ лоуки ст҃омꙋ еѵⷢ҇лию. еже отъ лоукы сватое еѵⷢ҇лие издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ .е҃і. христова възнесениа	конецъ еже отъ лоуки ст҃омꙋ еѵⷢ҇лию. еже отъ лоукы сватое еѵⷢ҇лие издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ .е҃і. христова възнесениа	конецъ еже отъ лоуки ст҃омꙋ еѵⷢ҇лию. еже отъ лоукы сватое еѵⷢ҇лие издастъ са по лѣтѣхъ .е҃і. христова възнесениа

Table 3. Succinct prefaces to the Gospels appended to subscriptions
in South Slavonic Tetraevangelia

	Tărgoviște 1512, Sibiu 1546, Rujno 1537, Belgrade 1552, Mrkšina Crkva 1562	Brasov 1562 and 1579, Alba Iulia 1579	Bucharest 1582 and after 1582	Brasov 1583
Subscription to the Gospel of Mark	речено же бысть петромъ въ римѣ сътворено же начало отъ пророческаго слова. еже съ высоты нашедша исаина. крилать образъ ев҃лиа iавлѣа	omitted	речено же бысть петромъ въ римѣ сътворено же начало отъ пророческаго слова. еже съ высоты нашедша исаина. крилать образъ ев҃лиа iавлѣа	вѣдомо да есть iако еже отъ марка ев҃лие речено бысть петромъ въ римѣ сътворено же начало отъ пророческаго слова. еже съ высоты нашедша исаина. крилать образъ ев҃лиа iавлѣа
Subscription to the Gospel of Luke	вѣдомо да есть iако еже отъ лꙋки ст҃ое ев҃лие речено бысть павломъ въ римѣ отъ свѧщенничьскаго же образа сыи. отъ захарие свѧщенника кадѧща начатъ	omitted	omitted	вѣдомо да есть iако еже отъ лꙋки ст҃ое ев҃лие речено бысть павломъ въ римѣ отъ свѧщенничьскаго же образа сыи. отъ захарие свѧщенника кадѧща начатъ

Table 4. Stichometric notation in South Slavonic Tetraevangelia

	Tărgoviște 1512, Sibiu 1546, Rujno 1537, Belgrade 1552, Mrkšina Crkva 1562	Brasov 1562 and 1579, Alba Iulia 1579	Bucharest 1582 and after 1582	Brasov 1583
Gospel of Matthew	2600	2600	2600	2600
Gospel of Mark	1600	1600	1600	1600
Gospel of Luke	2800	2070	2070	2800
Gospel of John	2300	2300	2300	2300

Table 5. Subscriptions in East Slavonic Tetraevangelia

	Issued in Moscow before the year 1655, in the first three from Vilnius and the one from Klintsy (1786)	Issued in Moscow after the year 1655, in Kyiv after 1720 and in Pochaiv	Issued in Lviv by Orthodox Confraternity Printing House and the fourth from Vilnius (printed in 1644)	Issued in Lviv by Mykhailo Slozka Printing House (in 1644 and 1665)	Issued in Kyiv in 1697 and 1712 (i.e. the first two)
Gospel of Matthew	конецъ еже отъ матдеѧ сватаго еѵ҇лиѧ издастъ сѧ по лѣтѣхъ ҃и. христова възнесениѧ	конецъ еже отъ матдеѧ сватаго еѵ҇лиѧ	конецъ еже отъ матдеѧ сватаго еѵ҇лиѧ издастъ сѧ самѣмъ тѣмъ по лѣтѣхъ ҃и. христова възнесениѧ	конецъ еже отъ матдеѧ сватаго еѵ҇лиѧ написано быстъ самѣмъ тѣмъ еѵг҇листомъ по лѣтѣхъ ҃и. христова възнесениѧ	конецъ сватаго еѵ҇лиѧ отъ матдеѧ еже написано быстъ самѣмъ тѣмъ еѵг҇листомъ по лѣтѣхъ ҃и. христова възнесениѧ
Gospel of Mark	еже отъ марка сватое еѵ҇лие издастъ сѧ по лѣтѣхъ ҃і. христова възнесениѧ	конецъ отъ марка сватомȢ еѵ҇лию иже издастъ сѧ по лѣтѣхъ ҃і. христова възнесениѧ	конецъ отъ марка сватаго еѵ҇лиѧ издастъ сѧ по лѣтѣхъ ҃і. христова възнесениѧ	конецъ отъ марка сватаго еѵ҇лиѧ издастъ сѧ по лѣтѣхъ ҃і. христова възнесениѧ	конецъ отъ марка сватомȢ еѵ҇лию иже издастъ сѧ по лѣтѣхъ ҃і. христова възнесениѧ
Gospel of Luke	конецъ еже отъ лоукы сватаго еѵ҇лиѧ издастъ сѧ по лѣтѣхъ ҃еі. христова възнесениѧ	конецъ еже отъ лоукы сватаго еѵ҇лиѧ издастъ сѧ по лѣтѣхъ ҃еі. христова възнесениѧ	конецъ еже отъ лоукы сватаго еѵ҇лиѧ издастъ сѧ по лѣтѣхъ ҃еі. христова възнесениѧ	конецъ еже отъ лоукы сватаго еѵ҇лиѧ издастъ сѧ самѣмъ тѣмъ еѵг҇листомъ по лѣтѣхъ ҃еі. христова възнесениѧ	конецъ еѵ҇лию бл҃говѣствованномȢ отъ лоукы сватаго еже издастъ сѧ по лѣтѣхъ ҃еі. христова възнесениѧ

Table 6. Final stichometric and numeric notations in East Slavonic Tetraevangelia

	Issued in Moscow before 1655, the first three from Vilnius and the one from Klintsy (1786)	Issued in Moscow after 1655, in Kyiv after 1720 and in Pochaiv	Issued in Lviv, Vilnius in 1644, and the first two from Kyiv (1697 and 1712)
Gospel of Matthew	2600	information omitted	chapters 28 and liturgical sections 116
Gospel of Mark	1600	16 chapters and 678 verses	chapters 16 and liturgical sections 71
Gospel of Luke	2800	2800	chapters 24 and liturgical sections 114
Gospel of John	2300	2300	chapters 21 and liturgical sections 67

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Review

Piero Alfonso Carlo Masolo, *"Sarai beato perché non hanno da ricambiarti" (Lc 14,14). Dal simposio (Lc 14,1–24) alla convivialità nella duplice opera lucana* (Studi e ricerche. Sezione teologica; Assissi: Cittadella 2024). Pp. 330. € 20,50. ISBN 978-88-308-1931-3

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The subject of the monograph is the Lukan pericope describing events during one of the meals that Jesus eats with a representative of the Pharisees in the Gospel of St Luke, specifically in 14:1–24. The issue is discussed extensively and concerns not only all descriptions of Jesus' meals in the Third Gospel before Luke 14 (5:29–32; 7:36–50; 9:10–17; 10:38–42; 11:37–54) and after it (15:23–32; 16:19–21; 22:14–38; 24:28–32; 24:41–43), but also in the book of the Acts of the Apostles (16:34; 20:7–11; 27:33–38), which proves the originality of this study. It is worth mentioning that the motif of meals and eating appears more frequently in Luke-Acts than in the gospels of the other synoptics. However, a comprehensive overview of this important issue has been lacking until now. The word 'convivialità' used in the title has its English equivalent – conviviality. It denotes the quality of being cordial and friendly in a social setting.

The very theme of the work described here draws on a famous article by Xavier De Meeus ("Composition de Luc XIV et genre symposiaque," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 37 [1961] 847–870), who identified the scene in question as the classical Greek literary genre of symposium, since the pericope contains a series of parables told in the context of a meal, making it similar to this genre. Luke describes similar characters and includes motifs that appear in the symposia of Plato, Xenophon or Apuleius. During these meetings, it was common practice to engage in various debates. In his presentation of *status quaestionis*, the author also mentions David P. Moessner's work – a classic monograph for studies on the Third Gospel – *Lord of the Banquet. The Literary and Theological Significance of the Lukan Travel Narrative* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 1989), which, contrary to its title, does not focus primarily on the theme of meals, but rather on the presentation of the figure of Jesus in the section on the journey to Jerusalem. Moessner shows the connection between the motif of Jesus' meals and travel. Another important work for Masolo is the latest monograph on this subject, namely Thomas Esposito's work entitled *Jesus' Meals with Pharisees and Their Liturgical Roots* (Analecta Biblica 209; Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press 2015). Jesus' three meals with the Pharisees are discussed extensively in this work,

The Biblical Annals 15/3 (2025)

including Luke 14:1–24. At the very beginning of his work, Esposito rejects the classification of this pericope as a symposium – unfortunately, Masolo does not respond to this criticism, although he criticises Esposito's main thesis (p. 37).

The author uses the method of narrative criticism, based on the book by Daniel Marguerat and Yvan Bourquin, *Per leggere i racconti biblici* (Rome: Borla 2011). He pays particular attention to the effect the text has on the implied reader and analyses the *mise en abyme* technique used in Luke 14. The author analyses the text from the perspective of a first-time reader who demonstrates an understanding of the nature of a symposium (p. 42). The choice of narrative criticism as the leading tool of analysis is appropriate for the objectives of this monograph.

The first chapter (*Articolazione del testo*) is unusual in that it does not use the chosen method of analysis. This part of the work contains a philological analysis of the vocabulary used to describe the meal scenes, which, in turn, is valuable in narrative criticism, as it is a kind of 'pact' or 'agreement' (*patto narrativo*) between the text and the reader. The analysed terms refer not only to acts of eating, but also inviting, resting as a gesture characteristic of feasts at that time, tasting, preparing and serving meals, as well as general vocabulary related to feasting. In the second subsection of the chapter, the author describes the characters appearing in the scene, as well as those appearing in Jesus' story. It also analyses the place and time of action, circumstances, customs, and the goal that the hosts and guests have in mind.

The second chapter, in its first part, analyses the meal scenes in the Galilean section preceding Luke 14, especially 5:29–32; 7:36–50. To a lesser extent, it studies the description of the multiplication of bread in 9:10–17, which has a different, more proleptic character, foreshadowing the Last Supper. The feast at the house of Levi is an opportunity to present the purpose of Jesus' mission – the divine Physician who came to call sinners to repentance. The Pharisees and scribes oppose Jesus' disciples and Jesus Himself because of the meal shared with sinners. The double juxtaposition of the motifs of fasting and eating and drinking (5:33), together with the metaphor of the bridegroom (5:34), already foreshadows the Passion. The reference to new wine emphasises that the extensive use of meal-related terminology is a means by which Jesus explains his teaching. Luke 7:36–50 discusses Jesus' identity as a prophet and the issues of forgiveness and love. Once again, a shared meal becomes an opportunity for discussion and confrontation. The second, shorter part of the chapter deals with the section called Journey to Jerusalem. In its initial phase, the author of the Gospel makes many references to meals – in 9:52; 10:7; 10:38–42; 11:2; 11:5, 8, 11 – which are not, however, the main theme of the pericopes. Nevertheless, the monograph devotes more space to Jesus' second meal with the representative of the Pharisees in 11:37–54. This scene is dominated by open hostility between Christ and the Pharisee faction. According to Masolo, the author of the Gospel combines in this pericope the genre of symposium with a Hebrew form of speech beginning with the word 'woe' (a prophetic judgement).

The third chapter – *Il simposio lucano* – constitutes the largest part of the work and forms the core of its deliberations. The author methodically applies the principles of narrative

analysis and defines the genre found in Luke 14:1–24 as a quadruple chreia: (1) first, 'dramatic' (*cria drammatica*) 14:1–6, which describes the healing in the Pharisee's house and is an introduction to the next three, which are parables of Jesus; (2) 14:7–11: about guests taking seats; (3) 14:12–14: about the host inviting guests; (4) 14:15–24: about the great banquet. The thematic and narrative unity of the entire fragment is clear, and the connections and parallelisms between the individual parts are well highlighted. Masolo meticulously employs, although he does not explicitly mention it, the method of close reading and treats each verse separately, devoting a subsection to it.

The author also shows key intratextual references in Luke 14:1–6 to earlier, analogous scenes, especially 6:6–11 and 13:10–17 (pp. 143–145), which is justified by the fact that these three scenes are the only accounts of miracles in the Gospel of Luke that deal with the theme of the Sabbath. Luke 14:1–6 introduces the confrontation with the Pharisees. The second moment in the narrative, 14:7–11, is defined as a chreia with two discourses: the first called apotreptic, describing what is done, and the second called protreptic, indicating what should be done (*discorso apotrettico e protrettico*). It ends with a summarising maxim in 14:11 (p. 163). This type of double discourse is also present in the third moment of the narrative about reciprocity when inviting guests to a feast, while the final speech is the most elaborate parable. Jesus' three discourses are addressed to different characters: the first is general in nature and addressed to everyone, the second is addressed to the host, and the third is a response to a question from a participant in the feast. The first speech about taking seats raises the issue of the social status of those invited, as well as pride and humility, and calls for a change of mentality. Jesus' second discourse on inviting guests also contrasts two social groups: the wealthy and those related to them, and the marginalised. Luke 14:12–14 refers not only to a change of mentality, but also to the last things in 14:14b, where there is a statement about repayment at the time of the resurrection.

The longest parable about the great banquet (14:15–24) refers to motifs from previous scenes and is described by the author as a social revolution and an eschatological feast. Its four main theses are: (1) Israel's leadership is wasting an opportunity for salvation, (2) the Kingdom does not reject those who are invited, (3) it is not Jesus who excludes, (4) despite adversity, the banquet takes place. The parable is a chreia that begins with a question (14:15) and ends with a general statement that applies to those present at the Pharisee's house, as emphasised by the phrase 'I tell you' (14:24) spoken emphatically to them. Luke places the parable between a blessing and an admonishing remark. The blessing in 14:14 (to which the next one in 14:15 refers) is doubly paradoxical, as it suggests that happiness lies in the absence of repayment, which will actually be granted at the resurrection. The final remark in 14:24 allows for a re-reading of the entire parable and prompts the reader to ask: will there be a place for me at this feast, which is the feast of Jesus? This is a question about man's attitude towards others and also concerns Christ's disciples. It emphasises the need to look for people in unexpected places and to invite even those whom no one else would invite. By using the *mise en abyme* technique, Masolo gives the pericope 14:1–24 many overlapping meanings that the implied reader can relate to themselves.

The final chapter deals with all the meal-related scenes in the last part of Luke's diptych. A significant scene of this type before the Passion is the Last Supper, which is presented as a foreshadowing of the banquet of the kingdom (*banchetto del regno*). Three motifs converge in this scene: the plan of salvation, the necessity of fulfilment, and *convivialità*. The next two scenes analysed in detail concern the encounters with the Risen Christ and the meals with the disciples in Emmaus and later in Jerusalem in Luke 24. These meals allude to the Eucharist and Christ's salvific action (Emmaus) and are an opportunity for final teachings (24:36–49). In the Acts of the Apostles, references to communal meals are frequent and appear from the beginning. Among many such scenes, it is worth highlighting the summaries that talk about the breaking of bread together, as well as the episode with Cornelius, which shows that pagans can also participate in communal meals, which is confirmed in chapter 15 during the scene of the so-called 'Council of Jerusalem'. The next chapter contains an episode that is significant for the main thesis of the work. It describes Paul's missionary activity no longer in the synagogue, but in the *oikos* of Lydia and the converted guard (Acts 16:33–34; 16:40). The author calls the meal at the latter's house after his baptism quasi-liturgical (p. 263). This *convivialità* is the salvific sign, the heart of the scene. The same happens in the scene in Troas in Acts 20, where the Eucharistic gesture of breaking bread is also accompanied by this sociable friendliness. *Convivialità* often accompanies salvation in Luke's work, as can also be seen in the last discussed scene in Acts 27:33–38, where the breaking of bread becomes in itself a source of salvation. Luke probably refers here to the Eucharistic banquet.

Overall, Masolo's work has undeniable merit. It is a comprehensive study of a motif that frequently appears in Luke's diptych and demonstrates its theological significance. The *convivialità* featured in the title is linked to the main message conveyed by Jesus and is often associated with the theme of salvation. The meticulous exegesis of Luke 14:1–24 and most of the thirteen meal scenes is a creative contribution to the study of Luke's diptych. The analysis covered not only scenes describing Jesus' meals, but also parables relevant to this topic, such as Luke 15:11–38 and 16:19–31. The monograph's contribution to Lukan exegesis lies in its focus on sociable friendliness and showing its significance. The analysis of Luke 14:1–24 itself is creative and meticulous, as it shows how the scene of the meal with the healing at the beginning and the following parables of Jesus are interrelated and, thanks to *mise en abyme*, have more meanings than if they were considered separately.

However, certain objections can be raised in relation to the work. The study is narrative, but since the term 'symposium' appears in the title, it was worth examining in detail whether Luke 14:1–24 belongs to this genre. Esposito's work casts serious doubt on this classification, and Masolo's monograph, unfortunately, does not address this objection at all. The author, however, often uses the names of other Greek genres, such as chreia and syncrisis. Another source of dissatisfaction is the lack of sufficient attention paid to an issue that seems important for the work: when does the phrase 'breaking bread' refer to the Eucharist, and when does it refer to a simple meal? This issue is important in the Acts of the Apostles and is the subject of differing opinions. Masolo sees a connection between

convivialità and salvation, but does not resolve whether the summaries in the first chapters of the Acts of the Apostles and the later scenes describe the first Eucharists or not.

Since the analysed work adopts narrative criticism methods, it seems that there is also a lack of distinction between scenes in which *convivialità* is an important motif and those in which it is secondary. For example, in Luke 9:10–17, there is no narrative emphasis on *convivialità*. Of course, the presence of similar vocabulary is a link between the scenes analysed in the work, but it would be more consistent with the chosen narrative method to organise the material related to meals according to a narrative criterion, such as the theory of the plot. As the author himself points out (p. 286), the choice of the title scene is not dictated by any criteria derived from narrative criticism, but rather by its exemplary nature (this is more of a criterion from form criticism). It contains elements characteristic of meal scenes: the arrival of Jesus as the guest of honour, who becomes the protagonist, dialogue and teaching, and the use of vocabulary related to feasting.

These observations do not detract from the undoubted value of the work, which is coherent and very comprehensive. Masolo's monograph will be an indispensable point of reference for scholars who study meal scenes, broadly understood issues of salvation in Luke-Acts, and the titular *convivialità*, or sociable friendliness, which is more significant for the meaning of Luke's diptych than it may seem at first reading. Drawing attention to this issue is an undeniable merit of Masolo's monograph.