

# The Biblical Annals

April 2026

volume 16 (74) no. 2

THE JOHN PAUL II  
CATHOLIC  
UNIVERSITY  
OF LUBLIN | **KUL** 1918

e-ISSN: 2451-2168  
ISSN: 2083-2222





# The Biblical Annals

volume 16 (74) no. 2

INSTITUTE OF BIBLICAL STUDIES KUL

Lublin 2026

THE JOHN PAUL II CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF LUBLIN  
FACULTY OF THEOLOGY  
The Institute of Biblical Studies

The Biblical Annals is the official scholarly journal of the Institute of Biblical Studies at the Faculty of Theology, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Poland. It is dedicated to biblical studies and it is divided into the following sections: Old Testament, Intertestamental Literature, New Testament, Varia, Review Articles, Book Reviews, and Biblical News. The journal covers fields of research such as biblical archeology, history, exegesis, philology, hermeneutics, literary studies, studies on culture and religion, and theological studies.

**Editor-in-Chief:**

Mirosław Wróbel, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

**Vice Editor-in-Chief:**

Arnold Zawadzki, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

**Managing Editor:**

Monika Popek, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

**Old Testament Editor:**

Arnold Zawadzki, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

**Intertestamentary Literature Editor:**

Henryk Drawnel, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

**New Testament Editor:**

Marcin Kowalski, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin  
Krzysztof Mielcarek, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

**Varia and Biblical News Editor:**

Tomasz Bartłomiej Bąk, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

**Review Articles and Book Review Editor:**

Marcin Zieliński, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

**Copy Editor:**

Paula Ulidowska

**Layout Editor:**

Jarosław Łukasik

**Scientific Board**

Stanisław Bazyliński (Pontifical Biblical Institute / Seraphicum, Rome, Italy)

Waldemar Chrostowski (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, Warsaw, Poland)

Lutz Doering (Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster, Germany)

Ida Fröhlich (Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Budapest, Hungary)

Stanisław Hałas (Pontifical University of John Paul II, Cracow, Poland)

Eric F. Mason (Judson University, Elgin, IL, USA)

Émile Puech (École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem, Israel)

Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, France)

Eibert Tigchelaar (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium)

e-ISSN: 2451-2168

ISSN: 2083-2222

The Biblical Annals, as the journal of the Institute of Biblical Studies, has been published since 1963 by the Institute of Biblical Studies, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Al. Raclawickie 14, 20-950 Lublin, Poland. From its founding, it has been issued under these previous titles: (1) *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne*, fascicle 1 "Pismo Święte" (ISSN 0035-7723), 1963–1990; (2) *Roczniki Teologiczne*, fascicle 1 "Pismo Święte" (ISSN 12331457), 1991–2008; and (3) *Roczniki Biblijne* (ISSN 2080-8518), 2009–2010. The periodical is a research journal and appears four times a year. The only reference edition of the quarterly is the digital version which is available on-line at <https://czasopisma.kul.pl/ba>.

The quarterly is indexed in: SCOPUS, Web of Science, ATLA Catholic Periodical and Literature Index (ATLA CPLI), ATLA Religion Database\* (ATLA RDBR), ATLAS, ATLAS plus, Biblioteka Nauki (Library of Science), Central European Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (CEJSH), Central and Eastern European Online Library (CEEOL), Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences (ERIH PLUS), Arianta, Baza Artykułów Biblijki Polskiej (BAPB), Humanities Journals (BazHum), Index Copernicus (IC), Index Theologicus (IxTheo), New Testament Abstracts (NTA), Old Testament Abstracts (OTA), POL-Index, Polska Bibliografia Naukowa (PBN), Repozytorium Instytucjonalne KUL.

Publisher: The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin,  
Al. Raclawickie 14, 20-950 Lublin, Poland

Publishing house: Wydawnictwo KUL, ul. Konstantynów 1H, 20-708 Lublin,  
e-mail: [wydawnictwo@kul.pl](mailto:wydawnictwo@kul.pl), website: <http://wydawnictwo.kul.lublin.pl>

Typesetting: Wydawnictwo KUL

Cover design: Agnieszka Gawryszuk

Proofreader for Polish texts: Paula Ulidowska

Information about submitting articles and book reviews: Manuscripts submitted for publication in The Biblical Annals should conform to the directions given in "Author Guidelines" on <http://czasopisma.kul.pl/ba/about/submissions> and are to be sent to the editorial board via the same website (follow the link for "Online Submissions").

Review copies: Books sent to this journal will not be returned to the sender (regardless of whether a review of the book is published), unless such material is sent at the specific request of the editors of The Biblical Annals. Books for review should be addressed.



# Table of Contents

## Articles

Cezary Korzec, 'To Serve the Egyptians' vs 'To Serve God' (cf. Exod 14:12; 35:19): Service as a Key Motivation For the Exodus .....	199
Stanisław Paprocki, The Keeper of the Wardrobe (2 Kgs 22:14    2 Chr 34:22): A Historical and Exegetical Study .....	221
Dariusz Iwański, Shared Motifs, Distinct Functions: Theological Transformation in Ancient Near Eastern Lament Traditions .....	243
Ferry Yefta Mamahit, The Hymns of Amos and the Cosmic Temple: Salvation as Creation, Decreation, and Recreation .....	263
Isaac Moreno Sanz, The Presentation in the Temple (Luke 2:21–24): An Intertextual Reading in a Communicative Approach .....	291
Andrzej Piwowar, Czy rzeczywiście większa będzie radość z jednego nawracającego się grzesznika niż z dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu sprawiedliwych (Łk 15,7)? .....	313
Will There Really Be Greater Joy for One Repentant Sinner than for Ninety-Nine Righteous Ones (Luke 15:7)?	
Tomasz Karol Mantyk, Theology of the Eucharist in Erasmus' and Titelmans' Paraphrase of John 6 .....	333

## Review

Suzanna Millar, <i>Animals, Power, and Intersectionality in the Books of Samuel</i> (The Bible and the Humanities; Oxford: Oxford University Press 2026) (Mateusz Targoński) .....	357
---	-----

## Biblical News

Tomasz Bartłomiej Bąk, Działalność Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II w roku akademickim 2024/2025 .....	361
Academic Activities of the Institute of Biblical Studies at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin in the Year 2024/2025	



## Articles




## ‘To Serve the Egyptians’ vs ‘To Serve God’ (cf. Exod 14:12; 35:19): Service as a Key Motivation For the Exodus

Cezary Korzec

University of Szczecin

cezary.korzec@usz.edu.pl

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8719-2927>

**ABSTRACT:** Contemporary studies of the Book of Exodus accord significant importance to the theme of Israel, the people of God, being emancipated from a state of ‘service to Pharaoh’ to ‘service to God’. However, our understanding of this is underdetermined. Many see it merely as a pretext for the exodus; others link the idea of ‘service to God’ with worship. A literary analysis of the places in Exodus that feature the theme of ‘service’ makes it possible not only to confirm the relevance of ‘service to God’ to the book as a whole but also to define it outside its usual cultic context as the ‘life’ of God’s people.

**KEYWORDS:** Exodus, service, liberation, Pharaoh, worship

The Book of Exodus, despite the diversity of its literary material, is a monumental narrative – both literary and theological – account of the liberation of God’s people, known as the exodus. While its relationship to its potential historical background remains a subject of debate among modern scholars, its fundamental significance remains undisputed.<sup>1</sup> In the memory of the people of God, this liberation acquired a fundamental character, becoming the model for all subsequent liberations and emancipations. This is already revealed in the Book of Exodus, where the account of the exodus occupies the first 15 chapters.<sup>2</sup> In the background, it is not difficult to see the playing out of the issue of whom Israel is to serve: Pharaoh or God. The narrative in Exod 14, which moves to the seashore, depicts the moment when Israel sheds the fear of Pharaoh and his army and learns to fear God. After this,

1 A discussion of various aspects of the biblical account of the exodus and its potential historical background is given by J. Lemański, “Exodus – pomiędzy historią, mitem i koncepcją teologiczną,” *BA* 4/2 (2014) 279–311, <https://doi.org/10.31743/ba.476>.

2 Cf. G. Fischer, “Exodus 1–15 – eine Erzählung,” *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction – Reception – Interpretation* (ed. M. Vervenne) (BETL 126; Leuven: Leuven University Press – Peeters 1996) 149–178. The author is aware of the incompleteness of his thesis on Exod 1–15 as a story (p. 178), but it has been recognised and developed in the works of other researchers, see H. Utzschneider – W. Oswald, “Structure and Plot of the Biblical Exodus Narrative,” *Exodus 1–15* (IEKAT; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 2012), [https://books.google.pl/books?id=irt4DwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=inauthor:%22Helmut+Utzschneider%22&hl=pl&newbks=1&newbks\\_redir=0&sa=X&redir\\_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.pl/books?id=irt4DwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=inauthor:%22Helmut+Utzschneider%22&hl=pl&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false) [access: 6.06.2024]. See also J. Lemański, *Księga Wjścia. Wstęp. Przekład z oryginału. Komentarz* (NKB.ST 2; Częstochowa: Edycja Świętego Pawła 2009) 31–35, where he discusses various concepts of the structure of the Book of Exodus.

the narrative ‘spills over’ beyond the exodus to tell what it means to serve a God who has chosen to be in the midst of a liberated people.<sup>3</sup> From the very beginning, the exodus is to happen and will happen for the sake of serving (!) God.<sup>4</sup>

This paper will identify and analyse, using the tools of literary analysis, the places in the epic account of the exodus that are crucial to understanding what service to God is. Existing studies of the problem correctly point to the essential significance of the emancipation of God’s people in the exodus: the abandonment of service to Pharaoh and the transition to the service of YHWH (see § 1). This raises the obvious questions of the meaning of such a process: whom will Israel serve, Pharaoh or YHWH? What is it to serve YHWH, in whose name the exodus is to take place? The formulation of the questions highlights the theological significance of the process, as well as of each of its stages: the divine command given to Moses to depart from Egypt (see § 2), the dramatic confrontation with Pharaoh both within Egypt and at the shores of the Sea of Reeds (see § 3), and the fully committed engagement of Israel in constructing a sanctuary for God in the wilderness (see § 4).

## 1. ‘Service’ as a Unifying Motif of the Book of Exodus

The emancipation of Israel, alongside its liberation and emergence as the people of God, constitutes one of the most prominent theological themes of the book and, at the same time, serves as its unifying thread. The significance of this theme was already emphasised by Georges Auzou in his commentary on the Book of Exodus, as reflected in the title of his work: *De la servitude au service*.<sup>5</sup> In the opening pages of his commentary, he elaborates on the idea expressed in that title. He argues for the presence of a genuine unity in the book, grounded in the chronological presentation of episodes structured around two major events: the exodus and the covenant. Auzou does not disregard the book’s literary complexity, which stems from the multitude of episodes, the diversity of literary material, and the variety of themes offered to the reader for reflection. However, he maintains that behind this complexity lies a profound theological concept that gave rise to the book and provided unity to its diverse elements – a unity encapsulated in the title proposed by the author.<sup>6</sup> He reiterates his thesis throughout his commentary, ultimately expressing it as follows: service, as understood by the Bible, is the true teaching of the book, and the goal towards which it guides its reader.<sup>7</sup>

3 Cf. Lemański, “Exodus,” 311.

4 Cf. L. Alonso Schökel, *Salvezza e liberazione: L’Esodo* (Epifania della Parola 8; Bologna: EDB 1996) 39–40.

5 References to the book will be made based on its Italian edition, G. Auzou, *Dalla servitù al servizio. Il libro dell’Esodo* (Lettura pastorale della Bibbia; Bologna: EDB 1975; French ed. 1961).

6 Cf. Auzou, *Dalla servitù*, 8.

7 Cf. Auzou, *Dalla servitù*, 19.

In his argument, he cites philological observations, particularly the use of the Hebrew verb עָבַד and its derivatives in the Book of Exodus.<sup>8</sup> He notes that this root, which is widely represented in other biblical books and typically conveys the notion of rendering service or performing work on behalf of someone to whom one is subordinate, takes on various nuances in Exodus depending on the context, the nature of the subordinate party, and the kind of work performed. Two primary usages of the root deserve attention. First, it denotes forced, subjugated labour on behalf of Pharaoh, expressing a state of bondage or dependence (e.g. Exod 1:13–14; 2:23; 6:5; 14:12; 20:2). Second, it is used in reference to certain individuals such as Moses, or to groups engaged in actions directed towards God, particularly in the context of worship or cultic service (e.g. Exod 4:10; 14:31; 32:13; 35:24). He concludes that 'service' in the Book of Exodus becomes a disposition of the heart – and thus of the whole person – a life animated by the spirit of deep faith, lived in an attitude of submission to God.<sup>9</sup> In the following pages of his commentary, Auzou revisits this conclusion while analysing texts that include terms derived from the root עָבַד. Drawing on this foundation, he further develops the meaning of these terms in specific literary contexts: the calling of Moses (Exod 3:7–15), the ritual of the Passover (Exod 12:21–27), the Decalogue (Exod 20:1–7), freedom expressed through service (Exod 21:2–11), and the liturgical Torah (Exod 25–31; 35–40).<sup>10</sup>

Auzou's work, published in the early 1960s, was part of a new trend in the interpretation of the Book of Exodus at the time.<sup>11</sup> The authors of this emerging approach set themselves the ambitious goal of uncovering, within the literary complexity of the Book of Exodus, the history of the religious thought of God's people.<sup>12</sup> Among the commentaries representative of this trend are the works published simultaneously in 1974 by Childs and Schmidt,<sup>13</sup> as well as Durham's commentary, released in the 1980s. Durham articulates the question of the book's unity in the following way:

The Book of Exodus must be read as a whole. Despite the strands of narrative and legal and sacerdotal source-material that are clearly visible in the forty chapters that make up this book, and despite the fact that is a compilation whose layers are still at least partly visible and to a degree recoverable, the Book of Exodus must be considered as a whole piece of theological literature, quite deliberately put into the form in which we have it, for very specific purposes.<sup>14</sup>

8 The following comments refer to the chapter titled 'Servire', cf. Auzou, *Dalla servitù*, 108–110.

9 Cf. Auzou, *Dalla servitù*, 110.

10 Cf. Auzou, *Dalla servitù*, 114, 161n, 230n, 254–256, 283–292.

11 Cf. M. Vervenne, "Current Tendencies and Developments in the Study of the Book of Exodus," *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction – Reception – Interpretation* (ed. M. Vervenne) (BETL 126; Leuven: Leuven University Press – Peeters 1996) 23.

12 Cf. Auzou, *Dalla servitù*, 11.

13 W.H. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6* (BKAT 2/1; Neukirchen-Vluy: Neukirchener 1974); B.S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press 1974).

14 J.I. Durham, *Exodus* (WBC 3; Waco, TX: Word Books 1987) XX.

The opinion expressed in the second part of the quotation – that theology played a decisive role in shaping the current literary form of the book – opens the way for the search for a theological keystone or key. In various studies within this interpretative approach to the Book of Exodus, different theological themes have been proposed: the presence of God, the knowledge of YHWH, creation, Israel as the chosen nation, liberation, and the emancipation from slavery into a life of service.<sup>15</sup>

Within this interpretative framework, Auzou's work cannot even be considered pioneering, as the year of publication might otherwise suggest.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, Auzou's commentary does not align with the scope of those mentioned above, suggesting a disregard for the complex textual history. Nevertheless, in those sections where the author engages in in-depth historical–critical analysis of the text of Exodus, he demonstrates a clear understanding of its multilayered structure. Thus, the proposal to view the emancipation of Israel as the theological keystone is not an attempt to evade the intricate field of historical–critical research, but rather a consequence of embracing the unifying and organizing role of theological intention in the composition of the book.

The perspective proposed by Auzou – from service to Pharaoh to service to God – has been recognised by scholars of the Book of Exodus. This is evidenced by numerous studies, introductions, commentaries, and articles that reference this idea, though often without explicit mention of Auzou himself. For instance, Arie C. Leder, first in 1999 in considerable detail and later in 2001 more briefly, points to the presence of the themes of service to Pharaoh and to God in the Book of Exodus.<sup>17</sup> He argues that ‘an examination of the beginning and ending of Exodus uncovers several themes indicated by the repetition of key words or phrases. They are blessing, filling the earth, building, slavery, and the mountain.’<sup>18</sup> Service is one of several themes that form the structural framework of the Book of Exodus. In one of his conclusions, he states: ‘This frame tells the reader that the narrator takes Israel from slavery to Pharaoh to service in the presence of God. The narrator tells this story by organizing the paragraphs, or subunits, into the narrative before us.’<sup>19</sup> In this, he closely aligns with Auzou's thought, who is convinced of the fundamental importance of Israel's emancipation throughout the Book of Exodus. However, his final conclusion – resulting from an analysis of vocabulary and the connections between paragraphs and subunits – is as follows:

15 A thorough analysis of the theological keys to the Book of Exodus is offered by Lemański, accompanied by an extensive body of relevant literature (see *Księga Wjścia*, 37–49).

16 Vervenne attributes priority in this regard to Benno Jacob (*Das zweite Buch der Tora: Exodus* [ed. E.I. Jacob] [s.l. 1940?]), cf. M. Vervenne, ‘Current Tendencies,’ 22.

17 A.C. Leder, ‘Reading Exodus to Learn and Learning to Read Exodus,’ *CTJ* 34 (1999) 11–35, especially 21; A.C. Leder, ‘The Coherence of Exodus Narrative Unity and Meaning Arie,’ *CTJ* 36 (2001) 251–269, especially 266.

18 Leder, ‘Reading Exodus,’ 17.

19 Leder, ‘Reading Exodus,’ 22.

This thematic statement can be further reduced to: By mighty signs of power the Lord rescues Israel from Pharaoh and brings her to his presence at Sinai in order to dwell in her midst by means of the tabernacle. Exod 29:43–46 could be considered the narrative's own thematic statement.<sup>20</sup>

In this respect, however, he significantly departs from Auzou's thesis.

Other scholars, Helmut Utzschneider and Wolfgang Oswald, draw attention to the integrative function of the theme of service (Exod 12:25) within the context of the narrative concerning the celebration of Passover (Exod 12–13, especially 12:25), as it connects the two main strands of the book: the narrative of the events in Egypt and the establishment of worship in the wilderness. He also expresses the view that the scope of 'service', as it appears in the Book of Exodus, extends beyond the book itself: 'The antonymous semantic field of 'forced labor' and, above, liberation from it, also remains part of the memory and is connected with every future celebration of the Passover festival.'<sup>21</sup>

The Polish biblical scholar Janusz Lemański addresses the theme of service to Pharaoh versus service to God on two occasions and, in a broader sense, in his works on the Book of Exodus. He first does so in his commentary, and later in an extensive introduction to the Pentateuch.<sup>22</sup> 'This is perhaps the most evident theological theme that defines the fundamental theological logic of the entire Book of Exodus: the transition from forced service to Pharaoh to cultic service to YHWH.'<sup>23</sup> Such a clearly expressed opinion, although with a certain ('perhaps') qualification, is difficult to find in the scholar's earlier work, the commentary on the Book of Exodus, even in the extensive paragraph devoted to this topic. Thus, it should be seen as the result of the author's reflection on the matter and the formulation of a more refined interpretation. Unfortunately, beyond this initial sentence, Lemański largely repeats the core ideas already presented in the commentary in subsequent pages.<sup>24</sup> In both works, the theme of emancipation is incorporated into what, for Lemański, is the central concept: liberation. The subsequent sections of both studies are, in fact, devoted to various aspects of liberation in the Book of Exodus: liberation as a new creation, as a political and social act, and as an opening towards worship. It is in this last context that significant formulations appear: 'Liberation consists not only in being freed from bondage, but also in being freed for the service of God.'<sup>25</sup> Through such statements, Lemański expresses the conviction that the theme of service constitutes an integral part of the main thread of the Book of Exodus – namely, liberation.

<sup>20</sup> Leder, "Reading Exodus," 35.

<sup>21</sup> W. Oswald – H. Utzschneider, "Divine Service as Sign of Freedom – The Exodus Narrative as the Cult Legend of the Passover-Matzot Festival," *Exodus 1–15* (IEKAT; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 2014), [https://books.google.pl/books?id=irt4DwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=inauthor:%22Helmut+Utzschneider%22&hl=pl&newbks=1&newbks\\_redir=0&sa=X&redir\\_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.pl/books?id=irt4DwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=inauthor:%22Helmut+Utzschneider%22&hl=pl&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false) [access: 6.06.2024].

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Lemański, *Księga Wyjścia*, 42–48; J. Lemański, *Tora – Pięcioksiąg. Wprowadzenie w zagadnienia teologiczne i historyczno-krytyczne* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego 2020) 443–447.

<sup>23</sup> Lemański, *Tora*, 443.

<sup>24</sup> Cf., e.g. Lemański, *Księga Wyjścia*, 44; and Lemański, *Tora*, 444.

<sup>25</sup> Lemański, *Księga Wyjścia*, 47; Lemański, *Tora*, 445.

A reading of both of Lemański's texts ultimately confirms the significance of the theme of service in the Book of Exodus. It is intrinsically linked to the theme of liberation. It therefore takes the form of emancipation – a transition from service to Pharaoh to service to God. However, one aspect that escapes not only Lemański but also other scholars who engage with this theme is that service significantly reshapes the very concept of liberation. Through the integral incorporation of service into the book's narrative, liberation is no longer portrayed simply as the recovery of freedom, but as a readiness for service.

The significance of the theme of service in the Book of Exodus – strongly implied, though cautiously formulated, in Lemański's writings – serves as the conceptual starting point for the present study. In the following chapters, I will examine how this theme appears across various sections of the book in order to explore and substantiate Lemański's claim that liberation in Exodus is ultimately not an end in itself but a transition into a life of service to God.

## 2. 'Serving God' Is Not a Pretext

The idea of service to God as a purpose for leaving Egypt appears for the first time on the lips of God himself during his dialogue with Moses (Exod 3:7–12), which begins with the theophany (Exod 3:1–6):

ויאמר כִּי־אֵהְיֶה עִמָּךְ וְזֶה־יֵלֶךְ הָאוֹת כִּי אֲנִי שְׁלַחְתִּיךָ בְּהוֹצִיאֲךָ אֶת־הָעָם מִמִּצְרַיִם תַּעֲבֹדוּן אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים עַל הָהָר הַזֶּה  
 And He said, 'I will be with you. And this will be the sign for you (sg.) that I have sent you: when you (sg.) bring the people out of Egypt, you (pl.) will serve [תַּעֲבֹדוּן] God on this mountain.' (Exod 3:12)

God's words are a reaction to Moses' first objection (v. 11) to being sent (v. 10a). 'To serve God on this mountain' (Exod 3:12b) is a sign to convince Moses that he is sent and that the task entrusted to him is feasible.<sup>26</sup> This is not, however, the first occurrence of the verb 'to serve' (עָבַד) in Exodus. It appears in the first paragraphs of the book to refer to rendering service to Pharaoh (Exod 1:13, 14). In God's words, for the first time, the meaning of the term shifts from slave service to Pharaoh to service to God. The sign is a promise of a new reality, which is already revealed in the calling of Moses. His mission will be fulfilled in the life of a liberated people who offer praise to God.

In the next section, recounting Moses' return from the land of Midian to Egypt (Exod 4:19–23), the motif of leading out of Egypt and service returns in God's words, which constitute another detailed instruction given to Moses (Exod 4:21–23). In His words to Moses, God does not repeat himself. During the first dialogue, God points to new 'unsaid' aspects of the mission: the necessity to do 'all miracles' before Pharaoh (v. 21a),

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 56–60 (especially 60), 74; Lemański, *Księga Wjścia*, 149.

Pharaoh's resistance (v. 21b), God's fatherly attitude to the oppressed people (v. 22), and the need to speak offensive words to Pharaoh:

ואמר אליך שלח את־בני ויעבדני ותמאן לשלחו הנה אנכי הרג את־בנך בכרך

and I told you, 'Let my son go, so he may serve me [ויעבדני]'. But you refused to let him go; so I will kill your firstborn son. (Exod 4:23)

God needs 'cooperation', and through Moses calls Pharaoh to it; the exodus and the service of YHWH 'are entrusted' to Pharaoh's decision.<sup>27</sup>

The motifs of exodus, service, and miracles become central in the following scenes: the first encounter with Pharaoh (Exod 5:1–6:1), the confirmation of Moses' mission (Exod 6:2–7:7), and finally the extensive narrative of the plagues (Exod 7:8–11:10). Moses, the voice of God to an enslaved people (Exod 4:29–31; 6:6) and to Pharaoh (Exod 3:10, 18; 4:12; 6:10), demands again and again from the latter that Israel be allowed to go into the desert. Pharaoh's long series of rejections,<sup>28</sup> indicating his stubbornness, not only becomes the occasion for further interventions; it further highlights the importance of the goal of serving God (7:16, 26; 8:16, 25; 9:1, 13; 10:3).

At first glance, especially in view of Moses' propensity for negotiation (cf., e.g. Exod 8:21–24) and his use of understatement while doing so (how would offering a sacrifice in Egypt offend the Egyptians? cf. v. 22), the 'service' appears to be merely a tactical pretext. Clearly, Pharaoh is to be led astray. This seems to be all about the possibility of escape: the increasingly fanciful arguments Moses makes to Pharaoh for letting the people go (8:22; 10:9, 26) tend to escalate rather than reduce the tension. Each successive encounter between Moses and Pharaoh culminates in a demonstration of the former's dominance over the latter, until the poised slave leader takes his leave of Pharaoh forever (10:29). Although 'service' is officially only a pretext, it expresses a reality that transcends it. Israel's desire to 'serve God' is not merely the result of a planned escape: it is consistently linked to the wilderness (Exod 3:18; 5:1, 3; 7:16; 8:23, 24) and the consequent need to go on the road. However, this meaning cannot be interpreted solely as an escape plan.<sup>29</sup>

The site of Moses' first encounter with God, 'God's Mount Horeb', is located 'beyond the desert'. Moses reaches it after leaving the customary place of sheep grazing (Exod 3:1). He is already a member of a new community: the Midianite clan led by Jethro. This was made possible by Moses marrying one of the daughters of the Midianite priest (Exod 2:16–22). This entire change in circumstances, however, stems from his earlier flight from Egypt (Exod 2:15), which initiated the sequence of events leading to his new life in Midian.

27 Cf. J. Goldingay, *Old Testament Theology. I. Israel's Gospel* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity 2003) 354. The problematic nature of the Exodus texts that speak of Pharaoh's hardness is discussed in detail by J. Lemański, cf. "Serce faraona" – odpowiedzialność osobista czy bezwolne poddanie się działaniu Boga?," *CTO 1* (2017) 35–58.

28 Cf. Lemański, "Serce faraona," 44–50.

29 Cf. Lemański, *Księga Wyjścia*, 154.

The desert provides a malleable backdrop and delimits the geographical space of this new phase of Moses' life. It determines the course of events (meeting his future wife, Sephorah, at the well [Exod 2:15], his way of life – herding sheep [Exod 3:1]), the kinds of relationships that determine membership of a community (in this case, a clan led by Reuel/Jethro, father of Sephorah and priest of the Midianites), and the new status Moses acquires as a result.<sup>30</sup> Before the Israelites and the new Pharaoh, Moses would not stand as the adopted son of an Egyptian princess or as an outlaw,<sup>31</sup> but as the head of a family provided with goods (Exod 4:20).<sup>32</sup>

The consistent identification of the desert as the site for organising the feast must be read in the context of these new experiences of Moses: his life outside Egypt and the mention of Israel's current condition woven into the narrative (Exod 2:23b; cf. 1:8–14). While Moses becomes the head of the family, the leader of the clan (Exod 4:20), Israel lives amid the Egyptians; it has become a nation of brickmakers (Exod 5:7–8, 14, 18, 19), the basic building blocks of urban spaces. Israel has already been harnessed to the erection of cities, Pithom and Rameses (Exod 1:11), but it does not 'construct' communities. In the eyes of the Egyptians and their Hebrew collaborators, the Israelites are servants of Pharaoh (Exod 5:16). Through hard labour (Exod 1:11; 2:11; 5:4, 5; 6:6, 7) in creating urban spaces, they are assigned the status of slaves.

The same people of Israel have no romantic expectations of the desert. This is evident through their utterances, for example, in the moment of crisis at the Sea of Reeds (Exod 14:11, 12). In the words addressed to Moses (Exod 14:12b), the people reject the possibility of life in the wilderness. Other such utterances became their 'ritual chant' or 'complaining motif', during their wanderings through the desert (cf., e.g. Exod 15:24–25; 16:2–3, 6–8). Therefore, Moses' request to Pharaoh is not simply a demand for 'a kind of religious holiday, a custom well known to the Egyptians.' Nor is it a form of subterfuge, although indeed, 'Pharaoh is not informed of the proper place of celebration.'<sup>33</sup> Its meaning goes beyond both. Its meaning, from the outset, is deeply inscribed in Moses' current experience, now to be shared by the people whose guidance he receives at the command of God himself. Hence, the epic account of the Exodus cannot describe the 'service to God in the wilderness' as anything other than a sign (Exod 3:12). Its implications cannot be reduced to the immediate context of Moses' epiphany or treated solely as a promise.<sup>34</sup>

30 Cf. Utzschneider – Oswald, "Moses Marries," *Exodus*, [https://books.google.pl/books?id=irt4DwAAQB\\_AJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=inauthor:%22Helmuth+Utzschneider%22&hl=pl&newbks=1&newbks\\_redir=0&sa=X&redir\\_esc=y#v=onepage&q&cf=false](https://books.google.pl/books?id=irt4DwAAQB_AJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=inauthor:%22Helmuth+Utzschneider%22&hl=pl&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&cf=false) [access: 6.06.2024].

31 Cf. Childs, *Book of Exodus*, 102.

32 Cf. Lemański, *Księga Wjścia*, 168.

33 Cf. Lemański, *Księga Wjścia*, 153, 154.

34 In the commentaries (see footnote 4), these are the two dominant explanations of God's statement to Moses. However, due to the importance of the term in the Hebrew Bible (cf. F.J. Helfmeyer, "אֹת, 'ôth," *TLOT* I, 183–185, and F. Stolz, "אֹת, 'ôth," *TLOT* I, 69) and in the Book of Exodus itself, where, alongside the plagues (Exod 7:3 and others; cf. Lemański, "Serce faraona," 45), 'sign' refers to Sabbath rest (Exod 31:13, 17; see S. van den Eynde, "Keeping God's Sabbath: אֹת and בְּרִית' (Exod 31:12–17)," *Studies in the Book of Exodus*:

### 3. The Incompatibility of 'Serving God' and 'Serving the Egyptians'

Descendants of Jacob-Israel (Exod 1:1) cannot celebrate their God in the land of Pharaoh because no celebration can be held in the midst of a tyrannical<sup>35</sup> and therefore falsely constructed society. Moreover, readers of Exodus should recognise that Pharaoh's command to kill Hebrew infants (Exod 1:22) is not merely a narrative prelude to the birth of Moses,<sup>36</sup> but the ultimate signal for Israel's departure from a death-dealing society.<sup>37</sup> With the Pharaoh's command, the entire narrative of the Exodus becomes unambiguous, despite the various motifs running through it. It is a narrative of life and death.<sup>38</sup> The one who gives life to Israel is God, and Pharaoh brings death. It is only from this perspective that one can argue that serving God and serving Pharaoh are fundamentally contradictory.<sup>39</sup> To avoid confusion, the matter will now be considered on a lexical level.

During the first 'scorched' encounter with Pharaoh (Exod 5:1–5), Moses and his brother Aaron, fortified by earlier events (Exod 4:19–31), address him with an authoritative demand:

כה־אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל שלח את־עמי ויהגו לי במדבר

Thus says YHWH, the God of Israel: Let My people go and they may hold a feast to Me in the wilderness. (Exod 5:1)

After Pharaoh's quick reply rejecting their claim (v. 2), they change tone, formulating their request (v. 3) in the manner of God's words spoken at the burning bush (cf. Exod 3:18b):

אלהי העברים נקרא עלינו נלכה נא דרך שלשת ימים במדבר ונזבחה ליהוה אלהינו

The God of the Hebrews has met with us. Now let us take a three-day journey into the wilderness to offer sacrifices to YHWH our God ... (Exod 5:3)

---

*Redaction – Reception – Interpretation* [ed. M. Vervenne] [BETL 126; Leuven: Leuven University Press – Peeters 1996] 501–511), these explanations should be considered too restrictive. Exod 3:12 is the first occurrence of the term in the Book of Exodus and hence opens up all other possibilities.

35 Utzschneider and Oswald define the social situation in Egypt presented in Exodus using a characteristic expression: 'the hegemonic Egyptian milieu', see "Moses the Young Man," *Exodus*, [https://books.google.pl/books?id=irt4DwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=inauthor:%22Helmut+Utzschneider%22&hl=pl&newbks=1&newbks\\_redir=0&sa=X&redir\\_esc=y#v=onepage&q&cf=false](https://books.google.pl/books?id=irt4DwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=inauthor:%22Helmut+Utzschneider%22&hl=pl&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&cf=false) [access: 6.06.2024].

36 Cf. Lemański, *Księga Wyjścia*, 99.

37 Cf. G. Lohfink, *Im Ringen um die Vernunft: Reden über Israel, die Kirche und die Europäische Aufklärung* (Freiburg – Basel – Wien: Herder 2016) 122n.

38 A closer look at the significance of Exod 1: Pharaoh's command and his other reprisals against Israel for the entire Book of Exodus is provided by P. Weimar, "Exodus 1,10–2,10 als Eröffnungskomposition des Exodusbuch," *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction – Reception – Interpretation* (ed. M. Vervenne) (BETL 126; Leuven: Leuven University Press – Peeters 1996) 201–204.

39 Cf. Lemański, *Księga Wyjścia*, 47–48, 153; Lemański, "Serce faraona," 36.

There is a great deal of imprudence in Moses and Aaron's first words and accompanying gestures (they stand before Pharaoh unaccompanied by their elders; cf. Exod 3:14). However, the words (Exod 5:1b, 3) are not the cause of the failure of their mission. God, knowing Pharaoh's heart, foresaw this situation (Exod 4:21–23). Later on, Pharaoh's progressive resistance and the recurring requests of the brothers will form an essential element of the Pharaoh–Moses relationship (Exod 7:8–11:10).<sup>40</sup> Its constant element is the request to be allowed to organise service in the desert (Exod 5:1; 7:26; 8:16, 23; 9:1, 13; 10:3, 9, 25–26). To properly understand the Pharaoh–Moses relationship, it is necessary to trace how the request is formulated.

In the first of the statements quoted, the brothers speak of 'making a feast'. The verb *הג*, together with its derivatives, appears repeatedly in the pages of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>41</sup> Among its various meanings in the Book of Exodus, it refers to the three great annual Jewish feasts of Passover (Pesach), Weeks (Shavuot), and Tabernacles (Sukkot) (cf. Exod 23:14–16),<sup>42</sup> which are combined with pilgrimage. On Moses' lips, the concept returns only in one of his last encounters with Pharaoh, immediately preceding the eighth plague (Exod 10:9).

When the brothers speak again during their meeting with Pharaoh (Exod 5:3), their tone and vocabulary change. The verb *הג* is replaced by 'to offer a sacrifice' – *זבח*. This indicates that the brothers are taking a step back, giving up their ingenuity in formulating their demands and returning to the words spoken by God at Mount Horeb (Exod 3:18). The verb *זבח* expresses a form of worship that is realised by slaughtering animals and, unlike *הג*, which does not appear again in the plague narrative after Exod 5:1, it continues to be used throughout this section.<sup>43</sup> It reappears in the taunting statements of Pharaoh:

כִּי־נרפִים הֵם עַל־יְכֵן הֵם צַעֲקִים לֵאמֹר נִלְכֶה נִזְבַּח לֵאלֹהֵינוּ

They are lazy. Therefore they cry: Let us go and sacrifice to our God. (Exod 5:8b [cf. 5:17])

It also appears on the lips of both Pharaoh and Moses in the context of accounts of plagues: the second plague of frogs (Exod 8:4), the fourth of swarms of insects (Exod 8:21, 22 [x2], 23–25), and the ninth of darkness (Exod 10:25). It forms an important part of the sections

40 Cf. Weimar, "Exodus," 204–207.

41 Verbal forms of the root *הג* appear sixteen times, and the noun appears sixty-two times in the OT. In the Book of Exodus, it appears three times as a verb (5:1; 12:14; 23:14) and twelve times as the noun (10:9; 12:14; 13:6; 23:15, 16 [x2], 18; 32:5; 34:18, 22 [x2], 25).

42 The text mentions the following festivals: חַג הַמִּצּוֹת (v. 15), חַג הַקִּצִּיר (v. 16a), חַג הָאָסִיף (v. 16b). The meaning of these expressions is discussed by Lemański, *Księga Wjścia*, 501n. The significance of the literary processes involved in merging the northern and Judean festivals, which underlie the current form of Exod 23:14–16, is extensively examined by B.R. Goldstein and A. Cooper ("The Festivals of Israel and Judah and the Literary History of the Pentateuch," *JAOS* 110/1 [1990] 19–31, especially 27).

43 The verb *זבח* appears twenty-seven times in the Book of Exodus. Its final occurrence is in Exod 34:25. The last occurrence of the verb *הג* is in Exod 23:14; see footnote 41.

originating in the pre-priestly tradition of narratives tending to portray Pharaoh as increasingly humiliated, while YHWH becomes increasingly powerful.<sup>44</sup>

A parallel way of formulating the purpose of Moses and Aaron's setting out from Egypt into the desert is expressed by the verb עבד. What is striking is its abundant use in this context (Exod 3:12; 4:23; 7:16, 26; 8:16; 9:1, 13; 10:3, 7, 8, 11, 24, 26 [x2]; 12:31). However, crucial for understanding its presence in this part of the Exodus narrative is that its first appearance occurs well before the brothers' audience with Pharaoh. The situation of the Israelites in Egypt after the new Pharaoh comes to power and begins to oppress Israel is expressed (Exod 1:8, 9) by means of this verb and the noun derived from it, עֶבְדָּה:<sup>45</sup>

ויעבדו מצרים את־בני ישראל בכרך

and the Egyptians enslaved the sons of Israel ruthlessly (Exod 1:13 [cf. also v. 14])

Verses 13 and 14 provide a good start to a longer 'story' in which the Israelites' service in Egypt will serve as the reference point for the key event – the liberation. This will be reflected in the granting of various laws to Israel, for example the central Pentateuchal law on the Sabbath (Deut 5:12–15) or the regulations (cf. Lev 25:43, 46, 53) on the handling of slaves.<sup>46</sup> Another consequence of liberation is the biblical concept of Egypt as a house of slaves (cf., e.g. Exod 13:3, 14; 20:2; Deut 5:6; Jer 34:13).

These verses depict serving Pharaoh as hard physical labour accompanied by cruelty (cf. Ezek 34:4); this is indicated by the combination of the *hifil* verbal form of the root עבד with the rare noun פָּרַךְ.<sup>47</sup> It is an experience of brutal enslavement (Exod 5:16; 6:5). The people are 'integrated' into the social system of Egypt; they take their place as performers of public works under various supervisors (Exod 1:11), both external and appointed from their midst (Exod 5:15). This situation makes it impossible for Israel, in the face of Pharaoh, to think and speak of themselves as anything other than 'your servants' (Exod 5:15, 16). In this way, they indicate how deeply they have blended into the fabric of the surrounding community. In addition to the general terms 'people' (עַם) or 'Egyptians' (Exod 10:6; 11:3), the inhabitants of Egypt are referred to in Exodus by the term 'his

44 Cf. Lemański, *Księga Wjścia*, 215; T. Römer, "From the Call of Moses to the Parting of the Sea: Reflections on the Priestly Version of the Exodus Narrative," *Book of Exodus: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation* (eds. T.B. Dozeman – C.A. Evans – J.N. Lohr) (VTSup 164; Leiden: Brill 2014) 139–144; Lemański, "Serce faraona," 44–47.

45 The statistics for this noun are also noteworthy. It appears twenty-three times throughout the Book of Exodus (see n. 31). In Exod 1:14 alone, it occurs three times, all of them referring to occupations on behalf of Pharaoh, giving this noun the meaning of 'hard work, indentured servitude.' This meaning differs from the common definition of the term: 'work' or 'service'. Cf. H. Ringgren – U. Rutersworden – H. Simian-Yofre, "עָבַד, 'ābād," *TDOT* X, 390, 403–404.

46 Cf. M. Greenberg, *Understanding Exodus* (Heritage of Biblical Israel 2; New York: Behrman 1969) 53.

47 It should be noted that the verb is used in this text in the rare *hifil* form. Its second occurrence in this form appears in Exod 6:5, where the Egyptians are described as אֹתָם מֵעַבְדִּים, that is, those who oppress the Israelites. Lemański expresses the opinion that the combination of a verb used in this way with a noun פָּרַךְ should be assigned the meaning 'cruelty' (*Księga Wjścia*, 107).

servants, that is, Pharaoh's (Exod 5:21; 7:10, 20, 28, 29; 8:5, 7, 17, 20, 25, 27; 9:14; 20:30, 34; 10:1, 6, 7; 11:3, 8; 12:30).<sup>48</sup> However, even these servants turn out in the course of the narrative to be the masters of others (Exod 9:20, 21). The Egyptians form a slave community within which there is no room for any other kind of relationship. It is a community actively seeking to create a system of slave dependency.<sup>49</sup>

This vision of society provides the correct perspective for interpreting the purpose of the exodus as 'service to God'. The Book of Exodus, as already mentioned, uses the verb 'to serve' (עבד) and its derivatives to express this, in parallel with the use of the terms 'feast' and 'sacrifice'. However, the key meaning of the expression 'serving God' lies in the state of the Egyptian community. The exodus is not only about escaping the closed system of slavery; it is also about the need to create a new community, an expression that becomes the concept of 'service to God'.<sup>50</sup> A true feast, a true sacrifice, and finally a true service (and thus a true worship of God, cf., e.g. Exod 15), require a true social form. This is why Israel must go into the desert to 'serve God' there. As long as Israel serves Pharaoh, it cannot serve God.

It is therefore almost tragic to read the words of the panic-stricken people shouting over the Sea of Reeds<sup>51</sup> at the sight of Pharaoh and his chariots. They address Moses as follows:

המבלי אין־קברים במצרים לקחתנו למות במדבר  
מה־זאת עשית לנו להוציאנו ממצרים  
הלא־זה הדבר אשר דברנו אליך במצרים לאמר  
חדל ממנו ונעבדה את־מצרים כי טוב לנו עבד את־מצרים ממתנו במדבר

Was it because there were no graves in Egypt that you took us away to die in the wilderness?

What have you done to us by bringing us out of Egypt?

Isn't this the word that we spoke to you in Egypt,

Leave us alone and we may serve the Egyptians. For better for us to serve the Egyptians than to die in the wilderness. (Exod 14:11–12)

48 'In any case, the unexpected resistance of the Israelites to the attempt by the new king and his people to decimate them appears to have been inhibited, if not foiled completely. Accordingly, the third section of the episode (vv. 13–14) introduces a certain break in the action. This is signified by the renewed introduction of the actors (they are "re-nominalized") and by their renaming. The "people" of the king or his exponents are now called "Egypt" in general, the "people of the Israelites" is simply called "the Israelites." The terminology of forced labor also changes or is supplemented,' Utzschneider – Oswald, "Episode 1: Exod 1:8–14 Synchronic Analysis," *Exodus*, [https://books.google.pl/books?id=wW8iEAAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=inauthor:%22Helmut+Utzschneider%22&hl=pl&newbks=1&newbks\\_redir=0&sa=X&redir\\_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.pl/books?id=wW8iEAAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=inauthor:%22Helmut+Utzschneider%22&hl=pl&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false) [access: 19.03.2025].

49 Cf. Lohfink, *Im Ringen um die Vernunft*, 121–123. Ringgren's opinion on slavery in Egypt remains valid: 'Slave owners included temples, kings, and, beginning with the Old Kingdom, also officials, priests, officers, and others. The number of private slaves was relatively small.' Ringgren – Ruttersworden – Simian-Yofre, "דָּבָע," 389–390.

50 Cf. Lohfink, *Im Ringen um die Vernunft*, 123.

51 The matter of the location of this event and the sea passage itself is discussed in detail by J.C. Gertz, "The Miracle at the Sea. Remarks on the Recent Discussion about Origin and Composition of the Exodus Narrative," *Book of Exodus: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation* (eds. T.B. Dozeman – C.A. Evans – J.N. Lohr) (VTSup 164; Leiden: Brill 2014) 103–117; J. Lemański, "W poszukiwaniu najstarszej literackiej wersji 'cudu nad morzem' (Wj 13,17–15,21)," *BA* 6/1 (2016) 36–38, <https://doi.org/10.31743/ba.1258>.

The Israelites express many opposites: death in Egypt vs death in the desert (v. 11). The plan of escape is yours, they say to Moses (v. 11b), our plan was different (v. 12a). Behind this last formulation hides another key reference to service: 'serve God in the wilderness' vs 'serve the Egyptians in Egypt'. These form an insurmountable opposition: either a feast or slavery, either God's service or slave service. They cannot be combined. Even if the Israelites say that it is 'better for them to serve the Egyptian', contrasting this with 'death in the desert', serving the Egyptians is not recognised as life.

#### 4. 'To Serve God' vs 'To Live' of the People of God

Moses' insistence on offering sacrifices outside Egypt is more than a pretext – 'pouring sand in Pharaoh's eyes' or 'creating a smokescreen'. The Israelites need to perform a feast before God in order to live! The feast will only become possible when Israel is free; then it can begin almost automatically, immediately ... spontaneously (!). And so it does. Hardly has the sea been crossed (Exod 14:22) and Pharaoh and his chariots been swallowed up by the water (Exod 14:28), when the people begin their first communal feast. The festive atmosphere on the shore of the Sea of Reeds<sup>52</sup> opens the hearts of the people to the coming fulfilment of the sign of God's promise: 'To worship God on this mountain' (Exod 3:12b).<sup>53</sup>

Moses intones a hymn (Exod 15:1).<sup>54</sup> The people's singing is a response of faith to the event at the sea.<sup>55</sup> It is directed towards God as the sole author of the deliverance, in which the people played little or no role.<sup>56</sup> Therefore, in the middle of the hymn, these words are sung: 'Who among the gods like You, o YHWH? Who like You, majestic in holiness, awesome in splendor, doing wonders' (Exod 15:11). With this poem, Israel's deliverance

52 The jubilant song at the Red Sea is not, however, the first festival celebrated by Israel in the narrative of the Book of Exodus. Already in Exod 12–13, the Israelites carry out the ritual instructions of the Passover as commanded by God (cf. Exod 12:28). 'Pasqua è una «festa» solenne, un «servizio» sacro, un «ordine» stabilito da Dio perché duri, una celebrazione dell'anniversario che il popolo di Dio dovrà sempre osservare. È il compito esclusivo di tutto il popolo di Dio.' Auzou, *Dalla servitù*, 171.

53 Cf. Auzou, *Dalla servitù*, 182. On the notion of 'sign', see above pp. 7 and 8 with n. 34.

54 Exod 15:20–21 mentions the song of Miriam (Aaron's sister) and the women accompanying her. The relationship of this group to Moses and the Israelites (mentioned in Exod 15:1) is unclear; see the discussion by J.G. Janzen, "Song of Moses, Song of Miriam: Who Is Seconding Whom?" *CBQ* 54/2 (1992) 215–216. Although the meaning of this episode remains unclear, it certainly emphasises the start of the festival, which is already taking place on the shores of the Sea of Reeds; cf. M. Jasiński, "Miriam – zapomniana bohaterka *Exodusu*," *VV* 19 (2011) 43–51, <https://doi.org/10.31743/vv.2026>. Another unclear text that speaks of women's service is Exod 38:8; cf. Lemański, *Księga Wyjścia*, 663n; D. Erbele-Küster, "Der Dienst der Frauen am Eingang des Zeltheiligtums (Exod 38:8) – Kultisch-religiöse Verortungen von Frauen in Exodus und Leviticus," *The Interpretation of Exodus: Studies in Honour of Cornelis Houtman* (ed. R. Roukema) (CBET 44; Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA: Peeters 2006) 265–282.

55 'The witness of the ancient poem in Exod 15 celebrates victory and continues to be the fundamental confession,' B.S. Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old Testament and New Testament: Theological Reflection on the Christian Bible* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 1993) 130.

56 Cf. Childs, *Book of Exodus*, 249.

from Egypt is realised: ‘You have led in your mercy the people, whom you redeemed ...’ (Exod 15:13a). It is also stretched in time (vv. 13b–17), well beyond the horizon of events from the Sea of Reeds, on the shore of which Moses stands (v. 1):

You guided them by Your strength to Your holy habitation. The peoples will hear and tremble; anguish will seize the inhabitants of Philistia. Then the chiefs of Edom will be terrified; trembling will seize the leaders of Moab; all the inhabitants of Canaan will melt away (Exod 15:13b–15).

‘The God of our fathers’ (Exod 3:13, 15, 16; 4:5 and others), who acted in Israel’s history, is the same who acts now and will act in the future. The apparent disruption of chronological order in the hymn was not a problem for the Hebrew Bible’s editors.<sup>57</sup> The epic style allowed him to freely link the past and the present, without overlooking the specifics of historical situations.<sup>58</sup> An important aspect of this process of consolidating and integrating different historical traditions is the ahistorical evocation of key institutions, such as ‘Your holy habitation’ (Exod 15:13b); hence, in the text, this is done without any mention of the location of such a sanctuary.<sup>59</sup> ‘The God of our fathers’ does not limit himself to the liberation of his people; he leads them to his holy place to ‘plant’ them in worship (Exod 15:17).<sup>60</sup>

The end of slavery to Pharaoh and the beginning of service to God resound in the words of Moses’ hymn to the Israelites. The content of this service is not only worship of the true God but his constant presence throughout the life of the ‘planted’ community (Exod 15:17). God has pointed to Sinai as the place for its realization (Exod 3:12); now, here at the Sea of Reeds, the moment of its solemn inauguration is drawing near and, above all, its establishment ‘for all times and forever’ (Exod 15:18).

To this establishment belongs the Tent-Temple, the execution of which is described in the greatest detail in the closely related though not identical accounts of Exod 25–31 and 35–40. The theme of ‘slave service’ and ‘divine service’ is taken up at the outset in chapters 35 and 36. This, however, already takes place using a new vocabulary with limited reference to the ‘classical’ verb עבד and its derivatives, though this word is still important for maintaining continuity between ‘service to Pharaoh’ and ‘service to God’.<sup>61</sup>

The meticulous descriptions, works of priestly tradition,<sup>62</sup> of the making of the Tent-Temple do not give a comprehensive idea of the appearance of this structure. The purpose of these elaborate narratives is to emphasise the connection between the command to

57 Cf. R.G. Kratz, “Israel als Staat und als Volk,” *ZTK* 97/1 (2000) 13.

58 Cf. Childs, *Book of Exodus*, 250.

59 Cf. Childs, *Book of Exodus*, 252; Lemański, *Księga Wjścia*, 339.

60 Cf. Lemański, *Księga Wjścia*, 341.

61 The noun עֲבָדָה appears 10 times in the Book of Exodus: 27:19; 35:21, 24; 36:1, 3, 5; 38:21; 39:32, 40, 42; the verb עָבַד only twice: Exod 32:13; 34:21.

62 The presence of traces of ‘post-priestly’ redaction in Exodus is developed in detail by E. Otto, “Die nachpriesterschriftliche Pentateuchredaktion im Buch Exodus,” *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction – Reception – Interpretation* (ed. M. Vervenne) (BETL 126; Leuven: Leuven University Press – Peeters 1996) 61–111. He comments on the aims and direction of priestly redaction of the texts in a number of places. Concerning the

construct the tabernacle (Exod 26:1–37) and its execution by Moses and the people (Exod 36:8–38). Much of this description is pure idealisation: the sanctuary of the desert is depicted as a dismantled temple, half the size of the Jerusalem Temple, which served as the model for this reconstruction. But it is not all made up here. The image of a 'prefabricated' sanctuary collides with the idea – so firmly rooted in tradition that the authors of our description could not quite eliminate it – that the tabernacle was a tent.<sup>63</sup> In other words, the uniqueness of the Tent-Temple lies primarily in the fact that it can be moved. It can be assembled and then set up again. It is meant to accompany Israel on its journey through the desert.

Paradoxically, despite its mobility, this structure became the very symbol of divine holiness and God's abiding dwelling among his people (Exod 29:42–46); and, ultimately due to the numerous intertextual connections between the priestly narratives of the tabernacle's setting up (Exod 25–31, 35–40) and the creation account (Gen 1–2), the tabernacle emerges as a symbol of the consummation of all creation.<sup>64</sup> It is said of this tabernacle that Aaron and his sons will enter 'to do service [לשרת] in the holy place' (Exod 35:19). And the craftsmen working on its construction receive the materials necessary for the work, brought by the Israelites 'for the work of the service [עבדת] of the holy place' (Exod 36:3). Again, although using different terms, the texts speak of 'service'. The verb עבד and its derivatives, familiar from the first chapters of the Book of Exodus, appear now to describe the work of craftsmanship aimed at preparing a portable sanctuary (Exod 27:19; 35:21, 24; 36:5; 38:21; 39:32, 42), or the worship itself (Exod 30:16; 36:1, 3; 39:40). The verb שרת, used in Exod 35:19, and its derivatives appear first in Exod 24:13, to convey the nature of Joshua's mission (cf. also Exod 33:11). This is not a slave service: Joshua is Moses' assistant and helper.<sup>65</sup> The use of the שרת elsewhere, in the context of Aaron and his sons' worship (Exod 28:35, 43; 29:30; 30:20; 35:19; 39:1, 26, 41), indicates that Joshua's assistance to Moses has a sacred dimension. This aspect of service, conceived as the assistance of a specific person (e.g. Gen 29:15, 18, 20), is the original and proper distinction between the terms שרת and עבד.<sup>66</sup>

More important than the terminology, however, is the fact that the issue of 'service' returns in a new context. Everything is different in the desert. The Israelites no longer serve as slaves – the verb עבד and its derivatives last appear in Exod 34:21 – but as free people. This newness is expressed in the influx of gifts (Exod 35:20–29), their high material quality (Exod 35:5b–9, 22b–24), their excess (Exod 36:3b–7), the people's commitment of their own talents (Exod 35:10, 25; 36:2), and their voluntarily giving all this up for the erection

priestly origin of Exod 25–31 and 35–40 (Lev 9), he formulates his views on pages 99–101. See also C. Berner, "Gab es einen vorpriesterlichen Meerwunderbericht?," *Bib* 95/1 (2014) 1–25 and above in n. 51.

63 Cf. R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel. II. Religious Institutions* (New York: McGraw-Hill 1965) 294.

64 Cf. Lemański, *Księga Wyjścia*, 527n; and the comprehensive documentation prepared by P. Weimar, *Studien zur Priesterschrift* (FAT 56; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2008) 271–305.

65 Cf. Lemański, *Księga Wyjścia*, 521.

66 Cf. C. Westermann, "שרת, šrt pi. to serve," *TLOT* III, 1406.

of the Tent-Temple. The latter aspect, voluntariness, even becomes the leitmotif of the narrative of the preparation for the erection of the tabernacle, in the small literary unit of Exod 35:1–36:7.<sup>67</sup>

קחו מאתכם תרומה ליהוה כל נדיב לבו יביאה את תרומת יהוה זהב

Take from among you a contribution for YHWH. Everyone whose heart is willing shall bring it as YHWH's offering: ... (Exod 35:5; cf. 35:22)

ויבאו כל־איש אשר־נשאו לבו וכל אשר נדבה רוחו אתו הביאו את־תרומת יהוה למלאכת אהל מועד ולכל־עבדתו ולבגדי הקדש

ויבאו האנשים על־הנשים כל נדיב לב הביאו חו ונזם וטבעת וכומז כל־כלי זהב וכל־איש אשר הניף תנופת זהב ליהוה  
And all men came, whose heart stirred them, and everyone whose spirit moved them, and brought the contribution for YHWH to be used for the Tent of Meeting, and for all its service, and for the holy garments.

And all men and women came. Everyone whose heart was willing brought brooches and earrings and signet rings and armlets, all sorts of gold objects—every man dedicating an offering of gold to YHWH. (Exod 35:21–22 [cf. also Exod 35:26; 36:2])

כל־איש ואשה אשר נדב לבם אתם להביא לכל־המלאכה אשר צוה יהוה לעשות ביד־משה הביאו בני־ישראל נדבה ליהוה

Every man and woman whose heart moved them to bring something for all the work that YHWH had commanded to be done through Moses, the Israelites brought it as a freewill offering to YHWH. (Exod 35:29 [cf. also 36:3])

The main theme of these sentences is expressed by the terms ‘כל נדיב לבו’ (‘everyone whose heart is willing’), ‘כל־איש אשר־נשאו לבו וכל אשר נדבה רוחו אתו’ (‘everyone who was willing and whose heart moved them’), and ‘נדבה ליהוה’ (‘freewill offerings to the YHWH’). With these, the Book of Exodus wishes once again to show the contrast with slavery in Egypt. Israelite men and women are no longer sweatshop slaves of Pharaoh, the supposed king-god;<sup>68</sup> now, they serve the true God. This service can only take place in total freedom – not as freedom of choice or mere disposition, but as something born from a stirring of the heart. This service can only take place in total freedom. In contrast to the situation in Egypt, the Israelites were no longer building anything, not even cities for Pharaoh (Pithom and Rameses);<sup>69</sup> in the desert, they would build a ‘dwelling for God’ (Exod 26:1–37).<sup>70</sup> It is in it that the glory of God dwells (Exod 40:34–38), making it the second wandering Sinai.<sup>71</sup> In it is reflected the fullness of the world to whom God, having completed his work on the seventh day, gave blessing (Exod 39:32, 43; cf. Gen 2:1–3). It is then that God will become

67 Cf. Lemański, *Księga Wyjścia*, 648–650, 660–661.

68 Cf. D.P. Silverman, *Ancient Egypt* (New York: Oxford University Press 2003) 106–113.

69 Cf. Lemański, *Księga Wyjścia*, 106; B.U. Schipper, “Raamses, Pithom, and the Exodus: A Critical Evaluation of Ex 1:11,” *VT* 65/2 (2015) 265–288.

70 Cf. Lemański, *Księga Wyjścia*, 547.

71 Cf. B. Jacob, *The Second Book of the Bible: Exodus* (Hoboken, NJ: KTAV 1992) 1032.

fully present in Israel, and there will be a final coming to his 'knowledge' on the part of the people:

And I will dwell among the sons of Israel and will be their God. Then they will know that I am YHWH, their God, who brought them out of the land of Egypt so that I might dwell among them. I am YHWH, their God (Exod 29:45–46).

These sentences describe God's instructions to the Israelites regarding the construction of the Tent-Temple (Exod 25–31). Therefore, they are in the future tense. They will become the present at the end of the Book of Exodus. There, the actual dwelling of God among his people is realised:

And the cloud covered the Tent of Meeting, and the glory of YHWH filled the tabernacle. And Moses was not able to enter the Tent of Meeting because the cloud had settled upon it, and the glory of YHWH filled the tabernacle (Exod 40:34–35).

This closing text of Exodus once again confirms what was already clear in the song of victory at the Sea of Reeds. The escape from Egypt – the exodus – not only leads from slavery to freedom but also to the freedom that is the knowledge of the true God and service to him. This service is realised by willingly, voluntarily, and, above all, indivisibly abiding with him. This truth, hitherto expressed in the stories of the erection of the Tent-Temple, has already found expression in the events at the foot of Mount Sinai before the tent was erected there (Exod 32–34). These stories about the idolatrous cult at the foot of Sinai (Exod 32) and the subsequent forgiveness through the mediation of Moses (Exod 33:1–34:9) answers the fundamental question of Israel's new situation: whether and under what conditions God can be present among them (Exod 29:45–46; 33:16; 34:9). The story of the golden calf is not only the focus for the other texts forming this unit of Exodus: it calls everything into question – even God's own work of having liberated his people so that they might serve him in the faithfulness of the covenant.<sup>72</sup> Its significance derives from the divine instructions given at Sinai (Exod 19–31); it represents their drastic rupture and hence appears as a threat to the arrangement between God and the people.<sup>73</sup> The story of the golden calf shows that, despite liberation, despite the majesty of Sinai (cf., e.g. Exod 24:10, 16–17) and the resulting fear, without the presence of Moses (Exod 24:13), there is apostasy. This is a deviation, a departure. From this point on, any history of liberation will be, at the same time, a history of deviance, of human resistance and rebellion against God.<sup>74</sup> When man has gained freedom from false gods – whether they are called Pharaoh or any other name – he

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Auzou, *Dalla servitù*, 265.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Lemański, *Księga Wypięcia*, 610. The situation presented in Exod 32 is accurately expressed in the words of Jacob: 'The golden calf represented the most grievous sin of the people in the desert. It placed in question the planned erection of the sanctuary, and also the entire future of the people' (*Second Book of the Bible*, 935–936).

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Childs, *Book of Exodus*, 579.

is given the opportunity to know the true God and to open himself to God in freedom. The sheer difficulty of embracing this freedom with God is demonstrated by the Israelites, who, even after seeing all the signs and wonders, prefer to become Pharaoh's slaves again instead of daring a new freedom with God (cf. once again Exod 14:11–12). At the foot of Sinai, instead of the offer given by God, they chose their own method of realising the way of being with their liberator.

The Book of Exodus is devoid of any illusions. Firstly, the statement refers to attaining freedom. It does not say merely that it is a very difficult thing to win freedom, but that it is an impossible thing for a man to do. The stories of the Exodus almost insistently point out that neither Moses nor the Israelites (Exod 3:11, 4:10–12) succeed in getting out of Egypt on their own (Exod 3:7–8, 6:6–7, 13:14, 14:13–14, 20:2). It is shown again and again that it is God himself who performs the exodus. It is not done by Moses, who resists from the very beginning (Exod 3:11);<sup>75</sup> nor, certainly, by the people, whose 'breath unlike God's was short' (מִקְצָר רוּחַ; Exod 6:9). They remain under the pressure of slave labour (וּמַעֲבֹדָה קָשָׁה; Exod 6:9);<sup>76</sup> they remain sceptical, panic at the end, and want to return to slavery. The exodus is made possible only by God. It is a miracle of pure grace, possible because God 'had a long breath' (Exod 14:21; cf. also Gen 1:2; Exod 10:13, 19; 15:8, 10)<sup>77</sup> and the people respond repeatedly to his initiative. It is not Israel that fights against the Egyptians; it is God who fights on Israel's side. This is vividly seen in Moses' words (Exod 14:13–14). The Israelites have just reached the Sea of Reeds; they are preparing to cross, but have not yet done so. It is, therefore, an extremely difficult situation. It is at this point that the riders and chariots of the Egyptians appear on the horizon:

And Moses said to the people, 'Fear not, stand firm, and see the salvation of YHWH, which he will work for you today. For the Egyptians whom you see today, you shall never see again. YHWH will fight for you, and you have only to be silent' (Exod 14:13–14).

Secondly, the Book of Exodus is not naïve in its assessment of the condition of the liberated. Its diagnosis is devastating: 'And the Lord said to Moses, "I have seen this people, and behold, it is a stiff-necked people"' (Exod 32:9; cf. 33:3, 5, 9).

The juxtaposition of this diagnosis with the aforementioned leitmotif of the 'willing heart' allows one to appreciate God's action of forgiveness.<sup>78</sup> It constitutes, after liberation, a further impulse to undertake the willing, voluntary, and undivided service of YHWH.

<sup>75</sup> Auzou makes a keen observation when he writes, as the Book of Exodus vividly shows through the figure of Moses, whose own condition at the beginning of his mission is marked by fear, hesitation, and a deep sense of inadequacy: 'I timori e le esitazioni di Mosè, la sua perplessità davanti alla formidabile impresa da compiere sono stati notati dalle differenti tradizioni (qui, al v. 13: E; in 4,1.10: J; in 6,12.30: P)' (*Dalla servitù*, 114).

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Lemański, *Księga Wjścia*, 199.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. the title of a dissertation on a fragment of Exod 1–14 by H. Utzschneider, *Gottes langer Atem. Die Exodus-erzählung (Ex 1–14) in ästhetischer und historischer Sicht* (SBS 166; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk 1996).

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Jacob, *Second*, 936.

The narrative complex of Exod 32–34 is the fruit of a centuries-long effort by Israel to assimilate God's forgiveness and thus to understand its own condition. The Deuteronomistic redaction, which reworked a pre-existing tradition about the idolatrous worship of 'a god by human appointment' at Sinai and linked it to the tradition about 'Jeroboam's sin',<sup>79</sup> played a significant role in its formation. Priestly tradition supplemented it with further episodes (Exod 33:7–34:9) from Israel's various religious traditions. Throughout history, these have had to deal with what had hitherto been impossible – forgiveness, which is difficult to identify precisely: 'Be attentive to him and obey his voice; do not rebel toward him, for he will not pardon your transgression, for my name is in him' (Exod 23:21).

God's forgiveness brings this conflict to a resolution. This resolution, however, does not constitute the end of the narrative. Divine forgiveness only makes possible what God intended for his people: participation in the construction of the sanctuary (Exod 35–39).<sup>80</sup>

The fruit of these processes becomes the proclamation of God's forgiveness. Its source is found in the very nature of the God of Israel, who is merciful:

YHWH, YHWH, God merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abounding in mercy and truth, who preserves mercy for thousands, who forgives offense and rebellion and sin, and He certainly does not leave unpunished, visiting the offense of the fathers on the sons and the son's sons, to the third and the fourth generation (Exod 34:6b–7).

Such is YHWH, the God of 'the Mount' (Exod 3:12b), the God of Mount Sinai (cf. Exod 24:16, 31:18, 34:2), whom Israel has come to know and experience. This is the God who conquers human sin, 'the wickedness of the fathers' because he finds in himself the mysterious reasons that move him to love man (Exod 34:6–7, cf. 20:5–6),<sup>81</sup> and now the community of liberated slaves standing at the foot of the mountain. The proclamation, 'YHWH, YHWH, God merciful and gracious' (Exod 34:6b) opens the way to the life of the community of Israel, conceived more broadly than the people gathered at/around Mount Sinai: 'for thousands ... the fathers on the sons and the son's sons, to the third and the fourth generation' (Exod 34:7).<sup>82</sup> The consequence of the proclamation, as indicated by the cited narrative complex of Exod 35–40, is an understanding of Israel's life conceived as a service to God.

## Conclusion

Responding to the question of the relationship between the epic narrative of the Exodus and its potential historical background, Lemański summarises his exploration as follows:

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Lemański, *Księga Wyjścia*, 603.

<sup>80</sup> Leder, "The Coherence of Exodus," 260.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Auzou, *Dalla servitù*, 276n.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Weimar, *Studien zur Priesterschrift*, 327–336.

Nevertheless, it [the Book of Exodus] is a theological work growing out of some historical experience. It represents an attempt at a comprehensive reading of Israel's place and role in God's plans for the world. It thus tells first and foremost the story of Israel's birth as a chosen people.<sup>83</sup>

In a succinct summary, he also reserves space for the question of 'service to Pharaoh' and 'service to God':

The landmark [for the birth of Israel] miracle at the Sea of Reeds (Exod 14) and the miraculous crossing of the Jordan (Josh 3–4), and the entry into Canaan, described later in the same way, represent two boundary events. In the first case, the end of slave service to Pharaoh is marked, and in the second, the end of the time spent in the desert, understood as a time of learning how to serve God ... In the background of the Exodus narrative (Exod 1–15), it is not difficult to see that the game is precisely about whom Israel is to 'serve': Pharaoh (slave service) or YHWH (cultic service). In this context, the narrative of Exod 14 depicts the moment when Israel sheds its fear of Pharaoh and his army and learns to show fear of God. After that, the story is only about how to serve God, so that He always resides amid Israel.<sup>84</sup>

It is difficult to disagree with the main thrust of this summary. However, the details, especially those relating to the service of God, need clarification.

The coherent narrative of the Book of Exodus – beginning with the description of Egyptian bondage and service to Pharaoh, reaching its climax in the experience of the exodus and the liberation brought about by YHWH, and then extending into the account of the events at Sinai concerning the 'service of God' – speaks far more profoundly. Service to Pharaoh is presented as a total act carried out in the shadow of death. From this perspective, the service to God cannot be reduced to just a part – even the most essential one – of Israel's life. Not even if that part is called the worship of YHWH. It is an act that is thought of and referred to as 'living'.

Before worship begins, as described in Leviticus, Israel has a new experience: precisely the service of God. This happens through the liberation of the heart and through concrete actions characterised by spontaneity and voluntariness, aimed at organising worship. This is why service cannot be seen as a pretext for the exodus, but rather as its real purpose. The exodus is about service, even though this sounds paradoxical today and raises objections in the Pharaoh and his ilk about the way of life of the renewed people of God. It is the 'service of God' that is the spontaneous work of this whole community, which in it tastes the gift of freedom; both that which flows from God's act of liberation and that which comes from his merciful nature.

---

<sup>83</sup> Lemański, "Exodus," 311.

<sup>84</sup> Lemański, "Exodus," 311.

## Bibliography

- Alonso Schökel, L., *Salvezza e liberazione: L'Esodo* (Epifania della Parola 8; Bologna: EDB 1996).
- Auzou, G., *Dalla servitù al servizio. Il libro dell'Esodo* (Lettura pastorale della Bibbia; Bologna: EDB 1975).
- Berner, C., "Gab es einen vorpriesterlichen Meerwunderbericht?," *Biblica* 95/1 (2014) 1–25.
- Childs, B.S., *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary* (Old Testament Library; Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press 1974).
- Childs, B.S., *Biblical Theology of the Old Testament and New Testament: Theological Reflection on the Christian Bible* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 1993).
- Durham, J.I., *Exodus* (Word Biblical Commentary 3; Waco, TX: Word Books 1987).
- Erbele-Küster, D., "Der Dienst der Frauen am Eingang des Zeltheiligtums (Exodus 38:8) – Kultisch-religiöse Verortungen von Frauen in Exodus und Leviticus," *The Interpretation of Exodus Studies in Honour of Cornelis Houtman* (ed. R. Roukema) (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 44; Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA: Peeters 2006) 265–282.
- van den Eynde, S., "Keeping God's Sabbath: 'אֹת' and 'תָּרִיחַ' (Exod 31,12–17)," *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction – Reception – Interpretation* (ed. M. Vervenne) (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 126; Leuven: Leuven University Press – Peeters 1996) 501–511.
- Fischer, G., "Exodus 1–15 – eine Erzählung," *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction – Reception – Interpretation* (ed. M. Vervenne) (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 126; Leuven: Leuven University Press – Peeters 1996) 149–178.
- Gertz, J.C., "The Miracle at the Sea. Remarks on the Recent Discussion about Origin and Composition of the Exodus Narrative," *Book of Exodus: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation* (ed. T.B. Dozeman – C.A. Evans – J.N. Lohr) (Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum* 164; Leiden: Brill 2014) 91–120.
- Goldingay, J., *Old Testament Theology. I. Israel's Gospel* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity 2003).
- Goldstein, B.R. – Cooper, A., "The Festivals of Israel and Judah and the Literary History of the Pentateuch," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110/1 (1990) 19–31.
- Greenberg, M., *Understanding Exodus* (Heritage of Biblical Israel 2; New York: Behrman 1969).
- Helfmeyer, F.J., "תָּרִיחַ, 'ôth," *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (eds. G.J. Botterweck – H. Ringgren – H.-J. Fabry) (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1990) I, 167–188. (= *TDOT*)
- Jacob, B., *Das zweite Buch der Tora: Exodus* (ed. E.I. Jacob) (s.l. 1940?).
- Jacob, B., *The Second Book of the Bible: Exodus* (Hoboken, NJ: KTAV 1992).
- Jasiński, M., "Miriam – zapomniana bohaterka *Exodusu*," *Verbum Vitae* 19 (2011) 41–64, <https://doi.org/10.31743/vv.2026>.
- Janzen, J.G., "Song of Moses, Song of Miriam: Who Is Seconding Whom?," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 54/2 (1992) 211–220.
- Kratz, R.G., "Israel als Staat und als Volk," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 97/1 (2000) 1–17.
- Leder, A.C., "Reading Exodus to Learn and Learning to Read Exodus," *Calvin Theological Journal* 34 (1999) 11–35.
- Leder, A.C., "The Coherence of Exodus Narrative Unity and Meaning Arie," *Calvin Theological Journal* 36 (2001) 251–269.
- Lemański, J., *Księga Wypięcia. Wstęp. Przekład z oryginału. Komentarz* (Nowy Komentarz Biblijny. Stary Testament 2; Częstochowa: Edycja Świętego Pawła 2009).
- Lemański, J., "Exodus – pomiędzy historią, mitem i koncepcją teologiczną," *The Biblical Annals* 4/2 (2014) 279–311, <https://doi.org/10.31743/ba.476>.


- Lemański, J., “W poszukiwaniu najstarszej literackiej wersji ‘cudu nad morzem’ (Wj 13,17–15,21),” *The Biblical Annals* 6/1 (2016) 5–44, <https://doi.org/10.31743/ba.1258>.
- Lemański, J., “‘Serce faraona’ – odpowiedzialność osobista czy bezwolne poddanie się działaniu Boga?,” *Colloquia Theologica Ottoniana* 1 (2017) 35–58.
- Lemański, J., *Tora – Pięcioksiąg. Wprowadzenie w zagadnienia teologiczne i historyczno-krytyczne* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego 2020).
- Lohfink, G., *Im Ringen um die Vernunft: Reden über Israel, die Kirche und die Europäische Aufklärung* (Freiburg – Basel – Wien: Herder 2016).
- Otto, E., “Die nachpriesterschriftliche Pentateuchredaktion im Buch Exodus,” *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction – Reception – Interpretation* (ed. M. Vervenne) (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 126; Leuven: Leuven University Press – Peeters 1996) 61–111.
- Ringgren, H. – Rutersworden, U. – Simian-Yofre, H., “עֲבָד, ‘āḇad,” *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (ed. G.J. Botterweck – H. Ringgren – H.-J. Fabry) (Grand Rapids, MI – Cambridge: Eerdmans 1999) X, 376–405 (= *TDOT*).
- Römer, T., “From the Call of Moses to the Parting of the Sea: Reflections on the Priestly Version of the Exodus Narrative,” *Book of Exodus: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation* (eds. T.B. Dozeman – C.A. Evans – J.N. Lohr) (Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 164; Leiden: Brill 2014) 151–168.
- Schipper, B.U., “Raamses, Pithom, and the Exodus: A Critical Evaluation of Ex 1:11,” *Vetus Testamentum* 65/2 (2015) 265–288.
- Schmidt, W.H., *Exodus 1–6* (Biblicher Kommentar, Altes Testament 2/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener 1974).
- Silverman, D.P., *Ancient Egypt* (New York: Oxford University Press 2003).
- Stolz, F., “אָח, ‘ōth,” *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament* (eds. E. Jenni – C. Westermann; trans. M.E. Biddle) (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson 1997) I, 67–70. (= *TLOT*)
- Utzschneider, H., *Gottes langer Atem. Die Exoduserzählung (Ex 1–14) in ästhetischer und historischer Sicht* (Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 166; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk 1996).
- Utzschneider, H. – Oswald, W., *Exodus 1–15* (Internationaler Exegetischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 2012), [https://books.google.pl/books?id=irt4DwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=inauthor:%22Helmut+Utzschneider%22&hl=pl&newbks=1&newbks\\_redir=0&sa=X&redir\\_esc=y#v=onepage&q&cf=false](https://books.google.pl/books?id=irt4DwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=inauthor:%22Helmut+Utzschneider%22&hl=pl&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&cf=false) [access: 6.06.2024].
- de Vaux, R., *Ancient Israel. II. Religious Institutions* (New York: McGraw-Hill 1965).
- Vervenne, M., “Current Tendencies and Developments in the Study of the Book of Exodus,” *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction – Reception – Interpretation* (ed. M. Vervenne) (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 126; Leuven: Peeters 1996) 21–59.
- Weimar, P., “Exodus 1,10–2,10 als Eröffnungskomposition des Exodusbuch,” *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction – Reception – Interpretation* (ed. M. Vervenne) (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 126; Leuven: Leuven University Press – Peeters 1996) 78–208.
- Weimar, P., *Studien zur Priesterschrift* (Forschungen zum Alten Testament 56; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2008).
- Westermann, C., “שָׂרַת, šrt pi. to serve,” *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament* (eds. E. Jenni – C. Westermann; trans. M.E. Biddle) (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson 1997) III, 1405–1407. (= *TLOT*)

## The Keeper of the Wardrobe (2 Kgs 22:14 || 2 Chr 34:22): A Historical and Exegetical Study

Stanisław Paprocki

The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

stanislaw.paprocki@wp.pl

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7043-2501>

**ABSTRACT:** This article analyses the office of the ‘keeper of the wardrobe’ (שֹׁמֵר הַבְּגָדִים *šōmēr habbēgādīm*) mentioned in 2 Kgs 22:14 and 2 Chr 34:22, marginal in exegetical literature, yet important for reconstructing the realities of ancient Israel. The study presents three main interpretations of this role: keeper of the Temple wardrobe, overseer of the royal wardrobe, and an official with an undefined role. A philological and comparative analysis, supported by rabbinical sources and the testimony of Josephus, indicates that the keeping of the wardrobe had practical, prestigious, and symbolic significance, closely linked to institutions of worship and authority. The findings open new perspectives for research into the functioning of temples and the role of garments in the religious and political structures of the ancient Near East.

**KEYWORDS:** Shallum, Huldah, keeper, keeper of the wardrobe, temple

The problem of the role of the so-called keeper of the wardrobe (שֹׁמֵר הַבְּגָדִים *šōmēr habbēgādīm*) is rarely addressed in exegetical literature. Auxiliary tools used in biblical studies, such as lexicons, theological dictionaries, and biblical encyclopedias, at best mention this office only in passing, often as brief references without any in-depth historical or cultural analysis. What is more, interpretations available in the literature differ widely on the fundamental question: What was the role of this official, and what resources did he oversee?

Based on key biblical texts – primarily 2 Kgs 22:14 (LXX 4 Reg 22:14) and 2 Chr 34:22 – there are three main interpretations: (1) Shallum, mentioned in both passages, was the overseer of liturgical, i.e. priestly, wardrobe;<sup>1</sup> (2) he was the keeper of the royal wardrobe, serving as a court official;<sup>2</sup> (3) the question of the identity of the wardrobe and its keeper is, for some commentators, such as Rashi, secondary, one that can be resolved in any way

1 J.A. Thompson, *1, 2 Chronicles: An Exegetical and Theological Exposition of Holy Scripture* (NAC 9; Brentwood, TN: Broadman & Holman 1994) 378; R.B. Dillard, *2 Chronicles* (WBC 15; Waco, TX: Word Books 1987) 281; J.M. Hicks, *1 & 2 Chronicles* (College Press NIV Commentary. Old Testament Series; Joplin, MO: College Press 2001) 516; A. Tronina, *Druga Księga Kronik. Wstęp, przekład z oryginału, komentarz* (NKB.ST 10/2; Częstochowa: Edycja Świętego Pawła 2016) 417.

2 E.L. Curtis – A.A. Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (ICC; Edinburgh: Clark 1910) 509.

without significant implications for the interpretation of the text.<sup>3</sup> In this context, it is reasonable to ask several research questions: Who was the keeper of the wardrobe? Was this office held by Shallum, his ancestor, or perhaps, as some readings of the LXX suggest, his wife Huldah? What exactly was kept: royal or ritual wardrobe? What were the duties of this office, and where was it located?

The lack of clear answers to these questions is the premise of this study. This article aims to provide a multifaceted analysis of the office of the keeper of the wardrobe in historical, philological, and literary contexts. The first part of the study will attempt to reconstruct the office historically, based on comparative data from the ancient Near East. This will be followed by a critical analysis of the texts of 2 Kgs 22:14 and 2 Chr 34:22 in Hebrew and Greek. Next, the figures of Huldah and Shallum will be discussed in the context of their possible membership in the Temple elite. The location of the office and the nature of the resources entrusted to it will also be analysed. Finally, the potential continuation of this role in New Testament times and extra-biblical evidence, including rabbinical and historical sources, such as the Mishnah *Shekalim* and Josephus' account of the keeping of priestly garments in the Antonia Fortress, will be considered. The article concludes with a summary of the conclusions and an indication of potential directions for further research.

## 1. The Official in Charge of the Wardrobe in Near Eastern Traditions: The Case of the Role of *ša ina muḫḫi ṣubāti* and Its Parallels in the Hebrew Bible and Rabbinic Literature

In administrative texts from Mesopotamia, dating from the late Babylonian period and almost contemporary with the oldest elements of biblical tradition, the title *ša ina muḫḫi ṣubāti* is attested, literally: 'he who [is] over the wardrobe,' performing the role of an overseer of the wardrobe, presumably in a ritual or royal context.<sup>4</sup> This title indicates the existence of a specialised office responsible for keeping, maintaining, and handling ceremonial or representative garments.

A similar role is found in the Hebrew Bible, where historical narratives related to the reign of King Josiah mention a 'keeper of the wardrobe' (שֹׁמֵר הַבְּגָדִים *šōmēr habb'gādīm*) in 2 Kgs 22:14 and 2 Chr 34:22. Although this role does not figure in the plot of these

3 Cf. Rashi, *Commentary on II Chronicles* 34, 22, 2. Similar views are held by J.A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings* (ICC; Edinburgh: Clark 1951) 526–528; T.L. Constable, "2 Kings," *The Bible Knowledge Commentary: An Exposition of the Scriptures. I. Old Testament* (eds. J.F. Walvoord – R.B. Zuck) (Wheaton, IL: Victor Books 1985) 582; L.M. Wray Beal, *1 & 2 Kings* (Apollos Old Testament Commentary 9; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity 2014) 504; R.W. Klein, *2 Chronicles: A Commentary* (ed. P.D. Hanson) (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2012) 504.

4 'Keeper of the (divine) wardrobe'; see I.J. Gelb et al. (eds.), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. XVI. Š (Chicago, IL: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 1962) 225.

passages, its presence in the biographical description testifies to the social significance of the office, which may have been connected with Temple or court administration.

A similar official title also appears in the account of the temple of Baal in Samaria (2 Kgs 10:22), where the overseer of the wardrobe is mentioned as לְאִשָּׁר עַל־הַמְּלִתָּהּ (la`āšer `al-hammeltaḥā<sup>h</sup>) ‘the one who [is] over the wardrobe’. The similarity of this term to Babylonian terminology suggests the existence of a common, supra-regional category of offices responsible for vestments, both liturgical and representative.

Traces of a similar role have also been preserved in rabbinical tradition. In Talmudic literature (b.*Berakhot* 56a), there are two Aramaic terms: בסתייר (*bstyyr*) and טורזיא (*twrzy*) which may indicate the cultural memory of a profession related to the keeping or supervision of the wardrobe.

A compilation of data from Babylonian documents, the Hebrew Bible, and rabbinical literature provides an outline of the office of the ‘keeper of the wardrobe’ as a position of significant administrative importance. Regardless of the local cultural context, the keeper of the wardrobe appears to play not only a technical role but also a prestigious one, linked to the functioning of institutions of power and worship.

## 2. The Keeper of the Wardrobe in 2 Kgs 22:14 and 2 Chr 34:22: Analysis of Textual Differences and Identification against the Masoretic Tradition and the Septuagint

References to the ‘keeper of the wardrobe’ in 2 Kgs (22:14) and 2 Chr (34:22) provide interesting comparative material for research into the textual transmission of the Hebrew Bible. Although both narratives describe the same event – King Josiah sending a delegation to the prophetess Huldah – they differ in redaction and vocabulary, as well as in the identification of characters and the attribution of their roles. This section aims to highlight these differences in light of a comparison between the Masoretic texts and the Septuagint versions, and to point out possible historical and philological premises that may help interpret the title ‘keeper of the wardrobe’ (שֹׁמֵר הַבְּגָדִים *šōmēr habb<sup>h</sup>gādīm*) in its biblical and extra-biblical contexts. Particular attention is paid to semantic analysis and possible functional shifts of this office in the traditions of Deuteronomy and Chronicles.

2 Kgs 22:14 (LXX 4 Reg. 22:14<sup>5</sup>)

MT:

וַיִּלְךָ חִלְקִיָּהוּ הַכֹּהֵן וְאַחִיקָם וְעַכְבֹּר וְשָׁפָן וְעֲשָׂיָה אֲלֵי־חִלְדָּה הַנְּבִיאָה אֲשֶׁתוֹ שְׁלֹם בְּרִית־קָהָל בְּיַד־חַרְסֵם שֹׁמֵר הַבְּגָדִים  
וְהִיא יֹשֶׁבֶת בִּירוּשָׁלַם בְּמִשְׁנֵה וַיִּזְכְּרוּ אֵלֶיהָ:

<sup>5</sup> All quotations of the LXX come from A. Rahlfs – R. Hanhart (eds.), *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes Alfred Rahlfs. Editio altera quam recognovit et emendavit Robert Hanhart*, 2 ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2006; reprint 2019).



the author of the Chronicles, who often marginalises or omits personal details in favour of emphasising central theological themes, such as divine approval of the ruler's reformist actions or the hierarchy of priestly roles.

Both texts also provide a similar abbreviated genealogy of Shallum [Sellem], limited to two generations: his father and grandfather. In the genealogy of the prophetess Huldah's husband, we find variations in the names of both Shallum's father and grandfather.

In 2 Kgs 22:14, the name of Shallum's father is rendered תִּיקְוָה (tiq<sup>a</sup>wā<sup>h</sup>). This name, in addition to its noun meaning 'hope' (cf. Ruth 1:12; Job 5:16), is also attested as a male proper name (see Ezra 10:15). This variant is confirmed in the Syrian manuscripts (S), as well as in the testimonies of S<sup>A</sup> and S<sup>W</sup>, and in Lucian's revision of the Septuagint (G<sup>L</sup>), which suggests their dependence on the Deuteronomistic tradition.<sup>9</sup>

In the parallel account in 2 Chr 34:22, the variant form of the prophetess Huldah's father-in-law's name is found, illustrating the *qere-ketiv* phenomenon characteristic of the Masoretic tradition. In this case, the written form (*ketiv*) is תִּקְוָה (tōk<sup>a</sup>hat) while the read form (*qere*) is תִּקְוָה (tāq<sup>a</sup>hat). This discrepancy is both graphic and phonological and may result from subsequent orthographic or phonetic adaptation to ease pronunciation or to adapt the form to local reading traditions. The words differ slightly in the Hebrew consonantal text (תִּקְוָה versus תִּקְוָה).<sup>10</sup>

However, the written form (*ketiv*) – תִּקְוָה (tōk<sup>a</sup>hat) wāw gādōl (ו), may be the result of a secondary phonetic reinterpretation. This transformation may be due to dialectal influence or a scribal error, involving the transposition of the letters ק and ו in the name תִּקְוָה (tiq<sup>a</sup>wā<sup>h</sup>). As a result, the graphic form תִּקְוָה (tōk<sup>a</sup>hat) may have been created, with the secondary addition of the final ת, to preserve the correct structure of a name ending with a consonant.

In the Septuagint's account of 2 Kgs 22:14, the name of Shallum's father appears in different variants depending on the manuscript tradition. The Septuagint gives the form Θεκουε. The Codex Alexandrinus (G<sup>A</sup>) contains the version θεκκουε, while the Codex Vaticanus (G<sup>B</sup>) has the variant θεκκουαυ. The spelling of Huldah's father-in-law's name contains a scribe's error consisting of the mistaken repetition of the letter *kappa* (ditto-graphy). The change in the ending transmitted by G<sup>B</sup> can be explained by the *assimilatio grammatica*. In the parallel passage (2 Chr 34:22), both the main text of the LXX and G<sup>A</sup> transmit the name in the form Θεκουαθ. The phonetic similarity of these variants to the name of the town of Tekoa (תִּקְוָה t<sup>a</sup>qōa<sup>h</sup>; Θεκουε), known, among other things, as the birthplace of the prophet Amos (cf. Amos 1:1), may suggest a secondary reinterpretation of the name of Shallum's father by Greek redactors or translators. This transformation could

<sup>9</sup> See 2 Kgs 22:14 in Rahlfs – Hanhart (eds.), *Septuaginta*.

<sup>10</sup> Martin Noth considers the spelling of the name in the version transmitted by the Second Book of Chronicles (תִּקְוָה tōqabat) to be original and claims that the name is not of Semitic origin. Cf. M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (BWANT 3/10; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1928; reprint Hildesheim: Olms 1966) 260.

have been graphic and phonetic, resulting in a name that sounds similar to the well-known Judean toponymy.

In light of this analysis, the form תִּקְוָה (*tiq<sup>a</sup>wā<sup>h</sup>*) appears to be the original, both because of its Hebrew lexical roots and its widespread attestation across various textual families. The other variants can be interpreted as later contaminations or errors arising during oral and written transmission.

Further textual discrepancies are evident in the name of Shallum's grandfather. In 2 Kgs 22:14, the form חַרְחָס (*harḥas*) appears, while 2 Chr 34:22 contains the variant חַרְחָס (*harḥas*). Both forms are a *hapax legomenon* and do not appear elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, making it impossible to determine their semantics unequivocally.

From a textual criticism perspective, the preferred version may be the form חַרְחָס (*harḥas*), in line with the principle of *lectio difficilior potior* ('the more difficult reading is the stronger'). As it is rarer and morphologically more complex, it may be the original form of the simplified variant חַרְחָס (*hasrā<sup>h</sup>*), which may have arisen as a result of redactional smoothing or a scribe's error. It should be noted, however, that the lack of etymological clarity of both names leaves the question of their originality partially open.

In the discussed passage of the Septuagint (LXX), the variant of the name Αραας attested by the Codex Vaticanus (ℳ<sup>B</sup>) was adopted, designated in the critical apparatus of the LXX as the original variant of this manuscript (B). The textual variants of the name are heterogeneous and differ depending on the manuscript tradition. One variant of the Codex Vaticanus, designated B<sup>C</sup>, transmits the form Αρδας. In turn, the Codex Luciani (ℳ<sup>L</sup>) contains the spelling Αρδα, while the Codex Alexandrinus (ℳ<sup>A</sup>) attests the form Αραας.

Another difficulty is the new district of Jerusalem (מִשְׁנֵה מִן הַיְרוּשָׁלַיִם *mišne<sup>h</sup>*) mentioned in 2 Kgs 22:14 and 2 Chr 34:22. The translator of the LXX, who probably did not understand the original meaning of the word (מִשְׁנֵה מִן הַיְרוּשָׁלַיִם *mišne<sup>h</sup>*) transliterated it. The author of 4 Reg. 22:14 included in the translation the preposition בַּ (b<sup>a</sup>) and the definite article הַ (*ha*) as well as the noun מִשְׁנֵה מִן הַיְרוּשָׁלַיִם (*mišne<sup>h</sup>*), which is an adverbial of place. Therefore, the author attempted to translate them accurately as ἐν τῇ μασανα but transliterated the word (מִשְׁנֵה מִן הַיְרוּשָׁלַיִם *mišne<sup>h</sup>*). The author of 2 Par. 34:22 does the same but omits the definite article and renders the troublesome expression as a proper name: ἐν μασανα. Based on the Hebrew text, it can be assumed that the prophetess Huldah lived in the 'second' place/district of Jerusalem, although it is uncertain whether this was clear to the translator of the Septuagint. The word μασανα is a *hapax legomenon* in the LXX. The Codex Vaticanus (ℳ<sup>B</sup><sup>min</sup>) contains evidence of another spelling of this word: μασαναι, while the Codex Alexandrinus (ℳ<sup>A</sup>) gives the variant: μεσαναι.<sup>11</sup>

After discussing the most significant differences found not only in 2 Kgs 22:14 and 2 Chr 34:22, but also in their Greek equivalents, we now move on to analyse the highlighted phrases above.

11 See Rahlfs – Hanhart (eds.), *Septuaginta*.

From a morphological point of view, the word שֹׁמֵר (*šōmēr*) is a Qal part. m. s. st. cstr., which was formed from the verb שָׁמַר ('to keep'). In 2 Kgs 22:14, it is rendered in the *scriptio defectiva* שֹׁמֵר (*šōmēr*), while in the parallel passage in 2 Chr 34:22, it is rendered in the *scriptio plena* שׁוֹמֵר (*šōmēr*). The most popular Hebrew word for keeper is שֹׁמֵר (*šōmēr*). The *scriptio defectiva* form שֹׁמֵר (*šōmēr*) appears 40 times in the Old Testament, while the *scriptio plena* form שׁוֹמֵר (*šōmēr*) appears only 10 times. Both a lexical analysis of the words שֹׁמֵר (*šōmēr*) and נֹשֵׂר (*nōšēr*) and an analysis of their contexts allow us to conclude that these words are synonyms. The lexeme נֹשֵׂר (*nōšēr*) appears 12 times in the *scriptio defectiva* form, and twice in the *scriptio plena* (נֹשֵׂר *nōšēr*). We note that both words, which have a similar morphological structure and similar semantics, rarely appear in the *scriptio plena* form (שׁוֹמֵר *šōmēr*; נֹשֵׂר *nōšēr*). It is conceivable that the full notation of a given word was intended to limit its interpretative ambiguity (text without diacritics) by narrowing down the possible readings to one desired form, which served to eliminate ambiguity in the biblical text.

Analysing passages from the Septuagint's 4 Reg. 22:14 and 2 Par. 34:22, we observe a significant difference relative to the MT. Furthermore, the two Greek passages differ in their word choice. The expression שֹׁמֵר הַבְּגָדִים (*šōmēr habb'gādīm*) in 4 Reg. 22:14 is rendered with a single word, ἰματιοφύλαξ, which is a neologism coined by the translator from a combination of two words: (1) ἱμάτιον ('clothing', 'garment', 'cloak') and (2) φύλαξ ('keep', 'keeper', 'watchman'). The lexeme ἰματιοφύλαξ is a *hapax legomenon* in the LXX. We note that the noun φύλαξ, both in the masculine (ὁ φύλαξ – 'keeper') and feminine (ἡ φύλαξ – 'keeperess') forms, has the same form in the genitive τοῦ φύλακος and τῆς φύλακος. The noun φύλαξ is *epicene*, meaning its form remains the same regardless of gender, and the difference is indicated by context and the use of the appropriate article. Its compounds, such as ἰματιοφύλαξ, can mean both male and female keepers (see ἡ νομοφύλαξ in 4 Macc 15:32). The definite article (τοῦ) in 4 Reg. 22:14, in the context of the expression in question, clearly indicates a male keeper.

The version in 2 Par. 34:22 differs significantly from the MT. Its author uses three words (φύλασσοῦσαν τὰς στολάς) to render the Hebrew שׁוֹמֵר הַבְּגָדִים (*šōmēr habb'gādīm*). Instead of the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew word שֹׁמֵר (*šōmēr*) in the masculine gender, it has here its feminine counterpart φύλασσοῦσαν as part. pres. act. acc. f. s. from the verb φύλασσω ('to keep'). This difference is very significant, as it suggests that Huldah, not her husband, is the 'keeperess of the wardrobe'.<sup>12</sup>

12 If we assume – as seems more likely – that the translator of the Septuagint had access to a *scriptio defectiva* (שֹׁמֵר *šōmēr*; cf. 2 Kgs 22:14), and that his Vorlage was of the *scriptio continua* type (שמרהבגדים) and lacked vowel notation, then the range of possible reconstructions is significantly broadened, allowing for a more accurate explanation of the discrepancy between the Greek text of 2 Chr 34:22 and its Hebrew counterpart. In this view, the wāw can be interpreted as a secondary addition, perhaps introduced to reduce the ambiguity of the reading.

There are several ways to explain this discrepancy:

- (1) The author of the Greek text divided the individual Hebrew words differently. If we assume that the author of 2 Par. 34:22 had the Hebrew text as a *scriptio continua*, then we can imagine that the author did not extract the verb form (שׁוֹמֵר *šômēr*) and the definite article together with the noun (הַבְּגָדִים *habbēgādīm*) from שמרה בגדים, but most likely separated the definite article (הַ *ha*) from the noun and mistakenly attached it to the verb form, creating a new inflected feminine verb form (שׁוֹמְרָה *šômṛāḥ*). The word שׁוֹמְרָה (*šômṛāḥ*) is Qal part. act. f. s.; it is an alternate form of the basic form שׁוֹמֵרֶת (*šōmeret*) and, as such, may appear in Hebrew dialect variants.<sup>13</sup> The expression in question requires the use of *status constructus*, not *status absolutus*.
- (2) The LXX translator may have noticed the form qal. part. act. m. s. st. abs (שׁוֹמֵר *šômēr*), and interpreted the definite article (הַ *ha*) as suffix 3 f. s. (שׁוֹמְרָה *šômṛāḥ*); in that case, the meaning of the expression would be: ‘her keeping’ (see נֹסְרָה *nōṣṛāḥ*; Isa 27:3).
- (3) Another possibility is to recognise the noun form שׁוֹמְרָה (*šāmṛāḥ*) f. s. abs. present only in Ps. 141:3. The fundamental problem with adopting this solution is the presence of the letter *wāw* in the *scriptio plena* (שׁוֹמְרָה), because, phonetically, the short vowel /ō/ in the first syllable cannot be orthographically represented by the long /ō/ written with the use of *wāw gādōl* as a *mater lectionis*.
- (4) Theoretically, the form שמרה can also be identified verbally as qal perf. 3 f. s. שׁוֹמְרָה *šāmṛāḥ*. This inflected form occurs in Job 10:12; 24:15 and in Ps 119:167.
- (5) Alternatively, one may consider the spelling שמרה as a Qal perf. 3 s. m. verb with an added 3 f. s. *suffix* (שׁוֹמְרָה *šōmārāḥ*) as in Amos 1:11. Although this seems unlikely.
- (6) However, if we were to accept the noun form שׁוֹמְרָה (*šōmārāḥ*) with the feminine possessive pronoun 3rd person singular (הָשׁוֹמְרָה – *šōmārāḥ*), this would cause further morphological changes, resulting in the following form שׁוֹמְרָתָה (*šāmṛātāḥ*).
- (7) Another possible reading of the consonant cluster שמרה would be the form qal. part. pass. f. s. שׁוֹמְרָה *(šōmurāḥ)*. This is where there is a difficulty in accepting the interpretation of the consonant *wāw* as a *mater lectionis* for a shva. This word appears in Ps 77:5 (LXX 76:5) in the plural and *status constructus* (שׁוֹמְרוֹת *šōmurōt*). In the LXX, this word is rendered as *φουλακί*, a feminine noun from the same semantic field as the verb *φουλάσσω*, but this is most likely an error on the part of the Greek translator, as שׁוֹמְרָה (*šōmurāḥ*) means ‘eyelid’.
- (8) Another possibility is to accept שׁוֹמְרָה (*šōmurāḥ*) with the 3 f. s. suffix, but then the form thus created should be שׁוֹמְרָתָה (*šōmurātāḥ*).

13 Grammatical forms of this type arise when there are several different inflectional patterns, e.g. several competing suffixes. In Hebrew morphology, for the feminine gender, these are: הַ and תּ, see T.O. Lambdin, *Wprowadzenie do hebrajskiego biblijnego* (trans. H. Drawnel – B.M. Sokal) (Materiały Pomocnicze do Wykładów z Bibliotyki 11; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2011) 433–437, § 184–186, and 443–445, § 188–189, here: 443, § 188.

The most significant flaw in the hypotheses discussed above is the assumption that the translator of the Septuagint, when working on 2 Chr 34:22, had access to a *scriptio plena* Hebrew source text (שׁוֹמֵר *šōmēr*). However, if, as would appear more likely, the translator had a *scriptio defectiva* version (שׁוֹמֵר *šōmēr*) – much more frequently attested in biblical material (as shown at the beginning of this paragraph) – and additionally a *scriptio continua* (שׁוֹמֵר הַבְּגָדִים), then accepting these assumptions significantly increases the credibility of the aforementioned hypotheses, leading rather to the interpretation of the form φυλάσσοῦσαν as a copyist's error.

Another component of the analysed expression is the Hebrew word הַבְּגָדִים (*habb<sup>g</sup>ādīm*), derived from the basic noun בְּגֵד (*beḡed*) 'vestment, clothing'. In the biblical corpus, this form occurs in the masculine plural in the *status absolutus*, most often (29 instances) without a definite article (הַבְּגָדִים *b<sup>g</sup>ādīm*). In this semantic context, it takes on a collective character and refers generally to 'vestments'.

The form הַבְּגָדִים (*habb<sup>g</sup>ādīm*) occurs relatively rarely in the Old Testament – it is recorded only seven times (Exod 28:4; 29:5; Lev 8:2; 21:10; 2 Kgs 22:14; 2 Chr 34:22; Zech 3:4). In the last two instances (2 Kgs 22:14 and 2 Chr 34:22), the meaning of the expression remains ambiguous, as the context does not specify to whom the robes kept by שׁוֹמֵר (*šōmēr*) belong – whether they are royal or high priestly vestments. In the remaining five instances, however, the immediate context clearly indicates that the term הַבְּגָדִים (*habb<sup>g</sup>ādīm*) refers unambiguously to the collective term for high priestly vestments (Exod 28:4; 29:5; Lev 8:2; 21:10; Zech 3:4). It should be noted that the noun בְּגֵד (*b<sup>g</sup>ādīm*), occurring without a definite article, has a broad range of meanings and can generally mean 'clothing', 'coat', or 'garment'. However, in the form with a definite article הַבְּגָדִים (*habb<sup>g</sup>ādīm*), its meaning is narrowed down and consistently refers to priestly vestments, especially in the context of the high priesthood.<sup>14</sup>

The rarity of the form הַבְּגָדִים (*b<sup>g</sup>ādīm*) containing the definite article הַבְּגָדִים – *habb<sup>g</sup>ādīm* seems to support the argument that the copyist made an error, mistaking the definite article of the form הַבְּגָדִים (*habb<sup>g</sup>ādīm*) with the feminine suffix of the form derived from the verb שׁוֹמֵר (*šōmēr*). Analysis of the semantic field of the Hebrew expression הַבְּגָדִים (*habb<sup>g</sup>ādīm*) has shown that the biblical keeper of the wardrobe guarded the vestments used for worship.

The enigmatic nature of the text of 2 Chr 34:22 in the Septuagint version stems from its significant deviation from the Masoretic tradition. While the Hebrew text contains the noun הַבְּגָדִים (*habb<sup>g</sup>ādīm* – 'vestments'), the Greek manuscripts render it as τὰς ἐντολάς ('commandments', 'precepts') instead of the expected στολάς ('vestments'). A cursory examination might lead to the conclusion that this difference could be explained away by homophony, i.e. a mistake resulting from the phonetic similarity of both words, which could have led to the erroneous replacement of one term with another during the copying

14 See A. Rambiert-Kwaśniewska, *Terminologia tekstylna w Biblii Hebrajskiej i Septuagincie: Szaty, dodatki i tekstylia użytkowe* (Wrocław: Chronicon 2023) 59–81, 203–225, 379–388.

of the text. However, ancient manuscripts containing the text of the Septuagint (including codices A, B, G, L, O, R, S) do not attest to the reading φυλάσσοσαν τὰς στολὰς. Instead, they transmit the variant φυλάσσοσαν τὰς ἐντολάς ('keeperess of the commandments'), which in some contemporary studies has been replaced by φυλάσσοσαν τὰς στολὰς ('keeperess of the wardrobe'). We are therefore dealing here with a conjecture, i.e. a contemporary, critical proposal for text emendation, unsupported by manuscript tradition. Its purpose seems to be to harmonise the Greek text with its Hebrew counterpart חַבְבֵּי גְדֵימָה (*habb<sup>g</sup>gādīm*). The editors of the Septuagint recension compiled by Alfred Rahlfs considered the variant φυλάσσοσαν τὰς ἐντολάς to be the result of a transmission error.<sup>15</sup>

Evidence from ancient LXX manuscripts attests that Huldah is not a keeperess of royal or even priestly wardrobe, but, as a prophetess, she is a keeperess of commandments and precepts (implicitly, God's). Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that the change from 'keeper of the wardrobe' (חַבְבֵּי גְדֵימָה *šōmēr habb<sup>g</sup>gādīm*) to 'keeperess of the commandments' (φυλάσσοσαν τὰς ἐντολάς) was intentional.

The arguments in favour of this hypothesis are as follows:

- (1) The *status constructus* of feminine Hebrew participles ending in הַ [–ā<sup>h</sup>] takes the form הַ [–a<sup>h</sup>].<sup>16</sup> This makes it problematic to accept argument 6 (הַמְרָאָה *šām<sup>r</sup>rātāh*) הַמְרָאָה (*š<sup>m</sup>mārā<sup>h</sup>*) and proposal 8 הַמְרָאָה *š<sup>m</sup>murātāh* הַמְרָאָה *š<sup>m</sup>murātāh*, which do not take this morphological regularity into account.
- (2) Throughout the entire Hebrew Bible, the root מְרָאָה (*šōmēr*) does not appear even once in the feminine participle form, regardless of grammatical number. It is even less likely to occur in a morphological variant form. This fact significantly limits the likelihood that the translator could recognise and render a form that is not attested in the Hebrew source text.
- (3) The only instance in the Septuagint where the feminine active participle of the verb φυλάσσω appears is 2 Sam 23:5. However, in this case, both in the Hebrew text (הַמְרָאָה *š<sup>m</sup>murā<sup>h</sup>*) and the Greek (πεφυλαγμένη), there is a passive participle referring to the covenant (תְּרִיבֵי *b<sup>r</sup>rîḇ*; διαθήκη), which has been 'kept' – implicitly by God. Thus, the feminine active participle form is unattested, which undermines the translator's ability to identify it in other contexts.

Analysis of the arguments presented leads to the conclusion that the difference is not due to a copyist's error (i.e. an accidental modification) but constitutes a conscious and deliberate interference with the text. The possibility that this modification was made not only in the Greek translation but also in the Hebrew variant should be considered.

The ancient redaction of the Septuagint text seems justified. Encountering the rare phrase φυλάσσω τὰς στολὰς, the translator (or possibly the redactor, although this seems less likely) decided not to render Huldah's role literally as 'keeperess of the wardrobe'. Instead

15 For the critical apparatus of 2 Chr 34:22, see Rahlfs – Hanhart (eds.), *Septuaginta*.

16 See Lambdin, *Wprowadzenie do hebrajskiego biblijnego*, 443, § 188.

of placing the prophetess in the context of Temple worship in Jerusalem – and thus in an office that may have been unknown or incomprehensible to the Jewish diaspora in Alexandria – the translator made her a model of life in accordance with the Torah/Law.

In light of the *Letter of Aristeas*, which places the creation of the Septuagint in Alexandria, it should be assumed that the Jewish community of that city – unlike the Jews of Elephantine – had no direct experience of Temple worship based on the Jerusalem model.<sup>17</sup> In the context of the religious and cultural syncretism prevailing at the time, the translator may have consciously adapted the text of 2 Chr 34:22 to make it more readable and relevant to Greek-speaking readers. As a result, the prophetess Huldah in 2 Chr 34:22 was presented as a model of life in accordance with the Law of Moses.

Notably, the phrases *φυλάσσω* and *ἡ ἐντολή* appear relatively frequently in the Septuagint: a cursory analysis using lexical concordance tools (e.g. BibleWorks 10) indicates that such expressions occur in approximately 70 passages (see Deut 8:2,11; 10:13; Lev 36:3; 1 Reg 2:3; 3:14; 2 Reg 23:3; 2 Chr 34:31). This may suggest that the translator used a well-known, recognisable idiom that better conveyed the text's message in the religious and cultural context of the Egyptian diaspora.

A comparative analysis of 2 Kgs 22:14 and 2 Chr 34:22 and their Greek translations revealed significant redactional, phonetic, and morphological differences that reflect both the different theological intentions of the authors and the evolution of the text during its transmission. The variants of names and the phrase *שׁוֹמֵר הַבְּגָדִים* (*šōmēr habbġāḏīm*) indicate a complex redactional process involving conscious stylistic adaptations, scribal errors, and interpretative decisions by translators. In light of the available data, the Deuteronomistic version appears to be the original, both lexically and historically, while the Chronicles and Greek variants should be considered later interpretative or redactional transformations.

### 3. The Genealogy of Shallum and the Problem of Identifying the Keeper of the Wardrobe

The passages in 2 Kgs 22:14 and 2 Chr 34:22 appear to emphasise Huldah's high socio-religious status. Both passages begin with an unambiguous reference to her as a prophetess (*נְבִיאָה נְבִיאָה nḇi' āḇ*), which is a formal confirmation of her authority in the religious sphere. However, the current state of research on prophetesses in ancient Israel is limited due to the scarcity of source material. The Hebrew Bible mentions only five women who were given the title of prophetess (*נְבִיאָה nḇi' āḇ*; *προφήτις*): (1) Miriam, sister of Moses and Aaron (Exod 15:20); (2) Deborah, who also served as a judge (Judg 4:4); (3) Huldah, wife of Shallum, son of Tikvah, keeper of the wardrobe (2 Kgs 22:14; 2 Chr 34:22); (4) the unnamed wife of the prophet Isaiah (Isa 8:3); and (5) Noadiah, the opponent

<sup>17</sup> See J. Bosowski, "Diaspora żydowska w Egipcie w czasach biblijnych," *Scriptura Sacra* 19 (2015) 65–84.

of the governor Nehemiah (Neh 6:14). All the women mentioned, except Noadiah, are presented in a positive light.<sup>18</sup>

Neither the author of the Second Book of Kings nor of the Chronicles attempts to explain why Huldah was chosen as the recipient of the king's enquiry, nor do they explain why she was called a prophetess. The narrative assumes that her role was not in doubt and did not require explanation, which may indicate social acceptance of the role of prophetesses at that time. This is also confirmed by non-biblical sources – inscriptions and texts from Mari (early 2nd millennium BC) and Assyrian documents from the 7th century BC – that record the activities of prophesying women at royal courts.<sup>19</sup> It is also worth recalling Joel's eschatological prophecy (Joel 3:1), which foretells a time when '[...] Your sons and daughters will prophesy [...]' In St. Peter's interpretation (Acts 2:14–21), this prophecy is fulfilled on the day of Pentecost, which gives it a universal and inclusive character in relation to the gift of prophecy.<sup>20</sup>

Huldah is presented in 2 Kgs 22:14 and 2 Chr 34:22 in a highly unusual manner, making her a unique character in the entire narrative of the Hebrew Bible. In no other case is a woman introduced into the biblical text in such a complex way, both in terms of content and formal language. Firstly, Huldah is mentioned by name, which in itself is a significant distinction in the portrayal of female biblical characters. Secondly, she was assigned a clearly defined religious and social role – that of a prophetess (הַנְּבִיאָה *nəbī'āh*) – which confirms her authority and active role in the community's religious life. Thirdly, her social status is further defined by the use of the noun תְּשֻׁעָה (*'ēšet*) in the *status constructus*, combined with her husband's name – Shallum – and the presentation of his abbreviated genealogy.

The lexical and semantic connection between תְּשֻׁעָה (*'ēšet*) and Shallum is indicated by the *mūnāh* accent under the first part of the compound תְּשֻׁעָה שָׁלֻם (*'ēšet*). Additionally, the word תְּשֻׁעָה (*'ēšet*) is followed by a *paseq* (|), a vertical separator that occurs relatively rarely in the Hebrew Bible. According to Lea Himmelfarb's findings, the *paseq* appears only 587 times

18 The rabbinic tradition, represented by the Babylonian Talmud (b. Meg. 14a–14b), expands this list to seven women recognised as prophetesses: (1) Sarah, wife of Abraham (14a.13); (2) Miriam (14a.14–15); (3) Deborah (14a.16–17; 14b.10); (4) Hannah, Samuel's mother (14a.18–20); (5) Abigail, David's wife (14a.21–22; 14b.1–4); (6) Huldah (14b.5–8, 10–13); and (7) Esther (14b.9–10). Of this group, only Miriam, Deborah, and Huldah are formally referred to as prophetesses in the Hebrew Bible, suggesting a later traditional interpretation based not only on their titles but also on their actions. Cf. M. Cogan – H. Tadmor, *II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 11; Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company 2008) 283–284.

19 Cf. Tronina, *Druga Księga Kronik*, 413; see also Cogan – Tadmor, *II Kings*, 283–284.

20 The early Christian tradition transmitted through St Luke mentions women who are prophetesses. These include Anna (προφήτις), who lived in the Jerusalem Temple (Luke 2:36) and was one of the first to accept and recognise Jesus as the promised Messiah of God, and the four daughters of Philip the deacon, who prophesied (προφητεύουσαι) in the Church community (Acts 21:8–9). The Book of Revelation speaks of a woman who claims to be a prophetess. Most likely, she is a morally corrupt woman who encourages fornication and the consumption of sacrifices offered to idols. For this reason, the author of Revelation compares her to Jezebel (Rev 2:20, Ἰεζάβελ), the wicked wife of King Ahab (see 1 Kgs 21).

in the 24 books of the Hebrew biblical canon.<sup>21</sup> Although it does not directly affect the recitation of the text or its melody, it serves as a visual and semantic delimiter of lexical units, often signalling important titles or attributes of characters.<sup>22</sup> In both analysed passages – 2 Kgs 22:14 and 2 Chr 34:22 – the *paseq* appears between אֶשֶׁל (‘ēšēl) and the name Shallum, followed by an abbreviated genealogy (using the expression בֶּן (bēn) and the name of the father and then the grandfather) and a mention of the office held.

The term ‘keeper of the wardrobe’ (שׂוֹמֵר הַבְּגָדִים *šōmēr habb-gādīm*) appears in the masculine gender, which definitively excludes the possibility that the prophetess Huldah could have held this role. The biblical text clearly indicates that a man held this role, although the exact identification of this person in genealogical terms remains open.

The syntax of the Hebrew biblical text in 2 Kgs 22:14 and 2 Chr 34:22 does not allow for an unambiguous determination of who exactly held the office of keeper of the wardrobe – Shallum or one of his ancestors. From a syntactical point of view, both Shallum and his grandfather, referred to as Harhas (חַרְחָס *harḥas*) in 2 Kgs 22:14 and Hasrah (חַסְרָה *ḥasrā<sup>h</sup>*) in 2 Chr 34:22, could be identified as holding this role. The genealogy present in both passages allows for the attribution of office to each of the men mentioned. It cannot be ruled out that this office was held in turn by successive generations – grandfather, father, and grandson. It is also possible that this position remained within one family for many years. However, the literary context of the pericopes in question suggests that this role was performed by a man who lived at the same time as King Josiah (reigned c. 640–609 BC). Thus, it appears that the redactors intended to identify Shallum as the current keeper of the wardrobe referred to in the text.

To deepen the analysis, a comparison was made with other biblical texts with a similar syntactic structure, including Num 25:11; 1 Sam 14:3; 2 Kgs 14:8; 1 Chr 26:24; 2 Chr 20:14; Neh 11:11, 17; 12:26. In each of these cases, a consistent sequence has been preserved: the character’s name, an abbreviated genealogy (father and grandfather), and the office. In light of this syntactic paradigm, as well as the literary convention of the Masoretic Text, it should be assumed that it was Shallum, not his ancestor, who served as keeper of the wardrobe in 2 Kgs 22:14 and 2 Chr 34:22.

Analysis of the Hebrew biblical texts (2 Kgs 22:14 and 2 Chr 34:22) allows us to conclude that the prophetess Huldah was portrayed as the wife of the keeper of the wardrobe, which further defines her social status in the narrative.

21 See L. Himmelfarb, “The Exegetical Role of the Paseq,” *Sej* 58/2 (1998) 244.

22 See S.J. Park, *The Fundamentals of Hebrew Accents: Divisions and Exegetical Roles Beyond Syntax* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020) 6–7, 157–162.

#### 4. Analysis of the Term ‘*bamišneh*’ in the Context of Huldah’s Place of Residence and Its Interpretations in Various Rabbinic Sources and Translations

The last detail mentioned in 2 Chr 34:22 is that Huldah ‘lived in Jerusalem in the Mishneh district’ (בְּמִשְׁנֵה יְרוּשָׁלַיִם בִּירוּשָׁלַיִם בְּיָמֵי יְהוֹשָׁפָט *w<sup>h</sup>i’ yōšēbet bīyrūsālim bamišne<sup>h</sup>*; καὶ αὕτη κατοίκει ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐν μαασαναί). The meaning of the Hebrew word מִשְׁנֵה (*mišne<sup>h</sup>*) remains unclear. The translator of the Septuagint did not translate this word into Greek, but transliterated it as *μασσενα*, thus avoiding a difficult translation.<sup>23</sup>

Analysis of the occurrence of the word מִשְׁנֵה (*mišne<sup>h</sup>*) in the Old Testament reveals that it most often means ‘double’ (Gen 43:12, 15; Exod 16:5, 22; Deut 15:18;), ‘copy’ (Deut 17:18; Josh 8:32;), and ‘second’ (Gen 41:43; 1 Sam 8:2;). This is also how it was interpreted in the Vulgate, which in 2 Chr 34:22 uses the term *secunda*, meaning ‘second’. The prophet Zephaniah, who lived at the same time as the prophetess Huldah, uses the word מִשְׁנֵה (*mišne<sup>h</sup>*) to refer to a part of Jerusalem (Zeph 1:10). Contemporary Polish translators of the Old Testament do the same. Most recent translations of the Bible render this word as ‘the other side of the city’ or ‘the other/new district of Jerusalem’. Contemporary scholars believe that the Hebrew word מִשְׁנֵה (*mišne<sup>h</sup>*) should be understood as referring to the ‘second’ part of Jerusalem, which was built during the city’s expansion in the 8th century BC. The expansion of the Holy City during this period may have resulted from a significant population growth in Jerusalem. The sudden increase in population is attributed to the fall of the Northern Kingdom of Israel in 721 BC. The influx of refugees from Israel into Jerusalem may have necessitated the city’s expansion.

The exact location or area of מִשְׁנֵה (*mišne<sup>h</sup>*) is unknown today. Mazar identifies מִשְׁנֵה (*mišne<sup>h</sup>*) as the suburbs of the City of David, which grew on the western hill of Jerusalem and were established during the reign of King Hezekiah (718–689 BC). Excavations carried out in this area have confirmed the existence of a large settlement on the hill west of the Tyropoeon Valley, also known as the Valley of the Cheesemakers. In this part of the city, remains of a wall from the Second Temple period were found that stretched west of the original City of David, surrounded the top of the hill bordering the Valley of Gehenna, and was then connected to the Temple walls in the north. This ‘new city wall’ more than tripled the area of Jerusalem compared to its original size (see Rashi on II Chr 34, 22, 3).

Regardless of where and what the מִשְׁנֵה (*mišne<sup>h</sup>*) was, an intriguing question remains: why did the biblical author include this detail in his narrative about the prophetess Huldah? Perhaps the divinely inspired author, by including this detail in the account devoted to Huldah, wanted to convey information about her past, origins, or social status. Archaeologists believe that in Huldah’s time, the wealthiest part of Jerusalem was the original area

23 *Targum 2 Chronicles* (hereinafter Tg2Chron) translates it as בְּבֵית אִילְפָנָא (*b<sup>e</sup>bēt ‘ūlpānā*), which means ‘study hall’ – a place where the Torah is studied. According to the rabbis, the מִשְׁנֵה (*mišne<sup>h</sup>*) was the place where Huldah taught.

of the City of David, located on the south-western slope of the city. Most likely, this is where the royal palace and the houses of the wealthier officials and citizens of the city were located. The מִשְׁנֵה (mišne<sup>h</sup>) was the 'second' part of the city, which was most likely inhabited by refugees from the Northern Kingdom of Israel after the Assyrians finally conquered their territory in 721 BC. It can be reasonably assumed that Huldah was part of this group.

According to the Tractate *m.Middot* (lit. Measurements), discussing the dimensions of the Second Temple, five gates led to the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. To this day, pilgrims and tourists visiting the southern wall of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem can admire the remains of two ancient gates, which are walled up. Archaeologists call them the 'Double Gate' and the 'Triple Gate' because of the number of arches they have. In ancient times, these gates were called 'Huldah gates', in honour of the prophetess Huldah (*m.Middot* 1:3). It should be noted that no other prophet has been honoured in this way; none of the gates of the Temple, nor the Temple Mount, nor even Jerusalem itself, has been named after any other prophet. According to the Mishnah, the two Huldah Gates constituted the most important entrance and exit to the Temple complex during the Second Temple period in Jerusalem. It is now believed that the three-arched Huldah Gate was used by pilgrims entering the Temple Mount, while the double-arched Huldah Gate was used by pilgrims leaving the Temple. These gates connected directly to the Temple Mount and led pilgrims through underground tunnels to the Outer Court of the Jewish Temple. Today, the remnants of two monumental staircases connected to the Huldah Gates can still be seen.<sup>24</sup>

## 5. Hypothesis Concerning the Location of the Keeper of the Wardrobe (2 Kgs 22:14 || 2 Chr 34:22)

A seemingly insignificant mention of Shallum, the keeper of the wardrobe, in 2 Kgs 22:14 (par. 2 Chr 34:22) of Deuteronomistic narrative, provides a premise for reconstructing the hypothetical location of the office in question. We will attempt to reconstruct it based on the complementarity of sources, as no single source provides complete plans or all the architectural details of both Solomon's Temple and the Second Temple. Only by combining data from the Bible (1 Kgs 6–7; 2 Chr 3–4; Ezek 40–48) with references to Talmudic literature and the accounts of Josephus, and supplementing them with information corroborated by archaeology, can we obtain a picture of the temples and their liturgical and functional rooms.

Biblical narratives contain several references to offices overseeing ritual garments, indicating the existence of an institutionalised role responsible for priestly and liturgical

24 Rabbinical interpretations of the term מִשְׁנֵה (mišneh) linked it to an educational institution run by the prophetess Huldah in Jerusalem. It was not until the Middle Ages that Rashi, in his commentary on 2 Chr 34:22, recorded several hypotheses regarding the location of this school: (1) between the two city walls, (2) in the Gate of Huldah, (3) outside the wall or adjacent to the Chamber of Hewn Stone. (4) The last of these ideas was supposedly based on the lost Tractate *Middot* of the Mishnah.

vestments. In 2 Kgs 10:22, there is mention of an official in charge of ‘vestments’ who participates in the preparation of pagan worship of Baal, which indirectly confirms the existence of similar roles in the Israelite Temple.

To fully understand the significance of this role, one should refer to the description of King Jehu’s actions in 2 Kgs 10:22. The text contains the following phrase: And he said unto him that was over the vestry (עַל־הַמְּלִתָּהּ) לְאַשֶׁר la’āšer ‘al-hammeltaḥā<sup>h</sup>), ‘Bring forth vestments for all the worshippers of Baal.’ This fragment depicts the keeper of the wardrobe as an administrative role responsible for issuing ritual garments. In the case of Jehu, this office is used instrumentally in the context of a religious ruse aimed at eliminating the cult of Baal from Samaria (cf. 2 Kgs 10:18–28).

The lexeme מְלִתָּהּ (meltāḥā<sup>h</sup>), rendered in many translations as ‘vestry’, is a *hapax legomenon*, which significantly complicates its unambiguous interpretation in a lexical context. In tractate b.*Gittin* (V, 59a.16–17), the rabbis attempt to derive the meaning of this term exegetically, proposing two plausible interpretations: (1) as a specific way of folding vestments, or (2) as a reference to the exceptionally thin material from which they were made – a material so thin that, when folded, the garment took up no more than one and a half pistachio nuts in volume, but when unfolded, it could cover the entire body.

Conversely, according to the authors of *The Pulpit Commentary*, the semantic identification of the meaning of the word מְלִתָּהּ (meltāḥā<sup>h</sup>) does not present any major difficulties, mainly for two reasons: firstly, the literary context in which the word appears is sufficiently clear; secondly, this context explicitly indicates the functional connection of the term with the keeping or arranging of clothing, which facilitates its interpretation despite the lack of parallel occurrences in other biblical texts.<sup>25</sup>

An even more significant reference is found in 2 Kgs 22:14 and in the parallel text of 2 Chr 34:22, where Huldah is presented as a prophetess, the wife of Shallum, the keeper of the wardrobe שֹׁמֵר הַבְּגָדִים (šōmēr habbġādīm).

A comparison of these two pericopes – one describing Josiah’s religious reform, the other the plan to exterminate the servants of Baal – reveals that the role of ‘him that was over the vestry’, though marginal, is not devoid of theological and narrative significance. In both cases, this figure participates – directly or indirectly – in Israel’s religious purification, which raises questions about the status of auxiliary offices and their role in the realisation of God’s Economy of Salvation within the Deuteronomistic tradition.

The office of the keeper of the wardrobe is an important link in the development of the office called ‘Phineas over the vestments’ (עַל הַמְּלִבוּשׁ) פִּנְחָס pinḥās ‘al hammalbūš), described in Mishnah *Shekalim* 5:1. The Tractate *Shekalim* is part of the canonical Mishnah, redacted by Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi circa 200 CE. Although its redaction took place after the destruction of the Second Temple (70 CE), the content of the Mishnah, including the

25 Cf. H.D.M. Spence-Jones (ed.), *2 Kings* (The Pulpit Commentary; London – New York: Funk & Wagnalls 1909) 212. Contemporary commentaries also confirm this thesis, see D. Slager, “Preface,” R.L. Omanson – J.E. Ellington, *A Handbook on 1 & 2 Kings* (United Bible Societies’ Handbooks; New York: United Bible Societies 2008) I, 960.

Tractate Shekalim, is based on earlier oral traditions dating back to the time of the Jerusalem Temple.

In m. Shekalim 5:1 (cf. y. *Shekalim* 5:1 [49a]), there is a list of fifteen honourable offices that, according to rabbinical tradition, were to be held in uninterrupted succession in the Temple. These were administrative and ritual roles, named after historical figures – probably the first or most distinguished Temple officials. This list does not assume that these people were contemporaries but is symbolic and commemorative: the names of former leaders of Israel are preserved in it as Temple offices, which can be interpreted as an institutional commemoration.

The fifteenth and last office listed in this catalogue is the role referred to as ‘Phineas over the vestments’ (עַל הַמְּלִבּוּשׁ *pinhās ‘al hammalbûš*), in charge of the Temple’s priestly vestments and ritual garments. This reference may be to a specific official from the Second Temple period. Still, in light of rabbinic thought, it cannot be ruled out that the name ‘Phineas’ (also spelt Pinchas or Phinehas) was deliberately used here as a reference to the biblical figure – the son of Eleazar and grandson of Aaron (cf. Num 25:7–13).

The biblical Phinehas came to prominence as a zealous defender of the covenant with YHWH during a time of moral crisis in Israel, for which he received from God a ‘covenant of peace’ and a ‘covenant of perpetual priesthood’ (Num 25:12–13), which is interpreted as legitimising his priestly role. In this light, naming an office related to priestly vestments after him can be interpreted as (1) a symbolic tribute to his concern for the purity and sanctity of the priesthood, and at the same time (2) a conscious attempt to inscribe this figure into the later institutional system, even if it does not refer to him directly in historical terms. Such typological references are inherent to the rabbinical way of thinking about the past, in which significant figures become archetypes of roles and values cherished in the Temple tradition.

Figure 1 illustrates a cross-section of the outer wall of Solomon’s Temple, showing the architectural layout of the rooms adjacent to the main body of the building. The spaces shown in the picture, including storage rooms, rooms for priests, and staircases connecting successive floors, were added to the outer walls of the Temple in a way that allows practical use without placing excessive strain on the load-bearing walls.

According to the description in 1 Kgs 6:5–7, the side chambers also served as support, reinforcing the structure of the main building. For this reason, their width increased with height: the lower part measured five cubits, the middle six, and the uppermost seven. Vertical communication between the floors was facilitated by an indoor staircase: ‘The entrance for the middle story was on the south side of the house: one went up by winding stairs to the middle story, and from the middle story to the third’ (1 Kgs 6:8).

These chambers were mainly used for storage, keeping the materials necessary for worship: liturgical vessels and priestly vestments. Their size was so considerable that, according to 2 Kgs 11:2–3, they could also serve as a hiding place. Joash, the future king of Judah, stayed there for six years, hidden from Queen Athaliah.

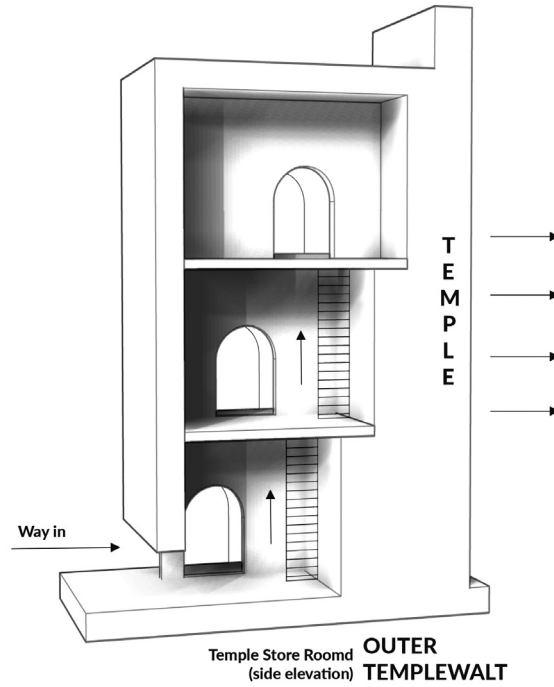


Fig. 1. A cross-section of the outer wall of Solomon's Temple  
(created by Paulina Paprocka)

The hypothetical layout of the side chambers in Solomon's Temple finds strong archaeological analogies in the temple discovered in 1955 at 'Ain Dārā, located in north-western Syria, near the town of 'Afrīn.<sup>26</sup> Both the temple at 'Ain Dārā and the biblical description of Solomon's Temple (1 Kgs 6) show the presence of side chambers adjacent to the central space of the *cella*. At 'Ain Dārā, these chambers were located along the sides of the sanctuary and probably served as auxiliary or storage rooms, which is analogous to the presumed functions of Solomon's chambers.<sup>27</sup>

During the Second Temple period, the Temple complex was significantly expanded, resulting in the building of additional courts, new entrance gates, cisterns, and numerous

26 See M. Novák, "The Temple of 'Ain Dārā in the Context of Imperial and Neo-Hittite Architecture and Art," *Temple Building and Temple Cult: Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2.–1. Mill. B.C.E.)*. *Proceedings of a Conference on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Biblical Archaeology at the University of Tübingen, 28–30 May 2010* (ed. J. Kamlah) (ADPV 41; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2012) 41–42.

27 See Novák, "The Temple of 'Ain Dārā in the Context of Imperial and Neo-Hittite Architecture and Art," 47, 51–52; See also D. Bahat, *The Carta Jerusalem Atlas*, 3 ed., updated and expanded (Jerusalem: Carta 2011) 29.

auxiliary rooms and storage spaces. The diagram below illustrates a hypothetical reconstruction of the Herodian Temple, based on data from biblical texts and rabbinic tradition, particularly the Mishnah and Tosefta tractates.

According to the account in *m.Middot* 1:4, seven gates led to the inner court of the sanctuary: three on the north, three on the south, and one – the Nikanor Gate – on the east. Inside the latter, there were two chambers, symmetrically on both sides (marked with letters A and B in the Figure 2). One of them was intended for the official in charge of ceremonial garments – פִּנְחָס עַל הַמְּלִבוּשׁ (*pinhās ‘al hammalbûš*), i.e. ‘Phinehas, the valet [of priests]’. The second chamber was used by priests baking the showbread, which was then placed on a special table in a holy place (cf. Exod 25:30; Lev 24:5–9).<sup>28</sup>

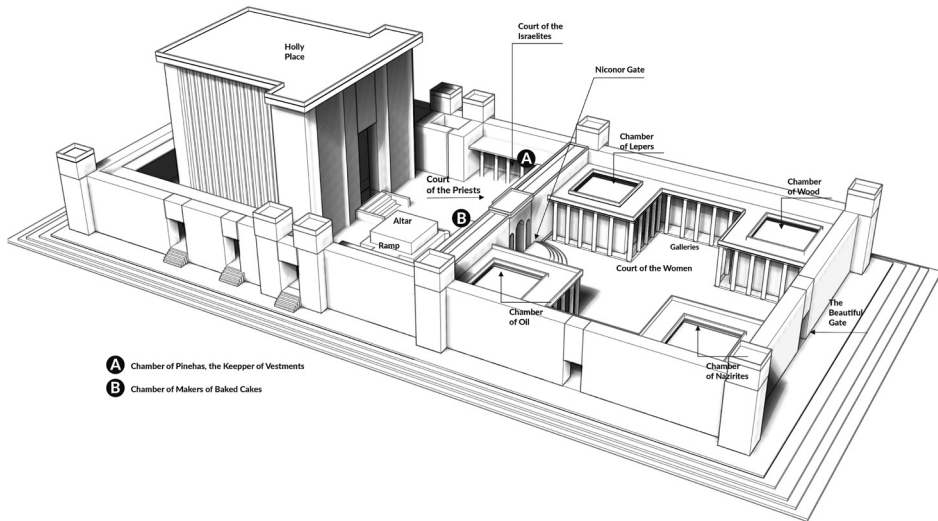


Fig. 2. A hypothetical reconstruction of the Herodian Temple  
(created by Paulina Paprocka)

In Jewish tradition, especially in Talmudic and Midrashic sources, the title Pinchas haMalbish refers to an official responsible for dressing priests and keeping liturgical vestments. The chambers known as לשכת נפחם מהלביש, as described in rabbinical tradition, were integral to the architecture of the Jerusalem Temple and served various administrative and liturgical functions. These rooms were probably used both as storage

<sup>28</sup> See L. Ritmeyer, *The Quest: Revealing the Temple Mount in Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Carta – The Lamb Foundation 2015) 356.

rooms for priestly vestments and as chambers for the official responsible for their preparation and distribution.

The writings of Josephus also shed light on the institutional status of priestly vestments. In *The Antiquities of the Jews* (Ant 18:90–95; 20:6–14), he mentions the Roman administration's practice of depositing the high priest's vestments in the Antonia Fortress, which demonstrates that liturgical garments had not only ritual but also political significance. High priests could only use them with the consent of the Roman governor, which confirms that keeping the vestments was considered a matter of state and ceremonial importance.

## Conclusion

The mention of the keeper of the wardrobe in 2 Kgs 22:14 and 2 Chr 34:22, seemingly incidental and inconspicuous, turns out to be the starting point for an extensive analysis of the institutional, literary, and cultural aspects of this role in ancient Israel. The reconstruction of the office of שֹׁמֵר הַבְּגָדִים (šōmēr habbġādīm) presented in this article highlights its significance not only in practical terms – as the office in charge of the wardrobe – but, above all, in terms of prestige and symbolism, rooted in its close connection with institutions of worship and power.

A comparative analysis of biblical and extra-biblical sources, especially rabbinical texts and the accounts of Josephus, confirms that the stewardship of vestments – especially liturgical ones – was a high-ranking position requiring trust and close interaction with the Temple or court administration. Furthermore, philological and textual considerations of the Masoretic and Greek texts show that the very process of redacting and transmitting the biblical text influenced the perception of the official and his role.

This article offers a starting point for in-depth research into the relationship between the biblical text and the socio-institutional reality of the ancient Near East, demonstrating that even seemingly marginal figures and offices, such as the 'keeper of the wardrobe', can play a significant role in reconstructing the theological and cultural imagery of the Hebrew Bible. Pointing to the complexity and multidimensionality of this role opens up the possibility of reinterpreting other, hitherto underappreciated elements of biblical narratives.

In light of the findings presented, it appears reasonable to expand research in several key areas: (1) conducting an in-depth archaeological and architectural analysis of potential locations for vestment storage within the Jerusalem Temple; (2) examining the continuity of the office of keeper of the wardrobe in the Second Temple period and its possible counterparts in New Testament times, taking into account rabbinic sources and the testimonies of Jewish historians such as Josephus; (3) continuing comparative studies on wardrobe administration and clothing symbolism in other cultures of the ancient Near East, including in particular Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Hittite Empire.

A compilation of philological, historical, literary, and archaeological data indicates that the office of keeper of the wardrobe not only played a specific administrative role but also helped shape the structure of power, ritual, and religious identity in ancient Israel. Further research in this area may significantly expand our knowledge of the Temple's functioning, the significance of ceremonial objects, and the social hierarchy of the biblical world.

## Bibliography


- Bahat, D., *The Carta Jerusalem Atlas*, 3 ed., updated and expanded (Jerusalem: Carta 2011).
- Bosowski, J., "Diaspora żydowska w Egipcie w czasach biblijnych," *Scriptura Sacra* 19 (2015) 65–84.
- Cogan, M. – Tadmor, H., *II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Anchor Bible 11; Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company 1988).
- Constable, T.L., "2 Kings," *The Bible Knowledge Commentary: An Exposition of the Scriptures. I. Old Testament* (eds. J.F. Walvoord – R.B. Zuck) (Wheaton, IL: Victor Books 1985).
- Curtis, E.L. – Madsen, A.A., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (International Critical Commentary; Edinburgh: Clark 1910).
- Dillard, R.B., *2 Chronicles* (WBC 15; Waco, TX: Word Books 1987).
- Gelb, I.J. et al. (eds.), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. XVI. S* (Chicago, IL: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 1962).
- Hicks, J.M., *1 & 2 Chronicles* (College Press NIV Commentary. Old Testament Series; Joplin, MO: College Press 2001).
- Himmelfarb, L., "The Exegetical Role of the Paseq," *Sefarad* 58/2 (1998) 243–260.
- The Holy Bible. Berean Standard Bible* (Pittsburgh, PA: Bible Hub 2025), [https://biblehub.com/sep/2\\_chronicles/34.htm](https://biblehub.com/sep/2_chronicles/34.htm) [access: 20.11.2025].
- The Holy Scriptures. Tanakh* (1917 Edition according to the Masoretic Text) (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society 1917), [https://biblehub.com/jps/2\\_chronicles/34.htm](https://biblehub.com/jps/2_chronicles/34.htm) [access: 20.11.2025].
- Klein, R.W., *2 Chronicles: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2012).
- Lambdin, T.O., *Wprowadzenie do hebrajskiego biblijnego* (trans. H. Drawnel – B.M. Sokal) (Materiały Pomocnicze do Wykładów z Bibliistyki 11; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2011).
- Montgomery, J.A., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings* (International Critical Commentary; Edinburgh: Clark 1951).
- Novák, M., "The Temple of 'Ain Dāra in the Context of Imperial and Neo-Hittite Architecture and Art," *Temple Building and Temple Cult: Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2.–1. Mill. B.C.E.). Proceedings of a Conference on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Biblical Archaeology at the University of Tübingen, 28–30 May 2010* (ed. J. Kamlah) (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 41; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2012) 41–54.
- Noth, M., *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament 3/10; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1928; reprint Hildesheim: Olms 1966).
- Park, S.J., *The Fundamentals of Hebrew Accents: Divisions and Exegetical Roles Beyond Syntax* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020).

- Rahlf's, A. – Hanhart, R. (eds.), *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes Alfred Rahlf's. Editio altera quam recognovit et emendavit Robert Hanhart*, 2 ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2006; reprint 2019).
- Rambiart-Kwaśniewska, A., *Terminologia tekstylna w Biblii Hebrajskiej i Septuagincie: Szaty, dodatki i tekstyilia użytkowe* (Wrocław: Chronicon 2023).
- Ritmeyer, L., *The Quest: Revealing the Temple Mount in Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Carta – The Lamb Foundation 2015).
- Slager, D., “Preface,” R.L. Omanson – J.E. Ellington, *A Handbook on 1 & 2 Kings* (United Bible Societies' Handbooks; New York: United Bible Societies 2008) I.
- Spence-Jones, H.D.M. (ed.), *2 Kings* (The Pulpit Commentary; New York – Toronto: Funk & Wagnalls 1909).
- Thompson, J.A., *1, 2 Chronicles: An Exegetical and Theological Exposition of Holy Scripture* (New American Commentary 9; Brentwood, TN: Broadman & Holman 1994).
- Tronina, A., *Druga Księga Kronik. Wstęp, przekład z oryginału, komentarz* (Nowy komentarz biblijny. Stary Testament 10/2; Częstochowa: Edycja Świętego Pawła 2016).
- Wray Beal, L.M., *1 & 2 Kings* (Apollos Old Testament Commentary 9; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity 2014).

## Shared Motifs, Distinct Functions: Theological Transformation in Ancient Near Eastern Lament Traditions

Dariusz Iwański

Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń  
nagid@umk.pl

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5444-3219>

**ABSTRACT:** Current comparative approaches to Mesopotamian city laments and biblical Lamentations face methodological limitations in distinguishing shared literary conventions from distinct theological interpretations. While formal parallels have been identified (Dobbs-Allsopp 1993, Cohen 1988), existing frameworks have not systematically examined how identical motifs serve different theological purposes. This study proposes theological transformation analysis that evaluates functional differences alongside formal similarities. Through comparison of three shared motifs – divine abandonment, communal grief, and restoration vision – this analysis suggests identical literary forms serve distinct functions: ritual appeasement versus covenantal repentance, ceremonial performance versus moral transformation, and cosmic order restoration versus ethical renewal. Rather than direct dependence or independent development, these traditions demonstrate how shared ancient Near Eastern conventions could be transformed through distinct theological frameworks, offering methodological tools for comparative studies.

**KEYWORDS:** Mesopotamian city laments, Book of Lamentations, theological transformation, comparative methodology, ancient Near Eastern literature

The relationship between Mesopotamian city laments and the biblical Book of Lamentations constitutes a fundamental test case for understanding literary transmission and theological adaptation in ancient Near Eastern comparative studies. This relationship directly impacts how scholars interpret cultural exchange, religious development, and literary transformation across ancient civilisations – processes that shaped literary and theological expression throughout the ancient Near East for over two millennia and continue to influence contemporary approaches to comparative ancient Near Eastern studies.

Current scholarship faces a significant methodological challenge in distinguishing between shared literary conventions and distinct theological interpretations. While pioneering comparative studies have identified important formal parallels,<sup>1</sup> and later comprehensive structural analyses have established essential foundations,<sup>2</sup> existing frameworks

1 S.N. Kramer, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur* (AS 12; Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press 1940); S.N. Kramer, “Sumerian Literature and the Bible,” *Studia biblica et orientali*. III. Oriens Antiquus (AnBib 12; Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico 1959) 185–204.

2 F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp, *Weep, O Daughter of Zion: A Study of the City-Lament Genre in the Hebrew Bible* (BibOr 44; Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico 1993).

have not systematically examined how identical literary motifs may serve fundamentally different theological purposes within their respective religious systems. Dobbs-Allsopp's influential structural analysis, though exemplary in identifying formal similarities, has not fully explored theological transformation processes,<sup>3</sup> while Cohen's comprehensive examination of Mesopotamian traditions, despite its scholarly rigour, might benefit from more systematic comparison with biblical–theological distinctiveness.<sup>4</sup> Recent methodological innovations in biblical studies suggest growing recognition of this analytical gap.<sup>5</sup>

The study addresses this methodological opportunity by proposing theological transformation analysis as a systematic framework for evaluating how identical literary motifs function within different theological systems. Rather than choosing between direct literary influence or complete independent development, this approach examines functional divergence alongside formal similarities. The analysis suggests that functional analysis – examining how shared motifs serve distinct theological purposes – provides crucial methodological insights for understanding relationships between ancient Near Eastern literary traditions while contributing to broader comparative methodologies.<sup>6</sup>

Through a systematic examination of three major shared motifs, this study proposes that identical literary forms serve fundamentally distinct theological functions: ritual appeasement versus covenantal repentance (divine abandonment), ceremonial performance versus moral transformation (communal grief), and cosmic order restoration versus ethical renewal (restoration vision). These findings suggest a methodological framework that may help resolve apparent contradictions between formal similarities and theological distinctiveness while providing analytical tools for comparative ancient Near Eastern literary studies.

To develop this argument, the study (1) establishes methodological criteria for theological transformation analysis; (2) applies this framework to examine divine abandonment, communal grief, and restoration motifs through systematic functional comparison; (3) demonstrates how theological frameworks transform shared literary conventions into distinct religious expressions; (4) explores methodological implications for broader ancient Near Eastern comparative studies.

3 Dobbs-Allsopp, *Weep, O Daughter of Zion*, 25–28, 162–167.

4 M.E. Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Potomac, MD: Capital Decisions 1988) I, 299–303.

5 C. Mandolfo, *Daughter Zion Talks Back to the Prophets: A Dialogic Theology of the Book of Lamentations* (SemeiaSt 58; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2007); G. Hens-Piazza, *Lamentations* (Wisdom Commentary 30; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 2017).

6 A. Annus (ed.), *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World* (OIS 6; Chicago, IL: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 2010); M. Nissinen – R.K. Ritner – C.L. Seow, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (WAW 12; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2003).

## 1. *Status Quaestionis*: Previous Approaches to the Problem

The relationship between Mesopotamian city laments and biblical Lamentations has generated four distinct scholarly approaches over the past eight decades, each offering valuable insights while facing specific methodological limitations. A systematic review of these approaches reveals both the progression of comparative methodology and the need for alternative analytical frameworks.

### 1.1. Direct Literary Dependence Model (Kramer 1940–1969)

Samuel Noah Kramer pioneered comparative analysis between Sumerian city laments and biblical Lamentations, arguing for direct literary influence based on striking thematic and structural parallels.<sup>7</sup> His groundbreaking study of *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur* demonstrated remarkable similarities in motifs such as divine abandonment, personified cities, and restoration appeals.<sup>8</sup> Kramer's approach emphasised chronological priority, suggesting that Mesopotamian traditions provided direct literary models for biblical authors, particularly during the Babylonian exile period when cultural contact was extensive.<sup>9</sup>

While Kramer's work established the foundation for comparative studies, subsequent scholarship has identified significant limitations in the direct dependence model. The chronological gap of over 1,500 years between early Sumerian laments and biblical Lamentations complicates claims of direct transmission, while theological differences suggest more complex relationships than simple borrowing.<sup>10</sup>

### 1.2. Shared Cultural Framework Model (Dobbs-Allsopp 1993)

Frederick Dobbs-Allsopp's influential analysis shifted scholarly focus from direct dependence to shared ancient Near Eastern literary conventions.<sup>11</sup> His comprehensive structural analysis demonstrated that both traditions employ common generic features: acrostic patterns, personification devices, and formulaic expressions that appear across multiple ancient Near Eastern cultures.<sup>12</sup> Dobbs-Allsopp argued that formal similarities reflect widespread regional mourning conventions rather than specific textual relationships.

This approach successfully addresses chronological problems inherent in direct influence models while providing sophisticated literary analysis. However, Dobbs-Allsopp's framework has not systematically examined how shared conventions may serve different theological purposes within distinct religious systems, focusing primarily on formal rather than functional analysis.

<sup>7</sup> Kramer, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur*, 32–35.

<sup>8</sup> Kramer, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur*, 89–93; Kramer, "Sumerian Literature and the Bible," 185–204.

<sup>9</sup> S.N. Kramer, "Lamentation over the Destruction of Nippur: A Preliminary Report," *ErIsr* 9 (1969) 89–93.

<sup>10</sup> T.F. McDaniel, "The Alleged Sumerian Influence Upon Lamentations," *VT* 18/2 (1968) 198–209.

<sup>11</sup> Dobbs-Allsopp, *Weep, O Daughter of Zion*, 25–28.

<sup>12</sup> Dobbs-Allsopp, *Weep, O Daughter of Zion*, 162–167.

### 1.3. Independent Mesopotamian Analysis (Cohen 1988)

Mark Cohen's comprehensive examination of Mesopotamian lamentation traditions established definitive textual foundations for comparative study through rigorous philological analysis.<sup>13</sup> His systematic cataloguing of Sumerian and Akkadian lament texts provides essential source material while demonstrating the complexity and sophistication of Mesopotamian mourning literature.<sup>14</sup> Cohen's work emphasises the internal development and function of Mesopotamian traditions within their own cultural contexts.

While Cohen's philological rigour remains exemplary, his analysis focuses primarily on Mesopotamian traditions without extensive comparison to biblical materials. This approach, though methodologically sound, has not adequately addressed questions of cross-cultural literary relationships that motivated earlier comparative studies.

### 1.4. Cultural Transmission Model (Petter 2011)

Donna Petter's recent analysis proposes 'influence through cultural exposure' as an alternative to both direct dependence and complete independence. Her examination of intertextual dynamics suggests that biblical authors may have encountered Mesopotamian traditions through cultural contact without direct textual borrowing.<sup>15</sup> This model accommodates both formal similarities and theological differences by emphasising adaptive processes rather than simple transmission.

Petter's approach offers methodological sophistication in addressing complex transmission patterns. However, her framework has not provided systematic criteria for distinguishing between various types of cultural influence or for evaluating how theological frameworks may transform shared literary materials.

### 1.5. Methodological Assessment and Research Gap

These four approaches have established essential foundations for comparative study while revealing a consistent methodological limitation: the absence of systematic frameworks for analysing how identical literary motifs may serve fundamentally different theological functions. While Kramer demonstrated significant parallels, Dobbs-Allsopp identified shared conventions, Cohen provided textual foundations, and Petter explored transmission mechanisms, none has adequately addressed the functional transformation of shared literary materials within distinct religious systems.

Recent methodological innovations in biblical studies suggest growing recognition of this analytical gap.<sup>16</sup> Contemporary comparative approaches in ancient Near Eastern studies indicate similar awareness of the need for frameworks that can accommodate both

---

13 Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations*.

14 Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations*, I, 156–159.

15 D.L. Petter, *The Book of Ezekiel and Mesopotamian City Laments* (OBO 246; Fribourg – Göttingen: Academic Press – Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2011) 145–162.

16 Mandolfo, *Daughter Zion Talks Back to the Prophets*; Hens-Piazza, *Lamentations*.

formal similarities and functional differences.<sup>17</sup> This scholarly context suggests that systematic theological transformation analysis may provide useful tools for advancing beyond current methodological limitations while building upon established foundations.

The present study addresses this methodological opportunity by proposing analytical criteria for examining how shared literary motifs function within different theological systems, potentially offering a framework that accommodates insights from all four previous approaches while providing new analytical precision.

## 2. Methodological Framework for Theological Transformation Analysis

The methodological limitations identified in previous approaches suggest the need for analytical frameworks that can systematically examine how identical literary motifs function within different theological systems. This study proposes theological transformation analysis as a method for evaluating functional differences alongside formal similarities in ancient Near Eastern comparative studies.

### 2.1. Theoretical Foundation

Theological transformation analysis operates on the premise that shared literary conventions may serve fundamentally different purposes when integrated into distinct religious frameworks. Rather than treating formal similarities as evidence for either direct influence or complete independence, this approach examines how theological systems transform inherited or parallel literary materials to serve specific religious functions.<sup>18</sup> This methodology builds upon recent advances in comparative ancient Near Eastern studies while addressing gaps in functional analysis identified in biblical and Mesopotamian scholarship.<sup>19</sup>

### 2.2. Analytical Framework

The framework employs four systematic criteria for distinguishing theological transformation from simple literary borrowing or coincidental similarity.

**Criterion 1. Functional Divergence:** Do identical literary motifs serve fundamentally different purposes within their respective contexts? This criterion examines whether shared forms operate as ritual performance, moral instruction, theological reflection, or other distinct functions.

<sup>17</sup> Annus (ed.), *Divination and Interpretation*; Nissinen – Ritner – Seow, *Prophets and Prophecy*.

<sup>18</sup> Recent methodological discussions in biblical studies have emphasised the need for frameworks that can accommodate both formal similarities and functional differences; see H.A. Thomas, *Poetry and Theology in the Book of Lamentations: The Aesthetics of an Open Text* (Hebrew Bible Monographs 47; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press 2013) 25–30.

<sup>19</sup> M.J. Bier, 'Perhaps There Is Hope': *Reading Lamentations as a Polyphony of Pain, Penitence, and Protest* (LHBOTS 603; London: Bloomsbury – Clark 2015); S. Kipfer, "Contextualizing 'Sadness' and 'Grief' in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel," *HBAI* 13/2 (2024) 281–308; X.H.T. Pham, *Mourning in the Ancient Near East and the Hebrew Bible* (JSOTSup 302; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1999).

**Criterion 2. Systematic Consistency:** Do functional differences align consistently with broader theological frameworks rather than appearing as random variations? This criterion evaluates whether divergent functions reflect coherent religious systems rather than isolated textual peculiarities.

**Criterion 3. Interpretive Integration:** Are shared motifs reinterpreted through distinctive theological vocabularies, concepts, and explanatory frameworks? This criterion examines how traditions employ specific religious language to transform common literary materials.

**Criterion 4. Contextual Adaptation:** Do functional differences reflect systematic adaptation to distinct cultural–religious contexts that necessitated or strongly directed specific transformations? This criterion examines whether observed differences result from contextual pressures that made certain adaptations functionally necessary rather than representing simple variation within the same system. It evaluates the causal relationship between specific contextual factors and particular transformative patterns.

### 2.3. Application of the Method

This study applies theological transformation analysis to three major shared motifs between Mesopotamian city laments and biblical Lamentations: divine abandonment, communal grief, and restoration vision. Each case study examines both formal similarities and functional differences, applying the four criteria systematically to evaluate whether observed differences represent theological transformation.<sup>20</sup>

The analysis focuses on primary textual evidence from representative Mesopotamian laments (*The Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur*, *The Lamentation over Sumer and Ur*) and biblical Lamentations, examining how identical literary forms serve distinct theological purposes within their respective religious systems. Rather than seeking to establish direct influence or independence, this approach investigates how shared ancient Near Eastern mourning conventions may be transformed through different theological frameworks.<sup>21</sup>

### 2.4. Addressing Potential Counterarguments

The theological transformation analysis framework must acknowledge potential limitations and alternative interpretations. Three primary counterarguments merit explicit consideration:

- (1) The Spectrum Argument might suggest that functional differences represent variations within a broader ancient Near Eastern theological spectrum rather than radical transformations. However, the systematic consistency of functional differences across multiple motifs suggests coherent theological systems rather than arbitrary emphases.

<sup>20</sup> This methodological approach builds upon comparative frameworks developed in Annus (ed.), *Divination and Interpretation*.

<sup>21</sup> For theoretical foundations of comparative ancient Near Eastern literary analysis, see Nissinen – Ritner – Seow, *Prophets and Prophecy*, 1–15.

The interpretive integration evident in distinctive vocabularies – ‘word of An and Enlil’ versus ‘righteous judgment of Yahweh’ – demonstrates active reinterpretation rather than passive inheritance.<sup>22</sup> The contextual adaptation to distinct frameworks (temple-based ritual systems versus community-based, covenantal structures) reflects systematic transformation rather than superficial variation.

- (2) The Multifunctionality Challenge argues that clear functional distinctions oversimplify motifs serving multiple functions within single traditions. This highlights important methodological limitations requiring a nuanced response. The framework focuses on predominant functions rather than exhaustive cataloguing. While Mesopotamian laments occasionally include moral elements, the systematic emphasis on ritual appeasement represents the characteristic function. Similarly, while biblical Lamentations includes ritual elements, the consistent emphasis on covenantal justice indicates a primary theological purpose.<sup>23</sup> The four criteria, applied collectively, distinguish between primary transformative functions and secondary variations.
- (3) The Gradual Development Argument proposes that differences result from internal evolution rather than a transformative adaptation of shared materials. While acknowledging the role of internal development, the transformation framework addresses how traditions have adapted shared conventions to serve distinct purposes. Formal similarities suggest common heritage, while functional differences indicate systematic adaptation.<sup>24</sup> The consistent transformation pattern – from ritual appeasement to covenantal repentance, ceremonial performance to moral instruction, cosmic order to ethical renewal – indicates purposeful theological reinterpretation rather than coincidental development.

These counterarguments illuminate cultural transmission complexity while supporting the framework’s systematic approach to examining literary relationships in the ancient Near East.

### 3. Case Study 1: Divine Abandonment – Shared Motif, Distinct Functions

The first application of theological transformation analysis examines divine abandonment motifs, representing one of the most striking parallels between Mesopotamian city laments and biblical Lamentations. While both traditions employ virtually identical literary

<sup>22</sup> This interpretive integration is particularly evident in the consistent use of covenant terminology in biblical contexts and ritual terminology in Mesopotamian contexts when discussing formally similar motifs.

<sup>23</sup> For discussion of primary versus secondary functions in biblical literature, see Thomas, *Poetry and Theology*, 45–52.

<sup>24</sup> The concept of transformative adaptation builds upon insights from cultural transmission theory; see D.M. Carr, *Holy Resilience: The Bible’s Traumatic Origins* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press 2014) 89–95.

imagery – a patron deity physically departing from the city, resulting in urban destruction – systematic, functional analysis suggests fundamentally different theological purposes underlying this shared motif.

### 3.1. The Shared Motif: Divine Departure and Urban Destruction

Both Mesopotamian and biblical traditions structure their lament narratives around divine abandonment as the primary explanatory framework for urban catastrophe. In *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur*, the moon god Nanna is depicted as physically departing his temple, leaving the city defenceless against invaders.<sup>25</sup> The text presents this abandonment through vivid, spatial imagery: ‘Nanna has abandoned his house, left his city’ and ‘The god has gone out from his city, has left his land desolate.’<sup>26</sup> This departure directly precipitates the city’s destruction, establishing clear causation between divine absence and urban vulnerability.

Biblical Lamentations employs remarkably similar imagery and causal structure. Lamentations 2:7 states that ‘The Lord has rejected His altar, He has abandoned His sanctuary,’ while 2:1 describes how ‘the Lord has covered Daughter Zion with the cloud of his anger’ and ‘hurled down the splendor of Israel from heaven to earth.’<sup>27</sup> Like the Mesopotamian texts, the biblical tradition presents divine departure as both spatial (abandonment of sanctuary) and causal (resulting in destruction). This shared motif extends to common literary devices: both traditions personify cities as grieving figures, employ storm metaphors for destruction, and structure their narratives around the absence–presence dynamic of divine–human relations.

### 3.2. Functional Divergence: Mysterious Divine Will Versus Covenantal Justice

Despite these remarkable formal similarities, theological transformation analysis reveals that identical motifs serve fundamentally different functions within their respective religious systems. The key divergence lies in how each tradition interprets divine abandonment and prescribes appropriate human response.

#### 3.2.1. Mesopotamian Function: Mysterious Divine Will

Mesopotamian city laments consistently present divine abandonment as an inscrutable decree beyond human comprehension or influence. ‘The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur’ describes the catastrophe as ‘the word of An and Enlil,’ a divine decision requiring no explanation and admitting no moral interpretation.<sup>28</sup> When Nanna abandons Ur, the text focuses on the inexorable nature of divine will rather than any human transgression that might have prompted the departure. The goddess Ningal’s lament emphasises the

25 Kramer, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur*, 89–93.

26 Kramer, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur*, 96–101.

27 A. Berlin, *Lamentations: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox 2002) 78–85.

28 P. Michalowski, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* (MC 1; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 1989) 67–71.

mysterious character of divine decision-making: the gods have decreed destruction according to their own unfathomable wisdom.<sup>29</sup>

This understanding shapes the prescribed human response. Since divine abandonment represents sovereign will rather than moral judgement, the appropriate response becomes ritual appeasement rather than ethical transformation. Mesopotamian laments consistently conclude with appeals for divine return through proper, ceremonial means: restored offerings, rebuilt temples, and correctly performed rituals.<sup>30</sup>

### 3.2.2. Biblical Function: Covenantal Justice

Biblical Lamentations operates within a fundamentally different theological framework where divine abandonment represents covenantal justice rather than a mysterious decree. The text repeatedly connects Jerusalem's destruction to specific covenant violations: 'Jerusalem has greatly sinned and so has become unclean' (Lam 1:8) and 'The Lord is righteous, for I rebelled against his command' (Lam 1:18).<sup>31</sup> Unlike Mesopotamian traditions, which present divine action as beyond moral evaluation, Lamentations explicitly frames abandonment as a divine response to human behaviour within the covenant relationship.

This covenantal framework transforms the prescribed human response. Rather than ritual appeasement, Lamentations emphasises moral transformation and genuine repentance. The text's central theological question – 'Why should the living complain when punished for their sins?' (Lam 3:39) – articulates a perspective where divine judgement serves moral pedagogy rather than expressing inscrutable will.<sup>32</sup>

### 3.3. Application of Methodological Criteria

The divine abandonment motif indicates all four criteria for theological transformation.

**Criterion 1. Functional Divergence:** Identical imagery serves distinct purposes – mysterious, divine sovereignty (Mesopotamian) versus covenantal justice (biblical).

**Criterion 2. Systematic Consistency:** These functional differences align consistently with broader theological frameworks – polytheistic divine autonomy versus monotheistic covenant theology.

**Criterion 3. Interpretive Integration:** Each tradition reinterprets shared motifs through distinctive religious vocabularies – 'word of An and Enlil' versus 'righteous judgement of Yahweh'.

**Criterion 4. Contextual Adaptation:** The functional differences directly result from specific contextual pressures that necessitate distinct interpretive approaches. Mesopotamian temple-based religious systems required explanations that preserved divine sovereignty while maintaining ritual efficacy – mysterious divine will accomplished both goals by protecting divine prerogatives while providing clear ritual responses. Biblical, covenant-based

<sup>29</sup> Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations*, I, 175–179.

<sup>30</sup> Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations*, I, 210–214.

<sup>31</sup> Berlin, *Lamentations*, 132–136.

<sup>32</sup> Thomas, *Poetry and Theology*, 156–158.

community systems required explanations that maintained divine justice while preserving hope for restoration – covenantal interpretation accomplished this by linking suffering to specific violations while ensuring restoration remained possible through repentance. These contextual requirements drove the specific transformations observed rather than merely providing different settings for similar functions.

This analysis suggests that divine abandonment motifs represent theological transformation rather than simple literary borrowing or independent development. Both traditions engage the same fundamental human experience – urban destruction and divine absence – but interpret this experience through fundamentally different theological lenses. The divine abandonment case study demonstrates how theological transformation analysis reveals functional differences beneath formal similarities, supporting the main argument that shared motifs serve distinct theological functions in ancient Near Eastern literary traditions.

#### 4. Case Study 2: Communal Grief – Shared Motif, Distinct Functions

The second application of theological transformation analysis examines communal grief motifs, particularly the personification of destroyed cities as weeping women. This shared literary device appears prominently in both Mesopotamian city laments and biblical Lamentations, employing virtually identical imagery and emotional registers. However, systematic functional analysis suggests that these formally parallel expressions of grief serve fundamentally different purposes within their respective theological frameworks.

##### 4.1. The Shared Motif: Cities as Weeping Women

Both traditions employ the powerful literary device of personifying destroyed cities as grieving women, creating emotional immediacy through feminine imagery of loss and abandonment. In Mesopotamian laments, the goddess Ningal serves as the primary mourning figure for Ur, depicted in deeply human terms of maternal grief and spousal abandonment.<sup>33</sup> *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur* presents Ningal weeping for her city with language that parallels human bereavement: ‘The woman cries “Alas for my city!” cries “Alas for my house!”’ and describes her ‘bitter weeping’ as she surveys the destruction.<sup>34</sup>

Biblical Lamentations employs strikingly similar imagery through the personification of Jerusalem as a widow and mother in mourning. Lamentations 1:1 opens with the iconic image: ‘How lonely sits the city that was full of people! How like a widow she has become, she who was great among the nations!’ The text develops this personification through chapters 1–2, presenting Jerusalem as speaking in first person, lamenting her children’s fate, and appealing for divine mercy.<sup>35</sup> Both traditions employ parallel emotional

<sup>33</sup> Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations*, I, 175–179.

<sup>34</sup> Kramer, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur*, 96–101.

<sup>35</sup> Dobbs-Allsopp, *Weep, O Daughter of Zion*, 147–150.

vocabulary (weeping, crying, lamenting), similar maternal imagery (concern for inhabitants as children), and comparable spatial metaphors (sitting alone, abandoned spaces).

#### 4.2. Functional Divergence: Ritual Performance Versus Moral Transformation

Despite these remarkable formal parallels, the weeping woman motif serves distinctly different functions within each theological system, reflecting broader differences in how each tradition understands the purpose and efficacy of communal mourning.

##### 4.2.1. Mesopotamian Function: Ritual Performance and Divine Appeasement

In Mesopotamian traditions, the weeping woman motif functions primarily as a ritual performance designed to influence divine emotion and secure divine return. Ningal's lament is a model for proper mourning behaviour, demonstrating correct ritual responses to divine abandonment.<sup>36</sup> The goddess's weeping is presented as an efficacious action that may move the gods to compassion rather than merely expressing an emotional response to loss. The text emphasises the performative aspects of her grief: proper gestures, appropriate verbal formulae, and correct ceremonial behaviour.<sup>37</sup>

This ritual function is reinforced by the structured, repetitive nature of Mesopotamian laments, which suggest liturgical use in temple ceremonies aimed at restoration. The emphasis falls on the proper performance of grief as a means of divine persuasion rather than on moral reflection or ethical transformation. Ningal's mourning demonstrates both the magnitude of loss and the correct ritual response that might secure divine favour for urban reconstruction.

##### 4.2.2. Biblical Function: Moral Reflection and Covenantal Repentance

Biblical Lamentations transforms the weeping woman motif into a vehicle for moral reflection and covenantal repentance. Jerusalem's grief serves not primarily as a ritual performance but as an acknowledgement of guilt and an appeal for justice within the covenant relationship.<sup>38</sup> The personified city repeatedly confesses transgression: 'I called to my lovers but they deceived me' (Lam 1:19) and 'The Lord is in the right, for I have rebelled against his word' (Lam 1:18). This confessional dimension distinguishes biblical from Mesopotamian usage of the motif.

Furthermore, Jerusalem's lament functions as moral instruction for the community, demonstrating proper response to divine judgement through acknowledgement of guilt and appeal for mercy based on covenant faithfulness rather than ritual correctness.<sup>39</sup> The weeping woman becomes a theological teacher, modelling repentance and covenant renewal rather than ceremonial appeasement. This pedagogical function extends the motif beyond ritual performance into ethical formation and community instruction.

<sup>36</sup> Michalowski, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur*, 13.

<sup>37</sup> Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations*, I, 188–191.

<sup>38</sup> Berlin, *Lamentations*, 78–85.

<sup>39</sup> J. Middlemas, "War, Comfort, and Compassion in Lamentations," *ExpTim* 130/8 (2019) 351–352.

### 4.3. Application of Methodological Criteria

The communal grief motif indicates theological transformation through all four criteria.

**Criterion 1. Functional Divergence:** Identical imagery serves distinct purposes – ritual appeasement and divine persuasion (Mesopotamian) versus moral instruction and covenantal repentance (biblical).

**Criterion 2. Systematic Consistency:** These functional differences align with broader theological systems – emphasis on proper ritual performance versus emphasis on ethical transformation and covenant fidelity.

**Criterion 3. Interpretive Integration:** Each tradition employs distinctive theological vocabularies – the language of divine emotion and ritual efficacy versus the language of sin, guilt, and covenant justice.

**Criterion 4. Contextual Adaptation:** The functional differences stem from specific institutional requirements demanding distinct communal mourning approaches. Mesopotamian temple-centred religious systems required mourning practices that could effectively influence divine emotion and secure divine return – ritual performance served this institutional need by providing concrete actions believed to move divine hearts. Biblical, community-centred, covenantal systems required mourning practices that could facilitate ethical transformation and community instruction – moral reflection and repentance served this institutional need by addressing the behavioural changes necessary for covenant renewal. These distinct institutional pressures necessitated the specific functional adaptations observed.

This analysis indicates that the weeping woman motif represents a clear case of theological transformation rather than simple borrowing or independent development. Both traditions recognise the power of feminine grief imagery for processing urban destruction, but each adapts this shared convention to serve distinct religious purposes.<sup>40</sup> The communal grief case study further demonstrates how theological transformation analysis reveals functional differences beneath formal similarities, supporting the broader argument that shared motifs serve distinct theological functions in ancient Near Eastern literary traditions.

## 5. Case Study 3: Restoration Vision – Shared Motif, Distinct Functions

The third application of theological transformation analysis examines restoration vision motifs, representing the culminating element in both Mesopotamian city laments and biblical Lamentations. Both traditions conclude their mourning literature with appeals for divine return and urban renewal, employing parallel imagery of reconstruction, renewed divine presence, and restored prosperity. However, systematic functional analysis

---

<sup>40</sup> Bier, "Perhaps There Is Hope," 98–102.

reveals that these formally similar restoration visions serve fundamentally different theological purposes and envision distinct pathways to recovery.

### 5.1. The Shared Motif: Appeals for Divine Return and Urban Renewal

Both traditions structure their restoration appeals around the fundamental hope that mourning and supplication may secure divine return and consequent urban renewal. Mesopotamian laments consistently conclude with direct petitions for the gods to re-establish their presence in restored temples and cities. *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur* ends with appeals for Nanna's return: 'May the god dwelling in the city be restored' and 'May Nanna return to his beloved dwelling.'<sup>41</sup> These appeals envision physical reconstruction, renewed offerings, and re-established divine–human relations through proper temple worship.<sup>42</sup>

Biblical Lamentations employs remarkably similar structural patterns and imagery in its restoration appeals. The text repeatedly calls for divine remembrance and return: 'Remember, O Lord, what has befallen us' (Lam 5:1) and 'Restore us to yourself, O Lord, that we may be restored! Renew our days as of old' (Lam 5:21).<sup>43</sup> Like Mesopotamian traditions, the biblical text envisions renewed divine presence, urban reconstruction, and restored prosperity. Both traditions employ a parallel vocabulary of remembrance, return, and renewal while expressing hope that proper appeal may secure divine favour for urban recovery.

### 5.2. Functional Divergence: Cosmic Order Restoration Versus Covenant Renewal

Despite these formal parallels in restoration imagery, the underlying visions serve distinctly different theological functions, reflecting fundamentally different understandings of divine–human relations and the requirements for authentic renewal.

#### 5.2.1. Mesopotamian Function: Cosmic Order through Ritual Restoration

Mesopotamian restoration visions focus primarily on re-establishing cosmic order through proper ritual performance and temple reconstruction. The appeals emphasise the physical restoration of sacred spaces, resumption of correct offerings, and maintenance of proper ceremonial relationships between gods and humans.<sup>44</sup> 'The Lamentation over Nippur' concludes with detailed descriptions of renewed temple functions, proper sacrificial procedures, and restored priestly activities as the pathway to divine favour and urban prosperity.<sup>45</sup>

This vision reflects a theological understanding where cosmic order depends on maintaining correct ritual relationships with the divine realm. Restoration requires primarily

41 Kramer, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur*, 115–118.

42 Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations*, I, 210–214.

43 Berlin, *Lamentations*, 125–128.

44 Michalowski, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur*, 145–148.

45 Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations*, I, 215–218.

ceremonial precision rather than moral transformation: rebuilt temples, properly performed sacrifices, and correctly maintained festivals. The emphasis falls on restoring the physical and ritual infrastructure that ensures divine presence and cosmic stability.<sup>46</sup>

### 5.2.2. Biblical Function: Covenant Renewal through Ethical Transformation

Biblical Lamentations presents a restoration vision within a fundamentally different theological framework, emphasising covenant renewal through ethical transformation. While the text hopes for physical reconstruction, it consistently subordinates material restoration to spiritual and moral renewal. The appeals focus on a restored relationship rather than a restored ritual: ‘Turn us back to you, O Lord, and we will be restored’ (Lam 5:21) emphasises relational transformation rather than ceremonial restoration.<sup>47</sup>

This covenantal framework transforms restoration requirements from ritual precision to ethical fidelity. The biblical restoration vision anticipates moral transformation of the community, a renewed commitment to covenant obligations, and restoration based on divine forgiveness rather than ceremonial appeasement. The text suggests that authentic restoration requires a fundamental change in human behaviour and renewed dedication to covenant faithfulness rather than merely rebuilding physical structures.<sup>48</sup>

### 5.3. Application of Methodological Criteria

The restoration vision motif suggests theological transformation through all four criteria.

**Criterion 1. Functional Divergence:** Identical appeals serve distinct purposes – cosmic order restoration through ritual means (Mesopotamian) versus covenant renewal through ethical transformation (biblical).

**Criterion 2. Systematic Consistency:** These functional differences align with broader theological frameworks – emphasis on ceremonial precision and cosmic stability versus emphasis on moral transformation and covenant fidelity.

**Criterion 3. Interpretive Integration:** Each tradition employs distinctive theological vocabularies – the language of cosmic order, ritual efficacy, and divine dwelling versus the language of covenant renewal, moral transformation, and relational restoration.

**Criterion 4. Contextual Adaptation:** The functional differences result from specific societal structures that require distinct pathways to authentic renewal. Mesopotamian city–state systems, dependent on the stable temple–divine relationships for political legitimacy and economic prosperity, necessitated restoration approaches focused on re-establishing proper ritual relationships – cosmic order restoration served this structural requirement by ensuring divine favour for urban stability. Biblical tribal–covenant systems, organised around collective moral obligations and divine law, required restoration

46 A. Winitzer, *Early Mesopotamian Divination Literature: Its Organizational Framework and Generative and Paradigmatic Characteristics* (AMD 12; Leiden – Boston: Brill 2017) 160–163.

47 Thomas, *Poetry and Theology*, 178–182.

48 Bier, “*Perhaps There Is Hope*,” 130–133.

approaches that addressed communal ethical failures – covenant renewal through ethical transformation served this structural requirement by ensuring community faithfulness, which is necessary for sustained divine relationship. These underlying sociopolitical structures drove the specific restoration visions rather than merely providing different cultural flavours.

The restoration vision analysis suggests that even the most hopeful and forward-looking elements of these lamentation traditions reflect theological transformation rather than simple literary parallelism. Both traditions recognise the human need for divine favour and urban renewal, but each envisions fundamentally different pathways to authentic restoration. This case study completes the analysis, showing that shared motifs consistently serve distinct theological functions across all major elements of the lamentation genre, strongly supporting the theological transformation analysis framework.

## 6. Implications for Ancient Near Eastern Comparative Studies

The systematic application of theological transformation analysis to three major shared motifs suggests that identical literary forms consistently serve distinct theological functions within Mesopotamian and biblical lamentation traditions. These findings have significant implications for comparative methodology in ancient Near Eastern studies, suggesting new approaches to understanding complex literary relationships while contributing analytical tools for broader comparative research.

### 6.1. Methodological Contributions to Comparative Analysis

The theological transformation analysis framework addresses persistent methodological challenges in ancient Near Eastern comparative studies by providing systematic criteria for distinguishing between formal similarities and functional differences. Traditional approaches have often faced binary choices between direct influence and complete independence, but the evidence from lamentation traditions suggests more nuanced relationships.<sup>49</sup> The four-criteria framework demonstrated in this study offers analytical tools that may accommodate both shared literary conventions and distinct religious interpretations across various ancient Near Eastern literary genres.

This methodological contribution extends beyond lamentation literature to broader questions of cultural transmission and literary adaptation in the ancient Near East. Recent comparative studies have increasingly recognised the need for frameworks to evaluate how shared cultural materials undergo transformation within different religious and social

---

<sup>49</sup> Recent discussions of methodological challenges in ancient Near Eastern comparative studies include S.L. Sanders, *From Adapa to Enoch: Scribal Culture and Religious Vision in Judea and Babylonia* (TSAJ 167; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2017) 195–198.

contexts.<sup>50</sup> The systematic criteria developed here – functional divergence, systematic consistency, interpretive integration, and contextual adaptation – provide replicable analytical tools for examining similar phenomena across diverse ancient Near Eastern literary traditions.

### 6.2. Implications for Understanding Cultural Transmission

The consistent pattern of theological transformation observed across all three case studies suggests that ancient Near Eastern literary traditions engaged in sophisticated processes of cultural adaptation rather than simple borrowing or independent development. Both Mesopotamian city laments and biblical Lamentations demonstrate remarkable creativity in transforming shared mourning conventions to serve distinct theological purposes while maintaining formal recognition of common literary heritage.<sup>51</sup>

This evidence contributes to current discussions about cultural transmission mechanisms in the ancient Near East by suggesting that literary adaptation involved theological interpretation rather than mere formal imitation. The systematic nature of functional differences observed in this study indicates deliberate adaptation processes rather than random variation. This suggests that ancient authors had a sophisticated understanding of how literary forms could be transformed to serve different religious purposes.<sup>52</sup>

### 6.3. Broader Applications to Ancient Near Eastern Literature

The theological transformation analysis framework developed for lamentation traditions may prove applicable to other ancient Near Eastern literary genres that exhibit similar patterns of formal similarity and functional difference. Wisdom literature, hymnic traditions, and prophetic literature all demonstrate comparable phenomena where shared literary conventions serve distinct purposes within different cultural contexts.<sup>53</sup> The systematic criteria established in this study provide methodological tools for examining these broader literary relationships while avoiding oversimplified models of direct influence or complete independence.

Furthermore, this approach contributes to ongoing discussions about the relationship between literary form and theological content in ancient Near Eastern studies. The evidence from lamentation traditions demonstrates that identical literary forms can serve as vehicles for fundamentally different theological expressions, suggesting that formal analysis alone provides an insufficient basis for understanding ancient religious literature.

50 For contemporary approaches to cultural transmission in ancient Near Eastern studies, see Annus (ed.), *Divination and Interpretation*, 15–25.

51 Carr provides valuable analysis of how ancient communities transformed cultural materials (*Holy Resilience*, 156–162).

52 This evidence aligns with broader discussions of deliberate literary adaptation in ancient Near Eastern traditions; see Nissinen – Ritner – Seow, *Prophets and Prophecy*, 8–15.

53 For parallel phenomena in other ancient Near Eastern literary genres, see P.W. Ferris, *The Genre of Communal Lament in the Bible and the Ancient Near East* (SBLDS 127; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press 1992) 147–152.

Functional analysis emerges as an essential complement to structural and thematic comparison in comparative ancient Near Eastern studies.<sup>54</sup>

#### 6.4. Future Research Directions

The success of theological transformation analysis in illuminating relationships between Mesopotamian and biblical lamentation traditions suggests several productive directions for future comparative research. First, a similar analysis could be applied to other shared literary genres to determine whether theological transformation represents a widespread phenomenon in ancient Near Eastern literary relationships or remains specific to lamentation literature.

Second, the framework could be extended to examine relationships between other ancient Near Eastern literary traditions, including Egyptian, Ugaritic, and Hittite materials, to assess whether similar patterns of formal similarity and functional difference appear across broader cultural boundaries. Such research would help determine whether theological transformation analysis provides useful tools for understanding literary relationships throughout the ancient Near East.

Third, the systematic criteria developed here could be refined and expanded through application to additional case studies, potentially creating more sophisticated analytical frameworks for comparative ancient Near Eastern studies. The four criteria demonstrated in this study represent initial tools that may benefit from further testing and development through broader application.

The implications of this study extend beyond specific questions about Mesopotamian and biblical lamentation traditions to contribute methodological tools for understanding complex literary relationships throughout ancient Near Eastern comparative studies. The theological transformation analysis framework offers systematic approaches to long-standing methodological challenges while providing new perspectives on cultural transmission and literary adaptation in the ancient world.

## Conclusion

This study has suggested that the relationship between Mesopotamian city laments and biblical Lamentations can be understood most productively through theological transformation analysis rather than traditional models of direct influence or complete independence. The systematic examination of three major shared motifs – divine abandonment, communal grief, and restoration vision – reveals a consistent pattern: identical literary forms serve fundamentally distinct theological functions within their respective religious systems.

---

<sup>54</sup> The relationship between form and function in ancient Near Eastern literature has been explored in W.C. Bouzard Jr., *We Have Heard with Our Ears, O God: Sources of the Communal Laments in the Psalms* (SBLDS 159; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press 1997) 189–193.

The evidence indicates that while both traditions employ remarkably similar formal elements, these shared motifs consistently serve different purposes. Mesopotamian laments emphasise ritual appeasement, mysterious divine will, and cosmic order restoration through ceremonial means. Biblical Lamentations transforms these same literary conventions to serve covenantal repentance, moral instruction, and ethical transformation requirements. This pattern suggests sophisticated processes of cultural adaptation rather than simple borrowing or coincidental similarity.<sup>55</sup>

The theological transformation analysis framework developed in this study contributes methodological tools for comparative ancient Near Eastern studies by providing systematic criteria for distinguishing between formal similarities and functional differences. The four-criteria approach – functional divergence, systematic consistency, interpretive integration, and contextual adaptation – offers replicable analytical methods that may prove applicable to other ancient Near Eastern literary relationships exhibiting similar patterns of shared form and distinct function.<sup>56</sup>

These findings have broader implications for understanding cultural transmission and literary adaptation in the ancient Near East. Rather than viewing literary relationships through binary frameworks of influence versus independence, the evidence suggests that ancient traditions engaged in creative processes of theological transformation, adapting shared cultural materials to serve distinct religious purposes while maintaining recognition of common literary heritage. This perspective enriches our understanding of how ancient civilizations processed shared experiences of trauma, loss, and hope through literary expression while developing distinctive theological voices.<sup>57</sup>

The theological transformation analysis approach demonstrated in this study offers a methodological framework that accommodates both the formal similarities that have long intrigued scholars and the theological distinctiveness that has challenged simple influence models. By focusing on functional analysis alongside formal comparison, this approach provides new tools for understanding complex literary relationships throughout ancient Near Eastern comparative studies while contributing to ongoing discussions about cultural transmission, religious adaptation, and literary creativity in the ancient world.

---

55 This evidence aligns with broader discussions of cultural adaptation in ancient Near Eastern contexts; see Carr, *Holy Resilience*, 204–208.

56 The development of systematic criteria for comparative analysis builds upon methodological advances discussed in Annus (ed.), *Divination and Interpretation*, 234–239.

57 For broader theoretical frameworks regarding trauma and literary expression in ancient contexts, see E. Boase – C.G. Frechette (eds.), *Bible through the Lens of Trauma* (SemeiaSt 86; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2016) 204–208.

## Bibliography

- Annus, A. (ed.), *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World* (Oriental Institute Seminars 6; Chicago, IL: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 2010).
- Berlin, A., *Lamentations: A Commentary* (Old Testament Library; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox 2002).
- Bier, M.J., *Perhaps There Is Hope: Reading Lamentations as a Polyphony of Pain, Penitence, and Protest* (The Library of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Studies 603; London: Bloomsbury – Clark 2015).
- Boase, E. – Frechette, C.G. (eds.), *Bible through the Lens of Trauma* (Semeia Studies 86; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2016).
- Bouzard Jr., W.C., *We Have Heard with Our Ears, O God: Sources of the Communal Laments in the Psalms* (Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 159; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press 1997).
- Carr, D.M., *Holy Resilience: The Bible's Traumatic Origins* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press 2014).
- Cohen, M.E., *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia*. 2 vols. (Potomac, MD: Capital Decisions 1988).
- Dobbs-Allsopp, F.W., *Weep, O Daughter of Zion: A Study of the City-Lament Genre in the Hebrew Bible* (Biblica et Orientalia 44; Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico 1993).
- Ferris, P.W., *The Genre of Communal Lament in the Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 127; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press 1992).
- Hens-Piazza, G., *Lamentations* (Wisdom Commentary 30; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 2017).
- Kipfer, S., "Contextualizing 'Sadness' and 'Grief' in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel," *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 13/2 (2024) 281–308, <https://doi.org/10.1628/hebai-2024-0013>.
- Kramer, S.N., *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur* (Asyriological Studies 12; Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press 1940).
- Kramer, S.N., "Sumerian Literature and the Bible," *Studia biblica et orientalia*. III. *Oriens Antiquus* (Analecta Biblica 12; Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico 1959) 185–204.
- Kramer, S.N., "Lamentation over the Destruction of Nippur: A Preliminary Report," *Eretz-Israel* 9 (1969) 89–93.
- Mandolfo, C., *Daughter Zion Talks Back to the Prophets: A Dialogic Theology of the Book of Lamentations* (Semeia Studies 58; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2007).
- McDaniel, T.F., "The Alleged Sumerian Influence Upon Lamentations," *Vetus Testamentum* 18/2 (1968) 198–209.
- Michalowski, P., *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* (Mesopotamian Civilizations 1; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 1989).
- Middlemas, J., "War, Comfort, and Compassion in Lamentations," *Expository Times* 130/8 (2019) 345–356.
- Nissinen, M. – Ritner, R.K. – Seow, C.L., *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (Writings from the Ancient World 12; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2003).
- Petter, D.L., *The Book of Ezekiel and Mesopotamian City Laments* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 246; Fribourg – Göttingen: Academic Press – Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2011).
- Pham, X.H.T., *Mourning in the Ancient Near East and the Hebrew Bible* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 302; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1999).
- Sanders, S.L., *From Adapa to Enoch: Scribal Culture and Religious Vision in Judea and Babylonia* (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 167; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2017).
- Thomas, H.A., *Poetry and Theology in the Book of Lamentations: The Aesthetics of an Open Text* (Hebrew Bible Monographs 47; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press 2013).
- Winitzer, A., *Early Mesopotamian Divination Literature: Its Organizational Framework and Generative and Paradigmatic Characteristics* (Ancient Magic and Divination 12; Leiden – Boston: Brill 2017).




## The Hymns of Amos and the Cosmic Temple: Salvation as Creation, Decreation, and Recreation

Ferry Yefta Mamahit

Southeast Asia Bible Seminary, Indonesia

ferry.mamahit@seabs.ac.id

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2476-2320>

**ABSTRACT:** Salvation in Amos is typically viewed through the lens of a Deuteronomistic covenant. This article argues for adopting a broader paradigm, contending that Amos’s vision is fundamentally oriented toward the restoration of Yahweh’s cosmic temple. Analysing Amos’s hymnic passages (4:13; 5:8–9; 9:5–6) through the lens of cosmic temple imagination reveals that the prophet’s message follows a pattern of creation–decreation–recreation. The hymns establish Yahweh’s sovereignty as Creator, framing Israel’s sin as a cosmic rebellion that provokes decreation. Salvation thus emerges not as a nationalistic restoration but as the eschatological recreation of the divine dwelling place, affirming Yahweh’s triumph as the Cosmic King.

**KEYWORDS:** Amos 4:13, 5:8–9, 9:1–10, cosmic temple, salvation, creation, decreation, recreation

Traditional scholarship on the Book of Amos has frequently interpreted its message through a Deuteronomistic lens, foregrounding a covenantal-legal framework as its primary theological structure.<sup>1</sup> This perspective is most thoroughly articulated in the influential commentaries of Hans Wolff and Shalom Paul,<sup>2</sup> who read the book’s structure and theology primarily through the lens of covenant lawsuit (כִּיָּא) and covenant curses. From this perspective, the prophet’s oracles are understood to operate within a paradigm of covenantal stipulations, where Israel’s socio-religious infractions (e.g., 2:8; 3:9–12; 5:5, 21–25; 7:1–10; cf. Deut 14:21–28; 15:1–18; 22:13–30; 24:14–18, 19–22) precipitate a crisis that threatens the nation’s very existence (5:2; cf. Deut 30:15–18). The remedial path within this framework is one of repentance, which offers the prospect of divine forbearance and national restoration (5:14–15; cf. Deut 1:41–46; 4:29–31; 30:1–11, 19).

1 This perspective is exemplified in the work of scholars who see Deuteronomy’s ideology as central to the prophetic critique. See, for instance, A.D.H. Mayes, “Deuteronomistic Ideology and the Theology of the Old Testament,” *JOT* 24/82 (1999) 57–82, <https://doi.org/10.1177/030908929902408204>.

2 For Wolff, the call to ‘seek the Lord and live’ (5:4–6) is the quintessential Deuteronomistic call to repentance within a covenantal framework (H.W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos: A Commentary on the Books of the Prophets Joel and Amos* [Hermeneia; Philadelphia, PA: Fortress 1977]). Paul similarly emphasises the legal and treaty-based language underpinning the oracles against the nations and Israel (S.M. Paul, *Amos: A Commentary on the Book of Amos* [Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 1991] 39).

As Frank Seilhamer contends, this pattern of sin, repentance, and salvation constitutes the orthodoxy of Israel's covenant religion.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, Amos's prophecy is often seen to emphasise a dual outcome contingent on Israel's conduct: blessings and salvation for obedience, versus curses and punitive judgement for disobedience.<sup>4</sup> This covenantal interpretation has proven indispensable for appreciating the book's emphasis on moral accountability and divine justice.

While this Deuteronomistic reading provides a coherent and valuable interpretative lens, this article proposes deepening its account of sin and salvation in Amos by situating it within a broader theological context. The present study argues that the scope of Israel's transgressions and YHWH's corresponding salvific action, while coherent within the covenant, ultimately extends into the cosmic realm. This article, therefore, does not seek to replace the Deuteronomistic paradigm, but to complement it by arguing that the covenant itself is embedded within the prior and more fundamental reality of YHWH's cosmic temple.<sup>5</sup> The covenant at Sinai was established in a world already created as Yahweh's sacred dwelling.<sup>6</sup> Thus, covenant life was, from its inception, about maintaining the sanctity of that divine space.

By employing a hermeneutic of cosmic temple imagination, this article resituates Amos's theology within the overarching pattern of creation–decreation–recreation that encompasses the entire cosmos. Through a focused analysis of the hymnic passages (4:13; 5:8–9; 9:5–6) and their literary contexts, it will demonstrate that the prophetic vision of salvation is fundamentally oriented toward the restoration of YHWH's cosmic temple. Within this enriched framework, Israel's sins are not merely legal or moral failures, but represent a cosmic rebellion against the Creator-King, which actively disrupts the sanctity and order of His divine dwelling place; a reality microcosmically represented by the earthly sanctuary. The prophetic response to this cosmic crisis is an eschatological intervention, climactically realised on the Day of the Lord. This ultimate salvific act entails a twofold cosmic process:

- 
- 3 F.H. Seilhamer, "The Role of the Covenant in the Mission and Message of Amos," *A Light unto My Path: Old Testament Studies in Honor of Jacob M. Myers* (eds. H.N. Bream – R.D. Heim – C.A. Moore) (Gettysburg Theological Studies 4; Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press 1974) 435–451. Cf. G.R. Hamborg, *Still Selling the Righteous: A Redactional-Critical Investigation of Reasons for Judgment in Amos 2.6–16* (LHBOTS 555; New York – London: Clark 2012).
  - 4 M.D. Carroll R., *Amos—The Prophet and His Oracles: Research on the Book of Amos* (Louisville, KY – London: Westminster John Knox 2002). See also M.J. Boda, *A Severe Mercy: Sin and Its Remedy in the Old Testament* (Siphrut 1; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2009) 112–113.
  - 5 Moberly's work demonstrates that the patriarchal and creational traditions provide the encompassing theological context within which the later Mosaic covenant is situated and understood. See R.W.L. Moberly, *The Old Testament of the Old Testament: Patriarchal Narratives and Mosaic Yahwism* (OBT; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 1992; reprint Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock 2001).
  - 6 The Deuteronomistic framework is embedded within a larger cosmic theology, premised on the fact that the covenant at Sinai was established in a world already created as Yahweh's sacred dwelling. See E.B. de Souza, "Sanctuary: Cosmos, Covenant, and Creation," *JATS* 24/1 (2013) 25–41; and J.J. Niehaus, *God at Sinai: Covenant and Theophany in the Bible and Ancient Near East* (Studies in Old Testament Biblical Theology; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 1995).

the decreation of a corrupted order, followed by the recreation and reestablishment of YHWH's cosmic temple, thereby achieving the final restoration for which the covenant originally served as a guide.

## 1. Cosmic Temple Imagination

While the Book of Amos does not employ the modern lexical categories of 'cosmic' or 'cosmos,' the conceptual framework of a divinely ordered universe was integral to the ancient Israelite worldview. The term 'cosmic,' derived from 'cosmos,' denotes the totality of the created order – the heavens, the earth, and all that is within them. Jon Levenson clarifies that this encompasses 'the creator and all created things within the spheres of the heavens above, the earth, and the earth below,' a structure fundamentally articulated in the creation narrative of Gen 1:1–2:3 and frequently expressed in Hebrew through merisms such as 'heaven and earth.'<sup>7</sup> In the context of this study, the term 'cosmic' thus refers to a conceptual framework that elucidates the vast interconnectedness of all existence, providing a hermeneutical lens through which Amos's oracles of judgement and restoration can be understood as transcending a purely national-covenantal context to engage with the fate of the entire created order.

To communicate these transcendent realities, biblical authors, like others in the ancient world, relied on potent literary and conceptual devices, chief among them being theological imagination. This faculty functions not as mere fantasy but as a generative capacity to reconstrue reality from a divine perspective, allowing religious communities to navigate their historical experience.<sup>8</sup> Its dynamic nature facilitates multi-layered interpretations, permitting new theological messages to emerge across shifting circumstances. A prime example in Amos is the recurring title 'YHWH, the God of hosts' (יהוה אלהי הצבאות), cf. 3:13; 4:13; 5:14–16, 27; 6:8, 14), which portrays the deity as the cosmic sovereign.<sup>9</sup> This epithet actively invites the audience to envision YHWH as the supreme ruler, marshalling celestial armies and governing both human history and cosmic conditions.<sup>10</sup> Consequently, Amos's strategic use of such cosmic imagery is not merely decorative; it embodies a core theological

7 J.D. Levenson, "Cosmos and Microcosm," *Cult and Cosmos: Tilting toward a Temple-Centered Theology* (ed. L.M. Morales) (BTS 18; Leuven: Peeters 2014) 227–248. See also J.R. Roberts, "Biblical Cosmology: The Implications for Bible Translation," *Journal of Translation* 9/2 (2013) 1–53.

8 P. Ricoeur, *Figuring the Sacred: Religion, Narrative, and Imagination* (ed. M.I. Wallace; trans. D. Pellaeur) (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg – Fortress 1995) 8. Cf. W. Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 1997).

9 J. Whitley, "עֵפֶד in Amos 4:13: New Evidence for the Yahwistic Incorporation of Ancient Near Eastern Solar Imagery," *JBL* 134/1 (2015) 135–136, <https://doi.org/10.15699/jbl.1341.2015.2633>.

10 D. Heyns, "Theology in Pictures: The Visions of Amos," *Feet on Level Ground: A South African Tribute of Old Testament Essays in Honor of Gerhard Hasel* (eds. K. Van Wyk – J. Coetzee) (Berrien Springs, MI: Hester 1996) 214.

vision intended to provoke a radical reorientation in his audience's perception of God and the world.

Functioning as a hermeneutical tool, this imagination provides the essential conceptual lens for accessing the ancient worldview that undergirds the text's most profound logic. It enables the reconstruction of the 'symbolic universe' – the integrated network of symbols and narratives through which Amos and his audience perceived reality.<sup>11</sup> Within this prophetic context, the 'cosmic temple' operates as the central, master symbol, a grid that coherently binds together the themes of creation, divine sovereignty, justice, and worship.<sup>12</sup> By applying this tool, the interpreter can discern the profound connection between localised human actions, such as social injustice, and their cosmic consequences, such as earthquakes and darkness. This hermeneutic reveals that Amos's rhetoric is not poetic exaggeration but the articulation of a stark theological reality: sins committed within the world, understood as God's sanctuary, constitute a direct assault on the cosmic order itself, provoking a divine response of decreation. Thus, imagination enables a reading that frames Israel's history not as a narrow national saga but as part of the grand cosmic drama of God's governance over and ultimate restoration of His creation-sanctuary.

The preceding discussion establishes the significance of a cosmic imagination for conceptualising both Israel's deity and the created world. James Linville contends that this mode of thinking originates in ancient mythic motifs, wherein unlimited, non-physical realities were projected onto limited, physical forms.<sup>13</sup> This cognitive process fundamentally involves juxtaposing macrocosmic (the entire cosmos) and microcosmic (a smaller reflection, such as the temple or humanity) dimensions. In this imaginative framework, the physical temple exists within the terrestrial realm, but it is understood as a tangible projection or microcosmic reflection of the broader cosmic order, which functions as the royal palace of the divine king. Within the Book of Amos, this interrelationship is linguistically embedded in the use of foundational spatial terms such as 'the earth' (הָאָרֶץ), 'the heavens' (הַשָּׁמַיִם), and 'the sea' (הַיָּם). It is particularly evident in the latter part of the book (9:5–6), where YHWH is simultaneously the one who 'touches the earth' and 'builds his upper chambers in the heavens'. These elements are framed within an integrated cosmic structure,<sup>14</sup> reflecting the prophet's vision of a *continuum* between the macrocosmic and microcosmic spheres. In this imaginative framework, heaven and earth are not bifurcated realms but exist in a dynamic

11 Cf. W. Brueggemann, *The Prophetic Imagination*, 2 revised ed. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2001) 14.

12 M. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (trans. W.R. Trask) (Orlando, FL: Harcourt 1987) 44–45; M.A. Fishbane, "The Sacred Center: The Symbolic Structure of the Bible," *Text and Responses: Studies Presented to Nabum N. Glatzer on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday by His Students* (eds. M.A. Fishbane – P.R. Flohr) (Leiden: Brill 1975) 6–27; J.R. Davila, "The Macrocosmic Temple, Scriptural Exegesis, and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *DSD* 9/1 (2002) 1–19; and L.M. Morales, *The Tabernacle Pre-Figured: Cosmic Mountain Ideology in Genesis and Exodus* (BTS 15; Leuven: Peeters 2012).

13 J.R. Linville, *Amos and the Cosmic Imagination* (SOTSMS; Hampshire: Ashgate 2008) 4.

14 A. Schart, "The Fifth Vision of Amos in Context," *Thematic Thread in the Book of the Twelve* (eds. P.L. Redditt – A. Schart) (Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2003) 56–58.

and interconnected relationship, a conception that underscores the fundamental unity and coherence of the created order under YHWH's ultimate sovereignty.

This macro-microcosmic relationship is characterised by a continuous and consequential interplay. Hayes argues that the deployment of these dimensional elements (cf. 5:7–8) implies a dynamic interrelationship between social justice and cosmic order, a connection also evident in texts such as Ps 89:10–11 (English: 9–10).<sup>15</sup> In the ancient cognitive environment, it was a foundational presumption that all dimensions of human life were embedded within the cosmic order. It is manifested in Amos's literary composition through a series of oracles, vignettes, and surreal visions, in which disparate realities (past, present, future, and trans-historical) are juxtaposed and interwoven.<sup>16</sup> Within this worldview, the health of the social order directly reflects, and indeed affects, the stability of the cosmic order. Therefore, any societal instability or injustice – chaos precipitated by human action – inevitably disturbs the cosmic equilibrium. The prophetic logic dictates that events within the created world are of profound consequence to the divine. In other words, human (earthly) reality integrally affects the divine (heavenly) reality, and *vice versa*, within a single, cohesive cosmic system.

In Hebrew religious thought, the intrinsic connection between cosmic dimensions and the divine abode culminates in the concept of a cosmic temple. Fundamentally, the temple serves as the dwelling place (בית) of Israel's deity, a sacred space where His presence is uniquely manifest (cf. Exod 40:34–35).<sup>17</sup> Its sanctity derives from divine election and consecration, establishing it as the sanctuary where God resides among His people, meets with them, and receives their worship (cf. 1 Kgs 8:10–13; 2 Chr 7:1–2). Critically, this institution carries a profound cosmic dimension, a concept rooted in its functional origins as depicted in Gen 1, which is frequently interpreted as narrating the inauguration of God's cosmic temple.<sup>18</sup> Consequently, while the physical temple exists within the terrestrial realm, it is understood as a tangible projection or microcosmic reflection of a heavenly, cosmic sanctuary. This cosmic sanctuary functions as the royal palace of the divine king, the central locus from which He governs creation. This concept is rooted in texts such as 1 Kgs 8:27–30, 39, 43, 49, where Solomon dedicates the Jerusalem temple as the earthly dwelling of Yahweh, the God of heaven, from which He hears the prayers of His people. Hundley aptly summarises this concept, stating that the temple represents 'a vertical and

15 K.M. Hayes, "The Mourning Earth (Amos 1:2) and the God Who is," *WW* 28/2 (2008) 147.

16 Cf. Linville, *Amos and the Cosmic Imagination*, 32.

17 J. Palmer, "Exodus and the Biblical Theology of the Tabernacle," *Heaven on Earth: The Temple and Biblical Theology* (eds. T.D. Alexander – S. Gathercole) (Carlisle: Paternoster 2004) 14; Cf. D. Lioy, *Axis of Glory: A Biblical and Theological Analysis of the Temple Motif in Scripture* (StBibLit 138; New York – Washington, DC/Baltimore – Bern: Lang 2010); A. Kampf, "The Conceptualization of God's Dwelling Place in 1 Kings 8: A Cognitive Approach," *JSOT* 40/4 (2016) 451–465, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309089215613901>.

18 J.H. Walton, *The Lost World of Genesis One: Ancient Cosmology and the Origins Debate* (Lost World Series; Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic 2009) 71–91. Beale has rigorously argued that Gen 1 itself best understood as narrating the inauguration of God's cosmic temple. See G.K. Beale, *The Temple and Church's Mission: A Biblical Theology of the Dwelling Place of God* (NSBT 15; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity 2004) 66–79.

horizontal cosmic *axis*, the very center of the world around which all else revolves.<sup>19</sup> Thus, the temple transcends its identity as a mere localised structure; it is a cosmic focal point that embodies the interconnectedness of heaven and earth and the absolute centrality of divine rule and worship.

This concept of the cosmic temple is not an isolated theological abstraction but aligns intimately with ancient Hebrew cosmogony and cosmology, reflecting ideological parallels shared across the creation traditions of the Ancient Near East.<sup>20</sup> Within the specific biblical context, this concept is deeply intertwined with the Gen 1 creation narrative. L. Michael Morales observes a ‘strong correspondence or vivid parallelism between the creation texts (cf. Gen 1:1–2:3) and the tabernacle texts (Exod 25–31; 35; 39–40).’<sup>21</sup> This literary and theological correspondence is further reinforced by the architectural design of both the Tabernacle and the Solomonic Temple, which incorporated cosmic motifs – such as the sea, the pillars, and the celestial decor – that mirror the structure of the created world. Levenson advances this perspective, arguing that within ancient Israelite religious thought, the created world itself was understood as the primary temple.<sup>22</sup> In this view, the physical temple functions as a microcosm, a scaled-down embodiment of the ordered universe. God’s act of creating the heavens and the earth is thus portrayed as the establishment of His Tabernacle, a sacred space wherein He resides and rules over creation. The temple, therefore, both symbolises and, in its cultic function, actualises the cosmic order, serving as the definitive focal point for divine presence and governance.

As the definitive meeting place, the cosmic temple serves as the primary *locus* for divine–human interaction. Hundley elucidates that the temple embodies both the architectural form and the ritual forum for this communication, with these very interactions constituting its essential purpose and content.<sup>23</sup> This dynamic and reciprocal relationship is central to ancient Near Eastern belief systems, in which the temple serves as a conduit for deities to influence humanity and, conversely, for humanity to influence the divine. While divine–human contact in other ancient contexts was often sporadic and mediated through myths, epics, and dreams, the temple regularised the divine presence, providing a stable, structured setting for engagement with the sacred.<sup>24</sup> This inherent reciprocity underscores that the temple’s sacred space is not merely a static throne for a distant deity, but rather the critical point of intersection (*axis mundi*) where heavenly and earthly realms, along with their respective presences and influences, actively converge. The cosmic temple is thus

19 M.B. Hundley, *Gods in Dwelling: Temples and Divine Presence in the Ancient Near East* (WAWSup 3; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2013) 136. Cf. J.R. Middleton, *A New Heaven: Reclaiming Biblical Eschatology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2014) 47–48; M.B. Hundley, *Keeping Heaven on Earth: Safeguarding the Divine Presence in the Priestly Tabernacle* (FAT 2/50; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2011).

20 V.A. Hurowitz, *I Have Built You an Exalted House: Temple Building in the Bible in Light of Mesopotamian and Northwest Semitic Writings* (JSOTSup 115; Sheffield: JSOT 1992) 335.

21 Morales, *The Tabernacle Pre-Figures*, 249–251.

22 J.D. Levenson, “The Temple and the World,” *JR* 64/3 (1984) 286–287, 296.

23 Hundley, *Gods in Dwelling*, 131.

24 Hundley, *Gods in Dwelling*, 341.

established as the vital nexus for sustaining and nurturing the core relationship between the divine and humanity.<sup>25</sup>

It is within this well-established framework of cosmic temple imagination that the prophet Amos articulates his message. As the subsequent analysis will demonstrate, the prophet's oracles are fundamentally centred on YHWH, who is portrayed as enthroned in His temple as His heavenly abode. This divine presence – the ultimate reality that acts and interacts within the cosmic realm – is presented as the universe's actual focal point. Interpreting Amos through this lens, Linville contends that all created things revolve conceptually around the envisioned ultimate reality: YHWH, who cosmically resides in and sovereignly rules from His sacred dwelling.<sup>26</sup> This sacred space, frequently depicted in archetypal forms such as a 'mountain or garden,'<sup>27</sup> aligns with foundational ancient Hebrew conceptions of divine cosmic representation. Consequently, a constellation of related terms – the Garden of Eden, the Tabernacle, the Tent of Meeting, the Temple as the House of Yahweh, Zion, and Jerusalem – function as interchangeable and essential symbols in shaping the image of Israel's cosmic deity. It is through this pervasive cosmic temple imagery that Amos's audience would have comprehended his sweeping oracles, which encompass themes of international warfare, divine judgement, and ultimate salvation. This cohesive, imaginative framework not only underscores YHWH's absolute sovereignty over all creation but also provides the necessary hermeneutical lens for understanding the profound interconnectedness of the prophet's seemingly disparate messages.

## 2. The Hymns in Amos: A Foundation for Cosmic Theology

Following the lead of John D.W. Watts,<sup>28</sup> a significant stream of scholarship has questioned the originality of the hymnic passages (4:13; 5:8–9; 9:5–6), viewing them as later liturgical interpolations.<sup>29</sup> Tchavdar S. Hadjiev, for instance, argues in his redaction-critical study that these hymns were added by a later scribal hand to temper the prophet's message of unrelenting judgement.<sup>30</sup> Without resolving the historical-critical question of authorship, this study focuses on the rhetorical and theological functions of these hymns in the final form

25 J.M. Lundquist, "What is a Temple? A Preliminary Typology," *The Quest for the Kingdom of God: Studies in Honor of George E. Mendenhall* (eds. H.B. Huffmon – F.A. Spina – A.R.W. Green) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 1983) 205–209.

26 Linville, *Amos and the Cosmic Imagination*, 32.

27 Cf. R.J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (HSM 4; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1972).

28 J.D.W. Watts, "An Old Hymn Preserved in the Book of Amos," *JNES* 15/1 (1956) 33–39.

29 G. Farr, "The Language of Amos, Popular or Cultic?," *VT* 16/3 (1966) 312–324; P.R. Noble, "The Literary Structure of Amos: A Thematic Analysis," *JBL* 114/2 (1995) 209–226, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3266936>; J. Barton, *The Theology of the Book of Amos* (Old Testament Theology; New York: Cambridge University Press 2012) 145–146.

30 T.S. Hadjiev, *The Composition and Redaction of the Book of Amos* (BZAW 393; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2009) 111–123.

of the canonical text. Their strategic placement at critical junctures – whether by Amos or a brilliant redactor – creates a deliberate dialectic that reframes the surrounding oracles. As such, they are indispensable for understanding the book’s ultimate theological architecture, which is our primary focus.

The literary architecture of Amos reveals a sophisticated theological strategy through its incorporation of hymnic passages (4:13; 5:8–9; 9:5–6) that disrupt the prophetic discourse with their doxological tone. Scholars have recognised these texts as formal hymns, characterised by their participial descriptions of divine action, strophic structure, and doxological purpose.<sup>31</sup> However, their significance extends beyond mere formal classification to strategic theological positioning. These hymns serve as deliberate theological anchors at critical junctures in Amos’s argument. Each hymn appears at a moment of rhetorical climax: 4:13 concludes the devastating sequence of failed chastisements; 5:8–9 punctuates the lament over Israel’s fallen state; and 9:5–6 stands at the structural centre of the final vision of inescapable judgement. This strategic placement suggests these are not random liturgical interpolations but carefully positioned theological markers that reframe the surrounding oracles. As Stefan Paas observes, these hymns highlight ‘the actions of Yahweh in dealing with the earth and its inhabitants’,<sup>32</sup> forcing listeners to reinterpret local judgements within a cosmic framework. The hymns thus create a constant dialectic between Israel’s parochial failures and YHWH’s cosmic sovereignty, establishing the theological scale necessary for understanding the prophet’s message in its full extent.

The theological potency of these hymnic anchors emerges from their concentrated articulation of YHWH’s creative agency. When analysed systematically, these passages present a comprehensive portrait of divine sovereignty over the entire cosmic order. The consistent use of participial forms: יוצר (‘forming’), ברא (‘creating’), עשה (‘making’), בונה (‘building’), portrays creative activity not as a completed past event but as an ongoing divine identity. Frank Adu correctly notes that these doxologies focus intently on YHWH as the subject of creation,<sup>33</sup> a focus that becomes unmistakable when the data are systematically organised.

31 Cf. T.E. McComiskey, “The Hymnic Elements of the Prophecy of Amos: A Study of Form-Critical Methodology,” *JETS* 30/2 (1987) 139–157; J. Ben-Dov, “World Order in the Doxologies of Amos and Job,” *Ve-’Ed Ya’aleh (Gen 2:6): Essays in Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Edward L. Greenstein* (eds. P. Machinist et al.) (WAWSup 6; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2021) II, 693–711; W. de Angelo Cunha, “Creation Faith in the Prophets: The Use of Ancient Israelite Doxologies (Amos 4:13; 5:8–9; 9:5–6) in Amos,” *The Hebrew Bible / Old Testament and Scribal Scholarship in Antiquity: Studies in Honor of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday* (eds. W. de Angelo Cunha – M.N. van der Meer – M. Rösel) (OBO 306; Leuven: Peeters 2025) 1–18.

32 S. Paas, “Seeing and Singing: Visions and Hymns in the Book of Amos,” *VT* 52/2 (2002) 253.

33 F. Adu, “The Concept of Yahweh in the Hymnic Doxologies of Amos 4:13, 5:8–9, and 9:5–6,” *BTB* 52/1 (2021) 4, <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461079211038493>.

Table 1. YHWH, the Cosmic Creator: a structural analysis of the hymnic verses

Hymn reference	Creator verb	Created object	Cosmic domain
4:13	יצר ( <i>yṣr</i> , forms)	הרים ( <i>hrym</i> , mountains)	Earth
4:13	ברא ( <i>br'</i> , creates)	רוח ( <i>rwh</i> , wind)	Heavens/Atmosphere
5:8	עשה ( <i>'šb</i> , makes)	כימה וכסיל ( <i>kymb wksyl</i> , Pleiades and Orion)	Heavens
9:6	בנה ( <i>bnb</i> , builds)	בשמים מעלותיו ( <i>bšmym m'lwtyw</i> , his stairs in heaven)	Heavens
9:6	יסד ( <i>yṣd</i> , found)	ואגדתו על־ארץ ( <i>w'gdw 'l-'rṣ</i> , his vault upon earth)	Earth

Table 1 demonstrates that the hymns are not generic accounts of creation but are steeped in imagery that directly evokes Yahweh's cosmic temple-palace, moving beyond mere verb lists to a nuanced understanding of their symbolic resonance. The opening hymn in Amos 4:13 establishes this tone with its powerful pairing of verbs and their objects: 'For behold, he who forms the mountains (יצר הרים) and creates the wind (ברא רוח).' The distinction between יצר, which implies the fashioning of something tangible like a potter with clay, and ברא, which denotes a sovereign, divine act of bringing something into existence, is significant.<sup>34</sup> It is not a redundant couplet. It proclaims Yahweh's sovereignty over the entire spectrum of creation: from the most stable, visible, and enduring features of the earth – the mountains – to the most invisible, powerful, and uncontrollable force – the wind or spirit.<sup>35</sup> This pairing functions as a merism, declaring His absolute command over both the solid foundation and the dynamic atmosphere of His cosmic domain, establishing the 'creational baseline' as a world utterly dependent on its Maker.

This theme of absolute sovereignty is further radicalised in the hymnic portion of Amos 5:8, which states that He 'made the Pleiades and Orion' (עשה כימה וכסיל). To the modern reader, this may seem a simple reference to starlight, but in the Ancient Near Eastern context, this is a profound theological claim. Constellations such as the Pleiades and Orion were not mere celestial decorations; they were often revered as divine beings or as instruments under the control of high gods who used them to govern the cosmic order, seasons, and human fates.<sup>36</sup> By naming these specific constellations and identifying Yahweh as their Maker, Amos engages in a potent polemic. He is asserting that the

<sup>34</sup> Adu, "The Concept of Yahweh in the Hymnic Doxologies of Amos 4:13, 5:8–9, and 9:5–6," 3–16.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Carroll R., *The Book of Amos*, 248.

<sup>36</sup> N. Ayali-Darshan, "The Polemical Cosmogony in the Doxologies of Amos (4:13; 5:8; 9:5–6)," *VT* 75/1 (2024) 10–31, <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685330-bja10164>; Adu, "The Concept of Yahweh in the Hymnic Doxologies of Amos 4:13, 5:8–9, and 9:5–6," 3–16; T. Collins, "Threading as a Stylistic Feature of Amos," *The Elusive Prophet: The Prophet as a Historical Person, Literary Character and Anonymous Artist* (ed. J.C. de Moor) (OtSt 45; Leiden: Brill 2001) 94–104; Cf. M. Albani, "Der das Siebengestirn und den Orion Macht,' Amos 5:8: zur Bedeutung der Plejaden in der Israelitischen Religionsgeschichte," *Religionsgeschichte Israels. Formale und materiale Aspekte* (eds. B. Janowski – M. Köckert) (VWGTh 15; Gütersloh: Gütersloher 1999) 139–207; and A. Angelini, "Representing YHWH as the Master of the Stars in the

celestial powers which other nations worshipped are, in fact, the created artifacts of Israel's God. It demythologises the heavens and strips them of any perceived autonomy, placing them firmly under the command of Yahweh, the Cosmic King, who marshals all forces from His temple-palace.

The most explicit cosmic temple imagery emerges in the architectural language of the final hymn in Amos 9:5–6, which describes the Lord as He 'who builds his upper chambers in the heavens (הַבּוֹנֵה בַשָּׁמַיִם מֵעֲלוֹתָיו) and has founded his vaulted dome upon the earth (וְאֶגְדָּתוֹ עַל־אֶרֶץ יִסְדָּה)'. The term *מַעֲלָה* can refer to ascending steps or the upper stories of a building.<sup>37</sup> In this cosmic context, it powerfully evokes the image of a stairway or ziggurat connecting heaven and earth (cf. a divine staircase akin to Jacob's ladder at Bethel [Gen 28:12]), solidifying the cosmos as a tiered temple complex with God in His heavenly holy of holies. Simultaneously, the term *אֶגְדָּתוֹ*, meaning 'his vault' or 'his bound-together dome', describes the foundational arch of the sky.<sup>38</sup> By stating that Yahweh has 'founded' this vault upon the earth, the prophet portrays Him as the Divine Architect, who has established the firmament itself (cf. Gen 1:6–8) as the roof of His terrestrial temple. This verse provides the most compelling visual: Yahweh is simultaneously constructing His celestial palace ('his upper chambers') and securing its foundation on earth ('his vault'), portraying the entire cosmos as a single, integrated, and sacred architectural project – His royal abode.

Therefore, a close reading of the hymns confirms their role as more than doxological interruptions. The careful pairing of 'forming' and 'creating,' the sovereign appropriation and command of the constellations, and the explicit architectural imagery of building and founding, all coalesce to portray Yahweh not merely as a powerful deity, but specifically as the Divine King enthroned in and ruling from His cosmic temple-palace. This detailed understanding of the hymns as foundational texts of cosmic temple theology provides the necessary exegetical groundwork for the prophetic logic that follows; rebellion against this Cosmic Sovereign and the desecration of His sanctuary necessitate a response of commensurate cosmic scale.

Table 1 thus reveals a deity whose sovereignty encompasses every cosmic domain – from the terrestrial stability of mountains to the celestial bodies that govern time and seasons, to the very atmosphere itself. Particularly significant is the architectural language in 9:6, where YHWH 'builds his stairs in heaven' and establishes 'his vault upon earth'. This terminology directly evokes the cosmic temple imagery discussed earlier, portraying creation not as a neutral space but as a carefully constructed divine palace. As John H. Walton has argued, ancient Near Eastern cosmology, including Israel's, frequently conceived of the cosmos as a temple.<sup>39</sup> The Amos hymns thus present a universe that is fundamentally ordered, sacred, and centred on YHWH's sovereign presence. Furthermore, Hilary F. Marlow emphasises

---

Context of Ancient Near Eastern Astral Cults: Job, Amos, and Beyond," *SEC* 18/1 (2025) 151–164, <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.SEC.5.152639>.

37 Ayali-Darshan, "The Polemical Cosmogony in the Doxologies of Amos (4:13; 5:8; 9:5–6)," 10–31.

38 Ben-Dov, "World Order in the Doxologies of Amos and Job," II, 693–711.

39 Walton, *The Lost World of Genesis One*, 78–85.

that these cosmic elements underscore the Creator's ultimate power to bring the universe into existence and sustain its operations.<sup>40</sup>

The cumulative effect of these strategically placed hymnic affirmations is to establish what may be termed the 'creational baseline' – the cosmos as a divinely ordered, sacred space under YHWH's sovereign rule. This baseline serves as the fundamental theological presupposition that makes sense of Amos's entire prophetic project. By first establishing YHWH's identity as Cosmic Creator, the prophet radically recontextualises Israel's situation.<sup>41</sup> The social injustices, economic exploitation, and cultic abuses that Amos meticulously documents (2:6–8; 5:10–12; 8:4–6) are thereby exposed not merely as covenant violations but as a fundamental rebellion against the cosmic order itself. Israel's sins represent a direct assault on the moral and metaphysical architecture of creation, a point that becomes terrifyingly clear when the hymns are read in their literary contexts.

The theological consequence is inescapable: rebellion against the Cosmic Sovereign necessitates a cosmic response. The coming judgement cannot be understood as a conventional political misfortune but must be interpreted as the Creator's action against a corrupted creation. It explains why Amos consistently employs cosmic imagery for the judgement, mentioning earthquakes, darkened heavens, and ecological catastrophe (8:8–9), and why the 'Day of the Lord' (יום יהוה) is portrayed as a cosmic unravelling rather than a mere military defeat (5:18–20).<sup>42</sup> The creational baseline established by the hymns thus provides the necessary theological foundation for understanding the decreation motif that follows, demonstrating that the pattern of creation–decreation–recreation is not imposed on the text but emerges from its own structural and theological logic.

A potential objection to this cosmic-temple-centric reading is the book's overwhelming focus on very concrete, historical, social sins and its specific oracles against neighbouring nations. Does this not confirm the primacy of the Deuteronomistic and ethical-prophetic interpretation? On the contrary, the cosmic framework is what gives these social sins their ultimate theological gravity. The exploitation of people experiencing poverty and the perversion of justice (2:6–8; 5:10–12) are not merely breaches of the covenant; they are acts that vandalise the *imago Dei* within the cosmic temple (cf. Gen 1:26–28) and thus strike at the moral architecture of creation itself. Similarly, the oracles against the nations (ch. 1–2) are not just about international politics but establish Yahweh's jurisdiction as Cosmic King over all peoples, holding them accountable to a creational standard of morality. The prophet's method is to start with the known and concrete (covenant, social justice) and reveal its inseparable connection to the ultimate and cosmic (creation, temple).

40 H.F. Marlow, *Biblical Prophets and Contemporary Environmental Ethics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2009) 138.

41 Cunha, "Creation Faith in the Prophets," 1–18.

42 B. Shimon, "The Day of the Lord," *JBQ* 38/3 (2010) 149–156.

### 3. From Creation to Decreation: The Hymns as Framework for Judgement

The following section demonstrates that this baseline provides the essential theological framework for understanding the nature of divine judgement in Amos, a function that aligns with the role that these hymns have in framing divine action within a cosmic context.<sup>43</sup> The ensuing analysis turns to the principle of inversion, whereby the same sovereign, creative power celebrated in the hymns is wielded to systematically dismantle the corrupted cosmic order. To substantiate this claim, the analysis will juxtapose the specific creative acts from the hymns with their corresponding decreative inversions in the surrounding judgement oracles. The table below is not merely a descriptive list but also serves as an analytical tool to visually map this precise, literary-theological strategy, revealing decreation as the Creator's targeted unravelling of creation.

The establishment of YHWH as the Cosmic Creator in the hymnic passages creates a profound theological tension: how can the sovereign architect of a perfectly ordered cosmos respond when that very order is systematically corrupted by its inhabitants? The prophetic logic of Amos provides a startling answer. The same creative power celebrated in the hymns becomes the instrument of creation's unmaking. This pattern is not a chronological report, but a theological framework used by the prophet (or final redactor) to interpret the meaning of the judgement: it is not mere punishment, but the systematic undoing of the created order by its Creator. R. Reed Lessing aptly identifies this terrifying transition, observing that within their literary context, the hymns now portray YHWH as the 'cosmic decreator.'<sup>44</sup> This decreation, however, is not the emergence of a new or contrary divine attribute. Instead, it represents the inversion of the divine creative power. The sovereign authority to build (בנה) becomes the authority to dismantle; the power to form (יצר) becomes the power to deform. This principle of inversion provides the essential hermeneutical key to understanding the nature of divine judgement in Amos. The oracles of punishment that surround the hymns are not arbitrary acts of vengeance but constitute a systematic reversal of the created order, a deliberate unravelling of the cosmic fabric by the one who wove it.

This inversion subverts the audience's complacent assumptions about God's benevolence and the stability of their world (9:10). Paas notes that Amos fundamentally transforms the traditional function of these hymns, turning expressions of cosmic confidence into declarations of impending cosmic chaos.<sup>45</sup> The startling theological claim is that the deity who ordained cosmic order also has the power to bring about chaos. The hymns, therefore, frame the judgement by defining the magnitude of the power being brought to bear against a people in rebellion against their cosmic king. This rebellion, as explored through the lens of cosmic temple imagination, is not merely a social or legal failure but

43 S. Paas, *Creation and Judgement: Creation Texts in Some Eighth Century Prophets* (OtSt 47; Leiden – Boston: Brill 2003) 434–436.

44 R.R. Lessing, "Amos's Earthquake in the Book of the Twelve," *CTQ* 74 (2010) 249.

45 Paas, *Creation and Judgement*, 434–436.

a sacrilege within the divine sanctuary of creation, demanding a response proportional to the cosmic scale of the offense.

This theoretical framework of inversion finds concrete expression in the precise literary relationship between the hymnic verses and the judgement oracles that envelop them. To substantiate this claim, the analysis will juxtapose the specific creative acts from the hymns with their corresponding decreative inversions. The table below is not merely a descriptive list but also serves as an analytical tool to visually map this precise, literary-theological strategy, revealing decreation as the Creator's targeted unravelling of creation.

Table 2. The inversion of creative power – from creation to decreation in Amos

References	Creative acts (from Hymns)	Inverted decreative acts (in Judgement Oracles)	Effect/ interpretation
Amos 4:13; 9:5	Forms the mountains (יצר הרים)	Touches the earth so it melts (נגע בארץ ותמוג)	Undoing terrestrial stability
Amos 5:8; 8:9	Makes Pleiades and Orion (עשה כימה וכסיל)	Makes go down the sun at noon (בוא השמש בצהריים); Darkens the earth in broad daylight (חשך לארץ ביום אור)	Reversing celestial order
Amos 5:8	Calls the waters of the sea (קרא למייהים)	Pours them out on the surface of the earth (שפך על־פני הארץ)	Unleashing chaotic waters
Amos 9:1, 6	Builds his stairs in heaven (בנה מעלותיו) בשמים	Stands by/on the altar ... strike the capitals (נצב על־המזבח הך הכפתור)	Attacking the temple as a cosmic microcosm

As the Table 2 demonstrates, the judgement oracles in Amos do not introduce foreign concepts of punishment but systematically invert the Creator's core attributes celebrated in the hymns. The prophet's rhetoric is one of precise, theological sabotage. For instance, the deity who 'builds his stairs in heaven' (9:6), establishing his cosmic temple, is the same who 'stands by the altar' to 'strike the capitals so that the thresholds shake' (9:1). The hymns systematically portray YHWH as the sovereign over every cosmic domain. This description establishes His absolute authority, which provides the basis for the judgement that follows: the one who built the cosmos has the right to dismantle it. It is not merely the punishment of a cultic site but an assault on the microcosmic representation of the cosmic temple itself, a point Linville reinforces by noting that this platform reveals the divine reality behind the earthly structure.<sup>46</sup> The act of striking the temple's pillars carries a profound cosmic significance. As Paas argues, the destruction of a temple's architectural features, its thresholds and columns, serves a cosmic purpose which is the annihilation of creation by dismantling its perceived *axis*.<sup>47</sup>

Similarly, the God who 'calls the waters of the sea' (5:8), demonstrating his command over cosmic boundaries, is the one who now 'pours them out on the surface of the earth' (5:8),

<sup>46</sup> Linville, *Amos and the Cosmic Imagination*, 5, 160.

<sup>47</sup> S. Paas, "He Who Builds the Stairs into Heaven ..." (*Amos 9:6*), *UF 25* (1993) 319–325.

unleashing the primal forces of chaos upon the ordered land. This inversion directly undermines the stability of the cosmic order, in which the separation of waters was a fundamental act of creation (Gen 1:6–7). This pattern proves that the concept of decreation is an exegetical reality in Amos, a deliberate literary and theological strategy that frames national judgement as a cosmic crisis. The Creator's tools of formation have become the Decreator's instruments of dissolution.

The inversion principle finds its ultimate and most terrifying expression in Amos's portrayal of the 'Day of the Lord' (יום יהוה). This anticipated day, far from being one of national vindication as some might have hoped (5:18–20), is presented as the climactic moment of cosmic decreation. The imagery associated with it represents the totality of the unravelling, where the discrete acts of destruction coalesce into a comprehensive cosmic collapse. The imagery associated with the day; the earthquake that makes the earth 'rise and fall like the Nile' (8:8; 9:5), the darkening of the sun at noon (8:9), and the mourning of the whole earth (8:8; 9:5), are not random cataclysms but the culmination of the decreation pattern, affecting every domain of YHWH's creation.

Scholarly observations on these phenomena coalesce powerfully within this framework. Rolf Rendtorff's emphasis that this day is one of 'evil and darkness' for Israel<sup>48</sup> perfectly captures its de-creative essence, a time when the very light created in Gen 1:3–5 is extinguished. The flood motif, which Morales links to ancient curse traditions and the Noahic narrative,<sup>49</sup> symbolises a destructive event, a reversal of creation back towards a pre-creational state of watery chaos. Furthermore, the 'literal seismic imagery' that Lessing identifies as a rhetorical strategy to convey impending doom<sup>50</sup> is theologised here. It is not merely a metaphor for social upheaval but represents the literal and symbolic shaking of the foundations of the cosmic temple, of which the land of Israel is a part.

The Day of the Lord is also intrinsically linked to the theophany of the Divine Warrior. The 'God of hosts' (אלהי הצבאות), a title laden with cosmic and martial significance, reveals Himself in judgement (3:13; 5:14–16, 27). On the Day of the Lord, this Divine Warrior-King, whose identity is anchored by the hymns, wages the final battle from Zion (1:2). As the roaring lion (1:2; 3:4, 8), a metaphor that, as Strawn shows, emphasises YHWH's predatory and terrifying power,<sup>51</sup> He hunts and devours the guilty. His victory is measured not by conventional military success but by the comprehensive destruction of a corrupted order. This totalising judgement, however, serves an ultimately redemptive purpose within the cosmic drama, thereby setting the stage for the hope of a subsequent, more glorious recreation, in which the cosmic temple will be restored to its intended pristine glory.

48 R. Rendtorff, "How to Read the Book of the Twelve as a Theological Unity," *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve* (eds. J.D. Nogalski – M.A. Sweeney) (SymS 15; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2000) 81.

49 Morales, *The Tabernacle Pre-Figures*, 121–193.

50 Lessing, "Amos's Earthquake," 244–246.

51 B.A. Strawn, *What is Stronger than a Lion? Leonine Image and Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East* (OBO 212; Fribourg – Göttingen: Academic Press – Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2005) 34–36.

#### 4. Recreation and the Restoration of the Cosmic Temple

The Book of Amos culminates in a vision of eschatological hope in which salvation is achieved through the recreation and restoration of the cosmic temple (9:11–15). The Amosian authorship of this concluding oracle (9:11–15) is widely disputed, with many critics, including James D. Nogalski and Hadjiev, viewing it as a post-exilic addition that is meant to soften the book's bleak ending.<sup>52</sup> However, from a literary-theological perspective focused on the book's final form, this hopeful conclusion is not an arbitrary appendage but the logical and necessary culmination of the creation–decreation–recreation pattern established by the hymnic core. A narrative that begins with Yahweh as Creator (hymns) and moves through cosmic Decreation (judgement oracles) demands a final, restorative act to be complete. The hopeful end is thus a theological, if later clarified, culmination of the pattern embedded in the text. Therefore, while its historical provenance may be debated, its theological function within the canonical Book of Amos is indispensable and coherent with the cosmic-temple framework articulated throughout.

This restoration is inaugurated by the Divine Warrior-King, who, having purged the corrupted order, now acts as the Divine Architect. The prophecy is saturated with the language of constructive reversal: YHWH will 'raise' (קוּם) the fallen 'booth of David', 'rebuild' (בנה) its ruins, and 'close up' (גדר) its breaches (9:11). This terminology directly counters the destruction, signalling the reconstruction of the divine dwelling place. This recreation is not merely political but cosmic in scope, evoking the promise made to the patriarchs (cf. Gen 28:10–22) and culminating in the secure replanting of YHWH's people in a transformed and fertile land (9:13–15). As Jason Lecureux argues, these idealised conditions point to an eschatological kingdom that YHWH promises to restore under His sovereign rule, a reality that transcends mere historical restoration.<sup>53</sup> This final vision confirms that the prophet's central concept of salvation is the cosmic triumph of YHWH, who re-establishes His reign from a restored sanctuary, thereby returning all creation to its intended *shalom* (שָׁלוֹם).

This restorative climax demonstrates that the hymns of Amos embody a comprehensive pattern of creation–decreation–recreation. This pattern is not incidental but reflects a deep theological structure that echoes the macro-narrative of Gen 1–11.<sup>54</sup> As Gordon J. Wenham

52 J.D. Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW 217; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 1993); Hadjiev, *The Composition and Redaction of the Book of Amos*, 111–123.

53 J. Lecureux, "Restored Hope? The Function of the Temple, Priest, and Cult as Restoration in the Book of the Twelve," *JSOT* 41/4 (2017) 493–510, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309089216670543>.

54 This study operates primarily from a literary-theological perspective focused on the final form of the canonical text. While acknowledging the well-established historical-critical consensus that the final redaction of the Pentateuch (including Gen 1–11) is later than the 8th-century prophet Amos (the *lex post prophetas* principle), the author contends that the traditions and cosmological concepts embedded in these texts – such as the divine ordering of chaos and a universal flood – predate their final composition and were part of the cultural and religious milieu of the Ancient Near East, including Israel. His argument is that the Book of Amos, in its canonical form, participates in and develops this conceptual pattern, regardless of the precise chronology of source composition.

observes, this foundational biblical sequence begins with creation (Gen 1:1–2:3), moves through its destruction in the flood (Gen 6:9–7:24), and culminates in a recreation cemented by the Noahic covenant (Gen 8:1–9:17).<sup>55</sup> Martin G. Klingbeil further establishes that this very pattern forms the core message of eighth-century prophetic literature, including Amos.<sup>56</sup> In Amos, this pattern is the key to understanding the idea of salvation that extends beyond the covenant. By framing Israel's fate within this cosmic framework, the prophet underscores the transformative power of YHWH's actions; the same sovereignty that created the cosmic temple and decreed it in the judgement is ultimately directed toward its glorious recreation, achieving the final restoration of His divine dwelling place.

Amos's creation–decreation–recreation pattern demands a theological excavation to reveal its ultimate objective, which is the prophet's radical redefinition of salvation itself. This salvific framework is rooted in the foundational premise that YHWH created the cosmos as His temple, a sacred dwelling place. Within this cosmic sanctuary, humanity, created in the *imago Dei* (Gen 1:26–28), was instated as theophanic representatives, tasked with functionally mediating God's sovereign presence throughout creation. Richard Lints contends that human beings are thus designed to be visible manifestations of the divine within the cosmic temple,<sup>57</sup> which itself constitutes the 'central nave of creation'.<sup>58</sup> This creational ontology provides the critical lens for diagnosing the crisis in Amos. Israel's sins – both social injustice and cultic corruption – are not merely legal infractions but represent a catastrophic failure of their priestly vocation (Exod 19:5–6).<sup>59</sup> They have defaced the divine image within themselves and desecrated the cosmic temple through their actions. Consequently, the decreative or destructive judgement is the necessary divine response to this systemic sacrilege. Therefore, in the Amosian vision, salvation cannot be a simple return to political normalcy. It must be understood as nothing less than the re-creation of the cosmic temple and the restoration of humanity to its original, priestly calling – a comprehensive healing of the relationship between the Creator, His image-bearers, and the created order itself.

Humanity's elevated status as divine image-bearers confers not only privilege but a fundamental responsibility for sustaining the cosmic order.<sup>60</sup> The actions of individuals and the community, therefore, have profound cosmological consequences, either upholding or destabilising the fabric of the created world. In Amos, this human tendency is

55 G.J. Wenham, *Rethinking Genesis 1–11: Gateway to the Bible* (Didsbury Lecture Series; Eugene, OR: Cascade 2015) 1–2, 18, 52–53, 66–67.

56 M.G. Klingbeil, "Creation in the Prophetic Literature of the Old Testament: An Intertextual Approach," *JATS* 20/1–2 (2009) 19–54.

57 R. Lints, *Identity and Idolatry: The Image of God and Its Inversion* (NSBT 36; Downers Grove, IL – Nottingham: IVP Academic – Apollos 2015) 70.

58 M. Reiss, "Adam: Created in the Image and Likeness of God," *JBQ* 39/3 (2011) 183–185.

59 J.A. Davies, *A Royal Priesthood: Literary and Intertextual Perspectives on the Image of Israel in Exodus 19.6* (JSOTSup 395; London – New York: Clark 2004) 169.

60 This builds on the concept from Lints (*Identity and Idolatry*, 70) that humans functionally mediate God's presence.

catastrophically oriented toward wrongdoing, which is manifested in the systemic mistreatment of fellow human beings. The prophet's meticulous cataloguing of transgressions – including the selling of the righteous for silver and the needy for a pair of sandals (2:6), trampling the poor (5:11), and denying justice to the oppressed (5:12) – reveals a society actively engaged in dehumanisation.<sup>61</sup> Theologically, these are not merely social or legal crimes; they are sacrilegious assaults on the 'image of God' within other persons. By destroying the divine image in others, Israel defaces the very representation of YHWH's sovereign presence within His cosmic temple. This pervasive violation of the created order triggers a commensurate response, as reflected in the hymns; the Cosmic King intervenes to strike down those who have damaged His image.<sup>62</sup> The ensuing decreation – the melting earth and darkened heavens – is thus the direct consequence of this ontological rebellion, demonstrating that sins against humanity are ultimately sins against the foundation of the divine order itself.

Israel's rebellion extends beyond the social sphere into the cultic, constituting a direct desacralisation of YHWH's dwelling place. The prophet indicts their religious practices at Bethel, Gilgal, and Beersheba (4:4–5; 5:5, 21–26; 8:14), not for a lack of fervour, but for their fundamental incongruity with a life of injustice. Theologically, this is a crisis of cosmic proportions. The earthly temple functions as the *axis*, the sacred pivot, and micro-cosmic representation of the entire created order.<sup>63</sup> By engaging in syncretistic and hypocritical worship, Israel did not merely break the ritual law; they actively undermined the sanctity of the cosmic temple's earthly analogue. This destabilised the cosmic sphere itself, for, as Crispin H.T. Fletcher-Louis observes, the order and stability of creation depend on the proper functioning of the people and their religious activities within the temple.<sup>64</sup> The people's failure to worship in spirit and truth constituted an assault on the pillars of the cosmic order.<sup>65</sup> The prophetic response is therefore fittingly cosmic: the destruction foretold against Israel's high places and royal sanctuaries (3:14; 5:5; 7:9; 9:1) is not merely the demolition of brick and mortar, but the divine dismantling of a corrupted microcosm. Through this judgement, Amos demonstrates that the fate of the earthly temple and the stability of the cosmos are inextricably linked; a failure to uphold the sacred space invites its destruction.

Within Amos's cosmic temple framework, the Day of the Lord (יום יהוה) represents the climactic moment of cosmic decreation, a definitive theophany of judgement emanating from the divine sanctuary.<sup>66</sup> The prophet radically reorients this expectation from

61 For a detailed analysis of these social crimes in their covenantal context, see Boda, *A Severe Mercy*, 112–113.

62 This connects the ethical failure to the cosmic response framed by the hymns, as discussed by Lessing, "Amos's Earthquake," 249.

63 Hundley, *Gods in Dwellings*, 80, 83, 278.

64 C.H.T. Fletcher-Louis, "God's Image, His Cosmic Temple, and the High Priest: Toward a Historical and Theological Account of the Incarnation," *Heaven on Earth: The Temple in Biblical Theology* (eds. T.D. Alexander – S. Gathercole) (Carlisle: Paternoster 2004) 81–100.

65 Linville, *Amos and the Cosmic Imagination*, 1–2.

66 T. Bulkeley, "The Book of Amos and the Day of Yahweh," *Colloq* 45/2 (2013) 154–169.

a hoped-for national vindication into the systematic unmaking of a corrupted created order (5:18–20). This decreation is characterised not by conventional warfare but by primordial cataclysms that target the very foundations of creation. The flood motif (8:8) functions as a symbolic reversal of the created order back toward pre-creational chaos, a point supported by Morales's observation that it alludes to the Noahic deluge or to Mesopotamian flood traditions, framed as a curse for Israel's violations.<sup>67</sup> Similarly, the earthquake (9:1, 5) is a literal and symbolic shaking of the foundations of the world. While Lessing correctly identifies its power as a rhetorical strategy,<sup>68</sup> within Amos's theology, it is a theological reality: the physical manifestation of the cosmic temple's collapse under the weight of its desecration. This portrayal of the Day of the Lord as one of 'evil and darkness', as Rendtorff emphasises,<sup>69</sup> perfectly captures its destructive essence, revealing YHWH's unwavering resolve to dismantle His corrupted sanctuary.

This theophanic judgement is portrayed through the potent metaphor of a roaring lion emerging from His temple in Zion (1:2). Synthesising scholarly insights, this leonine imagery reveals its full force within the cosmic temple imagination. Walter Brueggemann suggests that such metaphors unlock the 'theological imagination' for the most serious divine speech.<sup>70</sup> Strawn's analysis of the metaphor's primal aspects – the terror-inducing roar announcing the hunt and the lethal strike – emphasises YHWH's predatory power.<sup>71</sup> Linville further refines this by arguing that the lion's roar is a direct metaphor for the prophetic word of judgement itself, a sound that guarantees its own fulfilment (3:3–8).<sup>72</sup> Read together, this imagery portrays YHWH as the Cosmic King, roaring from the holy of holies of His celestial palace. His emergence from the temple indicates that the decreation is a deliberate, authoritative act emanating from the very centre of His cosmic domain, confirming the judgement as the sovereign action of the world's divine ruler.

The terrifying figure of the roaring lion is identified by the sovereign title 'the God of hosts' (אלהי הצבאות). While later tradition often associates this epithet with angelic armies, its primary force in Amos's context is to assert Yahweh's supreme command over all powers, both earthly<sup>73</sup> and heavenly.<sup>74</sup> The 'hosts' (הצבאות) likely encompass the celestial bodies

67 Morales, *The Tabernacle Pre-Figures*, 121–193. Cf. G. Cox, "The 'Hymn' of Amos: An Ancient Flood Narrative," *JOT* 38/1 (2013) 81–108, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309089213492812>.

68 Lessing, "Amos's Earthquake," 244–246.

69 Rendtorff, "How to Read the Book of the Twelve as a Theological Unity," 75–87.

70 Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 70.

71 Strawn, *What is Stronger than Lion?*, 34–36.

72 J.R. Linville, "Amos among the 'Dead Prophets Society': Re-Reading the Lion's Roar," *JOT* 25/90 (2000) 69, <https://doi.org/10.1177/030908920002509005>.

73 P.D. Miller, *Israelite Religion and Biblical Theology: Collected Essays* (JSOTSup 267; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic 2000) 422–444.

74 E.T. Mullen Jr., *The Divine Council in Canaanite and Early Hebrew Literature* (HSM 24; Chico, CA: Scholars 1980); and M. Nissinen, "Prophets and the Divine Council," *Kein Land für sich allein: Studien zum Kulturkontakt in Kanaan, Israel/Palästina und Ebirnäri für Manfred Weippert zum 65. Geburtstag* (eds. U. Hübner – E.A. Knauf) (OBO 186; Freiburg – Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz – Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2002) 4–19; cf. R.P. Gordon, "Standing in the Council: When Prophets

(cf. the hymnic references to Pleiades and Orion in 5:8) and the armies of nations, all of which are mustered by the Divine Warrior-King.<sup>75</sup> This title does not necessarily require a fully articulated doctrine of a divine council, though it is compatible with such concepts found elsewhere (e.g., 1 Kgs 22:19–22). In Amos, its primary rhetorical function is to contrast Yahweh's ultimate, cosmic authority with the impotent authority of Israel's leaders and the false security of their military. He is the one who commands the true, cosmic forces that will execute His judgement, a judgement that the human 'hosts' of Israel cannot withstand.

The portrait of YHWH culminates in the terrifying image of the Divine Warrior, a figure central to the 'holy war' motif of the Day of the Lord.<sup>76</sup> It is not a battle against foreign armies, but a cosmic campaign waged by the Warrior-King from His heavenly command post to reclaim His defiled throne. The vision in Amos 9:1–6 is pivotal: YHWH is seen standing by or upon the altar, issuing the command to strike the temple's capitals. It is not a localised attack on a single shrine. Linville argues that this platform – whether the Bethel altar or a heavenly reality – ultimately points to the celestial temple, revealing the divine foundation behind all earthly structures.<sup>77</sup> The command to strike is thus cosmically significant. Paas contends that the destruction of a temple's architectural features – its thresholds and pillars – serves the cosmic purpose of annihilating creation<sup>78</sup> by dismantling its perceived *axis* (symbolised by 'pillars').<sup>79</sup> When YHWH strikes the pillars of Israel's counterfeit temples, He is not merely punishing cultic sites; He is actively deconstructing the corrupted *axis* they represent, pulling down the pillars of a world order that has rebelled against its sovereign. Israel's sin was an attempt to usurp cosmic power for itself (cf. 2:8);<sup>80</sup> the Divine Warrior's response is to demonstrate His true cosmic sovereignty by dismantling their illegitimate claim from the foundation up, ensuring that those who defy the architecture of His cosmos are irrevocably removed from it.

The vision in Amos 9:1–10 represents the climactic synthesis of Israel's judgement, in which the nation's political collapse is fully revealed as a cosmic cataclysm of decreation. This passage integrates all prior warnings, from the failed chastisements (4:6–11) to the final, ominous meeting with God (4:12–13), and escalates them to a universal scale. As Hayes argues, this divine judgement unfolds within a 'cosmic arena', where the very elements

Encounter God," *The God of Israel* (ed. R.P. Gordon) (UCEP 64; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007) 190–204; D.E. Bokovoy, "שמעו והעידו בבית יעקב": Invoking the Council as Witnesses in Amos 3:13," *JBL* 127/1 (2008) 37–51, <https://doi.org/10.2307/25610105>; and E. White, *Yahweh's Council: Its Structure and Membership* (FAT 2/65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2014).

75 M.S. Heiser, "Does Divine Plurality in the Hebrew Bible Demonstrate an Evolution from Polytheism to Monotheism in Israelite Religion?," *JESOT* 1/1 (2012) 1–24.

76 D. Ishai-Rosenboim, "Is יום ה' (the Day of the Lord) a Term in Biblical Language?," *Bib* 87/3 (2006) 395–401; and M. Klingbeil, *Yahweh Fighting from Heaven: God as Warrior and as God of Heaven in the Hebrew Psalter and Ancient Near Eastern Iconography* (OBO 169; Fribourg – Göttingen: University Press Fribourg Switzerland – Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1999).

77 Linville, *Amos and the Cosmic Imagination*, 5, 160.

78 Paas, "He Who Builds the Stairs into Heaven ..." (Amos 9:6)," 319–325; and Paas, *Creation and Judgement*.

79 Linville, *Amos and the Cosmic Imagination*, 168.

80 Cf. J. Schipper – M. Leuchter, "A Proposed Reading of בית אלהים in Amos 2:8," *CBQ* 77/3 (2015) 441–448.

of creation become agents of its unmaking: ‘the earth mourns, the morning darkens, and the ground melts at the command of YHWH.’<sup>81</sup> The passage depicts the shattering voice of the warrior deity producing ‘a cataclysmic reverberation and destructive upheaval in the world.’<sup>82</sup> In this culminating vision, Amos portrays YHWH emerging from Zion not merely to punish a nation, but to wage a final battle against the systemic evil that has infected His cosmic domain. His intervention is therefore accompanied by events that convulse all creation – earthquakes, droughts, celestial darkness – because the corruption itself was cosmic in scope. This totality underscores the finality of the destructive process: the fate of Israel is inextricably linked to the stability of the cosmic order, and the Divine Warrior’s authority is demonstrated by His power to dismantle the world that bears His name.

The divine act of decreation, however, is ultimately in the service of a greater salvific purpose, namely, the recreation of the cosmos and the restoration of God’s cosmic temple. The book’s concluding oracle (9:11–15) is a confident proclamation that salvation entails nothing less than this comprehensive renewal. While some scholars, following redaction-critical approaches, question the Amosian authorship of this hopeful conclusion,<sup>83</sup> such a dichotomy between judgement and hope is foreign to the prophet’s overarching cosmic framework. The pattern of creation–decreation–recreation demands a final, restorative act to be complete, suggesting that the hopeful end is a logical, if later clarified, theological culmination of the pattern established by the hymnic core.<sup>84</sup> Amos does not present a strictly dualistic view of the Day of the Lord but rather a theological *via media* in which radical decreation and glorious recreation are two sides of the same divine act. The destruction of the corrupted order is not an end in itself but the necessary precondition for the establishment of a new, enduring one. Decreation is, therefore, intrinsically connected to the narrative of salvation; it is the painful but essential process of clearing away a failed structure so that a faithful one can be built in its place. This holistic vision aligns perfectly with the comprehensive portrayal of YHWH that the hymns have anchored: He is the sovereign who alone possesses the authority to create, the power to decreate, and the redemptive will to recreate. The transformative power of divine judgement thus finds its ultimate meaning in the final, glorious restoration of all things within His cosmic sanctuary.

From Amos’s theological perspective, the concepts of creation and decreation are indispensable prerequisites for understanding the nature of recreation. The prophet’s final vision is not a simple return to the status quo but a depiction of the Cosmic King eschatologically purging the sinful kingdom (9:8–10) to establish a new reality with a purified remnant.<sup>85</sup>

81 Hayes, “The Mourning Earth (Amos 1:2),” 142, 148.

82 Paul, *Amos*, 39.

83 For a discussion of the critical view regarding the hopeful conclusion, see Hadjiev, *The Composition and Redaction of the Book of Amos*, 111–123; and Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, 104.

84 Cf. T. Collins, *The Mantle of Elijah: The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetic Books* (BibSem 20; Sheffield: JSOT 1993).

85 D. Timmer, “The Use and Abuse of Power in Amos: Identity and Ideology,” *JSOT* 39/1 (2014) 101–118, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309089214551516>.

This act of salvation is framed as a divine rebuilding and replanting (9:11, 14–15), a deliberate echo of the foundational acts of conquest and settlement that resonates with the memory of the ‘house of David’ and the ‘house of YHWH.’<sup>86</sup> Crucially, this hope is anchored in the patriarchal promise, specifically alluding to God’s assurance given to Jacob at Bethel that his line would not be obliterated (9:8–9; cf. Gen 28:10–22). This allusion is profoundly significant: the ‘gate of heaven’ (Gen 28:17) that Jacob identified at Bethel – the nexus between heaven and earth – will be re-established. The restoration of the ‘booth of David’ (9:11) is, therefore, the re-opening of this cosmic portal, the re-founding of the *axis*. Through this vision, Amos grounds his message of hope not in nationalistic fervour but in YHWH’s faithfulness to His creational and covenantal purposes, demonstrating that His power to decreate is ultimately wielded to recreate and reconsecrate His cosmic temple, thereby restoring the broken connection between the divine and human realms.

The metaphor of ‘the booth of David’ (9:11, סכַת־אֵת דָּוִד) is the hermeneutical key to Amos’s vision of restoration, decisively shifting its interpretation from the political to the cosmic realm. While the imagery of raising a fallen structure suggests a literal reconstruction from ruins, as Aaron Schart notes,<sup>87</sup> its identification as a ‘booth’ (a temporary, rustic shelter) rather than a ‘palace’ or ‘fortress’ subverts expectations of a mere political restoration. It is not about re-establishing the Davidic dynasty’s earthly administration. Domeris contends that the oracle transcends the physical rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple, pointing instead to YHWH’s reconstitution of a true worshipping community.<sup>88</sup> Read through the lens of cosmic temple imagination, the ‘booth of David’ symbolises the restored microcosm of YHWH’s cosmic sanctuary. It is the re-established *axis*, the focal point from which divine order and blessing flow outwards. This renewed dwelling place is not defined by ethnic Israel alone but incorporates a universal scope (9:12), signalling that the recreation of the cosmic temple entails the reconciliation of all nations within its sanctified order. Therefore, the salvation Amos proclaims culminates in this: the Divine Architect, having decreed the corrupted sanctuary, now recreates a purified and expanded dwelling place for His presence, achieving the ultimate restoration of the cosmic temple as the centre of a renewed creation.

While the promises in Amos 9:12–15 employ the tangible language of historical restoration – the possession of nations, agricultural superabundance, and the return of exiles – a surface-level, literalist reading fails to capture their profound theological depth. These vivid images of security and blessing are not a blueprint for a revived state of Israel but are the symbolic effluence of a perfectly restored cosmic order. Lecureux rightly contends that such idealised conditions are generated by the prior concept of a ‘recreated cosmos, paradise, or temple,’ pointing decisively to an eschatological kingdom under YHWH’s sovereign

86 J.D. Nogalski, “Three Faces of Hope: Amos 9:11–12 and Acts 15:12–19,” *RevExp* 112/2 (2015) 311–315, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0034637315578828>.

87 Schart, “The Fifth Vision of Amos in Context,” 46–71.

88 W. Domeris, “Shades of Irony in the Anti-Language of Amos,” *HvTSt* 72/4 (2016) 1–8, <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v72i4.3292>.

rule.<sup>89</sup> This vision is inherently metahistorical; as Nogalski argues, it transcends the historical schism of Israel and Judah, projecting a unified future that overcomes the past.<sup>90</sup> Consequently, the hope for the ‘booth of David’ is ultimately messianic and cosmic. Anthony R. Petterson notes that it signifies the expectation of a future Davidic king whose reign is realised at the eschaton.<sup>91</sup> Therefore, the concept of salvation in Amos is definitely tied to this transcendent vision. It is the hope that YHWH, the Creator, Decreator, and Recreator, will finally and fully restore His cosmic temple, establishing His eternal kingdom where divine presence, righteous rule, and universal shalom (שְׁלוֹמִים) are perfectly manifest. It is the ultimate restoration for which the entire creation–decreation–recreation pattern prepares the reader.

## Conclusion

This study has argued that a reading of Amos’s hymns through the lens of cosmic temple imagination reorients our understanding of the prophet’s message, revealing a grand narrative of salvation as creation, decreation, and recreation. We have demonstrated that the nature of Israel’s sin and the scope of YHWH’s salvific action extend beyond the bilateral terms of the Deuteronomic covenant. The Israelites’ transgressions were not merely legal or moral failures but constituted a cosmic rebellion. They were a desecration of the divine image in humanity and a sacrilegious assault on the very pillars of the cosmic temple. In response, the prophet, using the hymns as theological anchors, portrays YHWH’s judgement as a necessary process of decreation, wherein the Creator’s power is inverted to dismantle a corrupted order. However, this destruction serves a redemptive purpose. The ultimate hope in Amos is the eschatological recreation of YHWH’s dwelling place, symbolised by the raising of the ‘booth of David’. It is not a political restoration but the reconstitution of the *axis*, the cosmic temple from which divine rule and blessing flow, ensuring the eternal security of a renewed creation.

These findings contribute a distinct biblical-theological perspective, positioning the prophetic message of salvation within a cosmic drama that transcends, while not entirely negating, the covenantal-legal framework. This cosmic orientation, centred on the restoration of the divine dwelling place, naturally invites further exploration within the canon. It provides a profound hermeneutical key for the New Testament, where Jesus Christ is presented as the true temple (John 2:19–21), the definitive image of God (Col 1:15), and the messianic king who inaugurates the new creation. The continuity is striking: the cosmic temple theology of Amos finds its ultimate fulfilment in the person and work of Christ,

<sup>89</sup> Lecureux, “Restored Hope?,” 493–510.

<sup>90</sup> J.D. Nogalski, “The Day(s) of YHWH in the Book of the Twelve,” *Thematic Thread in the Book of the Twelve* (eds. P.L. Redditt – A. Schar) (BZAW 325; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2003) 192–213.

<sup>91</sup> A.R. Petterson, “The Shape of the Davidic Hope across the Book of the Twelve,” *JSOT* 35/2 (2010) 225–246, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309089210386022>.

through whom God reconciles all things to Himself, finally and fully restoring the cosmic temple and establishing His eternal kingdom. This approach not only deepens our appreciation for the unity of Scripture but also magnifies the universal scope of God's redemptive plan, from the mountains of Amos to the New Jerusalem.

## Bibliography

- Adu, F., "The Concept of Yahweh in the Hymnic Doxologies of Amos 4:13, 5:8–9, and 9:5–6," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 52/1 (2021) 3–16, <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461079211038493>.
- Albani, M., "Der das Siebengestirn und den Orion Macht,' Amos 5:8: zur Bedeutung der Plejaden in der Israelitischen Religionsgeschichte," *Religionsgeschichte Israels. Formale und materiale Aspekte* (eds. B. Janowski – M. Köckert) (Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie 15; Gütersloh: Gütersloher 1999) 139–207.
- Angelini, A., "Representing YHWH as the Master of the Stars in the Context of Ancient Near Eastern Astral Cults: Job, Amos, and Beyond," *Semítica et Classica* 18/1 (2025) 151–164, <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.SEC.5.152639>.
- de Angelo Cunha, W., "Creation Faith in the Prophets: The Use of Ancient Israelite Doxologies (Amos 4:13; 5:8–9; 9:5–6) in Amos," *The Hebrew Bible / Old Testament and Scribal Scholarship in Antiquity: Studies in Honor of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday* (eds. W. de Angelo Cunha – M.N. van der Meer – M. Rösel) (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 306; Leuven: Peeters 2025) 1–18.
- Ayali-Darshan, N., "The Polemical Cosmogony in the Doxologies of Amos (4:13; 5:8; 9:5–6)," *Vetus Testamentum* 75/1 (2024) 10–3, <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685330-bja10164>.
- Barton, J., *The Theology of the Book of Amos* (Old Testament Theology; New York: Cambridge University Press 2012).
- Beale, G.K., *The Temple and Church's Mission: A Biblical Theology of the Dwelling Place of God* (New Studies in Biblical Theology 15; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity 2004).
- Ben-Dov, J., "World Order in the Doxologies of Amos and Job," *Ve-Ed Ya'aleh (Gen 2:6): Essays in Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Edward L. Greenstein* (eds. P. Machinist et al.) (WAWSup 6; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2021) II, 693–711.
- Boda, M.J., *A Severe Mercy: Sin and Its Remedy in the Old Testament* (Siphrut 1; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2009).
- Bokovoy, D.E., "שמעו והעידו בבית יעקב": Invoking the Council as Witnesses in Amos 3:13," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 127/1 (2008) 37–51, <https://doi.org/10.2307/25610105>.
- Brueggemann, W., *Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 1997).
- Brueggemann, W., *The Prophetic Imagination*, 2 revised ed. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2001).
- Bulkeley, T., "The Book of Amos and the Day of Yahweh," *Colloquium* 45/2 (2013) 154–169.
- Carroll R., M.D., *Amos—The Prophet and His Oracles: Research on the Book of Amos* (Louisville, KY – London: Westminster John Knox 2002).
- Clifford, R.J., *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 4; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1972).
- Collins, T., *The Mantle of Elijah: The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetic Books* (The Biblical Seminar 20; Sheffield: JSOT 1993).

- Collins, T., "Threading as a Stylistic Feature of Amos," *The Elusive Prophet: The Prophet as a Historical Person, Literary Character and Anonymous Artist* (ed. J.C. de Moor) (Oudtestamentische Studiën 45; Leiden: Brill 2001) 94–104.
- Cox, G., "The 'Hymn' of Amos: An Ancient Flood Narrative," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 38/1 (2013) 81–108, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309089213492812>.
- Davies, J.A., *A Royal Priesthood: Literary and Intertextual Perspectives on the Image of Israel in Exodus 19.6* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 395; London – New York: Clark 2004).
- Davila, J.R., "The Macrocosmic Temple, Scriptural Exegesis, and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 9/1 (2002) 1–19.
- Domeris, W., "Shades of Irony in the Anti-Language of Amos," *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 72/4 (2016) 1–8, <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v72i4.3292>.
- Eliade, M., *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (trans. W.R. Trask) (Orlando, FL: Harcourt 1987).
- Farr, G., "The Language of Amos, Popular or Cultic?," *Vetus Testamentum* 16/3 (1966) 312–324.
- Fishbane, M.A., "The Sacred Center: The Symbolic Structure of the Bible," *Text and Responses: Studies Presented to Nahum N. Glatzer on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday by His Students* (eds. M.A. Fishbane – P.R. Flohr) (Leiden: Brill 1975) 6–27.
- Fletcher-Louis, C.H.T., "God's Image, His Cosmic Temple, and the High Priest: Towards a Historical and Theological Account of the Incarnation," *Heaven on Earth: The Temple in Biblical Theology* (eds. T.D. Alexander – S. Gathercole) (Carlisle: Paternoster 2004) 81–100.
- Gordon, R.P., "Standing in the Council: When Prophets Encounter God," *The God of Israel* (ed. R.P. Gordon) (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 64; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007) 190–204.
- Hadjiev, T.S., *The Composition and Redaction of the Book of Amos* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 393; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2009).
- Hamborg, G.R., *Still Selling the Righteous: A Redactional-Critical Investigation of Reasons for Judgment in Amos 2.6–16* (The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 555; New York – London: Clark 2012).
- Hayes, K.M., "The Mourning Earth (Amos 1:2) and the God Who Is," *Word and World* 28/2 (2008) 141–149.
- Heiser, M.S., "Does Divine Plurality in the Hebrew Bible Demonstrate an Evolution from Polytheism to Monotheism in Israelite Religion?," *Journal for the Evangelical Study of the Old Testament* 1/1 (2012) 1–24.
- Heyns, D., "Theology in Pictures: The Visions of Amos," *Feet on Level Ground: A South African Tribute of Old Testament Essays in Honor of Gerhard Hasel* (eds. K. Van Wyk – J. Coetzee) (Berrien Springs, MI: Hester 1996) 132–172.
- Hundley, M.B., *Keeping Heaven on Earth: Safeguarding the Divine Presence in the Priestly Tabernacle* (Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2/50; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2011).
- Hundley, M.B., *Gods in Dwellings: Temples and Divine Presence in the Ancient Near East* (Writings from the Ancient World Supplements 3; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2013).
- Hurowitz, V.A., *I Have Built You an Exalted House: Temple Building in the Bible in Light of Mesopotamian and Northwest Semitic Writings* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 115; Sheffield: JSOT 1992).
- Ishai-Rosenboim, D., "Is יום ה' (the Day of the LORD) a Term in Biblical Language?," *Biblica* 87/3 (2006) 395–401.
- Kampf, A., "The Conceptualization of God's Dwelling Place in 1 Kings 8: A Cognitive Approach," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 40/4 (2016) 451–465, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309089215613901>.

- Klingbeil, M., *Yahweh Fighting from Heaven: God as Warrior and as God of Heaven in the Hebrew Psalter and Ancient Near Eastern Iconography* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 169; Fribourg – Göttingen: University Press Fribourg Switzerland – Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1999).
- Klingbeil, M.G., “Creation in the Prophetic Literature of the Old Testament: An Intertextual Approach,” *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 20/1–2 (2009) 19–54.
- Leclureux, J., “Restored Hope? The Function of the Temple, Priest, and Cult as Restoration in the Book of the Twelve,” *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 41/4 (2017) 493–510, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309089216670543>.
- Lessing, R.R., “Amos’s Earthquake in the Book of the Twelve,” *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 74 (2010) 243–259.
- Levenson, J.D., “The Temple and the World,” *Journal of Religion* 64/3 (1984) 275–298.
- Levenson, J.D., “Cosmos and Microcosm,” *Cult and Cosmos: Tilting toward a Temple-Centered Theology* (ed. L.M. Morales) (Biblical Tools and Studies 18; Leuven: Peeters 2014) 227–248.
- Lints, R., *Identity and Idolatry: The Image of God and Its Inversion* (New Studies in Biblical Theology 36; Downers Grove, IL – Nottingham: IVP Academic – Apollos 2015).
- Linville, J.R., “Amos among the ‘Dead Prophets Society’: Re-Reading the Lion’s Roar,” *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 25/90 (2000) 55–77, <https://doi.org/10.1177/030908920002509005>.
- Linville, J.R., *Amos and the Cosmic Imagination* (Society for Old Testament Studies Monograph Series; Hampshire: Ashgate 2008).
- Lioy, D., *Axis of Glory: A Biblical and Theological Analysis of the Temple Motif in Scripture* (Studies in Biblical Literature 138; New York – Washington, DC/Baltimore – Bern: Lang 2010).
- Lundquist, J.M., “What is a Temple? A Preliminary Typology,” *The Quest for the Kingdom of God: Studies in Honor of George E. Mendenhall* (eds. H.B. Huffmon – F.A. Spina – A.R.W. Green) (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 1983) 205–219.
- Marlow, H.F., *Biblical Prophets and Contemporary Environmental Ethics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2009).
- Mayes, A.D.H., “Deuteronomistic Ideology and the Theology of the Old Testament,” *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 24/82 (1999) 57–82.
- McComiskey, T.E., “The Hymnic Elements of the Prophecy of Amos: A Study of Form-Critical Methodology,” *Journal of Evangelical Theological Society* 30/2 (1987) 139–157.
- Middleton, J.R., *A New Heaven: Reclaiming Biblical Eschatology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2014).
- Miller, P.D., *Israelite Religion and Biblical Theology: Collected Essays* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 267; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic 2000).
- Moberly, R.W.L., *The Old Testament of the Old Testament: Patriarchal Narratives and Mosaic Yahwism* (Overtures to Biblical Theology; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 1992; reprint Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock 2001).
- Morales, L.M., *The Tabernacle Pre-Figures: Cosmic Mountain Ideology in Genesis and Exodus* (Biblical Tools and Studies 15; Leuven: Peeters 2012).
- Mullen Jr., E.T., *The Divine Council in Canaanite and Early Hebrew Literature* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 24; Chico, CA: Scholars 1980).
- Niehaus, J.J., *God at Sinai: Covenant and Theophany in the Bible and Ancient Near East* (Studies in Old Testament Biblical Theology; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 1995).
- Nissinen, M., “Prophets and the Divine Council,” *Kein Land für sich allein: Studien zum Kulturkontakt in Kanaan, Israel/Palästina und Ebirnäri für Manfred Weippert zum 65. Geburtstag* (eds. U. Hübner – E.A. Knauf) (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 186; Freiburg – Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz – Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2002) 4–19.

- Noble, P.R., "The Literary Structure of Amos: A Thematic Analysis," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 114/2 (1995) 209–226, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3266936>.
- Nogalski, J.D., *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 217; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 1993).
- Nogalski, J.D., "The Day(s) of YHWH in the Book of the Twelve," *Thematic Thread in the Book of the Twelve* (eds. P.L. Redditt – A. Schart) (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 325; Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2003) 192–213.
- Nogalski, J.D., "Three Faces of Hope: Amos 9: 11–12 and Acts 15:12–19," *Review and Expositor* 112/2 (2015) 311–315, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0034637315578828>.
- Paas, S., "He Who Builds the Stairs into Heaven ...? (Amos 9:6)," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 25 (1993) 319–325.
- Paas, S., "Seeing and Singing: Visions and Hymns in the Book of Amos," *Vetus Testamentum* 52/2 (2002) 253–274.
- Paas, S., *Creation and Judgement: Creation Texts in Some Eighth Century Prophets* (Oudtestamentische Studien 47; Leiden – Boston: Brill 2003).
- Palmer, J., "Exodus and the Biblical Theology of the Tabernacle," *Heaven on Earth: The Temple and Biblical Theology* (eds. T.D. Alexander – S. Gathercole) (Carlisle: Paternoster 2004) 11–22.
- Paul, S.M., *Amos: A Commentary on the Book of Amos* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 1991).
- Petterson, A.R., "The Shape of the Davidic Hope across the Book of the Twelve," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 35/2 (2010) 225–246, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309089210386022>.
- Reiss, M., "Adam: Created in the Image and Likeness of God," *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 39/3 (2011) 181–186.
- Rendtorff, R., "How to Read the Book of the Twelve as a Theological Unity," *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve* (eds. J. Nogalski – M.A. Sweeney) (SymS 15; Atlanta, GA: SBL 2000) 75–87.
- Ricoeur, P., *Figuring the Sacred: Religion, Narrative, and Imagination* (ed. M.I. Wallace; trans. D. Pellaeur) (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg – Fortress 1995).
- Roberts, J.R., "Biblical Cosmology: The Implications for Bible Translation," *Journal of Translation* 9/2 (2013) 1–53.
- Schart, A., "The Fifth Vision of Amos in Context," *Thematic Thread in the Book of the Twelve* (eds. P. Redditt – A. Schart) (Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 2003) 46–71.
- Schipper, J. – Leuchter, M., "A Proposed Reading of בֵּית אֱלֹהִים in Amos 2:8," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 77/3 (2015) 441–448.
- Seilhamer, F.H., "The Role of the Covenant in the Mission and Message of Amos," *A Light unto My Path: Old Testament studies in Honor of Jacob M. Myers* (eds. H. Bream – R.D. Heim – C.A. Moore) (Gettysburg Theological Studies 4; Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press 1974) 435–451.
- Shimon, B., "The Day of the Lord," *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 38/3 (2010) 149–156.
- de Souza, E.B., "Sanctuary: Cosmos, Covenant, and Creation," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 24/1 (2013) 25–41.
- Strawn, B.A., *What is Stronger than Lion? Leonine Image and Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 212; Fribourg – Göttingen: Academic Press – Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2005).
- Timmer, D., "The Use and Abuse of Power in Amos: Identity and Ideology," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 39/1 (2014) 101–118, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309089214551516>.
- Walton, J.H., *The Lost World of Genesis One: Ancient Cosmology and the Origins Debate* (Lost World Series; Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic 2009).


- Watts, J.D.W., "An Old Hymn Preserved in the Book of Amos," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 15/1 (1956) 33–39.
- Wenham, G.J., *Rethinking Genesis 1–11: Gateway to the Bible* (Didsbury Lecture Series; Eugene, OR: Cascade 2015).
- White, E., *Yahweh's Council: Its Structure and Membership* (Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2/65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2014).
- Whitley, J., "עִיפָה in Amos 4:13: New Evidence for the Yahwistic Incorporation of Ancient Near Eastern Solar Imagery," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 134/1 (2015) 127–138, <https://doi.org/10.15699/jbl.1341.2015.2633>.
- Wolff, H.W., *Joel and Amos: A Commentary on the Books of the Prophets Joel and Amos* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia, PA: Fortress 1977).



## The Presentation in the Temple (Luke 2:21–24): An Intertextual Reading in a Communicative Approach

Isaac Moreno Sanz

San Leandro Theological Institute, Spain  
morenosanz@itsanleandro.es

 <https://orcid.org/0009-0008-6628-0291>

---

**ABSTRACT:** The presentation in the Temple (Luke 2:21–24) is a key text for understanding Jesus' infancy. Through a rich intertextual dialogue, which includes the first two textual quotations from Luke, the importance of the Law of Moses in understanding the Messiah of Israel is shown. Circumcision, the naming, the offering, and the ransom of the firstborn form the first stages in the life of Jesus. The journey proposed starts from the text in its literary context, analysing textual cohesion and communicative coherence, and concluding with a pragmatic focus.

**KEYWORDS:** Gospel of Luke, Luke-Acts, Luke 2:21–24, intertextuality, Temple, presentation, pragma-linguistics

The presentation in the Temple (Luke 2:21–24) is a key text for understanding the infancy of Jesus. In this episode we find the first textual quotations from the work of Luke. Moreover, the intertextual dialogue is extended by the succession of Jewish rites: the circumcision, the imposition of the name, the presentation and the ransom of the firstborn.

The exegetical analyses of Luke 2:21–24 situate it as an introduction to the whole of the Presentation in the Temple.<sup>1</sup> Precisely for this reason, some authors<sup>2</sup> have considered it a transition, preamble, or preparation for the episode that takes place in the Temple, where Simeon takes centre stage (Luke 2:25–39). However, Luke, not given to improvisation and a skilful narrator,<sup>3</sup> offers the first verses of the episode (Luke 2:21–24) as the key to the reading of the whole (Luke 2:21–39). Through the dialogue with the Scriptures of Israel, he activates the reader's attention with the alternation of the actions (Luke 2:21–22) and of the motivation for which they are carried out (Luke 2:23–24). In this way, the intertextual dialogue flows continuously, not only with the high point of the explicit quotations,

---

1 Cf. A. García Serrano, *The Presentation in the Temple: The Narrative Function of Lk 2:22–39 in Luke-Acts* (AnBib 197; Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press 2012) 148–151.

2 Cf. J.M. García Pérez – M. Herranz Marco, *La infancia de Jesús según Lucas* (SSNT 6; Madrid: Encuentro – Fundación San Justino 2000).

3 Cf. I. Moreno Sanz, "Lucas, artesano de las palabras. Una aproximación a la estrategia comunicativa lucana a través de los diálogos y los discursos," *EstBib* 83/1 (2025) 51–68, <https://doi.org/10.60098/eb.25083.10003>.

but also with other references, which, as in the whole of the infancy narrative (Luke 1–2), require the reader's collaboration.

Thanks to the use of Scripture and the fulfilment of the precepts of the Law, the Lucan account provides, from the first moments of Jesus' life, the framework for understanding the main protagonist of the work. Therefore, it is not enough to identify quotations, allusions, echoes, and other intertextual references, but it is necessary to understand the communicative richness found in the Word of God. Through the confluence of skill and knowledge, Luke expresses the joy<sup>4</sup> of the newness of the Gospel, using the language of the past and fostering a continuous dialogue.

The present research explores the episode of the presentation in the Temple (Luke 2:21–24), emphasising the communicative strategies that construct a particular model reader in three main aspects. Firstly, it shows the theological importance of the Law of Moses; secondly, it highlights the readings and rereadings of the Scriptures in their different intertextual connections, which make the Lucan text resonate with authority and promote dialogue between the two Testaments; and, finally, it shows the relationship with the Jewish cult, between omissions and ambiguities, which focuses attention on the theological core. Thus, on the basis of the studies carried out, we propose a reading in a communicative key<sup>5</sup> that highlights the pragmatic articulation necessary for a Lukan understanding of the Messiah of Israel. The real readers, called to live from the holiness of the Saviour, find in the generosity of the offering and in the presentation of Jesus to the Father a model for their action in the Christian communities.

## 1. Literary Architecture: Between Text and Context

An understanding of the Lucan story requires an approach that takes into account both its internal architecture and its insertion into the narrative of the Gospel as a whole. The first hermeneutical step is to determine the precise limits of the passage. This delimitation allows us to recognise the literary coherence that articulates Luke 2:21–24 with the contiguous scenes, forming a narrative unity of theological meaning. From this perspective, the first scene is revealed as a key to the reading of the Lucan triptych (Luke 2:21–39), insofar as it anticipates theological and narrative motifs that will be developed later.

### 1.1. Delimitation, Unity, and Textual Criticism of Luke 2:21–24

The beginning of the first scene of the episode, known as the presentation in the Temple, is situated in Luke 2:21. Narratively, v. 21 acts as a bridge or hinge between the nativity scene and the shepherds' scene (2:1–20) and the three scenes which take place in the geographical

4 On the joy at the birth of Jesus, cf. J. Nagy, "Joy at the Birth of Christ: A Study of Matthew 2:10 and Luke 2:10," *BA* 15/3 (2025) 437–451, <https://doi.org/10.31743/ba.17901>.

5 Cf. M. Grilli – M. Guidi – E.M. Obara, *Comunicazione e pragmatica nell'esegesi biblica* (Lectio 10; Cinisello Balsamo: San Paolo 2016) 11–117.

setting of the Temple. The beginning of this episode is placed by some authors in v. 22, who, while recognising the connection between v. 21 and v. 22, for different reasons establish the beginning of the first scene in v. 22.<sup>6</sup> But syntactic, narrative, geographical, and chronological reasons allow us to fix the beginning of the episode in v. 21:

- (1) Verses 21a and 22a are practically syntactically identical, propitiating a syntactic connection between the two verses and playing a role of beginning terms.<sup>7</sup>
- (2) The parallel structure of v. 21a and v. 22a connects with v. 6b. Birth, circumcision, and presentation in the Temple are framed by the fulfilment (*πικρῶν*) of the prescribed time.<sup>8</sup>
- (3) The angels and shepherds (2:15, 20), while Mary, Joseph and the Child are still present in v. 21. In this way, the narrative continues, maintaining the connection with the previous episode through the characters: Jesus, Mary, and Joseph.
- (4) The geographical setting of the circumcision is not indicated in v. 21. It is not specified that it is the Temple or Jerusalem,<sup>9</sup> nor that it is Bethlehem, the place of the previous scene. In any case, the blurring of the geographical context serves to underline that the importance, both narratively and theologically, is in the fact of the circumcision, obviating the details of the place of the circumcision. In this way, geographical jumps between v. 21 and vv. 22–24 are avoided.
- (5) Finally, v. 21 indicates that eight days have already passed since the birth of Jesus, so that it moves it chronologically away from the birth (2:1–20).<sup>10</sup> The absence of accommodation in Bethlehem and the provisional nature of the place of the birth (2:7) suggest that eight days later the scene is different, although the text, which focuses attention on other elements, does not specifically indicate this.

The end of the first scene is established in v. 24 for narrative, morphological, geographical, and chronological reasons. Narratively, the expression *καὶ ἰδοὺ*, with which v. 25 begins, claims the reader's attention and serves to introduce new elements into the narrative.<sup>11</sup> The noun *ἀνθρώπος*, without article or pronoun, is frequently used to indicate progression in the narrative or to introduce a new character (cf. Luke 4:33; 6:6; 10:30; 14:2; 20:9).

In vv. 21–24, the use of the aorist predominates.<sup>12</sup> The first verb of v. 25 (*ἦν*) in the imperfect tense places the action in the background, describing the previous circumstances

6 Cf. García Serrano, *The Presentation in the Temple*, 148–151.

7 Cf. R. Meynet, *L'Évangile de Luc* (RhSem 8; Pendé: Gabalda 2011) 138.

8 Cf. J.B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1997) 141.

9 There were no regulations as to where circumcision was to be performed. Usually it was the father who performed it (Gen 21:4) although, on some occasions, it could be the mother (Exod 4:25) or another person (1 Mac 1:61), but it was not performed in the Temple, nor by a priest. Cf. García Serrano, *The Presentation in the Temple*, 149, note 5.

10 Cf. García Serrano, *The Presentation in the Temple*, 148–149.

11 Cf. F. Bovon, *El evangelio según san Lucas (Lc 1, 1–9, 50)* (BEB 85; Salamanca: Sígueme 1995) I, 204.

12 The aorist is the tense of 9 of the 13 verbs of Luke 2:21–24. None of these verbs is in the imperfect.

of Simeon,<sup>13</sup> who becomes the protagonist in the second scene (vv. 25–35). He is also the subject of the verbs that carry the weight of the narrative in vv. 25–28 and initiates in v. 29 the direct speech that concludes in v. 32.<sup>14</sup>

Geographically, the scene is explicitly situated from v. 22 in the city of Jerusalem.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, the city is named again in v. 25 as the place of Simeon's residence, establishing a connection between vv. 22–24 and vv. 25ff. However, the difference between the way Jerusalem is named in v. 22 (Ἱεροσόλυμα) and in v. 25 (Ἱερουσαλήμ) does not go unnoticed. Thus, Jerusalem as a geographical setting serves as the junction of the triptych, while the form used distances the first and second scenes.<sup>16</sup>

The greatest textual difficulty arises in v. 22 due to the different variants of the pronoun accompanying the noun καθαρισμός.<sup>17</sup> Of the different possibilities, αὐτῶν and αὐτοῦ constitute the *lectio difficilior*. The variant αὐτῶν is attested in both Alexandrian and Byzantine manuscripts. The variant αὐτῶν, proposed by NA,<sup>28</sup> the most widespread option since the third century, which is found in most of the main manuscripts and which establishes a greater connection with the context, should be maintained.<sup>18</sup>

13 Cf. A. Niccacci, "Dall'aoristo all'imperfetto, o dal primo piano allo sfondo: Un paragone tra sintassi greca e sintassi ebraica," *LA* 42 (1992) 90–97.

14 Through the use of the imperfect, vv. 25–26 are placed in the background, and do not coincide chronologically with the action that in vv. 27–28 takes place in the foreground. The Temple constitutes the geographical frame of the foreground and of the discourse and can only in a broad sense be understood as the frame of the background. Similarly, the temporal frame of the triptych, the forty days of the birth of the Child, is blurred in vv. 25–26, which situate the narrative in the background.

15 The centrality of the city of Jerusalem in the Lucan geography has often been pointed out, cf. J.B. Tyson, *Images of Judaism in Luke-Acts* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press 1992) 24.

16 Some authors have indicated that in Luke, the Hebrew form (Ἱερουσαλήμ), more frequent, places the city in a historical-salvific perspective, while the Greek form (Ἱεροσόλυμα) simply represents a geographical framework, cf. I. de La Potterie, "Les deux noms de Jérusalem dans l'évangile de Luc," *RSR* 69 (1981) 57–70. For a more comprehensive and recent study on this issue: cf. K. Mielcarek, *Ierusalem or Hierosolyma: Exploring the Semitic and Hellenistic Onomastic Notions in Luke's Work* (Lublin Theological Studies 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2023). From a diachronic perspective, J. Nolland, points out that the difference between Ἱεροσόλυμα and Ἱερουσαλήμ is due to the fact that vv. 22–24 were not originally joined to vv. 25–40, cf. J. Nolland, *Luke 1–9:20* (WBC 35a; Dallas, TX: Nelson Inc 1989) I, 117.

17 The four main variants are: αὐτῶν (B\*, N, A, Θ\*); αὐτοῦ (D, lat, sy<sup>s</sup>, sa<sup>ms</sup>; αὐτόν Θ\*); and texts where the pronoun is not picked up (435, pc, Bo, Ir<sup>at</sup>). F.H. Scrivener proposes to read αὐτῆς, following a single manuscript (76), of minor relevance, dated to the 12th–13th century. Even in this tiny manuscript the pronoun αὐτῆς does not appear, which is rather a solution devised by the editors of the Complutense in the 16th century, cf. XVI (F.H. Scrivener, *A Full and Exact Collation of About Twenty Greek Manuscripts of the Holy Gospels* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2009] 84; S. Muñoz Iglesias, *Los Evangelios de la Infancia. III. Nacimiento e infancia de Juan y Jesús en Lucas 1-2* [Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos 1987] 172–177).

18 The plural form of the third person pronoun 'theirs', would have to refer to Joseph and Mary, because they are the implied subjects of the verb ἀνήγαγον, 'they carried': 'They [i.e., his parents] carried him to Jerusalem.' However, already from the time of Origen many commentators have understood αὐτῶν as a reference to Mary and Jesus, rather than the reference to Mary and Joseph, cf. J.A. Fitzmyer, *Evangelio según san Lucas. II. Traducción y comentarios, capítulos 1–8,21* (Madrid: Cristiandad 1986) 251. In short, for the time being, it can be

## 1.2. The Triptych (Luke 2:21–39)

Luke 2:21–24 is a scene and not a simple introduction.<sup>19</sup> In fact, the first scene provides essential information and content for the development of the triptych, indicating the key to the reading: the fulfilment of the Law.<sup>20</sup>

Luke 2:21–39 is divided into three parts or scenes, linked by the geographical framework of the Temple of Jerusalem and differentiated by the presence of various characters.<sup>21</sup> In the first scene, vv. 21–24, the characters are the parents and the Child, and it is the narrator's voice that drives the action. In the second scene, vv. 25–35, the same characters as in the first scene are retained and Simeon is introduced, the main thread of these verses. As already indicated, the scene unfolds on different levels: background (vv. 25–26), foreground (vv. 27–28, 33–34a), and direct speech (vv. 29–32, 34b–35). In the third and final scene, vv. 36–38, the narrator again conducts the narrative on two planes: background (vv. 36–37) and foreground (v. 38). The prophetess Anna, the protagonist of the scene, addresses the audience to speak of the Child and, unlike Simeon, her direct speech is not recorded.<sup>22</sup> Finally, v. 39 is the conclusion of the presentation in the Temple, indicating the return to Nazareth.<sup>23</sup>

The triptych begins with the narration of elements that the reader can expect in the context of the infancy narrative.<sup>24</sup> In contrast, the second and third scenes narrate events that produce surprise and amazement (v. 33), caused by the Holy Spirit in the case of Simeon (vv. 25–27) and that provoke praise to God in the case of Anna (v. 38). It can be said that the whole episode combines the ordinary and the extraordinary; the expected and the unexpected; faithfulness to the Law and openness to the Spirit.

---

affirmed that the text refers to the 'purification' of two persons: the purification of the mother and the rescue of the son, cf. García Serrano, *The Presentation in the Temple*, 153–155. Also reading *αὐτῶν*, S. Muñoz Iglesias raises a different possibility of interpretation based on a hypothetical Hebrew text underlying Luke 1–2. The third person pronoun would not accompany *τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ*, but rather *αἱ ἡμέραι [αὐτῶν]*. With this interpretation, 'when the days of purification were fulfilled, the textual problem would find a plausible explanation on the basis of a debatable hypothesis. Cf. Muñoz Iglesias, *Los Evangelios de la infancia*, III, 175–177. Certainly, the language used in the infancy narrative poses many difficulties which have been exhaustively studied. Nevertheless, most contemporary authors rule out the possibility of a missing original Hebrew text, of which Luke 1–2 would be a Greek translation later incorporated into the Gospel as a whole and not a text originally composed in Greek with Semitic influences primarily through the LXX, cf. C.-W. Jung, *The Original Language of the Lukan Infancy Narrative* (JSNTSup 267; London – New York: Clark 2004) 208–216.

19 By indicating that vv. 21–24 constitute an introduction or an 'introductory section', the focus is on the following two sections, making it impossible to read these verses as a true scene within the whole episode. Cf. Fitzmyer, *Evangelio según san Lucas*, II, 241–242.

20 Cf. García Serrano, *The Presentation in the Temple*, 169–170.

21 Cf. M. Crimella (ed.), *Luca: Introduzione, traduzione e commento* (NVBTA 39; Cinisello Balsamo: San Paolo 2015) 79.

22 Cf. Bovon, *El evangelio según san Lucas*, I, 198–199.

23 The return to the place of origin is common at the end of the various scenes of Luke 1–2, cf. 1:23, 38, 56; 2:20, 51.

24 Cf. Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 138.

The changes of scene are produced, as already indicated, by the departure and entry of characters other than Mary, Joseph, and the Child, who remain throughout the episode. In the first scene, the narrator recounts the fulfilment of the Law (vv. 21, 22) and, at the same time, lends his voice to the quotations from the Scriptures of Israel (vv. 23, 24), which he introduces appropriately into the scene as a whole. Only in the second scene is the voice of one character, Simeon, heard (vv. 29–32, 34b–35), while in the first and third scenes only the narrator's voice is heard, focusing on different protagonists.

As in the musical realm, the key can be changed during the course of the work if the composer deems it necessary. However, the fulfilment of what the Law prescribes about the Child, the broad synthesis of the first scene, is repeated in the second scene (v. 27) and, functioning as an inclusion, the narrator confirms in the conclusion that it has been carried out as prescribed (v. 39).

The reading key does not mean that it is the only theme of the triptych; rather, it indicates the tone in which the episode should be read so that the three scenes sound harmoniously. In this way, the reader will be able to hear with greater force themes of theological weight which will be taken up again throughout the work of Luke: the 'today' of salvation;<sup>25</sup> Jesus as saviour;<sup>26</sup> the recipients of salvation;<sup>27</sup> the astonishment caused by Jesus.<sup>28</sup>

By highlighting the first scene (vv. 21–24) as a key to the reading of the triptych as a whole, not only its communicative importance is highlighted, but also its specific study is justified. For this approach, we do not disregard its connection with the whole episode<sup>29</sup> (Luke 2:21–39), nor with the remote co-text (Luke 1–2). Indeed, Luke 2:21–24 is understood within the literary co-text, near and remote, which sheds light on the scene, just as vv. 21–24 provide elements necessary for the understanding of the co-text.

## 2. The Threads of the Fabric: Textual Cohesion and Coherence

The linguistic connection (lexical and grammatical) between the parts of the pericope, and the communicative coherence, make it possible to understand the text as a whole. Both elements determine textual cohesion, which is defined by the following aspects.

25 Cf. M. Grilli, *L'opera di Luca. I. Il Vangelo del viandante* (Biblica; Bologna: EDB 2012) 31–32.

26 Luke is the evangelist who most frequently uses the title *σωτήρ* referring to Jesus (Luke 1:47; 2:11; Acts 5:31; 13:23) and salvation is one of his recurring themes (Luke 1:69, 71, 77; 2:30; 19:9). Luke-Acts is framed by salvation in reference to Jesus, universal Saviour (Luke 2:30; 3:6; Acts 28:28).

27 Cf. D. Marguerat – E. Steffek, "L'avvento della salvezza universale in Luca-Atti," *Una salvezza a misura dell'universo. Scritti in onore di Gérard Rossé* (ed. G. Ibba) (Per-corsi di Sophia 3; Roma: Città Nuova 2015) 139–162; Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 139.

28 Cf. García Serrano, *The Presentation in the Temple*, 161.

29 Cf. H. Hendrickx, *The Infancy Narratives* (Studies in the Synoptic Gospels; London: Chapman 1984) 105.

## 2.1. Dramatic Elements of Cohesion and Coherence

As has been shown, the circumcision and naming (v. 21) and the purification, presentation of Jesus in the Temple and rescue of the firstborn (vv. 22–24)<sup>30</sup> have often been read and interpreted autonomously or simply as a Lucan redactional introduction preparing the scenes of Simeon and Anna (vv. 25–38).<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, it is not difficult to recognise the literary unity of 2:21–24, especially from the use of dramatic criteria.<sup>32</sup>

The scene is divided into two moments or passages, vv. 21 and vv. 22–24, collected by Luke within the same time interval, so that they can be read together.<sup>33</sup> Verset 21 situates the action ‘eight days’ after the birth, thus moving away from the previous scene. Verses 22 and 24 place the action ‘when the days of purification were fulfilled’, that is, forty days after the birth.<sup>34</sup> Meanwhile, vv. 22b–23 contain elements referring to the rescue of the firstborn, which took place thirty days after the birth and therefore before the purification.<sup>35</sup> These apparent inaccuracies in time serve to unify the elements that take place from eight to forty days after the birth, thus unifying v. 21 and vv. 22–24.

The geographical setting is not defined in v. 21. On the one hand, the passage of time moves it away from the place of birth, the manger (2:7), although it does not indicate that it still remains in Bethlehem.<sup>36</sup> It is only implicitly separated from Jerusalem.<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, v. 22 and v. 24 would take place in Jerusalem, although the narrative does not record the development of the action, but rather the fulfilment of the command.<sup>38</sup> The rescue of

30 The quotation in Luke 2:23b from Exod 13:2, 12, 15 refers to the rescue of the firstborn, while v. 24b quotes Lev 12:8, referring to the purification of the mother, but by its placement, gives the impression that it also includes the Child. Cf. A. Rodríguez Carmona, *Evangelio según San Lucas* (CoPa 28; Madrid: BAC 2014) 44.

31 Cf. R.E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*, 2 ed. (ABRL; New York: Doubleday 1993) 432.

32 Cf. T. Stramare, “La circoncisione di Gesù. Significato esegetico e teologico,” *BeO* 26 (1984) 195.

33 Cf. Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 141.

34 Cf. Nolland, *Luke*, I, 117.

35 Cf. Y.S. Ariel, “Still Ransoming the First-Born Sons? Pidyon Habben and Its Survival in the Jewish Tradition,” *Human Sacrifice in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (eds. K. Finsterbusch – A. Lange – K.F. Diethard Römheld) (SHR 112; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2007) 313–314. The rescue of the firstborn, which the narrator alludes to but does not describe, takes place in the month of the birth, in memory of the last plague of Egypt, when God did not punish the firstborn Israelites. There is no indication that it is to take place in the Temple, cf. Rodríguez Carmona, *Evangelio según San Lucas*, 44.

36 Cf. García Serrano, *The Presentation in the Temple*, 149, note 5.

37 Circumcision stands out theologically because of its link to God’s covenant with his people. It used to take place in the domestic sphere, although more emphasis is placed on the date (‘eighth day’, cf. Gen 17:10–13; Lev 12:3; Luke 1:59; 2:21; Acts 7:8) than on the place, cf. L.D. Chrupcala, “Fede e opere in Luca: il caso della circoncisione,” *LA* 61 (2011) 97–104; D.T. Olson, “Circumcision: Hebrew Bible/Old Testament,” *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception. V. Charisma – Czaczkes* (eds. D.C. Allison Jr. – C. Helmer) (Berlin – New York – Boston, MA: De Gruyter – Brill 2012) 324.

38 Cf. M. Coleridge, *The Birth of the Lukan Narrative: Narratives as Christology in Luke 1–2* (JSNTSup 88; Sheffield: JSOT 1993) 159.

the firstborn,<sup>39</sup> vv. 22b–23, is not linked to the Temple, but rather to the domestic sphere.<sup>40</sup> With these ambiguities, Luke blurs the territorial margins of vv. 21–24, accentuating the literary framework, which is none other than the Scriptures of Israel.

The narrator's voice serves to unify vv. 21–24 and, at the same time, contributes to the internal coherence of the text under analysis. Indeed, the narrator's voice is the only one that is heard, conducting the scene without direct speeches from the characters involved.<sup>41</sup> The only voices other than the narrator's are found in the quotations from the Scriptures of Israel (vv. 23b, 24b). These voices, indeed this voice, maintains a similar tone to the other allusions and echoes in vv. 21–24. This voice is also that of Moses, the only character besides Jesus mentioned by name in these verses (v. 22) and the protagonist of the quotations in their original co-texts (vv. 23, 24). In this way, the narrator shows coherence in the narrative: one and the same voice in which already known voices resound.

## 2.2. Morpho-Syntactic Elements of Cohesion and Coherence

In vv. 21–22, the narrator leads the narrative by means of a long, uninterrupted chain of aorists (8x), which maintain the main level of the narrative. The aorist infinitive of v. 24, *δοῦναι*, is the foreground verb, which connects the end of the first scene with the beginning of the second scene (vv. 21–22).

The explicit quotations in vv. 23b and 24b show a certain timelessness through the use of different verb tenses.<sup>42</sup> For an instant, the narrative stops and the reader is explicitly led to link what is happening with the Scriptures of Israel, whereas in the preceding verses the connection has been made by allusions and echoes.

The threefold mention of 'the Law' in these verses (vv. 22a, 23a, 24a) constitutes an element of internal harmony of the scene and of the triptych.<sup>43</sup> The noun *νόμος* appears in three of the four verses which, together with the implicit references to the Law, bind the text together and show it to the reader as a coherent whole.<sup>44</sup>

Finally, the repetition of the verb *καλέω* on three occasions should be noted: twice in v. 21 and once in v. 23. The forms *ἐκλήθη* (v. 21) and *κληθήσεται* (v. 23) are connected by the passive voice, although they differ in tense, aorist and future, respectively. The aorist noun participle,<sup>45</sup> *κληθέν*, is found between both verb forms of the verb *καλέω* and con-

39 On the validity of the performance of such a rite in the first century A.D., cf. Fitzmyer, *Evangelio según san Lucas*, II, 252.

40 Cf. Ariel, "Still Ransoming the First-Born Sons?" 313–314.

41 Cf. E. Galbiati, "La circoncisione di Gesù (Lk 2,21)," *BeO* 8 (1966) 38.

42 The requirement of the quotation propitiates the passage from the perfect (*γέγραπται*) to the future (*κληθήσεται*), in an action that is fulfilled in the present of the narrative.

43 Cf. Fitzmyer, *Evangelio según san Lucas*, II, 245.

44 Cf. M.W. Koehne, *The Septuagintal Isaianic Use of Nomos in the Lukan Presentation Narrative* (Diss. Marquette University; Milwaukee, WI 2010) 37.

45 Cf. M.C. Parsons – M.M. Culy – J.J. Stigall, *Luke: A Handbook on the Greek Text* (Baylor Handbook on the Greek New Testament; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press 2010) 78.

nects with the angel's command to Mary (καί καλέσεις τό ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν, Luke 1:31b). The use of the participle contributes, in turn, to give greater dynamism to v. 21 and to the scene as a whole.

### 2.3. Cohesion and Coherence in the Articulation of the Scene

The dramatic and syntactic elements, which have been pointed out above, show the coherence and cohesion of the scene. Verses 21–24 are divided into two interrelated steps with common elements at the syntactic, lexical, and thematic levels. In the first step (v. 21), Jesus is the passive protagonist who receives the two actions: the circumcision (v. 21a) and the imposition of the name (v. 21b). The second step (vv. 22–24) is further divided into two moments: the purification (vv. 22a, 24) and the presentation and rescue of the firstborn (vv. 22b–23).

The connection between the first step (v. 21a) and the second (v. 22a) is established by the use of the same syntactical scheme. The repetition of two temporal subordinate propositions<sup>46</sup> with the same beginning καί ὅτε, in a marked Semitic style, are intended to provide a chronological framework for the action which, although at first appears precise, a close look will reveal it to be relatively ambiguous. Another connection between v. 21 and v. 22 is shown in the supposed passivity of Jesus. Indeed, both verses show Jesus as the recipient of actions, in the case of v. 22, especially of the verbs ἀνάγω and παρίστημι which imply movement. The aorist infinitive παραστῆσαι, as the context indicates, refers to the Child rather than to the offering,<sup>47</sup> which is presented before the Lord.

The name of Jesus is mentioned a second time (v. 21b) in the infancy narrative, after the angel's announcement (1:31).<sup>48</sup> In contrast to other infancy narratives of illustrious characters, the protagonist's own name does not appear in the first lines, but only after several characters have been introduced.<sup>49</sup> The second step links with the first one through the

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Meynet, *L'Évangile de Luc*, 128.

<sup>47</sup> The verb of the main proposition ἀνήγαγον has as its direct object the third person singular accusative masculine pronoun αὐτόν, which refers to Jesus. Verse 23 refers to the firstborn, Jesus. The translation proposed by J.M. García Pérez and M. Herranz Marco would be the following: 'they went up with him [with the Child] to Jerusalem to rescue him from the Lord.' This reading is based on the disputed hypothesis of a Hebrew original of the infancy narrative. According to the authors, the anomalies in the Greek text did not exist in the original Hebrew. Cf. García Pérez – Herranz Marco, *La infancia de Jesús según Lucas*, 88–90. However, with the majority of commentators, the usual translation of the verb παρίστημι as 'to bring near, to bring near, to present' which can also mean 'to offer, to make something available' will be chosen.

<sup>48</sup> The angel had already used the name (Luke 1:31), but it had not yet been conceived, so that 2:21 is the first time that Jesus is intentionally called by name. Until now, the Child has been called by other titles such as: son of the Most High (1:32), son of God (1:35), Saviour, Christ the Lord (2:11), cf. Stramare, "La circoncisione di Gesù," 197–198. The Christological titles are presented even before the proper name, which functions as both name and title.

<sup>49</sup> Note the contrast with the beginning of *The Life of Moses* by Philo of Alexandria, where the name of the protagonist appears at the beginning of the narrative: 'I begin from where it is necessary to begin. Moses was of Chaldean stock [...]; cf. Filone di Alessandria, *De vita Mosis. Testo greco a fronte* (trans. M. Baretta) (Rimini: Guaraldi 2017) 22.

pronoun αὐτόν (v. 21a and v. 22b), which refers to Jesus (v. 21b) as direct object and to his parents as implied subjects of the verb ἀνήγαγον (v. 22b). Jesus becomes the passive subject of three actions: circumcision, naming, and presentation before the Lord.<sup>50</sup>

A second proper name, hitherto unknown in the Gospel, appears in the scene: Μωϋσῆς (v. 22a). The genitive Μωϋσέως accompanies κατά τόν νόμον<sup>51</sup> and is replaced by κυρίου in the nominal syntagm ἐν [τῷ] νόμῳ<sup>52</sup> (vv. 23a, 24a). Thus, both Μωϋσέως and κυρίου can function as a genitive of origin,<sup>53</sup> indicating where the governing term comes from, but also as a genitive of belonging, indicating to whom the accompanying term<sup>54</sup> belongs. The cohesion of the scene is maintained in the repetition of the noun νόμος, while coherence continues by means of relation between Μωϋσῆς and κύριος.

The theme of the Law runs through both steps, implicitly (v. 21) and explicitly (vv. 22–24). The first step presupposes the knowledge of the Law and records the observance of the precepts. The second step records the citations of the precepts (vv. 23b, 24b) and names the Law three times (vv. 22a, 23a, 24a). Thus, the Law becomes the backbone that unifies the structure of the scene: the Law is fulfilled (v. 21), the Law is remembered (vv. 22a, 23a, 24a), and the Law is quoted (vv. 23b, 24b). Action, remembrance and reading constitute a narrative and reflective *crescendo* which, by interrelating, bring together the different moments of the first scene of the triptych. In this way, the necessary space is created for the reader to get to know and ‘re-know’ the first steps of Jesus’ life in relation to the Scriptures of Israel.<sup>55</sup>

### 3. The Scriptures in Dialogue: The Intertextuality of Luke 2:21–24

The dialogue between the author and the Scriptures of Israel is determined by the strategic placement of the explicit quotations (vv. 23b and 24b) and by the echoes and allusions to them present in vv. 21–22.

50 With verbs in the passive voice and the omission of the parents in the foreground, the importance of the relationship with God, rather than with Mary and Joseph, is shown, cf. Coleridge, *The Birth of the Lukan Narrative*, 153–154.

51 The construction κατά τόν νόμον Μωϋσέως is a typically Lucan expression, cf. J. Jeremias, *Die Sprache des Lukasevangeliums: Redaktion und Tradition im Nicht-Markusstoff des dritten Evangeliums* (KKNT; Göttingen: Sonderband 1980) 90.

52 This noun phrase, with or without the article, has a locative function, cf. Parsons – Culy – Stigall, *Luke*, 80.

53 Cf. Parsons – Culy – Stigall, *Luke*, 80–81.

54 Although in theory the distinction between the genitive of origin and the genitive of ownership is clear, in context it is more complex. This shows the close relationship between the origin and the ownership of the Law, which belongs both to Moses and to the Lord. Cf. F. Poggi, *Curso avanzado de griego del Nuevo Testamento* (IEB 22; Estella: EVD 2012) 48–49.

55 Cf. Coleridge, *The Birth of the Lukan Narrative*, 226.

### 3.1. The Formal Characteristics of the Quotations

The first explicit quotation is introduced by the formula *καθώς γέγραπται ἐν νόμῳ κυρίου ὅτι* (2:23a). This formal introduction, with three distinct elements,<sup>56</sup> prepares the reader to identify the quotation. Regardless of the dependence on an earlier source, the variety of introductory formulas is largely due to the narrative skill of the author, who uses different resources according to the demands of the story.<sup>57</sup>

Studies on the dependence of Luke 2:23b on the LXX version of Exod 13:2 or 13:12, or even 13:15, have not reached a satisfactory agreement.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, the dependence on the Exodus text is clear and can be defined as a formal quotation, both by the introductory formula and by the content of the quotation itself. The narrative freedom of the author, who up to this point has not quoted any text from the Scriptures of Israel, may explain that in the first quotation, he puts theological meaning before similarity to its source, just as his narrative qualities<sup>59</sup> stand out over legal precision.<sup>60</sup>

The second quotation from the first scene is found in v. 24b. On this occasion, the introductory formula is: *κατά τό εἰρημένον ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κυρίου*. The noun participle *τό εἰρημένον*, of the verb *λέγω*, employs the same perfect tense<sup>61</sup> of *γέγραπται* in v. 23b. The preposition *κατά* and the syntagm *ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κυρίου* connect with *κατά τόν νόμον Μωϋσέως* (v. 22a), as well as with the introductory formula of the previous quotation (v. 23a). The changes in the introductory formula are due to narrative reasons, favouring a greater fluidity in the reading. The quotation of Lev 12:8 in v. 24b reproduces literally the text of the LXX.

Both of these quotations, as well as the other references to precepts and customs reflected in vv. 21–24, show the author's concern: 'The narrator is more concerned with the focus of the narrative than with an accurate account of Mosaic law.'<sup>62</sup> In other words,

56 The subordinating conjunction *καθώς* and the verb *γέγραπται*; the nominal syntagm *ἐν νόμῳ κυρίου*; and the particle *ὅτι*.

57 Cf. Jung, *The Original Language*, 68–69, note 27.

58 A. García Serrano opts for the prevalence of Exod 13:2. Verse 23b quotes freely *ἀγιασόν μοι πᾶν πρωτότοκον πρωτογενές διανοίγον πᾶσαν μήτραν* (Exod 13:2). Luke adds *ἄρσεν* taken from Exod 13:12 and changes the imperative *ἀγιασόν μοι το ἅγιον τῷ κυρίῳ κληθήσεται*. Cf. García Serrano, *The Presentation in the Temple*, 163. According to C.-W. Jung, Luke depends on Exod 13:12 which softens some difficult expressions in the LXX text like *πᾶν διανοίγον μήτραν τά ἄρσενικά* (Exod 13:12) and stresses the holiness of the Child, omitting some irrelevant part (*πᾶν διανοίγον μήτραν ἐκ τῶν βουκολίων ἢ ἐν τοῖς κτήνεσίν σου ὅσα ἐάν γένηται σοι τά ἄρσενικά*) and adding the verb *καλέω*, cf. Jung, *The Original Language*, 84. The identification with Exod 13:15 is less frequent. Finally, some authors hypothesise that the author intended to summarise Exod 13:2, 12, 15, cf. I.H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Exeter: Eerdmans 1978) 117; D.L. Bock, *Luke. I. 1:1–9:50* (BECNT 3a; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 1994) 237.

59 Cf. Jung, *The Original Language*, 102–103.

60 'The presence of the child was not necessary for the purification of the mother, and furthermore the ransom of the firstborn was not tied to the Temple' (Bovon, *El evangelio según san Lucas*, I, 203).

61 The use of the perfect tense can help to highlight the meaning of the biblical quotation, C.R. Campbell, *Verbal Aspect, the Indicative Mood, and Narrative: Soundings in the Greek of the New Testament* (SBG 13; New York: Lang 2007) 208–209.

62 Coleridge, *The Birth of the Lukan Narrative*, 160.

Luke's focus is not on narrating what they do, but rather why they do it and the results of their actions.<sup>63</sup>

### 3.2. The Quotations in Their Original Co-Texts

The co-text of the text quoted in Luke 2:23b (Exod 13:2, 12, 15) is a divine oracle (Exod 13:1–16), where God gives instructions to Moses about the firstborn<sup>64</sup> (vv. 1–2), which he transmits to the people<sup>65</sup> (vv. 11–16), adding the feast of unleavened bread (vv. 3–10). Moses' speech is set on the day of the departure from Egypt (v. 3) and begins with an invitation to remembrance.<sup>66</sup> The role Moses plays in Exod 13:1–16 is that of mediator between Israel and YHWH and, by extension, the mediator between men and God, an essential role that remains in biblical memory.<sup>67</sup>

The second quotation, Luke 2:24b, refers to Lev 12:8, which deals with the impurity and purification of the woman at the time of childbirth. At the end of the forty days, the mother is to bring as an offering to the priest a lamb, a turtledove and a young pigeon (v. 6) to be offered for her before the Lord so that she may be purified (v. 7).<sup>68</sup> The original context of the quotation from Luke 2:24b refers to the mother's lack of resources.<sup>69</sup> Thus, v. 8 offers the possibility for mothers of limited financial means to present an alternative sacrifice. Neither impurity nor poverty excludes the mother from the relationship with God and the community. Thus, the prescriptions of Lev 12:1–8 about purification after childbirth become a special grace of God to protect the weak, especially those who, because of poverty, are even more vulnerable.<sup>70</sup>

63 Cf. Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, 140.

64 References to the giving, sanctification or ransoming of the firstborn are frequent in the Torah, cf. Exod 13:2, 12, 15; 28:28; 34:19; Lev 27:26–27; Num 18:15; Deut 15:19–23; G. Brin, *Studies in Biblical Law: From the Hebrew Bible to the Dead Sea Scrolls* (JSNTSup 176; Sheffield: Clark 1994) 174, 210–212.

65 The practical indications about the ransom of the firstborn, i.e. the time in which it was to be performed (in the month after birth) and the manner of doing it (five shekels of silver), are not found in this text, but are specified in Num 18:15–16, cf. C.L. Meyers, *Exodus* (NCBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2005) 102; Brin, *Studies in Biblical Law*, 177–178.

66 Remembrance serves to look to the past – what happened – but also to the future – what will happen – as is shown by the response the father will henceforth give to the son in explaining and transmitting the faith (vv. 8, 14), which is repeated in both parts of Moses' speech and which constitutes the theological core of the speech. Cf. B.S. Childs, *El libro del Éxodo. Comentario crítico y teológico* (Nueva Biblia Española; Estella: EVD 2003) 220–221.

67 Cf. R.S. Hendel, "The Exodus in Biblical Memory," *JBL* 120/4 (2001) 618–619.

68 Cf. S.E. Balentine, *Levitico* (Strumenti 44; Torino: Caludiana 2008) 129–130.

69 Both the Masoretic Text and the LXX indicate both the verb with the third person feminine singular suffix (שָׁחַתָּה) and the feminine pronoun (אִתָּךְ). Thus it is clearly indicated that both impurity and sacrifice, as well as the inability to acquire the established offering, were the responsibility of the mother. Cf. J.W. Watts, *Ritual and Rhetoric in Leviticus: From Sacrifice to Scripture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007) 134–135.

70 Cf. D. Tidball, *The Message of Leviticus: Free to the Holy* (BST.OTS; Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic 2005) 161–163.

### 3.3. Dialogue between the Texts

The universality of the precept of Exod 13:2, 12, 15 continues with the adjective *πᾶς* (Luke 2:23b), which is found in the LXX translating the Hebrew *כֻּלּוֹ*. Thus, the precept affects all Israelites, without exception, from the day Israel left Egypt. The reference to the firstborn is maintained by the construction *ἄρσεν διανοῖγον μήτραν* (Luke 2:23b), which links the new-born male with the mother's womb. The author maintains this twist, but could have simplified it grammatically with the term *πρωτότοκος*, which he has already used in 2:7 referring to Jesus.<sup>71</sup> In this way, by using the more complex construction, he comes closer to the text of Exod 13:12, especially in the LXX version.

Both the birds and the quantity, 'a pair of turtledoves or two young pigeons', are identical in Lev 12:8 and Luke 2:24b. On the other hand, the offering is the same as in Num 6:10 in the case of the contamination of the nazir, a vow of consecration to the Lord (Num 6:8). Formally, the offering shows the relationship between consecration to the Lord and purification by means of these two species of birds – turtledove and pigeon – which in the Scriptures of Israel appear intimately linked to the sacrifice.<sup>72</sup>

The reformulation of Exod 13:2, 12 in Luke 2:23b removes some difficult expressions from the text, combining both verses. However, the main change is to stress the holiness of the Child (*ἄγιον κληθήσεται*) and to specify the relationship with the Lord (*τῷ κυρίῳ*),<sup>73</sup> thus the Child enters into a special relationship with the Lord. Finally, the future tense,<sup>74</sup> the passive voice and the third person of *κληθήσεται* underline the timelessness of the statement which transcends the limits of the narrative.

Luke 2:24b records only the object of the sacrifice with the two possibilities, but omits the rest of Lev 12:8. The information is confined to the centre of Lev 12:8, omitting the beginning of the conditional proposition: 'if it is not enough for him to present a lesser animal.' Likewise, it also omits the rest of the verse: the specification of the purpose of each animal, 'one for the burnt offering and one for the sin offering'; and the concluding formula that indicates the success of the purification, 'and the priest shall perform the rite of atonement for it, and it shall be pure.' With the reference to the animals of the offering in Luke 2:24b, the author leaves it to the reader to complete the information in Lev 12:8 concerning the poverty of the offerers.<sup>75</sup> In the quoted text, there is only a lexical change in replacing the cardinal adjective *δύο* ('two') by *ζεύγος* ('a pair'), due to a greater fluidity and narrative quality, avoiding the repetition of *δύο* by replacing it with a synonym.

71 Cf. Bovon, *El evangelio según san Lucas*, I, 203.

72 Cf. Fitzmyer, *Evangelio según san Lucas*, II, 254.

73 The Masoretic Text of Exod 13:2 employs the verb *שָׂרַף*, which the LXX translates by the imperative form of *ἀγιάλω*. On the other hand, v. 12 employs the verb *עָבַר*, which the LXX translate by *ἀφαιρέω*.

74 At the grammatical level, *κληθήσεται* (v. 23b) moves away from the imperative of Exod 13:2 *νόσατ'ἄ/שָׂרַף* towards the future of Exod 13:12 in the LXX version (*ἀφελείς*), which translates the *w-qatalti* with future value from the Masoretic Text (*תִּבְרַבְּהוּ*), cf. P. Joüon – T. Muraoka, *Gramática de Hebreo bíblico* (IEB 18; Estella: EVD 2007) § 119. Thus, *κληθήσεται* (v. 23b) functions as a future of order, frequent for quotations from the Scriptures of Israel, cf. Poggi, *Curso avanzado de griego del Nuevo Testamento*, 136.

75 Cf. Nolland, *Luke*, I, 118.

### 3.4. Other Intertextual Connections

Connections to the Scriptures of Israel in the infancy narrative are a constant resource. The author connects in various ways with the memory, traditions and precepts of the Jewish community. Luke 2:21–24 skilfully traces a warp of connections with the Scriptures of Israel.

The first element of the scene that connects the two Testaments is circumcision (2:21a). In Gen 17:10–11, 13, circumcision is defined as בְּרִית עוֹלָם, ‘everlasting covenant’, and as אֹת בְּרִית, ‘the sign of the covenant’, between God, Abraham, and his descendants.<sup>76</sup> As a sign, circumcision has the function of showing incorporation into the community of Israel and of reminding the Hebrews of the obligations and benefits of the covenant with YHWH.<sup>77</sup> For Luke, who narrates the historical unfolding of God’s salvific plan, the circumcision of Jesus marks the beginning of the messianic fulfilment of God’s plan, which had its starting point in YHWH’s covenant with Abraham and the promises made to his descendants.<sup>78</sup> Circumcision, as it appears in the infancy narrative, not only inserts Jesus into the realm of the Law, but, above all, involves Jesus in the covenant, showing historically how Jesus is the ‘yes’ to God’s promises.<sup>79</sup>

The second connection, also within the first step, the imposition of the name (v. 21b), takes up a recurring theme in Israel’s Scriptures. As in the case of John the Baptist (1:59) it appears linked to circumcision (v. 21a). In the economy of historical revelation, where deeds and words are closely linked, the rite of Jesus’ circumcision is interpreted by Luke in relation to the name of Jesus.<sup>80</sup> The name Ἰησοῦς, literally ‘YHWH saves’, is initially a word that moves from being a promise in the Scriptures of Israel to becoming a reality in the Gospel: ‘if the name indicates the task to be performed by the person, by the will of God, the Child Jesus will be a saviour.’<sup>81</sup> By imposing the name, the parents of Jesus<sup>82</sup> are obedient to the words of the angel sent by God, or, in other words, to the words of God. In the next step, within the same scene (vv. 22–24), it is narrated how the parents of Jesus, and therefore Jesus himself, are obedient to the Law of Moses, or, in other words, to the Law of the Lord.<sup>83</sup>

76 Circumcision and covenant appear intertwined and linked to the promise of offspring, cf. Stramare, “La circoncisione di Gesù,” 196.

77 Cf. Chrupcala, “Fede e opere in Luca,” 91.

78 Jesus’ circumcision has given rise to radically different interpretations, cf. A.S. Jacobs, “Dialogical Differences: (De-)Judaizing Jesus’ Circumcision,” *J ECS* 15/3 (2007) 310–330.

79 Cf. Stramare, “La circoncisione di Gesù,” 200.

80 Cf. Stramare, “La circoncisione di Gesù,” 201–203.

81 Rodríguez Carmona, *Evangelio según San Lucas*, 44.

82 The role of Jesus’ parents in v. 21 is moderately passive. If the narrator had wanted to underline the execution of the angel’s command he would not have used the impersonal ‘was called’ (ἐκλήθη). Understood as a theological passive, it stresses the divine origin of the name, relativising the active role of Joseph in Matthew’s Gospel (Matt 1:21, 25) and of Mary within Luke’s own infancy narrative (Luke 1:31).

83 Cf. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah*, 433.

#### 4. Conclusions: The Pragmatic Approach

The analysis has shown that the reader of the Lucan infancy narrative is called upon to connect Jesus with the Law of Moses, especially when it is mentioned directly, but not only then. In this way, the necessary elements are given for the relationship between the two Testaments according to a dialogical reading. Thus, by way of conclusion, the meaning and scope of the intertextual games, the veiled allusions and the other suggested connections will be shown, giving a new impulse to the semantic understanding of the text, establishing the pragmatic elements and their possible responses.

##### 4.1. He Was Called by Name Jesus; He Will Be Called a Saint

The imposition of the name on Jesus<sup>84</sup> (Luke 2:21b) connects with the imposition of the name on John by Zacharias (1:59–66) and with the angel's command to Jesus' mother (1:31). Through the use of a future tense, *καλέσεις*, with the value of an imperative,<sup>85</sup> Gabriel, in a directive act,<sup>86</sup> indicates to Mary the name of the Child, making his words sound in the text like the voice of God who has sent him in her name (1:26). In this way, the origin of the name of Jesus is not to be found in the parents, nor even in the angel, but in God himself.

The divine origin of both the name of Jesus and the name of John underlines the intervention of God in their respective missions and, at the same time, guarantees the reality of the meaning of these names: that God will have mercy on his people (John) and that he will save them (Jesus).<sup>87</sup> The theological significance of God's intervention in naming continues in the meaning of the name, that is, it is a continuing promise of salvation to his people. The name is not just a word, but a person, Jesus, and at the same time, it becomes a Christological title, a promise of God to his people. The real readers, whenever they read John's name, should not remember a character from the past, but an ever-present mercy; the mercy of God the Father who through the Son, Jesus, has saved and continues to save his people.

84 In the naming of Jesus (2:21) we do not find direct speech but the words of the narrator who, sharply, employs the passive voice of the verb *καλέω*. Although the declarative act is not direct as in John's case, the consequences of it are: the imposition of the name has effects on the Child, it changes his state. By imposing a name on him a double effect is produced, firstly, the Child, who until now had been designated as *πρωτότοκος* (2:7) *βρέφος* (2:12, 16) *παιδίον* (2:17) comes to have a proper name: *Ἰησοῦς*. Secondly, this name, being recognised by the community, constitutes his proper name and, at the same time, a continuous Christological title pronounced in unison by the evangelist and by the community that reads and listens to the Gospel.

85 Cf. Parsons – Culy – Stigall, *Luke*, 30.

86 On linguistic acts in biblical exegesis, cf. E.M. Obara, "Le azioni linguistiche: l'influsso del testo sul contesto," *Comunicazione e pragmatica nell'esegesi biblica* (eds. M. Grilli – M. Guidi – E.M. Obara) (Lectio 10; Cinisello Balsamo: San Paolo 2016) 83–117.

87 Cf. Muñoz Iglesias, *Los Evangelios*, III, 18, italics by the author.

The passive voice<sup>88</sup> ἐκλήθη (Luke 2:21) contrasts with the active role of Joseph in Matt 1:25, where ἐκάλεσεν is part of the set of actions (Matt 1:24–25) that makes him the protagonist of the narrative. The imposition of the name on Jesus<sup>89</sup> (Luke 2:21), according to the angel's command (Luke 1:31), is located between the angel's announcement to the shepherds (Luke 2:11) of the birth of the saviour (σωτήρ) and Simeon's confirmation of the salvation (τό σωτήριόν σου) of God to his people (2:29–32). With this thematic reiteration, developed by different characters and under different aspects, the author shows, from the first chapters, Jesus as saviour and reminds the community of the need to accept salvation responsibly, a salvation that Luke emphasises, more than the other evangelists, with a visible and communal character.<sup>90</sup> The present reader, who accepts Jesus as saviour, is called to maintain an active role in the communal acceptance of salvation.

The verb καλέω appears again in Luke 2:23, within the quotation of Exod 13:2, 12, 15. Again, the passive voice, in this case in the future tense, κληθήσεται, gives it an enduring value and, as in Luke 1:31, can be understood as a command. The repetition of the verb καλέω serves the model author to indicate who the Child is and what he is called, but above all to underline that, christologically, he is the son of the Most High (1:32), the son of God (1:35), and holy (2:23). The reader is invited to understand and to call holy the Child who is presented in the Temple, welcoming this model as an example of the holiness of the community.<sup>91</sup> The acceptance of the text moves from saying to doing: the way to call Jesus holy will be to live in community as saints.

#### 4.2. The Law of Moses as the Law of the Lord

The threefold explicit mention of the Law, together with the references to customs, precepts and traditions contained therein, builds a model reader on the basis of the fulfilment of the Law.<sup>92</sup> The noun νόμος appears for the first time in Luke 2:22 accompanied by the genitive Μωϋσέως.<sup>93</sup> The syntagma κατὰ τόν νόμον Μωϋσέως leaves open a double reading of Moses' relationship<sup>94</sup> to the Law: on the one hand, he can be seen as the transmitter, on the other, as the author of the Law. This perspective fits perfectly with the contemporary

88 The impersonal passive in v. 21 may refer to Jesus' parents but also, in connection with the angel's command in Luke 1:31, it may be a way to avoid the name of God.

89 Luke, unlike Matthew (Matt 1:21), makes no reference to the etymology of Jesus' name. However, as the literary context shows, it cannot be ruled out that this meaning resonated in the Lucan community.

90 Cf. M. Grilli, *Quale rapporto tra i due Testamenti? Riflessione critica sui modelli ermeneutici classici concernenti l'unità delle Scritture* (EP.NS 10; Bologna: EDB 2007) 165.

91 Acts 9:13, 32; 26:10 refers to the followers of Jesus as 'the saints'.

92 Cf. Tyson, *Images of Judaism in Luke-Acts*, 49.

93 Cf. Koehne, *The Septuagintal Isaianic Use of Nomos*, 104.

94 By introducing Μωϋσέως for the first time (Luke 2:22) it indicates, on the one hand, that the model author presupposes a certain knowledge in the model reader and, on the other hand, that the simple linkage to the Law is sufficient to continue the narrative. Cf. Tyson, *Images of Judaism in Luke-Acts*, 26–28.

Judaism of Jesus,<sup>95</sup> which is also shown in the authority given to the figure of Moses in the third Gospel.<sup>96</sup>

The text continues, replacing *Μωϋσέως* by *κυρίου* in Luke 2:23, 24, producing an assimilation or equalisation between the two: the Law belongs to and has its origin in both Moses and the Lord. The importance of Moses, appearing in the first syntagma (v. 22), is relativised by the repetition of the Lord on two occasions (vv. 23, 24).

The difficulties in identifying the quotation in v. 23 become an opportunity to ‘re-read’ Exod 13:2, 12, 15 in a communicative key. The reference to Exod 13:2 shows YHWH’s words to Moses, while Exod 13:12, 15 picks up Moses’ words to the people. Thus, the communicative strategy of Luke 2:23b interweaves the words of YHWH and the words of Moses, which sound with the same voice in the context of Exod 13, but above all they ‘re-sound’, that is, they sound again, harmoniously in the first explicit quotation of the work of Luke. The emphasis is not on literalness, but on the overall meaning of the text and on the memory of the words of YHWH to Moses and of Moses to the people.<sup>97</sup> In short, the model reader has the Law as a valid and current reference: the Law of Moses, the Law of the Lord.

#### 4.3. The Offering: From Ransom to Presentation

The life situation of the group, as indicated in the communicative strategy, reflects a community that is redefining the relationship with Judaism and enhancing its elements of identity. The Lucan community suffers exclusion and opposition from some Jewish leaders, which leads it, on the one hand, to discover more clearly its differences from other groups and, on the other hand, to define more precisely its identity in continuity with the history of Israel, especially in the infancy narrative.<sup>98</sup> It is within this process of self-definition in relation to other already established groups that Luke 2:21–24 should be understood.

If the edict of Augustus to register (Luke 2:1–4) is the reason why Joseph and Mary go to Bethlehem, in the case of Luke 2:21–24, it is the Law of the Lord that will provoke the arrival of the Holy Family in Jerusalem. In this sense, it can be affirmed with R.B. Hays that Luke values obedience to the Torah, not through direct didactics, but through narratives that exemplify it.<sup>99</sup> The actual readers are not called upon only to understand on

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Koehne, *The Septuagintal Isaianic Use of Nomos*, 36.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. J. Lierman, *The New Testament Moses: Christian Perceptions of Moses and Israel in the Setting of Jewish Religion* (WUNT 2/173; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2004) 156–157, 172–173; I. Moreno Sanz, *Jesús y Moisés en diálogo. Significado y función de la figura de Moisés en la obra lucana* (Colección Monografías y Tesis 79; Estella: Verbo Divino 2021) 391–412.

<sup>97</sup> Not unnoticed is the imperative ‘remember’ of the Masoretic Text (זָכוֹר) translated by the LXX (μνημονεύετε, Exod 13:3) which opens Moses’ address to the people and which stresses remembrance as a command.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. R. Aguirre Monasterio, “La segunda generación y la conservación de la memoria de Jesús: El surgimiento de los evangelios,” *Así empezó el cristianismo*, 2 ed. (ed. R. Aguirre Monasterio) (Agora 28; Estella: EVD 2010) 241–242.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. R.B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press 2016) 208.

a theoretical level the fulfilment of the Law, but also to act, like the Holy Family going up to Jerusalem, in conformity with the Law<sup>100</sup> as a sign of obedience to the Lord. The differences between the journey to Bethlehem and to Jerusalem are accentuated by the fact that the emperor is simply given something, while the presentation of the Child is given to someone. What formally seems to refer to the ransom of the firstborn becomes pragmatically the presentation of Jesus.

The final subordinate proposition and the verb *παραστήσαι* (Luke 2:22b) omit both the subject and the direct object and indicate only the indirect object (*τῷ κυρίῳ*). In this way, the communicative strategy leaves in the background both Jesus' parents (implied subject) and Jesus himself (implied direct object) in order to pragmatically reinforce the syntagma *τῷ κυρίῳ*. With this brief proposition, the text does not place the focus of attention on who presents, nor what is presented, but rather before whom, i.e. the Lord.

The presentation of Jesus before the Lord indicates that the reasons why he is brought to Jerusalem are primarily theological. The Temple is not specifically named until Luke 2:27, placing the presentation to the Lord before the place of the presentation. That is to say, the Lord is highlighted and placed in relation to the Temple and confirms that the importance of the Temple was that it was the place of the Lord's presence.<sup>101</sup>

Jesus, as the firstborn, was the Lord's possession and, therefore, was to be redeemed.<sup>102</sup> Regardless of the reasons why the author does not narrate the payment of the ransom, the focus is on the presentation to the Lord. In this way, the power of the sign is doubled, the Child has not been ransomed and, therefore, does not return completely to the ownership of the parents (cf. Luke 2:49), but, above all, he has been presented to the Lord, above all, he has been presented to the Lord and remains his property and will remain so from now on.<sup>103</sup> Like little Samuel, Jesus is brought to the Temple, not to be ransomed, but to be presented to the Lord (1 Sam 1:11, 22, 28).<sup>104</sup>

The verb *παρίστημι* can be translated by 'to present', as has been done so far, but it also means 'to offer' and both senses are complementary in the text.<sup>105</sup> Presentation and consecration, therefore, can be seen as two sides of the same coin or, rather, as cause (presentation) and effect (consecration).<sup>106</sup> In the place of God's encounter with his people, the Temple, instead of ransoming the firstborn, Jesus is publicly offered to God, his Father.

100 The fathers act according to the word of God, one of the important themes of Luke's theology, cf. Rodríguez Carmona, *Evangelio según San Lucas*, 45.

101 Cf. Tyson, *Images of Judaism in Luke-Acts*, 184.

102 Cf. García Pérez – Herranz Marco, *La infancia de Jesús según Lucas*, 87.

103 It is necessary to connect the holiness and destiny of Jesus with the presentation to the Lord. It is not a question of the ransom of the Child, but of consecration to God which he understands as 'presenting him to the Lord' in a sacrificial sense with what was announced by the angel in 1:35 'he will be holy'.

104 M. Giacobbe, *Luke the Chronicler: The Narrative Arc of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles in Luke-Acts* (BibInt; Leiden: Brill 2023) 136–141.

105 Cf. García Serrano, *The Presentation in the Temple*, 168–169, note 64.

106 The verbs give (נתן), present (עבר) and consecrate (שקד) to the Lord are found interwoven in Exod 13 in the prescriptions concerning the ransom of the firstborn and are to be interpreted in the same way in Luke 2:23, cf. Brin, *Studies in Biblical Law*, 215–220.

A final aspect is presented as a further sign of the passage from the model reader to real readers. The apparent poverty of the offering - the two turtledoves or the two young pigeons - the usual offering of the poor for the purification of the mother (Luke 2:24), contrasts with the wealth of the offerers. Instead of paying the five shekels of silver for the ransom of the firstborn, which the text does not mention, they offer their son to the Lord in an act of generous self-giving.

#### 4.4. The Dialogue between the Two Testaments

The whole infancy narrative is steeped in the traditional Jewish religious atmosphere, but especially Luke 2:21–24.<sup>107</sup> Indeed, both the events narrated and the language used require a knowledge of Jewish customs that complements the brief information of the narrator.<sup>108</sup>

The presence of several elements that connect with Jewish customs, together with the references to Israel's messianic promises and hopes, do not fit in with certain anti-Jewish assessments in the interpretation of the third Gospel, as they also show the author's close connection, especially in the infancy narrative, with the people of Israel.<sup>109</sup> At the same time, as one finds this sensitivity and concern for Jewish customs, it is recognisable that the text has been crafted without neglecting readers from non-Jewish backgrounds. Indeed, the explanations of such customs, however minimal, may reflect Lucan sensitivity to the Hellenistic audience.<sup>110</sup>

It is possible to claim that the narrator was not precise in the details of the legislation and in the development of some Jewish customs.<sup>111</sup> However, these inaccuracies make it clear that the communicative strategy does not lie in listing and describing particular aspects, but in highlighting the theological core of the event, which he intended to make clear to his readers.

The theme of the presentation to the Lord in the Temple reminds the reader, familiar with the Scriptures of Israel, of Samuel's presentation (1 Sam 1:22–28).<sup>112</sup> The readers, however, will notice that Jesus is not presented according to the model of a single character, but rather different elements of various characters can be recognised, which theologically enrich the whole story.<sup>113</sup> In contrast to typological reading, in which the figures of the Old Testament are fulfilled in the New Testament and are to be understood in a progressive and substitutive sense, in dialogical reading, the aim is to listen to the various voices and texts

107 Cf. Rodríguez Carmona, *Evangelio según San Lucas*, 43.

108 Cf. M. Crimella, "Veridizione e Verità nel Racconto di Luca," *BA* 7/2 (2017) 240–241, <https://doi.org/10.31743/ba.947>.

109 Cf. G.M. Smiga, *Pain and Polemic: Anti-Judaism in the Gospels* (Stimulus; New York – Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press 1992) 130–133. Already from the title of the section 'Abrogating anti-Judaism in Luke-Act' one can understand the need for a new approach to the evaluation of Jews and Judaism in Luke's work.

110 Cf. Bock, *Luke*, I, 231.

111 Cf. Tyson, *Images of Judaism in Luke-Acts*, 34.

112 According to R.E. Brown, the model for the presentation of Jesus is Samuel (1 Sam 1–2), cf. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah*, 450.

113 Cf. J. McWhirter, *Rejected Prophets: Jesus and His Witnesses in Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2013) 33.

of both the One and the Other Testament.<sup>114</sup> In this way, the texts can be connected by theme, content or characters making possible a re-reading that goes beyond typology, allegory, and fulfilment and that, in a genuine way in the work of Luke, brings about a dialogue in a narrative world replete with biblical memories.<sup>115</sup> The relationship between Israel and the Church begins to be built on the rereading of the Scriptures of Israel, which ring with authority again and foster constant dialogue, not only between the characters involved, but also, and perhaps primarily, between the community that in Luke 2:21–24 listens to the text and contemplates the actions according to the Law of Moses and the communities that continue to read Luke's Gospel today. Today's readers should find in the continuity of the reading of Scripture God's relationship with history, which constantly nourishes the hope of his people.

## Bibliography

- Aguirre Monasterio, R., "La segunda generación y la conservación de la memoria de Jesús: El surgimiento de los evangelios," *Así empezó el cristianismo*, 2 ed. (ed. R. Aguirre Monasterio) (Ágora 28; Estella: EVD 2010) 195–254.
- Ariel, Y.S., "Still Ransoming the First-Born Sons? Pidyon Habben and Its Survival in the Jewish Tradition," *Human Sacrifice in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (eds. K. Finsterbusch – A. Lange – K.F. Diethard Römheld) (Studies in the History of Religions [Supplements to Numen Book Series] 112; Leiden – Boston, MA: Brill 2007).
- Balentine, S.E., *Levitico* (Strumenti 44; Torino: Cludiana 2008).
- Bock, D.L., *Luke. I. 1:1–9:50* (Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament 3a; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 1994).
- Bovon, F., *El evangelio según san Lucas (Lc 1,1–9,50)* (Biblioteca de Estudios Bíblicos 85; Salamanca: Sígueme 1995) I.
- Brin, G., *Studies in Biblical Law: From the Hebrew Bible to the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 176; Sheffield: Clark 1994).
- Brown, R.E., *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*, 2 ed. (Anchor Bible Reference Library; New York: Doubleday 1993).
- Campbell, C.R., *Verbal Aspect, the Indicative Mood, and Narrative: Soundings in the Greek of the New Testament* (Studies in Biblical Greek 13; New York: Lang 2007).
- Childs, B.S., *El libro del Éxodo. Comentario crítico y teológico* (Nueva Biblia Española; Estella: EVD 2003).
- Chrupcała, L.D., "Fede e opere in Luca: il caso della circoncisione," *Liber Annuus* 61 (2011) 89–125.
- Coleridge, M., *The Birth of the Lukan Narrative: Narratives as Christology in Luke 1–2* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 88; Sheffield: JSOT 1993).
- Crimella, M. (ed.), *Luca: Introduzione, traduzione e commento* (Nuova Versione della Bibbia dai Testi Antichi 39; Cinisello Balsamo: San Paolo 2015).

114 Cf. Grilli, *Quale rapporto tra i due Testamenti?*, 51, 194.

115 Cf. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 193–194.

- Crimella, M., “Veridizione e Verità nel Racconto di Luca,” *The Biblical Annals* 7/2 (2017) 235–250, <https://doi.org/10.31743/ba.947>.
- Parsons, M.C. – Culy, M.M. – Stigall, J.J., *Luke: A Handbook on the Greek Text* (Baylor Handbook on the Greek New Testament; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press 2010).
- Filone di Alessandria, *De vita Mosis. Testo greco a fronte* (trans. M. Baretta) (Rimini: Guaraldi 2017).
- Fitzmyer, J.A., *Evangelio según san Lucas. II. Traducción y comentarios, capítulos 1–8,21* (Madrid: Cristiandad 1986).
- Galbiati, E., “La circoncisione di Gesù (Lc 2,21),” *Bibbia e oriente* 8 (1966) 37–45.
- García Pérez, J.M. – Herranz Marco, M., *La infancia de Jesús según Lucas* (Studia Semitica Novi Testamenti 6; Madrid: Encuentro – Fundación San Justino 2000).
- García Serrano, A., *The Presentation in the Temple: The Narrative Function of Lk 2:22–39 in Luke-Acts* (Analecta Biblica 197; Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press 2012).
- Giacobbe, M., *Luke the Chronicler: The Narrative Arc of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles in Luke-Acts* (Biblical Interpretation Series; Leiden: Brill 2023).
- Green, J.B., *The Gospel of Luke* (New International Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1997).
- Grilli, M., *Quale rapporto tra i due Testamenti? Riflessione critica sui modelli ermeneutici classici concernenti l'unità delle Scritture* (Epifania della parola; Nuova serie 10; Bologna: EDB 2007).
- Grilli, M., *Lopera di Luca. I. Il Vangelo del viandante* (Biblica; Bologna: EDB 2012).
- Grilli, M. – Guidi, M. – Obara, E.M. (eds.), *Comunicazione e pragmatica nell'esegesi biblica* (Lectio 10; Cinisello Balsamo: San Paolo 2016).
- Hays, R.B., *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press 2016).
- Hendel, R.S., “The Exodus in Biblical Memory,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 120/4 (2001) 601–622.
- Hendrickx, H., *The Infancy Narratives* (Studies in the Synoptic Gospels; London: Chapman 1984).
- Jacobs, A.S., “Dialogical Differences: (De-)Judaizing Jesus’ Circumcision,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 15 (2007) 291–335.
- Jeremias, J., *Die Sprache des Lukasevangeliums: Redaktion und Tradition im Nicht-Markusstoff des dritten Evangeliums* (Kritisch-Katechetisch-Neutestamentliche Texte; Göttingen: Sonderband 1980).
- Joüon, P. – Muraoka, T., *Gramática de Hebreo bíblico* (Instrumentos para el estudio de la Biblia 18; Estella: EVD 2007).
- Jung, C.-W., *The Original Language of the Lukan Infancy Narrative* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 267; London – New York: Clark 2004).
- Koehne, M.W., *The Septuagintal Isaian Use of Nomos in the Lukan Presentation Narrative* (Diss. Marquette University; Milwaukee, WI 2010).
- Lierman, J., *The New Testament Moses: Christian Perceptions of Moses and Israel in the Setting of Jewish Religion* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/173; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2004).
- Marguerat, D. – Steffek, E., “L’avvento della salvezza universale in Luca-Atti,” *Una salvezza a misura dell’universo. Scritti in onore di Gérard Rossé* (ed. G. Ibbi) (Per-corsi di Sophia 3; Roma: Città Nuova 2015).
- Marshall, I.H., *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (New International Greek Testament Commentary; Exeter: Eerdmans 1978).
- McWhirter, J., *Rejected Prophets: Jesus and His Witnesses in Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2013).
- Meyers, C.L., *Exodus* (New Cambridge Bible Commentary; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2005).
- Meynet, R., *L’Évangile de Luc* (Rhétorique Sémitique 8; Pendé: Gabalda 2011).

- Mielcarek, K., *Ierusalem or Hierosolyma: Exploring the Semitic and Hellenistic Onomastic Notions in Luke's Work* (Lublin Theological Studies 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2023).
- Moreno Sanz, I., *Jesús y Moisés en diálogo. Significado y función de la figura de Moisés en la obra lucana* (Monografías y Tesis 79; Estella: Verbo Divino 2021).
- Moreno Sanz, I., "Lucas, artesano de las palabras. Una aproximación a la estrategia comunicativa lucana a través de los diálogos y los discursos," *Estudios Bíblicos* 83/1 (2025) 51–68, <https://doi.org/10.60098/eb.25083.10003>.
- Muñoz Iglesias, S., *Los Evangelios de la Infancia. III. Nacimiento e infancia de Juan y Jesús en Lucas 1–2* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos 1987).
- Nagy, J., "Joy at the Birth of Christ: A Study of Matthew 2:10 and Luke 2:10," *The Biblical Annals* 15/3 (2025) 437–451, <https://doi.org/10.31743/ba.17901>.
- Niccacci, A., "Dall' aoristo all' imperfetto, o dal primo piano allo sfondo: Un paragone tra sintassi greca e sintassi ebraica," *Liber Annuus* 42 (1992) 85–108.
- Nolland, J., *Luke 1–9:20* (Word Biblical Commentary 35a; Dallas, TX: Nelson Inc 1989) I.
- Obara, E.M., "Le azioni linguistiche: l'influsso del testo sul contesto," *Comunicazione e pragmatica nell'esegesi biblica* (eds. M. Grilli – M. Guidi – E.M. Obara) (Lectio 10; Cinisello Balsamo: San Paolo 2016) 83–117.
- Olson, D.T., "Circumcision: Hebrew Bible/Old Testament," *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception. V. Charisma – Czaczkes* (eds. D.C. Allison Jr. – C. Helmer) (Berlin – Boston, MA: De Gruyter – Brill 2012) 324–326.
- Poggi, F., *Curso avanzado de griego del Nuevo Testamento* (Instrumentos para el estudio de la Biblia 22; Estella: EVD 2011).
- de La Potterie, I., "Les deux noms de Jérusalem dans l'évangile de Luc," *Recherches de science religieuse* 69 (1981) 57–70.
- Rodríguez Carmona, A., *Evangelio según San Lucas* (Comprender la Palabra 28; Madrid: BAC 2014).
- Scrivener, F.H., *A Full and Exact Collation of About Twenty Greek Manuscripts of the Holy Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1853; reprint 2009).
- Smiga, G.M., *Pain and Polemic: Anti-Judaism in the Gospels* (Stimulus; New York – Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press 1992).
- Stramare, T., "La circoncisione di Gesù. Significato esegetico e teologico," *Bibbia e oriente* 26 (1984) 193–203.
- Tidball, D., *The Message of Leviticus: Free to the Holy* (Bible Speaks Today. Old Testament Series; Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic 2005).
- Tyson, J.B., *Images of Judaism in Luke-Acts* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press 1992).
- Watts, J.W., *Ritual and Rhetoric in Leviticus: From Sacrifice to Scripture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007).

## Czy rzeczywiście większa będzie radość z jednego nawracającego się grzesznika niż z dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu sprawiedliwych (Łk 15,7)?

Will There Really Be Greater Joy for One Repentant Sinner than for Ninety-Nine Righteous Ones (Luke 15:7)?

**Andrzej Piwowar**

Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II  
andrzej.piwowar@kul.pl

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9316-1791>

**ABSTRACT:** Łk 15,7 jako werset zawierający teologiczne podsumowanie przypowieści o zaginionej owcy jest jednym z kluczowych tekstów dotyczących miłosierdzia Bożego w Nowym Testamencie. Najczęściej tłumaczy się go w sposób wskazujący, że większa radość będzie w niebie z jednego grzesznika nawracającego się niż z dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu sprawiedliwych, którzy nie potrzebują nawrócenia. Jednak tekst grecki tego wersetu nie zawiera pełnej konstrukcji porównania. Pojawia się więc pytanie, czy obecność samego spójnika  $\eta$  jest wystarczającym argumentem, aby tłumaczyć go w znaczeniu porównania. Odpowiedź na to pytanie stanowi cel analiz przedstawionych w artykule. Argumentacja przemawiająca za brakiem porównania w Łk 15,7 została oparta na dokładnej analizie składniowej tego wersetu oraz przesłankach, jakie do tej pory przytaczano na korzyść interpretacji tekstu w sensie porównania. Negatywne wyniki przeprowadzonych analiz nie pozwalają na tłumaczenie tego wersetu w sensie porównania. Występujący w nim samodzielnie spójnik  $\eta$  należy bowiem uznać za alternatywny lub dysjunktywny („lub”, „albo”), a nie porównawczy („niż”): „Powiadam wam: Tak samo w niebie będzie radość z jednego grzesznika, który się nawraca lub/albo z dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu sprawiedliwych, którzy nie potrzebują nawrócenia”.

**SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:** Ewangelia według św. Łukasza, Łk 15,7, porównania w języku greckim, spójnik  $\eta$ , funkcja składniowa  $\eta$  w Łk 15,7

**ABSTRACT:** Luke 15:7, a theological summary of the parable of the lost sheep, is a pivotal New Testament text on divine mercy. It is commonly interpreted as asserting that heaven rejoices more over one repentant sinner than over ninety-nine righteous individuals who need no repentance. However, the Greek text lacks a complete comparative structure, raising questions about whether the conjunct  $\eta$  alone suffices to support a comparative interpretation. This article investigates this issue through a detailed syntactic analysis of Luke 15:7 and evaluates arguments traditionally used to favour a comparative reading. The findings suggest that the independent use of  $\eta$  in the verse indicates an alternative or disjunctive function ('or') rather than a comparative one ('than'), challenging the traditional interpretation of the text: "In the same way there will be rejoicing in heaven over one sinner who repents or over ninety-nine righteous persons who do not need to repent."

**KEYWORDS:** Gospel of Luke, Luke 15:7, comparisons in Greek, conjunction  $\eta$ , syntactic function of  $\eta$  in Luke 15:7

Piętnasty rozdział Ewangelii według świętego Łukasza można określić jako ewangelię miłosierdzia<sup>1</sup>. Zawiera on bowiem trzy przypowieści (o zabłąkanej owcy [ww. 3–7]<sup>2</sup>, zagubionej drachmie [ww. 8–10] i synu marnotrawnym [ww. 11–32]), które ukazują, jak wielka jest łaskawość Boga względem grzesznika, który się nawraca. Nie można omówić lub przedstawić Bożego miłosierdzia bez odwołania się do tych trzech parabol. Pośród nich na szczególną uwagę zasługuje ostatni werset przypowieści o zagubionej owcy, tj. Łk 15,7. Podsumowując całą tę przypowieść, wyraża on porównanie radości wynikającej z nawrócenia jednego grzesznika z radością z powodu dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu sprawiedliwych. Należy jednak dostrzec, że grecki tekst tego wersetu zawiera problem składniowy, którego rozwiązanie w bardzo istotny sposób wpływa na jego przesłanie teologiczne.

W niniejszym artykule najpierw zostanie przedstawiona wspomniana trudność składniowa zawarta w analizowanym wersecie Łk 15,7. Następnie zostanie dokonana analiza składniowa tego wersetu, po czym omówione zostanie użycie spójnika  $\eta$  w dziele Łukasowym oraz przedstawione dotychczasowe propozycje rozwiązania problemu porównania w analizowanym fragmencie. Na końcu zostanie zaproponowane rozstrzygnięcie trudności interpretacji składniowej Łk 15,7. Celem podjętego badania jest próba odpowiedzi na pytanie, czy Łk 15,7 jest właściwie tłumaczony i czy tekst grecki tego wersetu rzeczywiście zawiera porównanie.

## 1. Tekst grecki Łk 15,7 i jego tłumaczenie

Dwudzieste ósme wydanie krytyczne greckiego tekstu Nowego Testamentu, opublikowane przez Nestle–Alanda, podaje następujący tekst Łk 15,7:  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\ \omicron\tau\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma\ \chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\tilde{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omega\lambda\tilde{\omega}\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\iota\ \eta\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\nu\eta\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \omicron\iota\tau\iota\nu\epsilon\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\ \chi\rho\epsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ <sup>3</sup>. Z punktu widzenia krytyki tekstu można powiedzieć, że nie sprawia on żadnych problemów, ponieważ jedynie niektóre manuskrypty zawierają lekcję z odwróconą kolejnością słów: zamiast  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\tilde{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  pojawia się  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\nu\ \tau\omega\ \omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omega$ . Ponadto kodeks 2542 zamiast formy czasu przyszłego czasownika  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\alpha\iota$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  – „będzie”) posiada lekcję z formą czasu teraźniejszego  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$  („jest”)<sup>4</sup>. Należy więc stwierdzić, że tekst analizowanego wersetu zachował się dobrze i z punktu widzenia historii jego przekazu nie sprawia żadnych poważnych problemów. Nie ma więc najmniejszych powodów, aby podejrzewać,

1 Por. A. Banaszek, „Przypowieść o zagubionej owcy w świetle teologicznych koncepcji ewangelistów (Mt 18,10–15; Łk 15,3–7)”, *Stworzył Bóg człowieka na swój obraz. Księga pamiątkowa dla Biskupa Profesora Mariana Gołębiowskiego w 65. rocznicę urodzin* (red. W. Chrostowski) (Warszawa: Vocatio 2002) 44.

2 Krzysztof Mielcarek określa tę perykopę jako niezwykle nośną teologicznie, a jej strukturę charakteryzuje jako dobrze przemyślaną (zob. „Przypowieść o zagubionej owcy w trzeciej Ewangelii [Łk 15,1–7]”, *Wszystko czynię dla Ewangelii. Księga Pamiątkowa ku czci O. Prof. Hugolina Langkammera OFM* [red. G. Witaszek – A. Paciorek – A. Kiejza] [Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2000] 284).

3 E. Nestle et al. (red.), *Novum Testamentum Graece*, wyd. 28 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2012) 249.

4 Nestle et al., *Novum Testamentum*, 249.

że jego pierwotne brzmienie zostało zmienione lub przerobione w toku przekazywania przez kopistów.

Zdecydowana większość tłumaczeń – jeśli nie wszystkie – na języki nowożytne Biblii, jak również komentarze do Ewangelii według św. Łukasza oraz artykuły naukowe, oddają tekst grecki w ten sam lub bardzo podobny sposób: „Powiadam wam: Tak samo w niebie większa będzie radość z jednego grzesznika, który się nawraca, niż z dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu sprawiedliwych, którzy nie potrzebują nawrócenia”<sup>5</sup>. Stwierdzają one, iż większa radość będzie z jednego nawracającego się grzesznika niż z dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu ludzi, którzy żyją zgodnie z wolą Bożą i zachowują przykazania<sup>6</sup>. Na potrzeby niniejszego artykułu powyższe tłumaczenie Łk 15,7, które jest najbardziej rozpowszechnione i prawie jednoznacznie przyjęte i zaakceptowane niemal przez wszystkich, zostanie nazwane „tradycyjnym”.

- 5 Zob. D.G. Chen, *Luke* (NCCS; Eugene, OR: Cascade Books 2017) 215; D.L. Bock, *Luke*. II. 9:51–24:53 (BECNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books 1994) 405; J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke (X–XXIV): Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 28A; New York – London – Toronto – Sydney – Auckland: Doubleday 1985) 1071; E. Galbiati, „La parabola della pecora e della dramma ritrovate”, *BeO* 6/3 (1964) 132; S. Grasso, *Luca* (Roma: Borla 1999) 412–413; J.B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1997) 572; F. Gryglewicz, *Ewangelia według św. Łukasza. Wstęp – przekład z oryginału – komentarz* (PŚNT 3/3; Poznań: Pallottinum 2007) 261; A. Jankowski, *Królestwo Boże w przypowieściach* (Poznań – Warszawa: Pallottinum 1981) 83, 85; L.T. Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke* (red. D.J. Harrington) (SP 3; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 1991) 234; E. Klostermann, *Das Lukasevangelium* (HNT 5; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1975) 156; J. Nolland, *Luke 9:21–18:34* (WBC 35B; Dallas, TX: Word Books 1993) 768; *Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu w przekładzie z języków oryginalnych*, wyd. 5 poprawione (Poznań: Pallottinum 2002) 1223; W. Radecki, „Zagadnienia literackie perykop o Bożym miłosierdziu (Łk 15,1–7.8–10.11–32)”, *Teologia i Człowiek* 14 (2009) 28; J. Reiling – J.L. Swellengrebel, *A Translator’s Handbook on the Gospel of Luke* (Helps for [Bible] Translators 10; Leiden: Brill 1971) 543; G. Rossé, *Il vangelo di Luca. Commento esegetico e teologico* (Roma: Città Nuova 1992) 600; L. Sabourin, *The Gospel according to St. Luke: Introduction and Commentary* (London: St Paul Publications 1984) 285; R.H. Stein, *Luke* (NAC 24; Nashville, TN: Broadman Press 1992) 399; J.M. Trau, “The Lost Sheep”, *TBT* 28/5 (1990) 281; W. Wiefel, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (THKNT 3; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt 1988) 281.
- 6 Michael Wolter dostrzeża w Łk 15,7 problem związany z brakiem porównania, mimo to oddaje ten werset w znaczeniu tradycyjnym, tłumacząc: „I say to you: in the same way there will be joy in heaven over a single sinner who repents – (more) than over ninety-nine righteous who need no repentance” (M. Wolter, *The Gospel according to Luke*. II. [Luke 9:51–24] [trans. W. Coppins – C. Heilig] [Baylor–Mohr Siebeck Studies in Early Christianity; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press – Mohr Siebeck 2017] 236). Podobnie czyni również Josef Ernst: „Ich sage euch, daß so (mehr) Freude sein wird in dem Himmel über einen Sünder, der umkehrt, als über neunundneunzig Gerechte, die der Umkehr nicht bedürfen” (J. Ernst *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* [RNT; Regensburg: Pustet 1976] 131). John Nolland także dostrzeża brak przymiotnika w stopniu wyższym: „Since Luke’s Greek has no word for the ‘more’ of translation above, the sense could be either ‘joy over ..., rather than...’ or ‘more joy over ... than ...’ I have preferred the second, since the first may suggest a negative note that is not present in the parable” (Nolland, *Luke 9:21–18:34*, 773). Podobnie tłumaczy Łk 15,7 Franciszek Mickiewicz: „Mówię wam: tak samo w niebie radość będzie bardziej z powodu jednego grzesznika, który się nawraca, aniżeli z dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu sprawiedliwych, którzy nie potrzebują nawrócenia” (F. Mickiewicz, *Ewangelia według świętego Łukasza, rozdziały 12–24* [Nowy Komentarz Biblijny. Nowy Testament 3/2; Częstochowa: Edycja Świętego Pawła 2012] 148, 153). „Dico a voi: Così gioia nel cielo sarà su un solo peccatore che si converte invece che su novantanove giusti che non han bisogno di conversione” (S. Fausti, *Una comunità legge il Vangelo di Luca* [Bologna: EDB 1994] 530). Por. W.F. Arndt, *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (Bible Commentary; Saint Louis, MO: Concordia 1956) 614; W. Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (THKNT 3; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt 1961) 305; I. Larsen, “A Point of Irony”, *BT* 50/4 (1999) 413.

W obszarze języka polskiego jedynie w wydaniach interlinearnych grecko-polskich Nowego Testamentu można odnaleźć nieco odmienne tłumaczenie tego wersetu: „Mówię wam, że tak radość w niebie będzie z jednego grzesznika zmieniającego myślenie, niż dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu sprawiedliwych, którzy nie potrzebują zmiany myślenia”<sup>7</sup>. Nie zawiera ono co prawda wyraźnie zaznaczonego porównania pomiędzy radością wynikającą z nawrócenia jednego grzesznika a tą z powodu dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu sprawiedliwych, lecz pośrednio sugeruje je poprzez przyimek porównawczy „niż”, „oznaczający różnicę stopnia nasilenia porównywanych cech, stanów lub czynności”<sup>8</sup>. Trzeba przyznać, że tłumaczenia wydań interlinearnych brzmią w języku polskim dość oryginalnie, aby nie powiedzieć dziwnie, ponieważ nie zawierają pełnej formy porównania (brakuje w nich przymiotnika w stopniu wyższym). Wynika to oczywiście z faktu, że starają się oddać tekst grecki dosłownie, co prowadzi do kuriozalnego tłumaczenia Łk 15,7. Pokazuje ono jednak wyraźnie problem obecny w greckim oryginale tego wersetu: brak przymiotnika w stopniu wyższym, niezbędnego do wyrażenia pełnej formy porównania, np. „będzie (większa) radość z jednego nawracającego się grzesznika niż z powodu dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu sprawiedliwych”.

Michał Wojciechowski zaproponował nietypowe tłumaczenie tego wersetu: „Mówię wam, że taka będzie radość w niebie z jednego nawracającego się grzesznika – a nie z dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu sprawiedliwych, którym nie potrzeba nawrócenia”<sup>9</sup>. Niestety propozycja ta nie jest właściwa, ponieważ w analizowanym wersecie nie występuje przeczenie<sup>10</sup>, na co wskazywałoby zaproponowane tłumaczenie, a samemu spójnikowi *ἢ* bez przeczenia nie można nadać znaczenia wykluczającego.

Andrzej Banaszek również starał się wiernie oddać na język polski treść Łk 15,7, próbując uniknąć porównania zawartego w „tradycyjnym” tłumaczeniu słów Jezusa: „Mówię wam, że taka będzie radość w niebie z jednego nawracającego się grzesznika – raczej niż z dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu sprawiedliwych, którzy nie potrzebują nawrócenia”<sup>11</sup>. Mimo podjętej próby wiernego oddania greckiego oryginału interpretuje on jednak spójnik *ἢ* w sensie porównawczym. Ponadto w dalszej części swojego artykułu niekonsekwentnie cytuje „tradycyjne” tłumaczenie Łk 15,7<sup>12</sup>.

7 R. Popowski – M. Wojciechowski (red.), *Grecko-polski Nowy Testament. Wydanie interlinearne z kluczem gramatycznym, z kodami Stronga i Popowskiego oraz pełną transliteracją greckiego tekstu*, wyd. 9 (Prymasowska Seria Biblijna; Warszawa: Vocatio 2014) 387. Por. <https://biblia.oblubenica.eu/interlinearny/index/book/3/chapter/15/verse/7> [dostęp: 19.02.2025].

8 A. Markowski (red.), *Wielki słownik poprawnej polszczyzny PWN* (Warszawa: PWN 2010) 624.

9 M. Wojciechowski, *Przypowieści dla nas* (Częstochowa: Edycja Świętego Pawła 2007) 79.

10 Por. R. Popowski, *Wielki słownik grecko-polski Nowego Testamentu: wydanie z pełną lokalizacją greckich haseł, kluczem polsko-greckim oraz indeksem form czasownikowych*, wyd. 4 (Prymasowska Seria Biblijna; Warszawa: Vocatio 2006) 259.

11 Banaszek, „Przypowieść o zagubionej owcy”, 39.

12 Zob. Banaszek, „Przypowieść o zagubionej owcy”, 46.

## 2. Analiza składniowa greckiego tekstu Łk 15,7

Brak w tekście źródłowym pełnej formy porównania potwierdza dokładna analiza składniowa. W wersji greckiej słowa wypowiedziane przez Jezusa są wprowadzone przez λέγω ὑμῖν („mówię wam”). Jest to zdanie główne, wprowadzające dalszą wypowiedź Jezusa w formie mowy niezależnej. Jego orzeczenie wyrażone jest w czasie teraźniejszym. Zdaniem Gianfranco Nolliego powyższa formuła wprowadzająca wskazuje na uroczysty charakter dalszych słów i podkreśla ich doniosłość. Zdaniem tego badacza Łukasz zastępuje nią hebrajskie ἀμήν, które wprowadzało uroczyste wypowiedzi i równocześnie zapewniało o prawdziwości wyrażanych słów<sup>13</sup>. Podmiotem, który konotuje orzeczenie λέγω, jest Jezus. Wskazuje na to kontekst poprzedzający, a zwłaszcza werset 1 (oba zaimki trzeciej osoby liczby pojedynczej, tj. αὐτῷ i αὐτοῦ, odnoszą się do Niego) oraz werset 3 (podmiotem orzeczenia εἶπεν również jest Jezus). Zaimek osobowy drugiej osoby liczby mnogiej w datiwie, pełniący funkcję dopełnienia dalszego, odnosi się do faryzeuszy i uczonych w Piśmie (οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς) z wersetu 2, którzy oburzali się na postawę Jezusa wobec celników i grzeszników (οἱ τελῶναι καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ [w. 1]). Obecność rodzajników przed każdym z tych rzeczowników wskazuje, że chodzi o dwie różne grupy osób<sup>14</sup>, które w w. 2 zostały zredukowane przez faryzeuszy i uczonych w Piśmie do jednej grupy, mianowicie grzeszników, z którymi Jezus spotykał się i wspólnie spożywał posiłki. Właśnie do tych dwóch grup kieruje On swoje słowa podsumowujące przypowieść o zagubionej owcy.

Wprowadzający dalsze słowa Jezusa spójnik ὅτι może pełnić funkcję tzw. *hoti recitativum*; wówczas byłby odpowiednikiem dwukropka i wprowadzałby mowę niezależną<sup>15</sup>. Słowa po nim stanowiłyby kontynuację mowy niezależnej rozpoczętej w w. 4, a zainicjowanej przez λέγων w w. 3b. Można również uznać, że spójnik ten wprowadza zdanie podrzędne dopełnieniowe („że”). Słowa Jezusa po tym spójniku rozpoczynają się przysłówkiem sposobu οὕτως („w ten sposób”, „tak samo”, „podobnie”)<sup>16</sup>, który odnosi się do orzeczenia pierwszego zdania głównego wyrażonego w mowie niezależnej lub zdania podrzędnego dopełnieniowego ἔσται („będzie”)<sup>17</sup>. Został użyty w sposób anaforyczny<sup>18</sup> w odniesieniu do tego, co zostało powiedziane w ww. 5–6 odnośnie do radości właściciela zagubionej owcy

13 Por. G. Nolli, *Evangelo secondo Luca*, wyd. 2 (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana 1993) 691; H. Schlier, „ἀμήν”, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (red. G. Kittel) (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1995) I, 337–338.

14 Zob. A. Piwowar, *Składnia języka greckiego Nowego Testamentu*, wyd. 2 (Materiały Pomocnicze do Wykładów z Biblistyki 13; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2017) § 122.

15 Por. L.D. Chrupcała, *Il vangelo di Luca: analisi sintattica* (Analecta 86; Milano: Terra Santa 2018) 449; M.M. Culy – M.C. Parsons – J.J. Stigall, *Luke: A Handbook on the Greek Text* (BHGNT; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press 2010) 500; Nolli, *Evangelo secondo Luca*, 691; A.J. Thompson, *Luke* (Exegetical Guide to the Greek New Testament; Nashville, TN: B & H Academic 2015) 242.

16 Por. Chrupcała, *Il vangelo di Luca*, 449.

17 „Just so’ (οὕτως) leads to the transfer, to the passing over to the other reality, to ‘allegory’” (F. Bovon, *Luke 2: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 9:51–19:27* [Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2013] 410). Por. Trau, „The Lost Sheep”, 281.

18 Zob. Popowski, *Wielki słownik*, 451.

z powodu jej odnalezienia. Niektórzy badacze interpretują formę czasu przyszłego ἔσται jako *futurum gnomicum*, tłumacząc ją za pomocą czasu teraźniejszego „jest”<sup>19</sup>. Zdaniem Nolliego ἔσται wyraża pewność, że czynność zostanie zrealizowana, dlatego należy ją odczytywać w znaczeniu właściwego czasu przyszłego<sup>20</sup>. Podmiotem tej osobowej formy czasownika jest rzeczownik χαρά. Nie jest poprzedzony rodzajnikiem, ponieważ nie odnosi się do konkretnej radości, lecz wyraża naturę reakcji na nawrócenie grzesznika<sup>21</sup>.

Należy podkreślić, że okolicznik miejsca, którym jest wyrażenie przymikowe ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ („w niebie”)<sup>22</sup>, znajduje się w pozycji emfaticznej przed orzeczeniem. Występujący w nim rzeczownik οὐρανός jest poprzedzony rodzajnikiem indywidualizującym, który wskazuje, że chodzi o niebo rozumiane jako miejsce przebywania Boga i Jego dworu złożonego z istot niebieskich. Przyimek ἐπί w połączeniu z celownikiem wyraża przyczynę, rację, powód lub podstawę jakiejś czynności lub stanu, zwłaszcza w określeniach racji jakiegoś uczucia lub myśli: „dzięki”, „z powodu”, „ze względu na”, „z racji”<sup>23</sup>. Powód radości w niebie został przedstawiony za pomocą wyrażenia przymikowego ἐπί ἐνὶ ἁμαρτωλῶ μετανοοῦντι („z powodu jednego grzesznika odczuwającego skruchę/zmieniającego myślenie/żałującego /nawracającego się”). Liczebnik główny εἷς („jeden”) w datiwie liczby pojedynczej rodzaju męskiego można zinterpretować jako właściwy liczebnik odnoszący się do konkretnej liczby lub uznać, że pełni on funkcję zbliżoną do zaimka nieokreślonego τις („ktoś”, „pewien”, „jakiś”)<sup>24</sup>, zastępując nieistniejący w języku greckim rodzajnik nieokreślony („z powodu pewnego/jakiegoś grzesznika”)<sup>25</sup>. Ze względu na występowanie w drugiej części wypowiedzi Jezusa liczebnika dziewięćdziesiąt dziewięć należy jednak odrzucić tę drugą możliwość interpretacji ἐνί. Imiesłów czasu teraźniejszego strony czynnej w datiwie liczby pojedynczej rodzaju męskiego (μετανοοῦντι) pełni funkcję przymiotnika połączonego atrybutywnie z rzeczownikiem ἁμαρτωλῶ<sup>26</sup> („grzesznika nawracającego się/odczuwającego skruchę”).

Po wskazaniu powodu radości, która ma nastąpić w niebie (ἐπί ἐνὶ ἁμαρτωλῶ μετανοοῦντι), w tekście greckim występuje spójnik ἢ. Może on łączyć zdania alternatywne lub dysjunktywne („lub”, „albo”), bądź pełnić funkcję spójnika w zdaniach porównawczych po formach stopnia wyższego lub wyrażeniach porównawczych („niż”, „jak”)<sup>27</sup>. Właśnie w tej drugiej

19 Por. Chrupcała, *Il vangelo di Luca*, 449; Stein, *Luke*, 404.

20 Por. Nolli, *Evangelo secondo Luca*, 691.

21 Por. Nolli, *Evangelo secondo Luca*, 691; Piwowar, *Składnia języka greckiego*, § 118.

22 Por. Chrupcała, *Il vangelo di Luca*, 449; Culy – Parsons – Stigall, *Luke*, 500; Thompson, *Luke*, 242.

23 Por. Chrupcała, *Il vangelo di Luca*, 449; Culy – Parsons – Stigall, *Luke*, 500; Mielcarek, „Przypowieść o zagubionej owcy”, 267; Nolli, *Evangelo secondo Luca*, 691; Popowski, *Wielki słownik*, 215; H. von Siebenthal, *Ancient Greek Grammar for the Study of the New Testament* (Oxford – Bern – Berlin – Bruxelles – New York – Wien: Lang 2019) 274; Thompson, *Luke*, 242.

24 Zob. Piwowar, *Składnia języka greckiego*, § 585.

25 Por. Popowski, *Wielki słownik*, 173.

26 Po. Chrupcała, *Il vangelo di Luca*, 449; Culy – Parsons – Stigall, *Luke*, 500. Tylko Gianfranco Nolli błędnie twierdzi, że imiesłów jest połączony z rzeczownikiem predykatywnie (Nolli, *Evangelo secondo Luca*, 691).

27 Por. Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, 307–308; Nolli, *Evangelo secondo Luca*, 691; Mielcarek, „Przypowieść o zagubionej owcy”, 267; Popowski, *Wielki słownik*, 259.

funkcji składniowej jest on interpretowany przez większość przekładów Biblii oraz komentarzy zawierających „tradycyjne” tłumaczenie analizowanego wersetu<sup>28</sup>. Spójnik ἢ może również wprowadzać zdanie pytajne („albo czy”, „lub czy”)<sup>29</sup>, jednak w Łk 15,7 nie występuje tego rodzaju zdanie, więc tę możliwość należy odrzucić. Po tym spójniku wyrażony został drugi powód radości, który posiada analogiczną formę gramatyczną co pierwszy (ἐπὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα δικαίους) i pełni tę samą funkcję składniową<sup>30</sup>. Oba sformułowania różnią się jedynie liczbą osób (jedna w pierwszym przypadku i dziewięćdziesiąt dziewięć w drugim) oraz określeniem osób (grzesznik i sprawiedliwi). Liczebnik ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα jest nieodmienny, ale ze względu na przyimek ἐπί należy uznać, że powinien być traktowany tak jakby był w datiwie. Przymiotnik w datiwie liczby mnogiej rodzaju męskiego δικαίους należy uznać za substantywizowany; brak rodzajnika wynika z faktu, że odnosi się nie do konkretnych osób, lecz do ich natury – stanu (są sprawiedliwi, tzn. nie popełniają lub nie popełnili wykroczeń czy grzechów)<sup>31</sup>. Osoby te są określone dodatkowo za pomocą zdania podrzędnego względnego wprowadzonego przez zaimek względny uogólniający οἵτινες („którzykolwiek”)<sup>32</sup>. W Łk 15,7 występuje on zamiast zaimka względnego określonego ὅς („który”)<sup>33</sup>. Pełni on funkcję podmiotu zdania podrzędnego względnego i odnosi się do sprawiedliwych. Ci ostatni są przedstawieni jako ci, którzy „nie mają potrzeby nawrócenia” (οὐ χρεία ἐχουσιν μετανοίας)<sup>34</sup>. Rzeczownik χρεία w akuzatiwie liczby pojedynczej rodzaju żeńskiego jest dopełnieniem bliższym orzeczenia zdania podrzędnego względnego ἐχουσιν. Nie jest poprzedzony rodzajnikiem, ponieważ ma znaczenie rodzajowe – gatunkowe, które wyraża jego naturę<sup>35</sup>. Ponadto jego pozycja przed orzeczeniem, które dopełnia, wskazuje na jego emfazę. Rzeczownik χρεία łączy się z genetiwem jako dopełnieniem. W Łk 15,7 jest nim μετανοίας. Genetivus ten można uznać za *obiectivus* – potrzeba, o której mowa, dotyczy nawrócenia<sup>36</sup>. Natomiast Nolli określa go jako *genetivus abundantiae*<sup>37</sup>.

Z powyższej analizy składniowej greckiego tekstu Łk 15,7 wynika, że w porównaniu wersji oryginalnej z większością jej tłumaczeń na języki nowożytnie problematyczne okazuje się tłumaczenie spójnika ἢ w znaczeniu porównawczym, ponieważ w tekście greckim analizowanego wersetu nie występuje żadna forma przymiotnika w stopniu wyższym lub równym bądź jakakolwiek inna konstrukcja o charakterze porównawczym. Tłumaczący ten werset dodają domyślną formę stopnia wyższego μείζων („większa” w odniesieniu

28 Por. Chrupcała, *Il vangelo di Luca*, 449; Culy – Parsons – Stigall, *Luke*, 500; Reiling – Swellengrebel, *A Translator's Handbook*, 543–544; Thompson, *Luke*, 242; Wolter, *The Gospel according to Luke*, 239.

29 Por. Popowski, *Wielki słownik*, 259.

30 Por. Chrupcała, *Il vangelo di Luca*, 449; Culy – Parsons – Stigall, *Luke*, 500; Nolli, *Evangelo secondo Luca*, 691; Thompson, *Luke*, 242.

31 Zob. Piwowar, *Składnia języka greckiego*, §118.

32 Por. Culy – Parsons – Stigall, *Luke*, 500.

33 Por. Chrupcała, *Il vangelo di Luca*, 449; Mielcarek, „Przypowieść o zagubionej owcy”, 267; Nolli, *Evangelo secondo Luca*, 691; Piwowar, *Składnia języka greckiego*, § 208.

34 Por. Culy – Parsons – Stigall, *Luke*, 500.

35 Por. Nolli, *Evangelo secondo Luca*, 692; Piwowar, *Składnia języka greckiego*, §118.

36 Por. Chrupcała, *Il vangelo di Luca*, 449; Culy – Parsons – Stigall, *Luke*, 500; Thompson, *Luke*, 242.

37 Por. Nolli, *Evangelo secondo Luca*, 692.

do radości), pochodzącą od przymiotnika μέγας („wielki”, „duży”). Wydaje się jednak, że jest to ich arbitralna interpretacja, oparta wyłącznie na obecności spójnika porównawczego ἤ. Celem tego działania jest chęć uczynienia tłumaczenia Łk 15,7 bardziej zrozumiałym i oczywistym dla czytelnika. Wprowadzenie do tłumaczenia słowa „większa” niekiedy, choć rzadko, zaznaczone jest przez ujęcie go w nawias kwadratowy lub zapisanie kursywą, czyli zastosowanie zapisu oznaczającego, że słowo zostało dodane do tekstu oryginalnego<sup>38</sup>.

### 3. Użycie spójnika ἤ w greckim tekście Ewangelii według św. Łukasza i Dziejów Apostolskich

W greckim tekście Ewangelii według św. Łukasza spójnik ἤ, poza Łk 15,7, występuje jeszcze czterdzieści cztery razy: dwadzieścia sześć razy pełni funkcję spójnika alternatywnego lub dysjunktywnego<sup>39</sup>, dwanaście razy pojawia się w zdaniach pytających<sup>40</sup>, pięć razy w porównaniach i raz w 2,26 z przysłówkiem czasu πρῶτον („zanim”, „wpierw nim”). Redaktorzy wydania krytycznego nie byli jednak pewni, czy ten spójnik w 2,26 pierwotnie występował, co zaznaczyli poprzez wzięcie go w nawias kwadratowy. Pięć razy spójnik występuje w porównaniach. Należy podkreślić, że w czterech z nich pojawia się w regularnej konstrukcji wraz z przymiotnikiem w stopniu wyższym (zob. Łk 9,13; 10,12.14; 18,25). W Łk 17,2 natomiast jest obecny po formie czasownika λυσιτελεῖ, który użyty w formie bezosobowej wyraża porównanie „jest korzystniejsze”, „jest lepsze”<sup>41</sup>. Na tej podstawie można stwierdzić, że analizowany spójnik w porównaniach zawartych w greckim tekście Łk używany jest w sposób regularny i zgodny z normami tworzenia porównań w języku greckim. Wobec tych danych należy więc uznać, że wykorzystanie go w Łk 15,7 jest tym bardziej zaskakujące i budzi słuszne pytania oraz wątpliwości.

W Dziejach Apostolskich analizowany spójnik występuje trzydzieści pięć razy. W zdecydowanej większości przyjmuje znaczenie „lub”<sup>42</sup>, cztery razy łączy się z przysłówkiem μᾶλλον („bardziej”, „w wyższym stopniu”)<sup>43</sup>, dwa razy występuje z przysłówkiem πρῶτον („przed”, „wpierw”, „wprzód”; zob. Dz 7,2 i 25,16) i raz w znaczeniu „czy” (zob. Dz 24,21).

38 Np. „Ich sage euch: So wird Freude im Himmel sein über *einen* Sünder, der Buße tut, *mehr* als über neunundneunzig Gerechte, die die Buße nicht nötig haben” (Revidierte Elberfelder [1993]). „Ich sage euch: So wird (mehr) Freude im Himmel sein über einen umkehrenden Sünder als über neunundneunzig Gerechte, welche nicht nötig haben eine Umkehr” (Münchener NT [1938]). Zob. również przyp. nr 6.

39 Zob. Łk 2,24; 8,16; 12,11.11.14.41.47.51; 13,15; 14,5.12.31; 15,8; 16,13.13.17; 17,7.21.23; 18,11.29.29.29.29; 20,2; 21,15.

40 Zob. Łk 5,23; 6,9.9; 7,19.20; 9,25; 11,12; 13,4; 14,3; 20,4.22; 22,27.

41 Por. R. Kühner – B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*. Teil 2. *Satzlehre*, wyd. 3 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 2015) 303; Popowski, *Wielki słownik*, 371.

42 Zob. Dz 1,7; 3,12.12; 4,7.34; 5,38; 7,49; 8,34; 10,28.28; 11,8; 17,21.21.29.29; 18,14; 19,20; 20,33.33; 23,9.29; 24,12.20; 25,6; 26,31; 28,6.17.21.

43 Zob. Dz 4,19; 5,29; 20,35; 27,11.

Należy zwrócić baczną uwagę na użycie analizowanego spójnika w połączeniu z przysłówkiem *μᾶλλον*, który może być użyty do wyrażenia porównania. Po pierwsze, ze względu na fakt, że w żadnym z wersetów Dziejów Apostolskich przysłówek ten nie został opuszczony, a co za tym idzie – spójnik *ἢ* nigdzie nie tworzy samodzielnie żadnego porównania. Po wtóre, porównania wyrażone za pomocą konstrukcji *μᾶλλον ἢ* w Dziejach Apostolskich zawsze odnoszą się do porównania dwóch czynności (słuchania w 4,19, bycia posłusznym/słuchania w 5,29, bycia szczęśliwym w 20,35 oraz ulegania w 27,11), a nie rzeczy. Są to dwie bardzo ważne obserwacje dotyczące użycia spójnika *ἢ* w dziele Łukasowym, które będą miały istotny wpływ na dalsze analizy składniowe Łk 15,7.

#### 4. Argumenty przemawiające za „tradycyjnym” tłumaczeniem Łk 15,7

Zwolennicy „tradycyjnego” tłumaczenia Łk 15,7 odwołują się do składni języka greckiego w celu uzasadnienia poprawności tłumaczenia tego wersetu jako wyrażającego porównanie. Najpierw zostaną przedstawione argumenty natury syntaktycznej, następnie zaś zostanie omówiony Mt 18,13 jako tekst paralelny, zawierający podsumowanie przypowieści o zagubionej owcy w wersji pierwszej ewangelii.

##### 4.1. Argumenty odwołujące się do składni języka greckiego

Po przedstawieniu dokładnej analizy składniowej greckiego tekstu Łk 15,7 rodzi się pytanie, czy wobec braku w tym wersecie formy stopnia wyższego (*μείζων*) lub równego przymiotnika *μέγας* bądź jakiegokolwiek konstrukcji składniowej wyrażającej w sposób wyraźny i oczywisty porównanie uprawnione jest „tradycyjne” tłumaczenie tego wersetu, opierające się jedynie na obecności w nim spójnika *ἢ*?

W języku greckim porównania najczęściej tworzone są na dwa sposoby. Każdy z nich domaga się jednak użycia stopnia wyższego przymiotnika lub przynajmniej stopnia równego, który pełni wówczas funkcję stopnia wyższego<sup>44</sup>. Pierwszym sposobem sformułowania porównania jest użycie stopnia wyższego lub równego przymiotnika wraz z rzeczownikiem czy zaimkiem w genetiwie (jest to tzw. *genetivus comparationis*), który wyraża osobę lub rzecz, do której odnosi się inną osobę lub rzecz porównywaną (zob. np. Mt 12,6; Mk 1,7; 1 Kor 1,25; Hbr 1,4; 3 J 4). Drugim sposobem wyrażenia porównania jest użycie spójnika porównawczego *ἢ* („niż”, „jak”; zob. np. Mt 9,5; Mk 10,25; Rz 13,11)<sup>45</sup>. W Łk 15,7 spójnik ten występuje, podobnie jak dwa wyrażenia przyimkowe,

<sup>44</sup> Zob. Piwowar, *Składnia języka greckiego*, § 138.

<sup>45</sup> Por. N. Basile, *Sintassi storica del greco antico*, wyd. 2 (Femio 7; Bari: Levante 2001) 117–119; Kühner – Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, 301–307; C.F.D. Moule, *An Idiom Book of the New Testament Greek*, wyd. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1959; reprint 2004) 98; A. Piwowar, *Język grecki Nowego Testamentu* (Materiały Pomocnicze do Wykładów z Bibliistyki 15; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2022) I, 292–293; Piwowar, *Składnia języka greckiego*, § 140; H.W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Harvard: Harvard University Press 1956; reprint 1984) §1069.

które – według „tradycyjnego” tłumaczenia tego wersetu – są ze sobą porównywane, brakuje jednak przymiotnika w stopniu wyższym lub równym, który jest istotny, a wręcz kluczowy, dla wyrażenia porównania, ponieważ to on wskazuje na większą intensywność danej cechy lub sytuacji/stanu, ze względu na którą dokonuje się porównania. Zwolennicy „tradycyjnego” tłumaczenia Łk 15,7 odwołują się do znanych w języku greckim przypadków, w których sam spójnik porównawczy bez stopnia wyższego lub równego przymiotnika wyraża porównanie<sup>46</sup>. Na przykład Alain J. Thompson, Daniel L. Chrupcała i inni powołują się na gramatykę Friedricha Blassa i Alberta Debrunnera lub na składnię greki biblijnej opracowaną przez Maximiliana Zerwicka<sup>47</sup>. Wiekopomne opracowanie gramatyki dokonane przez dwóch niemieckich uczonych w paragrafie 245 omawia przypadki peryfraz porównań wyrażone za pośrednictwem form przymiotników w stopniu równym, który może mieć znaczenie stopnia zarówno najwyższego, jak i wyższego<sup>48</sup>. Podpunkt b trzeciego punktu tego paragrafu poświęcony jest właśnie wyrażaniu porównań za pomocą samego spójnika porównawczego ἤ<sup>49</sup>.

Autorzy gramatyki najpierw podają przykłady porównań, w których nie występuje przymiotnik w stopniu wyższym, lecz w stopniu równym, a same porównania wyrażone są za pomocą spójnika ἤ<sup>50</sup>. Pośród nich wymieniają Mt 18,8.9 i teksty paralelne z Ewangelii według św. Marka (Mk 9,43.47). Zawierają one konstrukcję καλὸν ἐστίν... ἢ (dosł. „dobrze jest ... niż”), w której przymiotnik καλός występuje w stopniu równym w znaczeniu stopnia wyższego („lepiej”), co pozwala na sformułowanie porównania. Analogiczna sytuacja występuje również w Mk 9,45. W dwóch dalszych przykładach wymienionych przez niemieckich badaczy, tj. Mk 3,4 (ἐξεστὶν τοῖς σάββασιν ἀγαθὸν ποιῆσαι ἢ κακοποιῆσαι, ψυχὴν σῶσαι ἢ ἀποκτεῖναι;) i Łk 6,9 (εἰ ἐξεστὶν τῷ σαββάτῳ ἀγαθοποιῆσαι ἢ κακοποιῆσαι, ψυχὴν σῶσαι ἢ ἀπολέσαι;), występuje co prawda ἢ, ale w znaczeniu „czy”, a nie porównawczym. Kolejnym przykładem, który miałby potwierdzać użycie samego tego spójnika bez przymiotnika w celu wyrażenia porównania, jest Łk 17,2 (λυσιτελεῖ αὐτῷ εἰ λίθος μωλικὸς περικείται περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔρριπται εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἢ ἵνα σκανδαλίση τῶν μικρῶν τούτων

46 Zob. A. Plummer, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Luke*, wyd. 5 (ICC; Edinburgh: Clark 1981) 369.

47 Zob. Chrupcała, *Il vangelo di Luca*, 448; Thompson, *Luke*, 242. Por. Nolli, *Evangelo secondo Luca*, 691; Wolter, *The Gospel according to Luke*, 239.

48 Zob. F. Blass – A. Debrunner, *Grammatica del greco del Nuovo Testamento* (Introduzione allo Studio della Bibbia. Supplementi 2; Brescia: Paideia 1997) § 245; M. Zerwick, *Il Greco del Nuovo Testamento. Traduzione e adattamento alla lingua italiana di Gastone Boscolo* (SubBi 38; Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press 2010) §145. Por. W.F. Arndt – F.W. Gingrich (red.), *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature: A Translation and Adaptation of the Fourth Revised and Augmented Edition of Walter Bauer's Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur*, wyd. 2 (Chicago, IL – London: The University of Chicago Press 1979) 342.

49 Zob. Blass – Debrunner, *Grammatica del greco*, § 245.3b.

50 W celu poparcia możliwości tworzenia porównań w języku greckim jedynie za pomocą spójnika ἤ odwołują się oni do Kühner – Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, 303 oraz J. Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (Berlin: G. Reimer 1905) 28. Por. G.B. Winer, *A Grammar the Idiom of the New Testament: Prepared as a Solid Basis for the Interpretation of the New Testament*, wyd. 7 (Andover, MA: Warren F. Draper 1883) 241.

ἔνα – „Korzystniej jest dla niego, jeśli kamień młyński położony jest wokół jego szyi i rzucony jest w morze, niż aby zgorzłyby jednego z tych małych/najmniejszych”). Rzeczywiście, nie ma w tym wersecie żadnej formy przymiotnika, należy jednak zwrócić uwagę na fakt, że forma czasownika będącego orzeczeniem tego zdania (λυσιτελεῖ) sama w sobie wyraża porównanie (λυσιτελέω, użyty nieosobowo, przyjmuje znaczenie „jest korzystniejszej”, „jest lepsze”)<sup>51</sup>. Podstawą porównania w tym wersecie jest więc nie przymiotnik, lecz forma czasownikowa. Ponadto należy zauważyć, że porównanie wyrażone w ten specyficzny sposób nie dotyczy, jak w Łk 15,7, intensywności przeżywania jakiejś sytuacji, ale dwóch różnych czynności.

Tylko w dwóch tekstach samodzielnie występujący spójnik ἢ wyraża porównanie. Pierwszym z nich jest 1 Kor 14,19: ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ θέλω πέντε λόγους τῶ νοῖ μου λαλήσαι, ἵνα καὶ ἄλλους κατηχήσω, ἢ μυρίου λόγους ἐν γλώσσῃ („ale w Kościele/zgromadzeniu chcę powiedzieć pięć słów moim umysłem, aby innych pouczyć, niż dziesięć tysięcy słów językiem”)<sup>52</sup>. Drugim jest Rdz 38,26 (LXX): ἐπέγνω δὲ Ἰουδας καὶ εἶπεν δεδικαίωται Θαμαρ ἢ ἐγὼ οὐ εἶνεκεν οὐκ ἔδωκα αὐτὴν Σηλωμ τῶ υἱῶ μου καὶ οὐ προσέθετο ἔτι τοῦ γνῶναι αὐτὴν („Juda zaś poznał i rzekł: »Tamar okazała się sprawiedliwa niż ja ze względu na to nie dałem jej Selomowi, mojemu synowi« i nie kontynuował, aby jeszcze ją poznać” [poznanie w sensie aktu seksualnego – przyp. autora]). Należy jednak zauważyć, że we wspomnianych tekstach porównanie nie dotyczy jakiejś cechy, lecz czynności: mówienia i bycia sprawiedliwym<sup>53</sup>. Walter Bauer w swoim słowniku twierdzi, że spójnik ἢ w Rdz 38,26 nie wyraża porównania, lecz wykluczenie<sup>54</sup>, a więc powinien być tłumaczony następująco: „Juda zaś poznał i rzekł: »Tamar okazała się sprawiedliwa, a [nie] ja ze względu na to nie dałem jej Selomowi, mojemu synowi« i nie kontynuował, aby jeszcze poznać ją”.

W świetle gramatyki języka greckiego opracowanej przez Raphaela Kühnera i Bernharda Gertha, na którą powołują się Friedrich Blass i Albert Debrunner<sup>55</sup>, należy uznać, że zarówno 1 Kor 14,19, jak i Rdz 38,26 wyrażają porównania, ale na innej podstawie niż zdecydowana większość „klasycznych” przypadków sformułowania porównań (przy użyciu *genetivus comparationis* lub spójnika ἢ przedstawionych powyżej). W 1 Kor 14,19 jest ono uzasadnione przez obecność czasownika θέλω („chcieć”), w drugim (Rdz 38,26) przez δικαίω, który nawiązuje wprost do zwrotu δίκαιόν ἐστι („jest sprawiedliwe”, „jest słuszne”). W obu tych przypadkach możliwe jest porównanie wyrażone za pomocą jedynie ἢ<sup>56</sup>. Prawdą

51 Zob. Kühner – Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, 303; Popowski, *Wielki słownik*, 371.

52 Por. T.A. Brookins – B.K. Longenecker, *1 Corinthians 10–16: A Handbook on the Greek Text* (Baylor Handbook on the Greek New Testament; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press 2016) 113–114.

53 Zob. A.T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville, TN: Broadman Press 2010) 661. Por. Kühner – Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, 303.

54 Zob. Arndt – Gingrich (red.), *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 342.

55 Zob. Blass – Debrunner, *Grammatica del greco*, § 245.3 n. 4.

56 „Das komparative ἢ steht bisweilen bei Verben ohne μᾶλλον oder nach einem Positive. Dies geschieht: a) nach den Ausdrücken des Wollens, Wählens u. ähnlichen, weil in ihnen der Begriff der Verschiedenheit, des Vorzugs liegt [...] b) nach: δίκαιόν ἐστιν, λυσιτελεῖν u. a. Ausdrücken, wenn sie bei einem Zweifel, einer Überlegung angewendet werden” (Kühner – Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, 303).

jest więc, że wyrażenie porównania za pomocą samego spójnika jest dopuszczalne i możliwe w języku greckim, ale muszą być spełnione określone, bardzo konkretne warunki, które niestety w greckim tekście Łk 15,7 nie są, a co za tym idzie, odwoływanie się do możliwości wyrażenia porównania jedynie za pomocą samego spójnika  $\eta$  jest niemożliwe.

Powyzsze stanowisko wyrażone przez Raphaela Kühnera i Bernharda Gertha popierają Archibald T. Robertson<sup>57</sup> oraz Henry G. Liddell i Robert Scott, którzy w swoim słowniku, prezentując użycie spójnika  $\eta$  w sensie porównawczym, nie podają możliwości zastosowania go bez przymiotnika w stopniu wyższym lub równym<sup>58</sup>. Opinię tę podzielają również Franco Montanari<sup>59</sup> oraz Lorenzo Rocci<sup>60</sup>.

Maximilian Zerwick, do omówionych powyżej tekstów, które miałyby być argumentami przemawiającymi za możliwością interpretacji w znaczeniu porównania tekstów, w których brakuje stopnia wyższego lub równego przymiotnika, podaje jeszcze inny, bardzo interesujący przykład. W Łk 13,2 czytamy: δοκεῖτε ὅτι οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι οὗτοι ἁμαρτωλοὶ παρὰ πάντα τοὺς Γαλιλαίους ἐγένοντο („Myślicie/sądzicie, że ci Galilejczycy grzesznikami większymi niż wszyscy Galilejczycy byli?”)<sup>61</sup>. W tym jednak tekście porównanie zostało wyrażone za pomocą przyimka *παρά* (por. Łk 18,14<sup>62</sup>), a nie  $\eta$ , co osłabia moc argumentu, ponieważ tekst można przetłumaczyć również jako wyrażający zestawienie<sup>63</sup>: „Myślicie/sądzicie, że ci Galilejczycy grzesznikami w porównaniu ze wszystkimi Galilejczykami byli?”

Wielu egzegetów, broniąc „tradycyjnego” tłumaczenia Łk 15,7, twierdzi, że we wspomnianym wersecie został opuszczony przysłówek *μᾶλλον* („bardziej” w sensie „w wyższym stopniu”), co uzasadniałoby obecność porównania w tym tekście<sup>64</sup>. Jeśli rzeczywiście Łukasz opuściłby w analizowanym wersecie wskazany przysłówek, to nawet w tym domniemanym wypadku tłumaczenie odbiegałoby od „tradycyjnego”, gdyż większe natężenie, które wyraża *μᾶλλον*, odnosiłoby się do *ἔσται*, a nie do *χαρά*<sup>65</sup>, ponieważ przysłówki modyfikują czasowniki, a nie rzeczowniki.

Walter Bauer w swoim słowniku stwierdza, że spójnik  $\eta$  w Łk 15,7 występuje bez poprzedzającej go formy stopnia wyższego przymiotnika, ale również bez przysłówka

57 Zob. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 661.

58 Zob. H.G. Liddell – R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, wyd. 9 (Oxford: Clarendon 1996) 761.

59 Zob. F. Montanari, *Vocabolario della lingua greca*, wyd. 2 (Trento: Loescher 2004) 924–925.

60 Zob. L. Rocci, *Vocabolario greco-italiano*, wyd. 38 (Città di Castello: Dante Alighieri 1995) 844.

61 Zob. Zerwick, *Il greco del Nuovo Testamento*, §145. Por. Culy – Parsons – Stigall, *Luke*, 450.

62 Zob. Culy – Parsons – Stigall, *Luke*, 570; M.J. Harris, *Prepositions and Theology in Greek New Testament: An Essential Reference Resource for Exegesis* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 2012) 172.

63 Zob. Popowski, *Wielki słownik*, 460.

64 Por. J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke (I–IX): Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 28; New York – London – Toronto – Sydney – Auckland: Doubleday 1981) 124; Klostermann, *Das Lukasevangelium*, 156; Zerwick, *Il greco del Nuovo Testamento*, §145. “‘More’ does not translate a Greek term but is supplied because of the ‘than’ later in the verse” (Stein, *Luke*, 404). “The comparative indicates that *μᾶλλον* is to be supplied, and the comparison may mean ‘more than’ (AG; Grundmann, 307f.) or ‘instead of’ (cf. 18:14 for the thought)” (I.H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* [NIGTC; Exeter: Paternoster 1978] 602).

65 Por. M. Zerwick – M. Grosvenor, *A Grammatical Analysis of the Greek New Testament*, wyd. 5 (SubBi 39; Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press 2010) 243.

μαλλον<sup>66</sup>. Jako przykład takiego użycia analizowanego spójnika podaje m.in. grecki tekst Hi 42,12: ὁ δὲ κύριος εὐλόγησεν τὰ ἔσχατα Ἰωβ ἢ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν ἦν („Pan zaś pobłogosławił ostatnie [lata] Hioba, [bardziej] niż te, co przedtem były”) oraz Oz 6,6: διότι ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν καὶ ἐπίγνωσιν θεοῦ ἢ ὀλοκαυτώματα („ponieważ/dlatego że miłosierdzia chcę/pragnę, a nie ofiary, poznania Boga, a nie/niż całopalenia”)<sup>67</sup>. W ostatnim tekście spójnik ἢ można zinterpretować jako wyrażający porównanie („niż”), ale również jako wykluczający („a nie”). Ponadto w tekście występuje czasownik θέλω, który stanowi podstawę do wyrażenia porównania<sup>68</sup>.

Podsumowując prezentację przytoczonych argumentów, które miałyby przemawiać na korzyść „tradycyjnego” tłumaczenia Łk 15,7 w sensie porównania, należy stwierdzić, że nie są one przekonujące i nie rozwiązują problemu domniemanego porównania w tym wersecie, co poważnie osłabia ich siłę dowodową. Wręcz przeciwnie przeczą takiej możliwości interpretacji, ponieważ we wspomnianym tekście nie są spełnione warunki, aby samodzielnie występujący spójnik ἢ mógł wyrazić porównanie. Jeśli św. Łukasz rzeczywiście opuścił w Łk 15,7 przysłówek μαλλον, to rodzi się pytanie, dlaczego pominął ten tak ważny dla przesłania teologicznego tego wersetu przysłówek. Zdaniem Alfreda Plummera mógł to uczynić, ponieważ powszechnie był on pomijany w języku mówionym, którym posługiwano się na co dzień<sup>69</sup>. Wobec tej przesłanki rodzi się jednak pytanie, dlaczego przysłówek ten nie został pominięty w Dz 4,19; 5,29; 20,35 i 27,11. Wyjaśnienia Plummera nie można więc uznać za zasadne i rozstrzygające.

Najlepszym podsumowaniem analiz zawartych w tym podparagrafie jest opinia Raphaela Kühnera i Bernharda Gertha, którzy twierdzą, że w wielu tekstach, w których występuje spójnik ἢ, pełni on funkcję fałszywego porównania, a w rzeczywistości jest spójnikiem rozłącznym<sup>70</sup>. W ten sposób argumenty wywodzące się ze składni greckiej, na które powołują się Friedrich Blass, Albert Debrunner oraz Maximilan Zerwick, zostają, jeśli nie całkowicie obalone, to bardzo poważnie osłabione, ponieważ w Łk 15,7 nie weryfikuje się żadna z przesłanek przemawiających za uznaniem ἢ za spójnik samodzielnie tworzący porównanie.

66 Por. Arndt – Gingrich (red.), *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 342; Basile, *Sintassi storica del greco antico*, 121–122; Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, §1072; von Siebenthal, *Ancient Greek Grammar*, 413.

67 Zob. Arndt – Gingrich (red.), *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 342.

68 Zob. Kühner – Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, 303.

69 Zob. Plummer, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, 369.

70 „An viele Stellen wird jedoch das ἢ fälschlich für ein comparatives gehalten, da es nichts anderes als ein disjunktives ist” (Kühner – Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, 303).

## 4.2. Mt 18,13 jako tekst paralelny do Łk 15,7

Tekstem paralelnym do Łk 15,7 jest Mt 18,13<sup>71</sup>. Również ten werset mówi o większej radości z jednej odnalezionej owcy, która się zagubiła i została odnaleziona, niż z dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu owiec, które się nie zagubiły: *καὶ ἂν γένηται εὐρεῖν αὐτό, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι χαίρει ἐπ’ αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐνενηήκοντα ἑννέα τοῖς μὴ πεπλανημένοις* („I jeśli stałoby się, że znalazł ją [owcę – przyp. autora], zaprawdę mówię wam, że raduje się z powodu niej bardziej niż z powodu dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu tych, które nie zabłąkały się”)<sup>72</sup>. Zdaniem wielu egzegetów oba te wersety mają swoje korzenie w źródle Q<sup>73</sup>.

Łk 15,7 i Mt 18,13 wyrażają niemal identyczne przesłanie, choć w swoich sformułowaniach widocznie różnią się pomiędzy sobą<sup>74</sup>. Pierwszą wyraźną różnicą jest to, że tekst Mt nie mówi o radości w niebie, ale ogranicza ją wyłącznie do właściciela owcy, a co za tym idzie – do radości doczesnej. Wersja pierwszej ewangelii mówi o znalezieniu zagubionej owcy w trybie warunkowym typu *eventualis* (*ἂν γένηται εὐρεῖν αὐτό*), a więc o sytuacji, która jest prawdopodobna<sup>75</sup>. Ponadto mówi wprost o większym radowaniu się (czynność – *χαίρει*) z odnalezienia zaginionej owcy, a nie o radości (*χαρά*), jak sugeruje „tradycyjne” tłumaczenie Łk 15,7 („większa radość”). Różnica ta jest bardzo subtelna, jednak należy ją dostrzec, ponieważ w tekście greckim jest wyraźnie widoczna ze względu na użycie przysłówka *μᾶλλον*. Z punktu widzenia analizy składniowej, najważniejszą różnicą pomiędzy Łk 15,7 a Mt 18,13 jest fakt, że w tym drugim porównanie zostało wyrażone wprost (*μᾶλλον ἢ*) i nie budzi żadnych wątpliwości syntaktycznych, czego nie można powiedzieć o greckim tekście Łk 15,7, w którym nie ma ani przysłówka *μᾶλλον*, ani przymiotnika w stopniu wyższym lub równym<sup>76</sup>. Waldemar Radecki, analizując różnice istniejące między wersją Mateuszową a Łukaszową przypowieści o zagubionej owcy, w ogóle nie zwraca uwagi na werset Łk 15,7, tak jakby nie istniała żadna rozbieżność pomiędzy Mt 18,13 a wersetem z Ewangelii Łukasza<sup>77</sup>. Andrzej Banaszek stwierdza natomiast: „Połowa przypowieści Łukaszowej, szczególnie werset 15,7, jest inaczej sformułowana niż u Mateusza. Łukasz czyni

71 Zob. Banaszek, „Przypowieść o zagubionej owcy”, 29–30; Bovon, *Luke 2*, 407–408; Galbiati, „La parabola della pecora”, 132–133; Nolland, *Luke 9:21–18:34*, 772; Rossé, *Il vangelo di Luca*, 600; Trau, „The Lost Sheep”, 278.

72 Na temat analizy składniowej Mt 18,13 zob. L.D. Chrupcała, *Il vangelo di Matteo: analisi sintattica* (Analecta 92; Milano: Terra Santa 2022) 414; G. Noll, *Evangelo secondo Matteo*, wyd. 2 (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana 1996) 510–511; W.G. Olmstead, *Matthew 15–28: A Handbook on Greek Text* (Baylor Handbook on the Greek New Testament; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press 2019) 83–84; C.L. Quarles, *Matthew* (Exegetical Guide to the Greek New Testament; Nashville, TN: B & H Academic 2017) 210.

73 Zob. Banaszek, „Przypowieść o zagubionej owcy”, 32–33.41; Bovon, *Luke 2*, 407; Mielcarek, „Przypowieść o zagubionej owcy”, 271–272; Radecki, „Zagadnienia literackie”, 10.

74 Por. A. Paciorek, *Ewangelia według św. Mateusza. Rozdziały 14–28* (NKB.NT 1/2; Częstochowa: Edycja Świętego Pawła 2008) 216.

75 „Drugie zdanie warunkowe (*ean*) sugeruje, że znalezienie zabłąkanej owcy (brata lub siostry) nie jest oczywistością” (Paciorek, *Ewangelia według św. Mateusza. Rozdziały 14–28*, 219). Por. R.H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Persecution*, wyd. 2 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1994) 366.

76 Por. Gundry, *Matthew*, 366.

77 Zob. Radecki, „Zagadnienia literackie”, 11.

z motywu radości centralną kwestię opowiadania, podczas gdy u Mateusza w 18,13 motyw ten spełnia tylko rolę tła<sup>78</sup>.

Z całą pewnością Mt 18,13, będąc tekstem paralelnym w stosunku do Łk 15,7, wpłynął na tłumaczenie tego ostatniego. Uważam, że tłumacze w swej pracy translatorskiej wyraźnie zasugerowali się wersją Mateuszową zakończenia przypowieści o zagubionej owcy, nadając tłumaczeniu Łk 15,7 formę porównania jedynie na podstawie występującego w nim spójnika *ἢ*. W ten sposób przesłanie obu tekstów zostało ujednoczone, tak aby nie było między nimi większej rozbieżności odnośnie do radości z powodu jednego nawracającego się grzesznika lub zagubionej owcy i dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu sprawiedliwych lub owiec, które się nie zagubiły.

## 5. Propozycja nowego tłumaczenia uwzględniającego wyniki analizy składniowej greckiego tekstu Łk 15,7

Pod wpływem przedstawionych zarzutów wobec „tradycyjnego” tłumaczenia Łk 15,7 w sensie porównania („większa radość z ... niż z...”) należy wziąć pod rozwagę inną możliwość interpretacji spójnika *ἢ* w tym wersecie Ewangelii według św. Łukasza. Skoro uznanie go za wyrażający porównanie jest nie do przyjęcia, z punktu widzenia składni języka greckiego pozostaje jedynie inna możliwość, a mianowicie przyjęcie, że pełni on funkcję spójnika alternatywnego lub dysjunktywnego i należy przetłumaczyć go w znaczeniu „lub”, „albo”. Interpretacja ta nie napotyka żadnych trudności składniowych i czyni syntaksę Łk 15,7 jasną i oczywistą, choć sprawia, że przesłanie tego wersetu różni się od „tradycyjnego” tłumaczenia, do którego wszyscy już się przyzwyczailiśmy. Tłumaczenie analizowanego wersetu zgodne z powyższą interpretacją spójnika *ἢ* mogłoby brzmieć następująco: „Powiadam wam: Tak samo w niebie będzie radość z jednego grzesznika, który się nawraca lub/ albo z dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu sprawiedliwych, którzy nie potrzebują nawrócenia”.

Powyższe tłumaczenie nie stwierdza, że w niebie będzie większa radość z powodu jednego nawracającego się grzesznika niż dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu sprawiedliwych, którzy swe życie przeżyli, nie popełniając żadnych większych wykroczeń i zachowywali w swym życiu nakazy Prawa, a więc trwali wiernie w przymierzu z Bogiem. Oświadczą natomiast, że podobnie jak właściciel zagubionej owcy cieszy się z jej odnalezienia, tak samo będzie radość w niebie z nawracającego się grzesznika lub z dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu sprawiedliwych.

Wydaje się ponadto, że propozycja nowej interpretacji, a w konsekwencji nowego tłumaczenia, Łk 15,7 lepiej wpisuje się w kontekst bezpośrednio go poprzedzający. Nie wyraża bowiem porównania, co sprawia, że zaprezentowana propozycja jest bardziej spójna z Łk 15,6. Wspomniany werset mówi o radości z powodu odnalezienia zaginionej owcy, którą jej właściciel chce dzielić ze swymi sąsiadami. Łk 15,6 nie mówi o większej radości

78 Banaszek, „Przypowieść o zagubionej owcy”, 31–32.

ani nie zawiera żadnego porównania, co sprawia, że obecność przysłówka οὕτως („w ten sam sposób”, „tak samo”, „podobnie”) w nowej interpretacji Łk 15,7 jest bardziej uzasadniona niż w tłumaczeniu „tradycyjnym”. Werset zawiera porównanie, podczas gdy poprzedni go nie wyraża, więc obie sytuacje dotyczące radości nie są identyczne ani nawet podobne do siebie, dlatego że w pierwszej z nich nie ma mowy o stopniowaniu radości z powodu odnalezionej owcy. Jedyną analogią pomiędzy tymi dwoma wersetami jest radość. Właściciel odnajduje zaginioną owcę, co jest przyczyną jego radości, którą chce się podzielić ze swymi sąsiadami. Podobnie jest w niebie: nawrócenie jednego grzesznika powoduje tę samą radość, co obecność w nim dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu sprawiedliwych. Powodem radości w niebie jest ten jeden lub tych dziewięćdziesięciu dziewięciu – i jest ona taka sama w obu przypadkach.

## Zakończenie

Dzięki dokładnej analizie argumentów, na które powołują się zwolennicy „tradycyjnego” tłumaczenia Łk 15,7 w sensie „większa jest radość z ... niż z ...”, wykazano niezasadność tłumaczenia tego wersetu w powszechnie przyjęty sposób. Jedynym, jak się zdaje, argumentem przemawiającym za tradycyjnym tłumaczeniem Łk 15,7 jest tekst paralelny Mt 18,13. Tylko na podstawie wpływu przesłania tego tekstu z Ewangelii Mateusza na tłumaczenie analizowanego wersetu z Łk można zrozumieć obecność w nim porównania – powszechnie przyjętą, ale nieuzasadnioną z punktu widzenia składni języka greckiego. Wobec konieczności odrzucenia interpretacji spójnika ἢ w Łk 15,7 jako wyrażającego porównanie („niż”), pozostaje jedynie jako alternatywa uznanie go za pełniący funkcję dysjunktywną lub alternatywną („lub”, „albo”). Nowo zaproponowana interpretacja analizowanego wersetu, a co za tym idzie również jego nowe tłumaczenie, wydaje się ponadto lepiej wpisywać w kontekst poprzedzający perykopę o zagubionej owcy (Łk 15,4–7).

## Bibliografia

- Arndt, W.F., *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (Bible Commentary; Saint Louis, MO: Concordia 1956).
- Arndt, W.F. – Gingrich, F.W. (red.), *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature: A Translation and Adaptation of the Fourth Revised and Augmented Edition of Walter Bauer's Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur*, wyd. 2 (Chicago, IL – London: The University of Chicago Press 1979).
- Banaszek, A., „Przypowieść o zagubionej owcy w świetle teologicznych koncepcji ewangelistów (Mt 18,10–15; Łk 15,3–7)”, *Stworzył Bóg człowieka na swój obraz. Księga pamiątkowa dla Biskupa Profesora Mariana Gołębiewskiego w 65. rocznicę urodzin* (red. W. Chrostowski) (Warszawa: Vocatio 2002) 26–52.
- Basile, N., *Sintassi storica del greco antico*, wyd. 2 (Femio 7; Bari: Levante 2001).
- Blass, F. – Debrunner, A., *Grammatica del greco del Nuovo Testamento* (Introduzione allo Studio della Bibbia. Supplementi 2; Brescia: Paideia 1997).

- Bock, D.L., *Luke*. II. 9:51–24:53 (Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books 1994).
- Bovon, F., *Luke 2: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 9:51–19:27* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2013).
- Brookins, T.A. – Longenecker B.K., *I Corinthians 10–16: A Handbook on the Greek Text* (Baylor Handbook on the Greek New Testament; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press 2016).
- Chen, D.G., *Luke* (New Covenant Commentary Series; Eugene, OR: Cascade Books 2017).
- Chrupcała, L.D., *Il vangelo di Luca: analisi sintattica* (Analecta 86; Milano: Terra Santa 2018).
- Chrupcała, L.D., *Il vangelo di Matteo: analisi sintattica* (Analecta 92; Milano: Terra Santa 2022).
- Culy, M.M. – Parsons, M.C. – Stigall, J.J., *Luke: A Handbook on the Greek Text* (Baylor Handbook on the Greek New Testament; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press 2010).
- Ernst, J., *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (Regensburger Neues Testament; Regensburg: Pustet 1976).
- Fausti, S., *Una comunità legge il Vangelo di Luca* (Bologna: EDB 1994).
- Fitzmyer, J.A., *The Gospel according to Luke (I–IX): Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (Anchor Bible 28; New York – London – Toronto – Sydney – Auckland: Doubleday 1981).
- Fitzmyer, J.A., *The Gospel according to Luke (X–XXIV): Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (Anchor Bible 28A; New York – London – Toronto – Sydney – Auckland: Doubleday 1985).
- Galbiati, E., „La parabola della pecora e della dramma ritrovate”, *Bibbia e Oriente* 6/3 (1964) 129–133.
- Grasso, S., *Luca* (Roma: Borla 1999).
- Green, J.B., *The Gospel of Luke* (New International Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1997).
- Grundmann, W., *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament 3; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt 1961).
- Gryglewicz, F., *Ewangelia według św. Łukasza. Wstęp – przekład z oryginału – komentarz* (Pismo Święte Nowego Testamentu 3/3; Poznań: Pallottinum 2007).
- Gundry, R.H., *Matthew. A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Persecution*, wyd. 2 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1994).
- Harris, M.J., *Prepositions and Theology in Greek New Testament: An Essential Reference Resource for Exegesis* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 2012).
- Jankowski, A., *Królestwo Boże w przypowieściach* (Poznań – Warszawa: Pallottinum 1981).
- Johnson, L.T., *The Gospel of Luke* (red. D.J. Harrington) (Sacra Pagina 3; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 1991).
- Klostermann, E., *Das Lukasevangelium* (Handbuch zum Neuen Testament 5; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1975).
- Kühner, R. – Gerth B., *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*. Teil 2. *Satzlehre*, wyd. 3 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 2015).
- Larsen, I., “A Point of Irony”, *The Bible Translator* 50/4 (1999) 411–417.
- Liddell, H.G. – Scott, R., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, wyd. 9 (Oxford: Clarendon 1996).
- Markowski, A. (red.), *Wielki słownik poprawnej polszczyzny PWN* (Warszawa: PWN 2010).
- Marshall, I.H., *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (New International Greek Testament Commentary; Exeter: Paternoster 1978).
- Mickiewicz, F., *Ewangelia według świętego Łukasza, rozdziały 12–24* (Nowy Komentarz Biblijny. Nowy Testament 3/2; Częstochowa: Edycja Świętego Pawła 2012).
- Mielcarek, K., „Przypowieść o zagubionej owcy w trzeciej Ewangelii (Łk 15,1–7)”, *Wszystko czynię dla Ewangelii. Księga Pamiątkowa ku czci O. Prof. Hugolina Langkammera OFM* (red. G. Witaszek – A. Paciorek – A. Kiejza) (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2000) 265–284.

- Montanari, F., *Vocabolario della lingua greca*, wyd. 2 (Trento: Loescher 2004).
- Moule, C.F.D., *An Idiom Book of the New Testament Greek*, wyd. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1959; reprint 2004).
- Nolland, J., *Luke 9:21–18:34* (Word Biblical Commentary 35B; Dallas, TX: Word Books 1993).
- Nolli, G., *Evangelo secondo Luca*, wyd. 2 (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana 1993).
- Nolli, G., *Evangelo secondo Matteo*, wyd. 2 (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana 1996).
- Nestle, E. et al. (red.), *Novum Testamentum Graece*, wyd. 28 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2012).
- Olmstead, W.G., *Matthew 15–28: A Handbook on Greek Text* (Baylor Handbook on the Greek New Testament; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press 2019).
- Paciorek, A., *Ewangelia według św. Mateusza. Rozdziały 14–28* (Nowy Komentarz Biblijny. Nowy Testament 1/2; Częstochowa: Edycja Świętego Pawła 2008).
- Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu w przekładzie z języków oryginalnych*, wyd. 5 poprawione (Poznań: Pallottinum 2002).
- Piowar, A., *Składnia języka greckiego Nowego Testamentu*, wyd. 2 (Materiały Pomocnicze do Wykładów z Bibliistyki 13; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2017).
- Piowar, A., *Język grecki Nowego Testamentu* (Materiały Pomocnicze do Wykładów z Bibliistyki 15; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2022) I, II.
- Plummer, A., *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Luke*, wyd. 5 (International Critical Commentary; Edinburgh: Clark 1981).
- Popowski, R., *Wielki słownik grecko-polski Nowego Testamentu: wydanie z pełną lokalizacją greckich hasel, kluczem polsko-greckim oraz indeksem form czasownikowych*, wyd. 4 (Prymasowska Seria Biblijna; Warszawa: Vocatio 2006).
- Popowski, R. – Wojciechowski, M. (red.), *Grecko-polski Nowy Testament. Wydanie interlinearne z kluczem gramatycznym, z kodami Stronga i Popowskiego oraz pełną transliteracją greckiego tekstu*, wyd. 9 (Prymasowska Seria Biblijna; Warszawa: Vocatio 2014).
- Quarles, C.L., *Matthew* (Exegetical Guide to the Greek New Testament; Nashville, TN: B & H Academic 2017).
- Radecki, W., „Zagadnienia literackie perykop o Bożym miłosierdziu (Łk 15,1–7.8–10.11–32)”, *Teologia i Człowiek* 14 (2009) 9–31.
- Reiling, J. – Swellengrebel, J.L., *A Translator's Handbook on the Gospel of Luke* (Helps for [Bible] Translators 10; Leiden: Brill 1971).
- Robertson, A.T., *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville, TN: Broadman Press 2010).
- Rocci, L., *Vocabolario greco-italiano*, wyd. 38 (Città di Castello: Dante Alighieri 1995).
- Rossé, G., *Il vangelo di Luca. Commento esegetico e teologico* (Roma: Città Nuova 1992).
- Sabourin, L., *The Gospel according to St. Luke: Introduction and Commentary* (London: St Paul Publications 1984).
- Schlier, H., „ἀμὴν”, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (red. G. Kittel) (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1995) I, 335–338.
- von Siebenthal, H., *Ancient Greek Grammar for the Study of the New Testament* (Oxford – Bern – Berlin – Bruxelles – New York – Wien: Lang 2019).
- Smyth, H.W., *Greek Grammar* (Harvard: Harvard University Press 1956; reprint 1984).
- Stein, R.H., *Luke* (New American Commentary 24; Nashville, TN: Broadman Press 1992).
- Thompson, A.J., *Luke* (Exegetical Guide to the Greek New Testament; Nashville, TN: B & H Academic 2015).
- Trau, J.M., “The Lost Sheep”, *The Bible Today* 28/5 (1990) 277–283.

- Wellhausen, J., *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (Berlin: G. Reimer 1905).
- Wiefel, W., *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament 3; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt 1988).
- Winer, G.B., *A Grammar the Idiom of the New Testament: Prepared as a Solid Basis for the Interpretation of the New Testament*, wyd. 7 (Andover, MA: Warren F. Draper 1883).
- Wojciechowski, M., *Przypowieści dla nas* (Częstochowa: Edycja Świętego Pawła 2007).
- Wolter, M., *The Gospel according to Luke. II. (Luke 9:51–24)* (trans. W. Coppins – C. Heilig) (Baylor-Mohr Siebeck Studies in Early Christianity; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press – Mohr Siebeck 2017).
- Zerwick, M., *Il Greco del Nuovo Testamento. Traduzione e adattamento alla lingua italiana di Gastone Boscolo* (Subsidia Biblica 38; Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press 2010).
- Zerwick, M. – Grosvenor, M., *A Grammatical Analysis of the Greek New Testament*, wyd. 5 (Subsidia Biblica 39; Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press 2010).




## Theology of the Eucharist in Erasmus' and Titelmans' Paraphrase of John 6

Tomasz Karol Mantyk

Nicolaus Copernicus University of Toruń

tomasz.mantyk@umk.pl

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3554-7079>

**ABSTRACT:** This article explores theological differences in biblical paraphrases of Erasmus of Rotterdam and Francis Titelmans. Erasmus' biblical scholarship included paraphrases of New Testament books; a genre of biblical commentary that he effectively reinvented. His paraphrases were acclaimed by fellow humanists but criticised by many theologians, including Noël Beda. Meanwhile, Beda's protegee, Francis Titelmans prepared his own paraphrases, borrowing from Erasmus his innovative form, but filling it with conservative content. This article concentrates on their respective paraphrases of John 6. It demonstrates Titelmans' indebtedness to the older humanist in terms of styles and explores theological differences between them. Erasmus departed from the traditional, eucharistic reading of John 6 and emphasised ethical issues. He often described the Lord's Supper as symbolic and mystical, which entangled him in accusations of sharing eucharistic theology of Swiss reformers. Titelmans, on the other hand, upheld in all aspects traditional, Catholic teaching and read John 6 through a sacramental prism. The analysis of those early 16th century paraphrases sheds light on pre-Tridentine Catholic biblical exegesis and shows methodological developments that came to full fruition after the Council.

**KEYWORDS:** biblical humanism, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Francis Titelmans, Eucharist, Gospel of John

This article is a study in the history of the 16th-century exegesis and offers a comparative analysis of the biblical paraphrases of Erasmus of Rotterdam and his imitator and critic, Francis Titelmans. Erasmus gave an enormous stimulus to the development of the philological study of the Bible when in 1505 he published a manuscript of Lorenzo Valla's *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, that he had discovered in Abdij van Park, near Leuven, a year earlier.<sup>1</sup> Valla's innovation was that he applied to the Bible tools of philological analysis, as if it were any other text.<sup>2</sup> This 'secularisation' of the Biblical text was by no means intended to dimin-

Research for this article has been funded by The National Science Centre, Poland, 'Preludium 22' scheme, grant no. 2023/49/N/HS1/00287. The author extends his gratitude also to The Centre for Renaissance and Reformation Studies in Toronto and the University of Durham Collections Fellowship.

- 1 Cf. J.H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1983) 116.
- 2 Literature on Valla and scholars mentioned in subsequent notes is too vast to be cited here. A reference to some recent works is given, where further bibliographical data can be found. On Valla, see A. den Haan, "Valla's False Modesty: The *Annotaciones Novi Testamenti* Compared with the Biblical Scholarship of Giannozzo

ish the authority of the Scriptures. Quite the contrary. Valla and his imitators had a great esteem for the Holy Writ and wanted to deepen its understanding. Valla's methodology inspired many: in France Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples prepared a new translation of Pauline Epistles,<sup>3</sup> in Spain humanists centred around Cardinal Jimenez prepared a Polyglot Bible,<sup>4</sup> but above all else Erasmus himself applied his extraordinary intellect to the Biblical text producing a Greek edition of the New Testament with an accompanying new Latin translation and philological annotations, first published as *Novum Instrumentum* in 1516.<sup>5</sup>

After this groundbreaking achievement, Erasmus continued to work on the Bible. Between November 1517 and February 1524, he published paraphrases of all the books of the New Testament except for the Revelation.<sup>6</sup> The very genre of biblical paraphrase was in a way an Erasmian invention.<sup>7</sup> It corresponded to the humanist preoccupation with good Latin style and the clarity of exposition. Just like his new translation of the Bible, also his paraphrases were an attempt to make the Bible more appealing to humanist tastes. Theologians, however, were not pleased. Noël Beda, the prepotent syndic of the Parisian Faculty of

---

Manetti (1396–1459) and Aurelio Lippi Brandolini (1454?–1497),” *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 25/2–3 (2023) 119–135, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14622459.2023.2286544>; C. Christ-von Wedel, *Erasmus of Rotterdam: Advocate of a New Christianity* (Erasmus Studies; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2013) 55–59.

3 On Lefèvre, see: P.E. Hughes, *Lefèvre, Pioneer of Ecclesiastical Renewal in France* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1984); G. Bedouelle, “Attacks on the Biblical Humanism of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples,” *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (ed. E. Rummel) (BCCT 9; Leiden: Brill 2008) 115–141; C. Schönau, *Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples und die Reformation* (QFRG 91; Gütersloh: Gütersloher 2017).

4 On Spanish biblical humanism, see C. del Valle Rodriguez, “Antonio Nebrija's Biblical Scholarship,” *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (ed. E. Rummel) (BCCT 9; Leiden: Brill 2008) 55–72; I. García Pinilla, “Reconsidering the Relationship between the Complutensian Polyglot Bible and Erasmus' Novum Testamentum,” *Basel 1516: Erasmus' Edition of the New Testament* (eds. M. Wallraff – S. Seidel Menchi – K. von Greyerz) (SMHR 91; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2016) 59–77.

5 On Erasmus' *Novum instrumentum*, see: A. Rabil Jr., *Erasmus and the New Testament: The Mind of Christian Humanist* (San Antonio, TX: Trinity University Press 1972) 37–127; E. Rummel, *Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament: From Philologist to Theologian* (Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 1986); T. Amalou – A. Vanautgaerden (eds.), *Le Nouveau Testament d'Érasme (1516): Regards sur l'Europe des humanistes* (Turnhout: Brepols 2020); R. Faber, “Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum* (1516): Reforming the Bible into the Bible of the Reformation,” *Renaissance und Bibelhumanismus* (eds. J.M.J. Lange van Ravenswaay – H.J. Selderhuis) (R5AS 65; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2020) 295–312; J. Bloemendal, “Erasmus and Biblical Scholarship,” *A Companion to Erasmus* (ed. E. MacPhail) (Renaissance Society of America Texts and Studies Series 20; Leiden: Brill 2023) 68–89.

6 For the history and chronology of Erasmus' paraphrases, see Rabil, *Erasmus and the New Testament*, 128–139.

7 Cf. J.-F. Cottier, “La théorie du genre de la paraphrase selon Érasme,” *Les paraphrases bibliques aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles: Actes du colloque de Bordeaux des 22, 23 et 24 septembre 2004* (eds. V. Ferrer – A. Mantero) (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 415; Genève: Droz 2006) 45–58; J.-F. Cottier, “Erasmus's Paraphrases: A 'New Kind of Commentary'?” *The Unfolding of Words: Commentary in the Age of Erasmus* (ed. J.R. Henderson) (Erasmus Studies; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2012) 27–45; J.R. Henderson, “Editor's Addendum: Translating an Erasmian Definition of Paraphrase,” *The Unfolding of Words: Commentary in the Age of Erasmus* (ed. J.R. Henderson) (Erasmus Studies; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2012) 47–54.

Theology, found them theologically deficient and methodologically flawed.<sup>8</sup> A paraphrase, according to the Parisian theologian, was *per se* a false interpretation. “The grammarians tell us that one meaning of the word *paraphrastes* is “wrong interpreter and corruptor”; and *paraphrasis* may denote “a wrong interpretation, one that is alien to the sense.”<sup>9</sup> At Beda’s instigation, in December 1527, the Parisian Faculty of Theology condemned Erasmus’ paraphrases.

In this context, it is all the more surprising that a year later, Beda’s protegee, Francis Titelmans, started publishing his own paraphrases of biblical books.<sup>10</sup> Were paraphrases not *per se* false interpretations? Titelmans was a lecturer in Holy Scriptures at the Observant Franciscans study house in Leuven. Before joining the Franciscans, he was educated at Leuven’s house of the Congregation of Montaigu.<sup>11</sup> Throughout his life, Titelmans remained faithful to Montaigu’s ideals of *devotio moderna*, and kept a close contact with leading theologians of the Congregation: Beda, Jacques Masson [Jacobus Latomus], and Pierre Cousturier [Petrus Sutor].<sup>12</sup> Indeed, he demonstrated his adherence to the theological conservatism of Montaigu by attacking Erasmus’ *Novum instrumentum* in his 1529 *Collationes quinque*.<sup>13</sup> Why, then, did he choose to expound on the Bible using the very genre of paraphrase that his mentor condemned?

- 
- 8 On Beda, see J.K. Farge, “Noël Beda and the Defense of the Tradition,” *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (ed. E. Rummel) (BCCT 9; Leiden: Brill 2008) 143–164; E. Rummel, “Why Noël Beda Did not Like Erasmus’ Paraphrases,” *Holy Scripture Speaks: The Production and Reception of Erasmus’ Paraphrases on the New Testament* (eds. H.M. Pabel – M. Vessey) (Erasmus Studies; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2002) 265–278.
- 9 N. Beda, *Annotationum in Jacobum Fabrum Stapulensem libri duo; et in Desiderium Erasmus Roterodamum liber vnus* (Cologne: Petrus Quentell 1526) f. 271r: ‘Est enim notione una, iniquiunt grammatici, [...] perversus interpres et depravator, paraphrasis autem dictionum perversa et aliena interpretation.’
- 10 On Titelmans’ biography, see: A. Paquay, *Frans Tittelmans van Hasselt (Franciscus Tittelmanus Haselensis, december 1502–12 september 1537): Opzoekingen over zijn leven, zijne werken en zijne familie* (Hasselt: Ceysens 1906). The full list of Titelmans’ bibliography, see: B. de Troeyer, *Bio-bibliographia Franciscana Neerlandica saeculi XVI* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf 1969) I, 87–100.
- 11 M. Godet, *La Congregation de Montaigu (1490–1580)* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honore Champion 1912); P.J.J.M. Bakker (ed.), *The College de Montaigu at the University of Paris: Aspects of Its Institutional and Intellectual History (14th–18th Century)* (History of Universities 22/2 [Special Issue]; Oxford: Oxford University Press 2008).
- 12 On Titelmans’ links with Montaigu, see P. Sartori, “Tracce dell’opera di Jacobus Latomus nel «Prologus Apologeticus» di Frans Tittelmans,” *Margarita amicorum. Studi di cultura europea per Agostino Sottili* (eds. F. Forner – C.M. Monti – P.G. Schmidt) (Milano: Vita & Pensiero 2005) 1032–1042; P. Sartori, “Indocti sine bibliis coelum caecis aperiunt’: Frans Tittelmans e l’eredità spirituale di Jan Standonck,” *Università, umanesimo, Europa. Giornata di studio in ricordo di Agostino Sottili* (ed. S. Negruzzo) (Fonti e studi per la storia dell’Università di Pavia 47; Milano: Cisalpino 2007) 207–267; P. Sartori, “Frans Tittelmans, the Congregation of Montaigu, and Biblical Scholarship,” *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (ed. E. Rummel) (BCCT 9; Leiden: Brill 2008) 215–223.
- 13 F. Titelmans, *Collationes quinque super Epistolam ad Romanos beati Pauli Apostoli* (Antuerpiae: Guilielmus Vorstermannus 1529). For the discussion of this work, see P. Sartori, “La controversia neotestamentaria tra Frans Tittelmans ed Erasmo da Rotterdam (1527–1530 CA.): Linee di sviluppo e contenuti,” *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 52 (2003) 77–135; T.K. Mantyk, “Migracje Słowa Bożego, czyli obrona wartości Wulgaty według Franciszka Tittelmansa,” *BA* 9/3 (2019) 525–546.

Erasmus thought he knew the answer. In his rejoinder to Titelmans' attack, he suggested that the Franciscan intended to substitute Erasmus' paraphrases with his own. Not only did he blame Titelmans' arrogance, but suggested that he was instigated by Leuven Franciscans:

With extraordinary arrogance he [Titelmans] instructs Lorenzo Valla and all the rest of us about the correct meaning of Latin and Greek [...]. Often he teaches Lefèvre lessons he has extracted from my Annotations, and yes, sometimes he teaches me what he has learned from my writings. [...] It would have been a sign of true modesty if he had honestly admitted to whom he was indebted for what he teaches us; nor is my nose so insensitive that I cannot smell it. [...] But it is no wonder if fame inspires passions in a youth. What is a wonder is that seraphic persons should push forward their colleague onto this stage so that they can win this much praise for their order. Indeed they play several sorts of similar tricks to get my works out of the hands of scholars. This fellow had already replaced my Paraphrases with his Elucidations.<sup>14</sup>

Titelmans did not explain his motivations; however, we know from his writings that he was critical of Erasmus' biblical scholarship not so much because of his philological method, as because he challenged Church's dogmas and authority. In fact, Titelmans was well versed in ancient languages and competent in philological analyses. He combined these linguistic competences with a conservative theological approach. Consequently, he was content to use philology as long as it did not challenge theology. He found Erasmus guilty of excess in valuing his own opinions based on philological study, more than the judgment of the Church. Therefore, it can be assumed that his motivation was to prepare paraphrases that would be pleasing to humanist readers, but at the same time perfectly orthodox in matters of faith.

The aim of this article is to verify the hypothesis presented above on the example of Erasmus' and Titelmans' paraphrases of John's Gospel, chapter 6. Careful parallel reading of both paraphrases of this chapter shall expose theological and literary differences between the two authors' approaches to the sacred text. In this way, it will also help us to understand better the kernel of their disagreement and consequently the nature of biblical controversies of the early 16th century. We shall begin with some observations on style and literary qualities of both works, then analyse Erasmus' theology of the Eucharist as expressed in his paraphrase, contrast it with Titelmans' work and finally indicate other theological issues

14 D. Erasmus, "Responsio ad Collationes cuiusdam iuuenis gerontodidascali," *Opera Omnia* (ed. J. Le Clerc) (Lugduni Batavorum: Van der Aa 1706) IX, 966B–D: 'Laurentium et nos omnes miro supercilio docet proprietatem Latini Graecique sermonis [...] Saepe Fabrum docet, quod ex meis hausit Annotationibus, imo nonnumquam me docet, quod ex meis scriptis didicit. [...] Erat et illud verae modestiae specimen, si ingenue professus esset quibus deberet illa quae nos docet: neque enim tam nullius nasi sumus, ut id non subleat. [...] Nil mirum tamen si iuveni imponit affectus gloria, illud mirum viros Seraphicos sodalem suum protrudere in hoc prosecutionum, ut hoc laudis suo afferent Ordini. Siquidem hoc variis modis agunt, ut meas Lucubrations excutiant de manibus studiosorum. Jam hic pro meis Paraphrasibus suas substituerat elucidationes.' English translation: *A Response by Desiderius Erasmus to the Discussions of a Certain Youth Who Would Teach His Elders* (ed. and trans. D.L. Drysdall) (CWE 73; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2015) 139–141.

emerging from the chapter under scrutiny. This will enable us to draw some conclusions and suggest paths for subsequent research.

Erasmus' paraphrases have attracted significant scholarly attention recently. Up until the late 1970s, paraphrases, and more generally Erasmus' biblical scholarship, was largely neglected by academics.<sup>15</sup> Albert Rabils' and John Payne's works tracing changes in Erasmus' theology on the basis of alterations introduced in latter editions of paraphrases and Jacques Chomarat's analyses of paraphrases from the rhetorical perspective were among the first works to change it.<sup>16</sup> Much new impulse came with the new critical edition of Erasmus' work (ASD) and their English translation (CWE).<sup>17</sup> These ongoing works not only facilitate scholars' access to Erasmus' texts but also resulted in many articles on various aspects of the Humanist's oeuvre: among others those of Jean-François Cottier and Jane E. Phillips.<sup>18</sup> Besides, two volumes of collected essays on biblical paraphrases appeared in English and one

- 
- 15 J. Bloemendal, "Erasmus' *Paraphrases on the New Testament*: Introduction," *Erasmus Studies* 36/2 (2016) 106–110, <https://doi.org/10.1163/18749275-03602003>.
- 16 A. Rabil, "Erasmus' *Paraphrases of the New Testament*," *Essays on the Works of Erasmus* (ed. R.L. DeMolen) (New Haven, CT – London: Yale University Press 1978) 145–161; A. Rabil, Jr., "Erasmus' Paraphrase of the Gospel of John," *CH* 48/2 (1979) 142–155; J.B. Payne, "The Significance of Lutherizing Changes in Erasmus' Interpretation of Paul's Letters to the Romans and Galatians in His Annotations (1527) and Paraphrases (1532)," *Histoire de l'exégèse au XVIe siècle: Textes du Colloque International tenu à Genève en 1976* (eds. O. Fatio – P. Fraenkel) (Études de Philologie et d'Histoire 34; Genève: Droz 1978) 312–330; J. Chomarat, *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Érasme* (Les classiques de l'humanisme. Études 10; Paris: Les Belles Lettres 1981) I, 587–665; J. Chomarat, "Grammar and Rhetoric in the Paraphrases of the Gospels by Erasmus," *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 1/1 (1981) 30–68.
- 17 ASD, known also as 'the Amsterdam edition' stands for *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* published since 1969 by North-Holland, and later by Elsevier and Brill. It gradually replaces the 1703–1706 edition of Erasmus' works by Jean Leclerc (10 volumes; commonly known as LB). Of the paraphrases the following have been published so far: Luke (vol. VII-2), John (VII-3A), and the Apostolic Epistles (VII-5). On the ASD project, see M.L. van Poll-van de Lisdonk, "Erasmus' *Paraphrasis* on the Pauline Epistles: Outlines of a Commentary in the Scope of the ASD Edition," *Erasmus Studies* 36/2 (2016) 123–130, <https://doi.org/10.1163/18749275-03602004>. CWE stands for Collected Works of Erasmus, and is a scholarly translation of Erasmus' works into English, with an extensive apparatus, published since 1974 by the Toronto University Press.
- 18 J.-F. Cottier, "L'Exhortatio ad studium euangelicæ Lectionis: Érasme Paraphraste et son lecteur," *Moreana* 39/2 (2002) 21–38; J.-F. Cottier, "Les Paraphrases d'Érasme, une œuvre négligée: Bibliographie," *Moreana* 39/2 (2002) 39–42; J.-F. Cottier, "Lucernam accendere in meridie? Du bon usage de la paraphrase biblique selon Érasme," *Infant Milk or Hardy Nourishment? The Bible for Lay People and Theologians in the Early Modern Period* (eds. W. François – A.A. den Hollander) (BETL 221; Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA: Peeters 2009) 65–86; J.-F. Cottier, "Four Paraphrases and a Gospel or How to Rewrite Without Repeating Yourself," *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 36/2 (2016) 131–147; J.E. Phillips, "The Gospel, the Clergy, and the Laity in Erasmus' Paraphrase on the Gospel of John," *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 10/1 (1990) 85–100; J.E. Phillips, "Food and Drink in Erasmus' Gospel Paraphrases," *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 14/1 (1994) 24–45; J.E. Phillips, "On the Road to Emmaus: Erasmus' Paraphrase of Luke 24:27," *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 22/1 (2002) 68–80; J.E. Phillips, "Sub evangelistae persona: The Speaking Voice in Erasmus' Paraphrase on Luke," *Holy Scripture Speaks: The Production and Reception of Erasmus' Paraphrases on the New Testament* (eds. H.M. Pabel – M. Vessey) (Erasmus Studies; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2002) 127–150, <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442675803-010>.

in French.<sup>19</sup> Finally, in 2016, the special issue of ‘Erasmus Studies’ was devoted to Erasmian paraphrases, providing also a very extensive bibliography of works on the subject.<sup>20</sup>

Far less attention has been devoted to Titelmans. Bernard Roussel compared his paraphrase of the Ephesians with those of three contemporary writers, while other scholars mentioned the Franciscan’s productions only in passing, as a background to the work of Erasmus.<sup>21</sup> This article intends to pay more attention to his opus and to confront it with that of his better-known counterpart.

## 1. Literary Qualities of Erasmus’ and Titelmans’ Paraphrases

Erasmus’ *Paraphrase on John* was first published in February 1523 in Basel.<sup>22</sup> The aim of Erasmus was to render the Gospel message in clear, elegant Latin that would be both easier to understand and more pleasing than the terse style of the Vulgate. The task was not an easy one, as Erasmus observed in a letter to a friend: ‘this Gospel contains more obscurities than the others, not only by reason of the sublime and heavenly themes of which it treats but also because the language is full of riddles which complicate the sense.’<sup>23</sup> Titelmans’ paraphrase was written about a decade later. It was based on lectures that Titelmans delivered while still a lecturer in Leuven, around 1533–1535 (before he joined the Capuchins in 1536, and died a year after), but it was not published until 1543.<sup>24</sup> The publication was

19 H.M. Pabel – M. Vessey (eds.), *Holy Scripture Speaks: The Production and Reception of Erasmus’ Paraphrases on the New Testament* (Erasmus Studies; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2002); V. Ferrer – A. Mantero (eds.), *Les paraphrases bibliques aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles: Actes du Colloque de Bordeaux des 22, 23 et 24 septembre 2004* (Travaux d’Humanisme et Renaissance 415; Genève: Droz 2006); J.R. Henderson (ed.), *The Unfolding of Words: Commentary in the Age of Erasmus* (Erasmus Studies; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2012).

20 J. Bloemendal, “Bibliography of Works on Erasmus’ Paraphrases,” *Erasmus Studies* 36/2 (2016) 187–194, <https://doi.org/10.1163/18749275-03602008>.

21 B. Roussel, “Exegetical Fictions? Biblical Paraphrases of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” *Holy Scripture Speaks: The Production and Reception of Erasmus’ Paraphrases on the New Testament* (eds. H.M. Pabel – M. Vessey) (Erasmus Studies; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2002) 59–83; Cottier, “La théorie du genre de la paraphrase selon Érasme,” 48.

22 A modern critical edition: D. Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Euangelium secundum Ioannem* (ed. J. Bloemendal) (ASD VII-3a; Leiden: Brill 2022).

23 P.S. Allen – H.M. Allen (eds.), *Opus epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami. V. 1522–1524* (Oxford: Clarendon 1924), V 143, ep. 1323, vv. 21–24: ‘quod hoc Euangelium plus habeat obscuritatis quam cetera, non tantum ob sublimitatem rerum diuinarum de quibus tractat, verum etiam ob sermonis aenigmata quibus inuolutum est.’ English translation: D. Erasmus, *The Correspondence of Erasmus: Letters 1252–1355 (1522–1523)* (ed. J.M. Estes; trans. R.A.B. Mynors) (Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 1989) 202.

24 F. Titelmans, *Elucidatio paraphrastica, in sanctum Christi Euangelium secundum Ioannem, cum Annotationibus in aliquot capita* (Antwerpiae: Simon Coquus 1543). On the last year of Titelmans’ life, see M. D’Alatri, “Francesco Tittelmans o del lavoro manuale,” *Santi e santità nell’Ordine Cappuccino. I. Il cinque e il Seicento* (ed. M. D’Alatri) (Roma: Postulazione Generale dei Cappuccini 1980) 7–19.

due to Francis' older brother, Peter Titelmans, a feared inquisitor of Flanders.<sup>25</sup> The work was incomplete. It consisted of the paraphrase of the entire text of the Gospel and annotations to some of its chapters. It had nine editions, seven of them in pairs with Titelmans' paraphrase and annotations on Matthew.<sup>26</sup>

It is certain that Titelmans knew the work of Erasmus. Not only was it insinuated by the Prince of the Humanists, but it was acknowledged by Titelmans himself. In his attack on Erasmus' scholarship, he confessed that as a student he was excited to read Erasmus' biblical works but found them deeply disappointing on theological level.<sup>27</sup> Careful reading of both paraphrases validates the idea that Titelmans had Erasmus' work in front of him while writing his paraphrases. Certainly, he was not a slavish imitator. We can, nevertheless, discern some similarities on the level of ideas. For instance, in the paraphrase of John 6:2 both authors list in the same order the three motives of the crowd following Jesus (Table 1).

Table 1. The paraphrases of John 6:2

John 6:2	Erasmus	Titelmans
Et sequebat cum multitudo magna quia videbant signa quae faciebat super his qui infirmabantur.	Atque huc proficiscentem sequuta est ingens hominum multitudo, partim allecta <u>cupiditate miraculorum</u> , quia viderant eum insolita virtute tollentem morbos hominum partim <u>vt ab eo sanarentur</u> qui morbis immedicabilibus tenebantur, <u>partim illius inhiantes doctrinae</u> . <sup>28</sup>	Prosequatur autem eum, hominum plurima multitudo: idque potissimum <u>ob signa et miracula</u> , quae ab eo fieri videbant super male habentes. Quidam enim ex admiratione signorum, vt rerum nouarum cupidi: alii, <u>propter sanitatem</u> vel sibi vel suis acquirendam: alii, <u>propter eius doctrinam audiendam</u> , Christum prosequantur, omnes signorum eius potentia et efficacia permoti. <sup>29</sup>
	A great crowd of people followed him there: some drawn by a desire for miracles because they had seen him take away people's diseases with his strange power; some, who were incurably ill, to be healed by him; some thirsting for his teaching. <sup>30</sup>	A great crowd of people followed him: and this chiefly because of the signs and wonders which they saw him perform upon them that were sick. Some of them, as people eager to see novelties, out of their love for signs. Others, for the sake of gaining healing for themselves or for their close ones. Others yet followed Christ for the sake of hearing his teaching. All of them were moved by the power and efficacy of his signs. <sup>31</sup>

25 On Peter Titelmans, see J. van de Wiele, "De inquisitierechtbank van Pieter Titelmans in de zestiende eeuw in Vlaanderen," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 97/1 (1982) 19–63, <https://doi.org/10.18352/bmgn-lchr.2288>; A. Cambier, "Pieter Titelmans, groot-inkwiteitseur, deken van Ronse in Vlaanderen," *Annalen van de Geschied- en oudheidkundige Kring van Ronse en het Tenement van Inde* 33 (1984) 19–28.

26 Troeyer, *Bio-bibliographia Franciscana*, I, 98.

27 Titelmans, *Collationes quinque*, f. 1r-v.

28 Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Euangelium secundum Ioannem*, 156.

29 Titelmans, *Elucidatio paraphrastica in Ioannem*, f. 48v.

30 D. Erasmus, *Paraphrase on John* (trans. and annot. J.E. Phillips) (CWE 46; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 1991) 75.

31 All translations of Titelmans to English are my own.

We must, however, note that the similarity here could result from using common sources. Both *Postilla* of Nicholas of Lyra, as well as *Enarratio* of Denis the Carthusian listed the same motives as Erasmus and Titelmans, although in different order and adding also a fourth one that both humanists omitted.<sup>32</sup>

Some similarities can be detected by analysing vocabulary. Wherever the Vulgate differed from the translation offered by Erasmus in 1516, Titelmans generally preferred the traditional reading. For instance, he repeatedly used *manducare* for 'eating', while Erasmus, both in his translation and in the paraphrase, preferred *edere/comedere*.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, the younger of the humanists occasionally borrowed an expression from the older colleague, as, for instance, in paraphrases of John 6:10, 17, 38, 43.

The real influence of Erasmus on Titelmans, however, rests in the very choice of the genre. Albeit there had been some ancient precedent, Erasmus effectively reinvented paraphrase as a form of biblical commentary. Due to its literary qualities and freer form, it was more to the humanists' liking. Cottier, developing Chomarat's research, identified several rhetorical features typical of Erasmus' paraphrases: synonymy, periphrasis, amplification, and harmonisation.<sup>34</sup> Analysis of Titelmans' paraphrase indicates that he used the very same devices, although arguably less skilfully than his older colleague.

For instance, one of Erasmus' favourite techniques was that of amplification, which, according to Hoffmann, was for him 'a theological paradigm of spiritual freedom'.<sup>35</sup> He used it especially to search for causes or to give circumstantial precision.<sup>36</sup> Titelmans used it in an identical way. In the paraphrase of John 6:15 (*Iesus ergo cum cognouisset quia venturi essent ut raperent eum et facerent eum regem fugit iterum in montem ipse solus*), he explained both the crowd's motivation as well as reasons for Jesus' escape from them:

Lord Jesus, knowing through his divine omniscience that those people, from the admiration of this miracle, were so filled with excessive and inordinate favour towards Him as to contemplate in their minds making him their king in the matters of this world, withdrew from them back into the mountains, from whence he had come down to herd the crowd, in order to be away from them for some time, until people's immoderate affect and instant favour calmed down through the passage of time and the burning heat of their souls diminished a little. Unless he had removed himself by fleeing, they would have done so, since they were already getting ready for it, in such a way, that they would have dragged him to kingship despite his resistance, and thus make him revolt against the Romans (in so far as they thought that under such

32 Dionysius Cartusianus, "Enarratio in Evangelium secundum Iohannem," *Opera omnia in unum corpus digesta* (Monstrolii: Typis Cartusiae S.M. de Pratis 1901) XII, 382: 'Diversi tamen diversis de causis Christum corporaliter sequebantur: quidam, ut aliquid reprehensionis in verbis aut actibus ejus invenirent, quemadmodum Pharisaei et Scribae invidiosi; quidam, ut instruerentur et vitam suam corrigerent, ut studiosi ac poenitentes; quidam, ut signa viderent et nova audirent, ut curiosi; quidam, ut curarentur; quidam, ut suis sanitatem acquirerent, sicut de regulo dictum est; quidam, ut corporaliter alerentur.'

33 See paraphrase on vv. 23, 49, 53, 54, 55, 57. Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Euangelium secundum Ioannem*, 164, 172–176. Titelmans, *Elucidatio paraphrastica in Ioannem*, ff. 52v, 55v, 56v–57r.

34 Cottier, "Four Paraphrases and a Gospel," 136–146.

35 M. Hoffmann, *Rhetoric and Theology: The Hermeneutic of Erasmus* (Erasmus Studies; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 1994) 146–147.

36 Cottier, "Four Paraphrases and a Gospel," 139.

king it cannot but go well in everything). In this way he provided us with an example to imitate, how we should not only abstain from seeking worldly honours and earthly ostentation, but even escape those that are offered to us.<sup>37</sup>

Apart from explicitly stating motivations only hinted at in the biblical text, he also added a moral teaching, which he derived from the exegetical tradition of this verse.<sup>38</sup> Erasmus' paraphrase carried a similar moral message.<sup>39</sup>

In the paraphrase on John 6:17, Titelmans gave more precision to the information from the Gospel, regarding Jesus' arrival by boat to Capharnaum: 'into the town of Capharnaum, which was situated opposite the place where the Lord had performed the aforementioned miracle, and in which the Lord lodged with his disciples in that time.'<sup>40</sup>

Another example of amplification commonly used by Erasmus and Titelmans was *distirbutio*, that is, expressing something that could be briefly described by referring to its constituent parts. For instance, the laconic phrase from 6:27b (*Hunc enim Pater signauit Deus*) Titelmans developed into an almost credal formula:

The heavenly Father has marked me, the Son of Man, born in time of a virgin, and has confirmed me as with a seal, and has declared and will further declare me with the most firm and irrefutable testimony as the one who ought to dispense to the mankind the true food of eternal life, and from whom true food for the soul should be expected. For the Father has marked me with an anointment and with a special selection above all other sons of men; me, whom from time eternal he has sealed as his image and stamp, in the identity of substance, by begetting me.<sup>41</sup>

37 Titelmans, *Elucidatio paraphrastica in Ioannem*, f. 51v: 'Dominus autem Iesus per diuinitatis suae omniscientiam cognoscens, homines illos ex miraculi huius admiratione sic nimio et incomposito erga se feruore affectos, vt animo meditarentur in regem temporale ipsum sibi constituere, et nisi fuga se ab eis subduceret iamiam illos ad rem properaturos, sic vt etiam reluctantem eum conarentur in regnum subuehere, atque ita rebellare Romanis (quod putarent sub tanto rege non posse non optime agi) rursus in montem se subduxit, vnde ad pascendam turbam descenderat vt aliquantisper ab eis abesset, donec affectus ille immodicus et subitaneus feruor populi, temporis mora deferbisset, et calor ardetium animorum aliquantulum refixisset: exemplum nobis imitabile praebens, temporales honores et mundi pompas non tantum non ambire, verum etiam oblato quo ad licet refugere.'

38 Thomas Aquinas, *Catena aurea in quatuor Evangelia* (ed. A. Guarienti) (Torino: Marietti 1953) 417: 'Christus autem fugit, erudiens nos mundanas contemnere dignitates.'

39 Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Euangelium secundum Ioannem*, 160–162: 'Ad regnum vocantibus furtim subduxit sese, ad crucem rapientibus vltro occurrit, euidens exemplar exhibens his, qui vices ipsius essent gesturi. Non enim potest syncere dispensare sermonem euangelicum, quisquis amat regnum et gloriam apud homines, quae adeo non sunt affectanda pastoribus, vt etiamsi vltro deferantur, fugere oporteat. Non enim conuenit regno coelorum cum regno mundi, non profecto magis quam luci cum tenebris.'

40 Titelmans, *Elucidatio paraphrastica in Ioannem*, f. 51v: 'in ciuitatem Capharnaum, quae sita erat ex opposito loci illius in quo miraculum praedictum Dominus patrauerat, et in qua tum temporis Dominus cum suis morabatur.'

41 Titelmans, *Elucidatio paraphrastica in Ioannem*, f. 52v: 'Me enim filium hominis in tempore de virgine natum, pater caelestis signauit, et quasi sigillo confirmauit, testimoniisque firmissimis et irrefragabilibus declarauit et declarabit amplius, illum esse qui hominibus cibum verum vitae aeternae debeam largiri, a quo verus animae cibus debeat expectari. Signauit etiam me pater vnctione et segregacione peculiari prae caeteris omnibus filiis

Moreover, similarly like Erasmus, Titelmans amplified or even made up speeches only alluded to in the biblical text. John 6:14 informs in reported speech that the crowds considered Jesus to be the Prophet who was to come. Titelmans gave us their very words:

Truly, he is the great and distinguished Prophet, who was promised in the Law, and who was until now so eagerly awaited from us, as the one who was to come, and who was to be sent by God into this world, for the salvation of people.<sup>42</sup>

A much more developed example of such a practice are the words of John the Baptist in Matt 3:7–12, which both Titelmans and Erasmus developed into a full-length sermon.<sup>43</sup>

Such examples could be multiplied but those given above suffice to show that Titelmans imitated Erasmus' in composing his commentary in the form of a paraphrase. This is a significant observation. Most literature on Titelmans emphasises his conservative approach to biblical studies. While this is true in regard to the doctrine, as this article will also affirm, it is not so when it comes to the style. Here, Titelmans was innovative, adopting the new, fashionable mode of commenting on Scriptures, which stood as far from a scholastic commentary as one could imagine. Despite his conservatism, he expressed his dislike for some aspects of scholastic exegesis.<sup>44</sup> In many ways, Titelmans prefigured post-Tridentine Catholic biblical studies that drew abundantly from humanist methodology and stylistic innovations, yet rested firmly orthodox in questions of faith.

## 2. Erasmus on the Eucharist in His Paraphrase on John's Gospel

Erasmus' orthodoxy was questionable. John 6 was traditionally used as one of the proof-texts for the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist. Surprisingly, Erasmus made no explicit reference to this sacrament in the whole paraphrase of this chapter. What he offered instead was the identification of the bread of life with the Word of God and a spiritual interpretation of eating this bread.

His paraphrase on John 6:35 (*ego sum panis vitae*) proclaimed clearly:

So in order to shake the dream of physical food from them, Jesus explained more openly that he was not talking about bread that is chewed with the teeth, passes through the throat into the stomach, and

---

hominum, quem etiam ab aeterno vt characterem suum et imaginem quasi in identitate substantiae gignendo signauit.'

42 Titelmans, *Elucidatio paraphrastica in Ioannem*, f. 50r-v: 'Vere hic est ille Propheta magnus et insignis in lege promissus, et tanto desiderio hactenus nobis expectatus, vt qui venturus esset, et a Deo mittendus in mundum, ad salutem populi.'

43 D. Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Euangelium Matthaei* (ed. J. Leclerc) (LB VII) 14B–16E; F. Titelmans, *Paraphrastica elucidatio in Iesu Christi Euangelium secundum Matthaem, additis annotationibus in loca difficiliora* (Antwerpiae: in officina Ioan. Steelsii 1545) ff. 24v–26r.

44 Titelmans, *Paraphrastica elucidatio in librum D. Iob*, f. c2r-v.

soothes the body's hunger for a time; he meant heavenly bread, which is the divine word (*sermo*). He said, I am that bread, the bestower of eternal life. Whoever hungers for this and comes to me, and lets it pass by faith into the bowels of his soul will not hunger again when nagging emptiness after satiety returns; but it will remain in him who has eaten it even to eternal life.<sup>45</sup>

This was not an isolated remark. The paraphrase of the following verse (6:36) reassures: 'This bread is eaten not with an open mouth but with a believing soul.'<sup>46</sup> Earlier on, paraphrasing the story of the multiplication of bread and fish, Erasmus observed that Christ was forming Apostles to become dispensers of spiritual food, that is, the Gospel message (6:11).<sup>47</sup> The twelve waste-coffins that remained after the miraculous feast (6:13) taught that: 'he who has undertaken the task of feeding the Lord's flock must provide bountifully from the rich store of divine Scripture whatever is necessary to teach, advise, console, and hearten those who are in need of such nourishment.'<sup>48</sup> Once again, in John 6:63, Erasmus put into Jesus' mouth a clear statement: 'By my flesh and blood I mean my teaching.'<sup>49</sup> The bread from heaven was not Jesus' body but his words. While the emphasis on teaching rather than the sacrament of Eucharist was unusual in regard to John 6, it was not heretical. For Erasmus, Christ was above all else the teacher of 'heavenly philosophy', the eternal *sermo* of the Father, a term he famously used translating John 1:1.<sup>50</sup>

The heterodox air of Erasmus' paraphrase was magnified by his suggestion that Eucharistic presence was merely symbolic. 'And I shall leave my flesh and my blood as a mystical symbol of this union, though it will do no good to have received that unless you receive

45 Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Euangelium secundum Ioannem*, 168: 'Iesus igitur vt excuteret illis somnium cibi corporalis, apertius eis explicat se non loqui de pane qui dentibus manditur et per gulam in stomachum traiectus corporis famem ad tempus sedat, sed de pane coelesti, qui est sermo diuinus, atque: Ego sum panis ille, vitae largitor aeternae. Qui hunc esuriens ad me venerit eumque in animae viscera per fidem traiecerit, non esuriet rursus recurrente post saturitatem famis molestia, sed permanebit in eo qui sumpsit vsque in vitam aeternam.' English translation: Erasmus, *Paraphrase on John*, 83.

46 Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Euangelium secundum Ioannem*, 168: 'Non oris hiatu sumitur hic panis, sed animi credulitate.' English translation: Erasmus, *Paraphrase on John*, 83.

47 Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Euangelium secundum Ioannem*, 158: 'vt imagine corporali consuescerent pastores agere et sermonis euangelici dispensatores animos gregis christiani cibo spirituali pascere. Nam ille panis est, qui de coelo descendit.'

48 Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Euangelium secundum Ioannem*, 160: 'eum qui pascendi gregis Domini curam suscepit, largiter oportere suppeditare ex diuite penu Scripturae diuinae, quicquid ad erudiendos, admonendos, consolandos, animandos pertinet qui huiusmodi indigent cibo.' English translation: Erasmus, *Paraphrase on John*, 78.

49 Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Euangelium secundum Ioannem*, 178: 'Carnem et sanguinem meum appello doctrinam meam.' English translation: Erasmus, *Paraphrase on John*, 88.

50 D. Erasmus, *Evangelium secundum Iohannem* (ed. A.J. Brown) (ASD VI-2; Amsterdam: Elsevier 2001) 13: 'In principio erat sermo, et sermo erat apud deum, et deus erat ille sermo.' Erasmus' use of *sermo* instead of traditional *verbum* was criticized, but he defended his preference for it both on philological grounds as well as theological, since it was more suitable to orthodox Christology and Trinitology; see T.J. Martin, *The Christology of Erasmus: Christ, Humanity, and Peace* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press 2024) 164–181.

it in spirit' (6:63).<sup>51</sup> Similar remarks can be found in other paraphrases of Erasmus, for instance that on Matt 26:26: 'During this, the last supper [...] he instituted that most holy symbol of his death.'<sup>52</sup> It is not exactly clear what Erasmus meant here by 'symbol'. John Payne observed that 'He is typically inexact in his application of the terms "symbol" and "sign" [...] most often Erasmus leaves clouded in obscurity precisely what he considers the sign to be.'<sup>53</sup> Such a strategy of equivocality was typical of Erasmus and, according to Ross Dealy, stemmed from his adherence to ancient Stoic philosophy, which preferred both/and to either/or.<sup>54</sup>

This obscurity got Erasmus associated with the views of the Swiss reformers. In April 1526, there appeared an anonymous book entitled *Des hochgelerten Erasmi von Rotterdam unnd Doctor Martin Luters maynung vom Nachtmal unnsers herren Ihesu Christi*.<sup>55</sup> Leo Jud, Zwingli's acolyte and the author of this work, insisted that views of Luther and Erasmus agreed fully with those of the Swiss reformers. Nothing could be further from reality. It was, nevertheless, precisely the sort of ambiguous statements as those cited above, which led Jud to believe that Erasmus shared Zwinglian theology of the Lord's Supper.

Erasmus was disturbed by the publication and sought to disentangle himself from any connection with Zwingli. He did not, however, change his views. In fact, Erasmus never meant to challenge the doctrine of the real presence, even if he was not greatly convinced about it.<sup>56</sup> He was always concerned with the plurality of possible theological arguments, without, however, challenging the dogma. Rather than altering the doctrine, Erasmus sought to shift the focus from the doctrinal to the ethical dimension. Theology was for

51 Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Euangelium secundum Ioannem*, 178: 'Atque huius societatis vobis mysticum symbolum relicturus sum carnem meam et sanguinem meum, quod ne ipsum quidem sumpsisse profuerit, nisi secundum spiritum sumpseritis.' English translation: Erasmus, *Paraphrase on John*, 88.

52 Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Euangelium Matthaei*, 133E: 'In hac igitur extrema coena [...] instituit sacrosanctum illud symbolum mortis suae.' English translation: D. Erasmus, *Paraphrase on Matthew* (ed. R.D. Sider; trans. and annot. D. Simpson) (CWE 45; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2008) 348. Identification of the Eucharist as symbolic or mystical was repeated by Erasmus in paraphrases of many other biblical verses: Mark 14:23: 'Sub haec Iesus commendavit suis sacrosanctum illud symbolum mortis suae' (LB VII 260D); Luke 22:19: 'Sub haec Dominus Iesus mystico symbolo suis consecraturus novum Testamentum, accepit panem [...] Mors mea non iterabitur: sufficit enim unica victima pro peccatis omnium seculorum. Sed vos vobis huius meae erga vos caritatis memoriam frequenter renovabitis, facientes inter vos, quod nunc a me videtis fieri. Erit enim hoc sacrosanctum signum foederis inter nos initi' (LB VII 450F-451A); John 13:2: 'Posteaquam igitur suprema illa et mystica coena parata esset, in qua dato corporis et sanguinis sui sacro symbolo, perpetuum sui memoriam pacturus erat' (LB VII 602B); 1 Cor 11:25: 'Christus hoc convivium mortis suae commemorationem, et aeterni foederis symbolum esse voluit' (LB VII 897B).

53 J.B. Payne, *Erasmus: His Theology of the Sacraments* (Richmond, VA: Knox 1970) 138.

54 See R. Dealy, *The Stoic Origins of Erasmus' Philosophy of Christ* (Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2017) 7–8.

55 L. Jud, *Des hochgelerten Erasmi von Rotterdam unnd Doctor Martin Luters maynung vom Nachtmal unnsers herren Ihesu Christi* (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart 1526). More on Swiss theology of the Eucharist and its relations to Erasmus, see Christ-von Wedel, *Erasmus of Rotterdam: Advocate of a New Christianity*, 191–193; E. Campi, "Theological Profile," *A Companion to the Swiss Reformation* (eds. A.N. Burnett – E. Campi) (BCCT 72; Leiden: Brill 2016) 471–476.

56 Payne, *Erasmus: His Theology of the Sacraments*, 144–145.

Erasmus about ethics and practice, 'a way of life rather than a form of argument'.<sup>57</sup> Far from scholastic hair-splitting disputes about the mechanics of transubstantiation, he was interested in how the Eucharist could make Christians better human beings. His answer was clear: through spiritual eating.

Throughout his paraphrase of John 6, Erasmus constantly emphasised the contrast between carnal and spiritual eating of Christ's body. He took as his key text Jesus' words from John 6:64 (*Spiritus est qui vivificat: caro non prodest quidquam*). External observation was of no use, if not accompanied by deeper, spiritual absorption of Christ's teaching. In John 6:29, Erasmus put into Jesus' mouth criticism of ritualism, which sounded much as his own vituperations against mediaeval Church observances:

You are asking, he said, what things you can do to oblige God, who is spirit and who delights in things of the spirit; it is not sacrificing victims, or observing the Sabbath, or ritual bathing, or dietary restrictions, or wearing special clothing, or the other things that make up outward ceremonial.<sup>58</sup>

The ceremonial, special clothing, fasting, and so on were precisely the things that Erasmus disliked about late mediaeval religious life and contrasted them with inner piety. Without this internal disposition of faith no external ritual, even as holy as the Eucharist, was beneficial. Erasmus used Judas as his example, suggesting that he betrayed the Lord despite having received the Communion (6:72):

But among so few and so particularly chosen there is one devil, who will betray him whose body he will have eaten and whose blood he will have drunk in the flesh, not in the spirit, whose words he will have heard and whose miracles he will have seen.<sup>59</sup>

Bread and wine were Body and Blood, but unless they were received spiritually, they were of no help, according to Erasmus.

### 3. Titelmans on the Eucharist in His Paraphrase on John's Gospel

Erasmus' view of the Eucharist in his paraphrase of John 6 was perfectly congruent with his entire programme of Christianity's reform. While it was only moderately controversial in the early 1520s, by the time Titelmans wrote his paraphrase, it was entirely unacceptable. What changed the situation were obviously 'protestant' reformations, especially since some

<sup>57</sup> Martin, *The Christology of Erasmus*, 8–11; Martin, *The Christology of Erasmus*, 8–11.

<sup>58</sup> Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Euangelium secundum Ioannem*, 166: 'Si quaeritis, inquit, quod sit opus, quo demereamini Deum, qui Spiritus est, et spiritualibus delectatur, non est immolatio victimarum, non observatio sabbati, non lotiones, non ciborum delectus, non vestitus religio, non caetera quae corporalibus constant ceremoniis.' English translation: Erasmus, *Paraphrase on John*, 81.

<sup>59</sup> Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Euangelium secundum Ioannem*, 180: 'Et tamen e tam paucis et singulariter delectis vnus diabolus est, delaturus eum, cuius corpus ederet et sanguinem biberit iuxta carnem, non iuxta spiritum, cuius audierit sermonem, cuius miracula conspexerit.' English translation: Erasmus, *Paraphrase on John*, 90.

of them started challenging the doctrine of the Eucharist in mid 1520s. The Franciscan accused Erasmus that while he might be able to escape a charge of heresy himself, his works gave encouragement to others, who evidently crossed the line. He was not off the point. We have mentioned above Jud's identification of Erasmian teaching with Zwingli, but it is also worth noting that Oecolampadius, one of Erasmus' closest associates, was among pioneers of the reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper.<sup>60</sup> Thus, in his paraphrase, Titelmans sought to stress the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist as an antidote to Erasmus' vagueness.

Firstly, Titelmans omitted all ambiguous comments regarding spiritual eating. While he clearly shared Erasmus' idea that the inner disposition must accompany physical consumption, he was cautious not to create any impression that spiritual meant merely symbolic but it also meant sacramental (6:64):

What I have just said about the eating my body, you understand carnally, as if I wanted to have my flesh slaughtered and cut up into pieces and boiled in water or cooked in fire, torn apart with teeth, just as it is done in eating meat of sheep and oxen. Consequently you were scandalised by this carnal understanding. Meanwhile, my words should be understood as about spiritual eating, which is done through faith and sacramental communion, so that they might lead to life.<sup>61</sup>

Faith was necessary, but so was the sacramental reality. Paraphrasing John 6:51–57 Titelmans several times referred explicitly to the Mass. As we have mentioned such references were utterly absent in Erasmus' paraphrase. Erasmus elaborated Jesus' statement: 'I am the living bread which came down from heaven [...] and the bread that I will give, is my flesh, for the life of the world' indicating three mysteries hidden there: eternal co-existence with the Father, the sacrifice of the cross, and the Church as the mystical body of Christ.<sup>62</sup> Titelmans, while acknowledging those three doctrinal truths added explicitly:

I will also give, in the institution of the magnificent sacrament, in memory of my death, my body under the form of bread, so that it may be taken by the faithful. Taking it worthily they will receive life for their souls and will be carried into life (6:52).<sup>63</sup>

60 On Oecolampadius and his views, see D. Poythress, *Reformer of Basel: The Life, Thought, and Influence of Johannes Oecolampadius* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books 2011); A.N. Burnett, "The Reformation in Basel," *A Companion to the Swiss Reformation* (eds. A.N. Burnett – E. Campi) (BCCT 72; Leiden: Brill 2016) 177–198.

61 Titelmans, *Elucidatio paraphrastica in Ioannem*, f. 59r: 'Quemadmodum videlicet id quod modo dixi de manducatione carnis meae, vos ita carnaliter intelligitis, quasi velim ego carnem meam mactatam et concisam in frusta, et aqua vel igne decoctam, dentibus discerpi, quomodo fit in manducatione carnis ouinae aut bouinae, et ideo in hoc carnali intellectu scandalizamini: cum mea verba de manducatione spirituali, quae fit per fidem et sacramentalem communionem, debeant intelligi, vt ad vitam proficient.'

62 Mediaeval exegesis identified the same mysteries here, adding however the Eucharist, which Erasmus omitted. See, for instance, Dionysius Cartusianus, "Enarratio in Evangelium secundum Iohannem," 400.

63 Titelmans, *Elucidatio paraphrastica in Ioannem*, f. 56r: 'dabo quoque in sacramenti magnifici institutione, in mortis meae memoriam, corpus meum sub panis specie sumendum fidelibus, vt digne sumentes vitam animae accipiant, et in vita feruentur.'

He continued (6:54) to emphasise the indispensability of the Eucharist for human salvation:

In truth I confirm this to you, firmly and earnestly, that you have no hope of salvation and of life eternal, except by eating my body and drinking my blood. [...] Likewise, you have no such hope unless, in the life-giving sacrament that I am about to give, when time and opportunity will demand it, you occupy yourselves with receiving worthily, under sacramental form, my true body and my true blood, as true food et drink for the soul, whoever of you are capable of it.<sup>64</sup>

Spiritual receiving was necessary, but it had to be accompanied by physical participation in the Eucharistic bread and wine.

Titelmans indicated the Eucharistic reading of this chapter not only with explicit comments, but also with his choice of words. Paraphrasing John 6:11, about the multiplication of bread, he deliberately chose vocabulary reminiscent of the Canon of the Mass (Table 2).<sup>65</sup>

Table 2. The paraphrase of John 6:11

Canon	Titelmans
Qui, pridie quam pateretur, <b>accepit</b> panem in <b>sanctas</b> ac venerabiles <b>manus suas</b> , et <b>elevatis oculis in caelum</b> ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem, tibi <b>gratias agens</b> benedixit	Dominus Iesus in <b>sacras</b> illas ac benedictas <b>manus suas</b> panes quinque illos <b>accepit</b> , eosque adhuc in manibus tenens, <b>eleuatis ad caelum oculis</b> patri <b>gratias egit</b>

A reader of Titelmans' paraphrase was left in no doubt: the multiplication of bread and the dialogue that followed it were a foundation of Church's teaching and practice of the Eucharist. For Erasmus, the doctrine was secondary to ethics. Not so for Titelmans. His paraphrase made Jesus express it clearly:

Among all works [...] this is the first and foremost [...] that you [...] shift towards me all affection of your hearts, loving me above everything, and that you seek my doctrine, which I was sent by the Father to teach, more than all the riches of this world (6:29).<sup>66</sup>

64 Titelmans, *Elucidatio paraphrastica in Ioannem*, f. 56v: 'In veritate ego vobis serio et constanter illud affirmo, non esse vobis vllam spem salutis et vitae aeternae consequendae, nisi per manducationem carnis meae, et sanguinis potationem: nisi videlicet in me verum hominem habentem veram carnem et verum sanguinem fide sincera credideritis, quod est fide carnem meam manducare et sanguinem meum bibere: item nisi in sacramento per me ad mundi vitam instituendo, vbi tempus et opportunitas postulabit, meam veram carnem et verum meum sanguinem sub sacramentalibus speciebus digne sumere satageritis, tanquam verum animae cibum et potum, quicumque eius capaces estis.'

65 Titelmans, *Elucidatio paraphrastica in Ioannem*, f. 49v.

66 Titelmans, *Elucidatio paraphrastica in Ioannem*, ff. 52v–53r: 'Inter omnia opera [...] hoc est praecipuum et primum, [...] vt vos [...] totum affectum cordis vestri, in me transferatis, me super omnia diligentes, et meam doctrinam ad quam docendam a Patre sum missus, super omnia mundi bona requiratis.'

Titelmans agreed with Erasmus that love was paramount. Nevertheless, he added that, unless it was paired with correct doctrine, it was not sufficient.

#### 4. Other Theological Aspects of Erasmus' and Titelmans' Paraphrases on John 6

It was not only the doctrine of the Eucharist that Titelmans thought worth defending in the paraphrase on John 6. He also spoke of Jesus' birth from the Virgin, Peter's primacy, grace, and predestination. All these issues were hotly contested at the time that Titelmans wrote his paraphrase. The virginity of Mary was upheld by major reformers, but contested by Andreas Karlstadt and the radicals.<sup>67</sup> It is not clear whether Titelmans knew their views, but he devoted considerable space in his annotations on Matthew to refuting an ancient heretic, Helvidius, who negated Mary's virginity.<sup>68</sup> This suggests his awareness that this dogma was challenged by some reformers, thus he also emphasised Mary's virginity in his paraphrase on John 6.<sup>69</sup>

The authority of the pope was under a much more open assault. It should be no surprise then that Titelmans took every opportunity to emphasise Peter's primacy, on which papal authority rested. Paraphrasing Matt 16:19, he expressed the idea of papal supremacy very openly:

Whatever you will do on earth, according to the rightful use of your power, I, sitting in heaven at the right hand of the Father, will approve and ratify, as if it were done by my vicar and in my person. Such will be your power, and that of those who will succeed you in office until the end of time. The power about to be given to you shall remain entirely in your successors until the very end of time, just as the Church will not fail until the last day.<sup>70</sup>

John 6 offered fewer opportunities for discussing papal authority; however, here also, Titelmans did not fail to emphasise Peter's unique position. In the paraphrase of John 6:69, Titelmans wrote: 'When this question was put to them, Simon Peter, burning with special love towards the Lord, as a head of the college of the Apostles, responded confidently in the

67 A survey of reformed opinions on Mary, see D. MacCulloch, "Mary and Sixteenth-Century Protestants," *SCH* 39 (2004) 191–217.

68 Titelmans, *Paraphrastica elucidatio in Matthaeum*, ff. 15r–16v.

69 Titelmans, *Elucidatio paraphrastica in Ioannem*, f. 52v.

70 Titelmans, *Paraphrastica elucidatio in Matthaeum*, f. 246r: 'Quicquid tu secundum rectum vsum tuae potestatis operaberis in terris, ego in caelis sedens ad patris dexteram approbabo ratumque habebō, utpote a meo vicario et in persona mea factum. Tanta erit tua auctoritas, et eorum qui in tuum locum successuri sunt usque ad consummationem seculi. Omnino enim ad consummationem vsque seculi perdurare debet in tuis successoribus tradenda tibi potestas, quomodo in consummationem vsque non deficiet Ecclesia.' See also Erasmus' and Titelmans' paraphraes of John 21:15. Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Euangelium secundum Ioannem* (LB VII, 647B–D); Titelmans, *Elucidatio paraphrastica in Ioannem*, f. 185v.

name of all.<sup>71</sup> He emphasised that Peter was the head of the apostolic college, linking his authority with his office. Erasmus' paraphrase treated the subject differently, indicating that Peter, not so much due to his office as to his personal faith, represented the entire Church: 'At this Simon Peter, always a man of simple and fervent faith in Jesus, taking the part of the whole church, replied for himself and the others with great eagerness.'<sup>72</sup> Erasmus' comment was hardly anti-papal. It simply emphasised Peter's personal rather than institutional authority. Yet, in the context of the reformed challenge to the papal power this seemed insufficient and the Franciscan felt obliged to uphold the institutional aspect of Peter's primacy.

The theme of grace and predestination is particularly important, because Titelmans accused Erasmus of 'Pelagian' leanings. In their debate on the translation of Rom 5:12 Titelmans claimed that changes introduced by Erasmus (*quatenus* in place of *in quo*) were Pelagian. In doing so, Erasmus placed himself in line with Pelagius and Julian of Eclanum, against whom Augustine wrote his treatises. Titelmans asked his older colleague: 'Do you not see, that in those words you, alongside Julian, are being justly and deservedly castigated by the holy father Augustine; you, who are held equally guilty, or, I do not know, even more gravely.'<sup>73</sup>

In the light of Erasmus' entire theological output, it is difficult to uphold Titelmans' accusation (needless to say, Erasmus himself vehemently protested against being linked with Pelagius);<sup>74</sup> nevertheless, Erasmus' strong emphasis on human ethical effort could provide some substance to the Franciscan's claims. We can find examples of such a stress in his paraphrase of John 6. In the paraphrase of John 6:44, a verse that ostensibly spoke of the grace freely given, Erasmus highlighted human actions: '[The Father] does not grant so great a gift except to willing and eager people. And whoever has deserved to be drawn by the Father because of his ready will and devout zeal will achieve eternal life through me.'<sup>75</sup>

71 Titelmans, *Elucidatio paraphrastica in Ioannem*, f. 59r: 'Hac interrogatione proposita Simon Petrus erga dominum praecipuo feruens amore, tanquam caput Apostolici collegii, omnium nomine fidenter respondit.'

72 Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Euangelium secundum Ioannem*, 180: 'Hic Simon Petrus, simplicis et ardentis fidei semper in Iesum, totius ecclesiae personam gerens caeterorum quoque nomine magna alacritate respondit.' English translation: Erasmus, *Paraphrase on John*, 89–90.

73 Titelmans, *Collationes quinque*, f. 118r: 'In quibus verbis nonne vides etiam te una cum Iuliano iuste et merito obiurgari a sancto patre Augustino, qui eadem in culpa deprehenderis, nescio an etiam graviori.' Interestingly, Erasmus was accused of Pelagian leanings also by Martin Luther. What linked Luther and Titelmans was their adherence to Augustinian theology; Erasmus on the other hand often distanced himself from the Bishop of Hippo and was admonished to read more of Augustine by both Beda and Luther, who otherwise had little common ground.

74 For the dispute over Rom 5:12, see T.K. Mantyk, "Translating Romans 5:12 in the Early 16th Century. Franciscus Titelmans's Polemic against Humanists," *BA* 11/2 (2021) 301–326, <https://doi.org/10.31743/biban.11297>.

75 Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Euangelium secundum Ioannem*, 172: 'Non impartit ille tantum munus, nisi volentibus et audis. Quisquis autem promeruerit sua prompta voluntate pioque studio, vt attrahatur a Patre, per me vitam aeternam consequetur.' English translation: Erasmus, *Paraphrase on John*, 84.

He expressed a similar idea in the following verse: ‘The gift is God’s but the effort is yours.’<sup>76</sup> Titelmans, on the other hand, underlined the primacy of God’s action:

None of human beings can come to me, through true devotion of faith in me, unless the Father, who sent me into the world, has brought him to me by inner inspiration and instruction, and, as if bending his heart, has drawn him to me.<sup>77</sup>

In fact, Titelmans often referred to the idea of predestination, derived from Augustine. It was yet before Calvin’s teaching made predestination a hotly debated issue. Paraphrasing John 6:37, Titelmans wrote: ‘For all people, whom the Father gave me from eternity according to predestination, and in time according to a firm calling, election and adoption, all my elect, who are predestined to life by God the Father, will come to me.’<sup>78</sup> The Franciscan followed here mediaeval commentaries on this verse, that often spoke of predestination.<sup>79</sup>

None of those remarks should be taken as a statement in the crucial debate of that time, namely, about justification. Titelmans seemed to be completely unaware of the problem, and nowhere in his paraphrases, including those of such sensitive texts as Romans, Galatians, and James, did he hint at Lutheran theology of *sola fide* and *sola gratia*. In his paraphrase on John 6, he simply repeated traditional mediaeval formula of the faith formed by love.<sup>80</sup> His use of Augustine is, however, significant for another reason. Augustinianism, developed by Baius and later Jansenius, was to become the key term in Leuven theology in the late 16th and the 17th century. The roots of Baianism were in the opposition against humanist overemphasis of human effort. Titelmans is an early example of such an opposition, however, his potential direct or indirect influence on Baius remains yet to be proven.

Titelmans, although himself something of a humanist, well versed in ancient languages, was critical of what he considered as an excessive faith in human intellect, immoderate search of novelties, and pursuit of vain glory displayed by many representatives of the new

76 Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Euangelium secundum Ioannem*, 172: ‘Donum est Dei, sed vester est conatus.’ English translation: Erasmus, *Paraphrase on John*, 85.

77 Titelmans, *Elucidatio paraphrastica in Ioannem*, f. 55r: ‘Nemo enim hominum potest ad me venire, per veram in me fidei deuotionem, nisi Pater qui me in mundum misit, illum interius inspirando siue erudiendo ad me adduxerit, et quasi inflectendo cor eius ad me pertraxerit.’

78 Titelmans, *Elucidatio paraphrastica in Ioannem*, f. 54r: ‘Omnes enim homines quos ab aeterno secundum praedestinationem atque in tempore secundum stabilem vocationem, electionem et adoptionem, pater mihi dederit, electi mei omnes qui a Deo patre sunt ad vitam praedestinati, ad me venient.’

79 Dionysius Cartusianus, ‘Enarratio in Euangelium secundum Iohannem,’ 394: ‘Omne genus hominum quod dat mihi Pater, id est, quos Pater per inspirationem internam inclinat ad me, vel quos ab aeterno elegit ac praedestinavit in me, utpote quos decrevit per meam incarnationem ac passionem salvare, ad me veniet, nunc per fidem et gratiam, in futuro autem per beatificam visionem, imo et per localem sui exaltationem usque ad coelum empyreum.’

80 Titelmans, *Elucidatio paraphrastica in Ioannem*, f. 54v: ‘fide recta vera dilectione formata.’

learning.<sup>81</sup> His paraphrase on John 6 alluded critically to humanism in several places. In 6:2, he spoke of Jesus' immature followers as of people motivated by curiosity of new things. Excessive appetite for novelty was precisely the charge that Titelmans levied against new translations of the Bible. Such a desire for novelty was in vain, for, as he wrote in paraphrase of John 6:45: 'Human learning is thus of no help, unless there is present within the one who teaches, attracts and moves, the helper, more than that: the prime worker, God.'<sup>82</sup> Once again, this resonates with his criticism of Erasmus' translation, in which he argued that divinely inspired text could only be correctly translated with the help of the Holy Spirit.<sup>83</sup>

## Conclusions

What we have presented in this article is an overview of Erasmus' and Titelmans' paraphrases on John 6. Their literary approaches were very similar, with both of them using comparable rhetorical devices in constructing their paraphrases. Naturally, Titelmans was a mere imitator of Erasmus and arguably a mediocre one, unable to match his older colleague's finesse. Titelmans demonstrated his more conservative approach also in remaining closer to the Vulgate's vocabulary, even though he also used Erasmus' *Novum instrumentum*.

What truly distinguished the two authors was their approach to theology. Erasmus' paraphrases reflected his reform ideas: anti-dogmatic, ethic centred theology, much indebted to patristic thinking and strongly opposed to scholastic emphasis on neat definitions and precise delimitations. Erasmus preferred to leave room for a concept of mystery, as for instance with the exact mechanics of bread and wine's transition into the Body and Blood of Christ. His theology was not meant as a challenge to the Church. On the contrary, he hoped that it can advance Church's reform and deepen the spiritual dimension of Christianity. Indeed, it was initially received as such, and, as Erasmus happily observed, his paraphrases stirred virtually no debate, unlike his *Novum instrumentum*.<sup>84</sup>

81 See, for instance, F. Titelmans, "Prologus apologeticus pro veteri et ecclesiastica Novi Testamenti latina interpretatione," *Collationes quinque super Epistolam ad Romanos beati Pauli apostoli* (Antuerpiae: apud Guilielemum Vorstermannum 1529) f. c8r-v.

82 Titelmans, *Elucidatio paraphrastica in Ioannem*, f. 55v: 'Humana quippe eruditio nihil proficit, si non adsit qui intus doceat, trahat et moueat, cooperato, imo praecipuus operator, Deus.'

83 Titelmans, "Prologus Apologeticus," f. d2r-v: 'At qui Spiritus Sancti negat requiri afflatum, in scripturarum interpretatione, humanam facit scripturam quam sine illo tentat interpretari; quando et quod docetur Evangelium, non iam diuinum est sine illo sed sit humanum. Et profecto si in uerbis, in superficie, in sermonum foliis esset Euangelium, posset utriusque linguae peritus sola eruditione et uerborum copia per se esse sufficiens. Quia uero in sensu, in medulla, in radice rationis latet Euangelium, constat haec sicuti a Spiritu pendent afflatu, ita Euangelii interpretationem, aut sanctae scripture, sine illo non recte fieri.'

84 P.S. Allen – H.M. Allen (eds.), *Opus epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* (Oxford: Clarendon 1923) III, 249, ep. 794, vv. 79–83: 'etiamsi Paraphrasis omnium calculis laudatur. Est aliquid vel vnico libello placuisse tam iniquis ac morosis. Atque vtinam in talibus campis me continuissem, in quibus non Paulo plus erat gloriae multoque minus laboris.' On controversies stirred by *Novum testamentum*, see E. Rummel, *Erasmus and His Catholic Critics*, 2 vols. (Bibliotheca Humanistica et Reformatorica 45; Nieuwkoop: De Graaf 1989).

As reformations progressed, also paraphrases came under criticism. While Beda instigated their condemnation in Paris, Titelmans took a different approach. What he offered was a theologically improved version of paraphrases. Our analysis of the paraphrase on John 6 demonstrated that he took great care to emphasise traditional teaching of the Church, especially in those places, where Erasmian theology was equivocal or even heterodox. Most importantly, he defended the exegetical tradition of the eucharistic reading of this chapter, indirectly challenged by Erasmus. In many ways, paraphrases on John 6 bring to the fore the difference in approaches of the two humanists: for Erasmus ethics and spirituality were paramount, while the doctrine was best left undefined, a mystery to be believed but not dissected. For Titelmans, the doctrine was crucial. Without correct doctrine there could be neither true ethics nor spirituality. And there was nothing vague about the doctrine, since it was firmly established by the Church's teaching.

What Titelmans' paraphrase of John 6 demonstrates is, however, the fact that he combined his theological conservatism with stylistic progressiveness. Unlike Beda and many other Erasmus' critics, instead of vituperating against the new learning, Titelmans took the form – namely, the genre of paraphrase – and filled it with traditional content. This shows that historians must be more nuanced with designations conservative–progressive, since one author could easily be both on different levels. Moreover, the example of Titelmans shows that there was perhaps more vitality in Catholic biblical studies on the eve of the council of Trent than some older scholarship was willing to admit.<sup>85</sup> Thirdly, Titelmans' approach in many ways prefigured post-Tridentine Catholic exegesis, which dwelled extensively on humanist methodology and style, but was careful to remain within the bonds of Roman orthodoxy.<sup>86</sup> It suggests that more research into Catholic theology and exegesis of the early 16th century is still needed in order to put the Council of Trent and its aftermath in the correct context.

## Bibliography

### Primary Works

- Allen, P.S. – Allen, H.M. (eds.), *Opus epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* (Oxford: Clarendon 1923) III.
- Beda, N., *Annotationum in Jacobum Fabrum Stapulensem libri duo; et in Desiderium Erasmus Roterodanum liber vnus* (Cologne: Petrus Quentell 1526).
- Dionysius Cartusianus, "Enarratio in Evangelium secundum Iohannem," *Opera omnia in unum corpus digesta* (Monstrolii: Typis Cartusiae S.M. de Pratis 1901) XII, 263–620.
- Erasmus, D., *Paraphrasis in Evangelium Matthaei* (ed. J. Leclerc) (LB VII; Lyon: Peter van der Aa 1706) 1A–146E.

<sup>85</sup> An example of such scholarship is Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*.

<sup>86</sup> On post-tridentine Catholic theology, see, for instance, A. Gerace, *Biblical Scholarship in Louvain in the 'Golden' Sixteenth Century* (R5AS 60; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2019).

- Erasmus, D., "Responsio ad Collationes cuiusdam iuuenis gerontodidascali," *Opera Omnia* (ed. J. Le Clerc) (Lugduni Batavorum: Van der Aa 1706) IX, 965–1016.
- Erasmus, D., *The Correspondence of Erasmus: Letters 1252–1355 (1522–1523)* (ed. J.M. Estes; trans. R.A.B. Mynors) (Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 1989).
- Erasmus, D., *Paraphrase on John* (trans. and annot. J.E. Phillips) (Collected Works of Erasmus 46; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 1991).
- Erasmus, D., *Evangelium secundum Iohannem* (ed. A.J. Brown) (ASD VI-2; Amsterdam: Elsevier 2001).
- Erasmus, D., *Paraphrase on Matthew* (ed. R.D. Sider; trans. and annot. D. Simpson) (Collected Works of Erasmus 45; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2008).
- Erasmus, D., *A Response by Desiderius Erasmus to the Discussions of a Certain 'Youth Who Would Teach His Elders'* (ed. and trans. D.L. Drysdall) (Collected Works of Erasmus 73; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2015) 135–263.
- Erasmus, D., *Paraphrasis in Euangelium secundum Ioannem* (ed. J. Bloemendal) (ASD VII-3a; Leiden: Brill 2022).
- Jud, L., *Des hochgelerten Erasmii von Rotterdam unnd Doctor Martin Luthers maynung vom Nachtmal unnsers herren Jhesu Christi* (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart 1526).
- Thomas Aquinas, *Catena aurea in quatuor Evangelia* (ed. A. Guarienti) (Torino: Marietti 1953).
- Titelmans, F., *Collationes quinque super Epistolam ad Romanos beati Pauli Apostoli* (Antuerpiae: Guilieum Vorstermannum 1529).
- Titelmans, F., "Prologus apologeticus pro veteri et ecclesiastica Novi Testamenti latina interpretatione," *Collationes quinque super Epistolam ad Romanos beati Pauli Apostoli* (Antuerpiae: Guilieum Vorstermannus 1529).
- Titelmans, F., *Elucidatio paraphrastica, in sanctum Christi Euangelium secundum Ioannem, cum Annotationibus in aliquot Capita* (Antwerpiae: Simon Coquus 1543).
- Titelmans, F., *Paraphrastica elucidatio in Iesu Christi Euangelium secundum Matthaeum, additis annotationibus in loca difficiliora* (Antwerpiae: in officina Ioan. Steelsii 1545).
- Titelmans, F., *Paraphrastica elucidatio in librum D. Iob, adiectis annotationibus in loca difficiliora* (Antuerpiae: In aedibus Ioan. Steelsii, 1547).

### Secondary Literature

- Amalou, T., – Vanautgaerden, A. (eds.), *Le Nouveau Testament d'Érasme (1516): Regards sur l'Europe des humanistes* (Turnhout: Brepols 2020).
- Bakker, P.J.J.M. (ed.), *The College de Montaigu at the University of Paris: Aspects of Its Institutional and Intellectual History (14th–18th Century)* (History of Universities 22/2 [Special Issue]; Oxford: Oxford University Press 2008).
- Bedouelle, G., "Attacks on the Biblical Humanism of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples," *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (ed. E. Rummel) (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 9; Leiden: Brill 2008) 115–141.
- Bentley, J.H., *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1983).
- Bloemendal, J., "Bibliography of Works on Erasmus' Paraphrases," *Erasmus Studies* 36/2 (2016) 187–194, <https://doi.org/10.1163/18749275-03602008>.
- Bloemendal, J., "Erasmus' Paraphrases on the New Testament: Introduction," *Erasmus Studies* 36/2 (2016): 105–122, <https://doi.org/10.1163/18749275-03602003>.

- Bloemendal, J., "Erasmus and Biblical Scholarship," *A Companion to Erasmus* (ed. E. MacPhail) (Renaissance Society of America Texts and Studies Series 20; Leiden: Brill 2023) 68–89.
- Burnett, A.N., "The Reformation in Basel," *A Companion to the Swiss Reformation* (eds. A.N. Burnett – E. Campi) (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 72; Leiden: Brill 2016) 170–215.
- Cambier, A., "Pieter Titelmans, groot-inkwisiteur, deken van Ronse in Vlaanderen," *Annalen van de Geschieden- en oudheidkundige Kring van Ronse en het Tenement van Inde* 33 (1984) 19–28.
- Campi, E., "Theological Profile," *A Companion to the Swiss Reformation* (eds. A.N. Burnett – E. Campi) (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 72; Leiden: Brill 2016) 445–488.
- Chomarat, J., *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Érasme* (Les classiques de l'humanisme. Études 10; Paris: Les Belles Lettres 1981) I.
- Chomarat, J., "Grammar and Rhetoric in the Paraphrases of the Gospels by Erasmus," *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 1/1 (1981) 30–68.
- Christ-von Wedel, C., *Erasmus of Rotterdam: Advocate of a New Christianity* (Erasmus Studies; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2013).
- Cottier, J.-F., "Les Paraphrases d'Érasme, une œuvre négligée: Bibliographie," *Moreana* 39/2 (2002) 39–42.
- Cottier, J.-F., "L'Exhortatio ad studium euangelicæ Lectionis: Érasme Paraphraste et son lecteur," *Moreana* 39/2 (2002) 21–38.
- Cottier, J.-F., "La théorie du genre de la paraphrase selon Érasme," *Les paraphrases bibliques aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles: actes du Colloque de Bordeaux des 22, 23 et 24 septembre 2004* (eds. V. Ferrer – A. Mantero) (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 415; Genève: Droz 2006) 45–58.
- Cottier, J.-F., "Lucernam accendere in meridie? Du bon usage de la paraphrase biblique selon Érasme," *Infant Milk or Hardy Nourishment? The Bible for Lay People and Theologians in the Early Modern Period* (eds. W. François – A.A. den Hollander) (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologiarum Lovaniensium 221; Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA: Peeters 2009) 65–86.
- Cottier, J.-F., "Erasmus's Paraphrases: A 'New Kind of Commentary'," *The Unfolding of Words: Commentary in the Age of Erasmus* (ed. J.R. Henderson) (Erasmus Studies; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2012) 27–45.
- Cottier, J.-F., "Four Paraphrases and a Gospel or How to Rewrite Without Repeating Yourself," *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 36/2 (2016) 131–147.
- D'Alatri, M., "Francesco Tittelmans o del lavoro manuale," *Santi e santità nell'Ordine Cappuccino. I. Il Cinque e il Seicento* (ed. M. D'Alatri) (Roma: Postulazione Generale dei Cappuccini 1980) 7–19.
- Dealy, R., *The Stoic Origins of Erasmus' Philosophy of Christ* (Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2017).
- Faber, R., "Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum* (1516): Reforming the Bible into the Bible of the Reformation," *Renaissance und Bibelhumanismus* (eds. J.M.J. Lange van Ravenswaay – H.J. Selderhuis) (Refo500 Academic Studies 65; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2020) 295–312.
- Farge, J.K., "Noël Beda and the Defense of the Tradition," *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (ed. E. Rummel) (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 9; Leiden: Brill 2008) 143–164.
- Ferrer, V. – Mantero, A. (eds.), *Les paraphrases bibliques aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles: Actes du Colloque de Bordeaux des 22, 23 et 24 septembre 2004* (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 415; Genève: Droz 2006).
- García Pinilla, I., "Reconsidering the Relationship between the Complutensian Polyglot Bible and Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum*," *Basel 1516: Erasmus' Edition of the New Testament* (eds. M. Wallraff et al.) (Spät-mittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation 91; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2016) 59–77.

- Gerace, A., *Biblical Scholarship in Louvain in the "Golden" Sixteenth Century* (Refo500 Academic Studies 60; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2019).
- Godet, M., *La Congregation de Montaigu (1490–1580)* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honore Champion 1912).
- den Haan, A., "Valla's False Modesty: The *Annotationes Novi Testamenti* Compared with the Biblical Scholarship of Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459) and Aurelio Lippi Brandolini (1454?–1497)," *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 25/2–3 (2023) 119–35, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14622459.2023.2286544>.
- Henderson, J.R., "Editor's Addendum: Translating an Erasmian Definition of Paraphrase," *The Unfolding of Words: Commentary in the Age of Erasmus* (ed. J.R. Henderson) (Erasmus Studies; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2012) 47–54.
- Henderson, J.R. (ed.), *The Unfolding of Words: Commentary in the Age of Erasmus* (Erasmus Studies; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2012).
- Hoffmann, M., *Rhetoric and Theology: The Hermeneutic of Erasmus* (Erasmus Studies; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 1994).
- Hughes, P.E., *Lefèvre, Pioneer of Ecclesiastical Renewal in France* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1984).
- van Poll-van de Lisdonk, M.L., "Erasmus' Paraphrasis on the Pauline Epistles: Outlines of a Commentary in the Scope of the ASD Edition," *Erasmus Studies* 36/2 (2016) 123–130, <https://doi.org/10.1163/18749275-03602004>
- MacCulloch, D., "Mary and Sixteenth-Century Protestants," *Studies in Church History* 39 (2004) 191–217.
- Mantyk, T.K., "Migracje Słowa Bożego, czyli obrona wartości Wulgaty według Franciszka Titelmansa," *The Biblical Annals* 9/3 (2019) 525–546.
- Mantyk, T.K., "Translating Romans 5:12 in the Early 16th Century. Franciscus Titelmans's Polemic against Humanists," *The Biblical Annals* 11/2 (2021) 301–326, <https://doi.org/10.31743/biban.11297>.
- Martin, T.J., *The Christology of Erasmus: Christ, Humanity, and Peace* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press 2024).
- Pabel, H.M. – Vessey, M. (eds.), *Holy Scripture Speaks: The Production and Reception of Erasmus' Paraphrases on the New Testament* (Erasmus Studies; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2002).
- Paquay, A., *Frans Tittelmans van Hasselt (Franciscus Tittelmanus Hasselensis, december 1502–12 september 1537): Opzoekingen over zijn leven, zijne werken en zijne familie* (Hasselt: Ceysens 1906).
- Payne, J.B., *Erasmus: His Theology of the Sacraments* (Richmond, VA: Knox 1970).
- Payne, J.B., "The Significance of Lutheranizing Changes in Erasmus' Interpretation of Paul's Letters to the Romans and Galatians in his *Annotationes* (1527) and *Paraphrases* (1532)," *Histoire de l'exégèse au XVIe siècle: textes du Colloque International tenu à Genève en 1976* (eds. O. Fatjo – P. Fraenkel) (Études de Philologie et d'Histoire 34; Genève: Droz 1978) 312–330.
- Phillips, J.E., "The Gospel, the Clergy, and the Laity in Erasmus' Paraphrase on the Gospel of John," *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 10/1 (1990) 85–100.
- Phillips, J.E., "Food and Drink in Erasmus' Gospel Paraphrases," *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 14/1 (1994) 24–45.
- Phillips, J.E., "On the Road to Emmaus: Erasmus' Paraphrase of Luke 24:27," *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 22/1 (2002) 68–80.
- Phillips, J.E., "Sub evangelistae persona: The Speaking Voice in Erasmus' Paraphrase on Luke," *Holy Scripture Speaks: The Production and Reception of Erasmus' Paraphrases on the New Testament* (eds. H.M. Pabel – M. Vessey) (Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2002) 127–150, <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442675803-010>.

- Poythress, D., *Reformer of Basel: The Life, Thought, and Influence of Johannes Oecolampadius* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books 2011).
- Rabil Jr., A., *Erasmus and the New Testament: The Mind of Christian Humanist* (San Antonio, TX: Trinity University Press 1972).
- Rabil Jr., A., "Erasmus' Paraphrase of the Gospel of John," *Church History* 48/2 (1979) 142–155.
- Rabil, A., "Erasmus' Paraphrases of the New Testament," *Essays on the Works of Erasmus* (ed. R.L. DeMolen) (New Haven, CT – London: Yale University Press 1978) 145–161.
- del Valle Rodriguez, C., "Antonio Nebrija's Biblical Scholarship," *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (ed. E. Rummel) (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 9; Leiden: Brill 2008) 55–72.
- Roussel, B., "Exegetical Fictions? Biblical Paraphrases of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Holy Scripture Speaks: The Production and Reception of Erasmus' Paraphrases on the New Testament* (eds. H.M. Pabel – M. Vessey) (Erasmus Studies; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2002) 59–83.
- Rummel, E., *Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament: From Philologist to Theologian* (Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 1986).
- Rummel, E., *Erasmus and His Catholic Critics*, 2 vols. (Bibliotheca Humanistica et Reformatorica 45; Nieuwkoop: De Graaf 1989).
- Rummel, E., "Why Noël Bédé Did Not Like Erasmus' Paraphrases," *Holy Scripture Speaks: The Production and Reception of Erasmus' Paraphrases on the New Testament* (eds. H.M. Pabel – M. Vessey) (Erasmus Studies; Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press 2002) 265–278.
- Sartori, P., "La controversia neotestamentaria tra Frans Titelmans ed Erasmo da Rotterdam (1527–1530 CA.): Linee di sviluppo e contenuti," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 52 (2003) 77–135.
- Sartori, P., "Tracce dell'opera di Jacobus Latomus nel «Prologus Apologeticus» di Frans Titelmans," *Margherita amicorum. Studi di cultura europea per Agostino Sottili* (eds. F. Forner – C.M. Monti – P.G. Schmidt) (Milano: Vita & Pensiero 2005) 1032–1042.
- Sartori, P., "«sine bibliis coelum caecis aperiunt»: Frans Titelmans e l'eredità spirituale di Jan Standonck," *Università, umanesimo, Europa. Giornata di studio in ricordo di Agostino Sottili* (ed. S. Negruzzo) (Fonti e studi per la storia dell'Università di Pavia 47; Milano: Cisalpino 2007) 207–267.
- Sartori, P., "Frans Titelmans, the Congregation of Montaigu, and Biblical Scholarship," *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus* (ed. E. Rummel) (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 9; Leiden: Brill 2008) 215–223.
- Schönauf, C., *Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples und die Reformation* (Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte 91; Gütersloh: Gütersloher 2017).
- de Troeyer, B., *Bio-bibliographia Franciscana Neerlandica saeculi XVI* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf 1969) I.
- van de Wiele, J., "De inquisitierechtbank van Pieter Titelmans in de zestiende eeuw in Vlaanderen," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 97/1 (1982) 19–63, <https://doi.org/10.18352/bmgn-lchr.2288>.

## Review



Suzanna Millar, *Animals, Power, and Intersectionality in the Books of Samuel* (The Bible and the Humanities; Oxford: Oxford University Press 2026). Pp. xi + 285. £ 104 (Hardback). ISBN: 9780198973997

**Mateusz Targoński**

Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome  
targonski.mateusz@gmail.com

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9523-9476>

---

The monograph is an example of the relatively recent ‘animal turn’ in biblical studies (explicitly on p. 7). This trend is well established, at least when it comes to the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament, with significantly less impact on New Testament research. The volume includes the usual front matter (table of contents, acknowledgements, and list of abbreviations), an introduction, six chapters (the first is introductory, the last one, concluding), an extensive bibliography, and an index of subjects discussed within the work.

The introduction (pp. 1–6) is quite restricted because the methodology of the study is discussed in its first chapter. Suzanna Millar opens the book with two ambitious claims: hers is ‘the first comprehensive study of animals in Samuel’, as well as ‘the first large-scale project in biblical studies to examine animals through the lenses of power and intersectionality’ (p. 1). The chosen source material – the Books of Samuel – is interesting because there is no particular focus on non-human animals in these books, although animals are consistently present, just as in real life. The primary text used by the author is Masoretic, with the four Qumran manuscripts and three Greek recensions as additional references. Although not mentioned here, Millar does not hesitate to quote Targum and Peshitta when she considers them relevant. The introduction concludes with a ‘brief overview of the book’s chapters’ (pp. 5–6).

The methodological discussion in Chapter 1 (pp. 7–34) is divided according to three key terms from the title: ‘animals’, ‘power’, and ‘intersectionality’. First, Millar briefly introduces the ‘animal turn’ in general and in biblical studies in particular. She delineates problems associated with the term ‘animals’ and pinpoints her approach within the broad field of animal studies: the animals, in particular domesticated animals, are important social players. Second, the concept of ‘power’ is defined based on (but not identical to) the framework proposed by Michel Foucault. Power is a dynamic reality that is intrinsically relational. Power, considered a multileveled construct, requires a heuristic tool that allows for bringing various vectors into dialogue. This goal is reached by the idea of ‘intersectionality’, taken up from socio-cultural analysis. In particular, it incorporates the distinction between the human and the animal. The most important part of

the introduction is Section 1.3.3, which provides ‘an analytic framework’ for the study. The author opens with an overview of five major vectors of power (besides animality) to propose five modes of intersection (note that these numbers do not correspond to one another). She acknowledges that the framework may require some improvements (explicitly on pp. 30, 33, 241, and 245). For example, one may ask whether the reconfiguration of power exemplified by the ox that kicks back his master (p. 32) belongs to the same mode as a human–animal alliance. Nevertheless, the proposed structure offers a useful heuristic tool, even if it does not cover all possible interactions. Its practical application is proposed in four subsequent chapters that scrutinise different human–animal relationships within the Books of Samuel.

Chapter 2 (pp. 35–87) is dedicated to the ‘power of killing’ that is surveyed through nine selected cases, two regarding Eli, three regarding Samuel (although 1 Sam 11 seems to fit better in the following section) and four concerning Saul. Most of the cases involve sacrificial killing, while the others display at least some sacrificial characteristics and are read by the author as crucial points that reflect the dynamics of power between various subjects. She discovers how power is configured, enacted, and negotiated through and during the sacrifice. Notably, in many of these cases, the boundary between human and animal results ‘porous’. The chapter concludes with an interesting observation that David is mentioned as presiding over a sacrifice only twice during his reign: at the installation of the Ark and after the census (p. 87). The observation is correct, although it is a bit surprising that these two cases are not analysed, especially as both moments can be interpreted as significant points during the negotiation of David’s power with the nation and God (cf. p. 204). Needless to say, there are also other sacrifices and acts of killing described in the Books of Samuel that the chapter does not mention (although some are taken up later in the volume).

The third chapter (pp. 88–135) considers the ‘power of taking’, which may be considered a generalisation of the previously discussed ‘power of killing’, as ‘to kill’ means ‘to take life’ (p. 88). In particular, this chapter considers that the taking of animals and humans usually implies the commodification (or objectification) of the acquired being in various degrees. The taking involves three parties: the taker (the subject that exerts power), the one who is taken (human or animal), and the person from whom the object is taken. Moreover, the taking conflicts with the dynamic of allocation (‘giving’), which has its own socio-political function. Therefore, the power of taking creates various social dynamics that are surveyed in six case studies involving the kings who develop, consolidate, and abuse their power. David exemplifies two categories (development and abuse), whereas consolidation remains somewhat elusive because it is based on the imaginary king described by the prophet in 1 Sam 8. A surprising statement can be found in the chapter’s conclusion: ‘Women are not shown to be taken from (perhaps not considered eligible to own property)’ (p. 134). Although it can be partly understood within the specific framework assumed in the study (when an animal is taken from a woman, it is always the result of her giving), it remains problematic. David takes gifts from Abigail (1 Sam 25:18, 26–35) and Saul takes food from the necromancer (1 Sam 28:24–25); Hannah’s two-fold offer (1 Sam 1:24–28)

is more disputable (see pp. 45–48). The necromancer's gift is particularly relevant, as the fattened calf is apparently her property.

From this point in the study, Millar shifts the perspective from the actions (killing and taking) to the power accumulated in specific agents (men and animals). In Chapter 4 (pp. 136–183), men's power is considered based on three examples: Goliath, Absalom, and Mephibosheth. The chapter capitalises on another field of study, dedicated to masculinity (both in the biblical context and as an independent theory). This part of the study is primarily structured according to three themes. First, the embodiment of masculinity that – as the author meticulously notes – is characterised, *inter alia*, through animal (and monstrous) traits. Second, its enactment and enunciation are tangible witnesses to the dynamic aspect of power. Once again, animals (lions, bears, sheep, dogs, and equids) are important means to express masculine power and its loss. Finally, 'the end of masculine power' (p. 173) is investigated for all three characters. The dead human body is barely different from a dead animal body; in the end, human animality can be perceived through human mortality.

The fifth chapter (pp. 184–226) deals with animal power and agency. In its introduction, Millar highlights some problems pertaining to the theorising of animal agency and its identification in biblical texts. 'Three portions of text' (p. 191) are used as case studies for animal agency. First is the complex Ark Narrative contained in 1 Sam 4–6 and 2 Sam 6, where three groups of acting animals are proposed: mice, cows, and oxen. Second is the story of Kish's missing jennies (1 Sam 9:1–10:16), where the relevance of animals is overlooked by some scholars. The final case to be examined is the Succession Narrative, a textual complex in 2 Sam 9–20 and 1 Kgs 1–2. The agency of four species is considered: a (fictional) lamb in 2 Sam 12, horses in 2 Sam 8 (hence, before the Succession Narrative), donkeys (three occurrences), and a mule in 2 Sam 18. The survey is inherently problematic because the source texts were written from an anthropocentric position; therefore, they pay (almost) no attention to animal agency. Millar uses the 'hermeneutic of retrieval to imaginatively uncover the agency of animals' (p. 190), although even then she concludes that animal agency is usually constrained by human or divine control.

The last chapter (pp. 227–246) contains the concluding material. In the synthesis, Millar puts the species (mainly human–animal) among other social vectors that shape the intersectional dynamics of power and revisits her five modes of intersection, providing for each an extensive list of examples stemming from the preceding chapters. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the study's limitations and its broader implications. The extensive bibliography (pp. 247–277, including works in German, French, and Italian, although translations are preferred whenever available) demonstrates the interdisciplinary approach of the study. The vastness of the comparative material used in the study is impressive: from the text and representations from ancient West Asia, Egypt, and Graeco-Roman milieu, to modern African customs, to scientific research on animals.

An unsettling question may be useful to locate Millar's study within the context of the 'post-animal turn' in biblical studies: To what extent (if any) are animal studies possible? When 'animal turn' is understood as an attempt to challenge anthropocentrism, one must

confront the limitations of one's human nature. Thus, it is unsurprising that the concept of intersectionality emerged from women of colour, who are affected by multiple vectors of power (pp. 24–25). As long as animal studies are performed from a human perspective, there will be inherent traces of anthropocentrism. This fact does not remove the ethical necessity to pay attention to animals but calls for methodological attention (and intellectual honesty). In this context, the volume can be considered a relatively conservative approach. The five modes of intersection that constitute the focal point of Millar's methodology are all formulated as 'animals [...] humans'; hence, without an attempt to decentralise the human. This attitude is coherent with two premises of the study: its focus on the (inherently anthropocentric) Books of Samuel and an interest in the intersectional dynamics of power that are manifested in this text primarily by human actors. Nevertheless, the author is attentive to the recognition of non-human animals in the source composition, including their value (even inexplicit), wellbeing (e.g., post-traumatic conditions, p. 96, or the cruelty of mother–child separation, p. 199), and agency (Chapter 5).

The interest in the dynamics of power results in one of the major limitations of the study, namely, its focus on domesticated animals. This situation casts a shadow on the primary intent of the study, that is, to provide 'the first comprehensive study of animals in Samuel' (p. 2). Wild animals are often mentioned in the volume; some of them (mice, lions, bears, and dogs) are considered in detail, whereas others (e.g., partridges, fleas, and birds of prey, including vultures) remain marginal. However, non-domesticated animals could provide an interesting extension of the five modes of intersection because their relationships with humans (and other animals) may differ significantly from those of livestock.

In summary, Millar's book is an indispensable resource for anyone interested in the animals, power, or intersectionality in the Bible, especially in the Books of Samuel. The author provides numerous interesting readings of the relevant passages, and even if some of them may be disputable (especially for those who do not accept the undergirding methodological theory), they permit us to approach the biblical text from a new perspective. Moreover, the proposed analytical framework is a useful point of departure for further research on animal intersections. Millar proves that to fully understand the configuration of power in the Books of Samuel (and presumably elsewhere in Scripture), animals, which are often overlooked because of anthropocentric bias, should be taken seriously.

# **Biblical News**




## **Działalność Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II w roku akademickim 2024/2025**

Academic Activities of the Institute of Biblical Studies  
at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin in the Year 2024/2025

**Tomasz Bartłomiej Bąk**

Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II  
tbak@kul.pl

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0328-0282>

---

### **I. Sprawy personalne**

W roku akademickim 2024/2025, podobnie jak w roku ubiegłym, Instytut Nauk Biblijnych KUL działał w ramach czterech katedr:

1. Katedra Egzegezy Ksiąg Historycznych, Prorockich i Sapiencjalnych  
Kierownik – ks. prof. dr hab. Dariusz Dziadosz

Pracownicy:

- ks. dr Krzysztof Napora SCJ
- ks. dr hab. Andrzej Piwowar, prof. KUL
- ks. dr hab. Arnold Zawadzki

2. Katedra Filologii Biblijnej i Literatury Międzytestamentalnej  
Kierownik – ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Stanisław Wróbel

Pracownicy:

- ks. dr Tomasz Bąk
- ks. prof. dr hab. Henryk Drawnel SDB
- ks. dr Krzysztof Kinowski
- ks. dr Marcin Biegas (wykładowca WSD w Sandomierzu)

3. Katedra Egzegezy Ewangelii i Pism Apostolskich  
Kierownik – dr hab. Krzysztof Mielcarek, prof. KUL

Pracownicy:

- ks. dr hab. Adam Kubiś, prof. KUL
- ks. prof. dr hab. Stefan Szymik MSF

- ks. dr Sławomir Czajka (wykładowca WSD w Radomiu)
- ks. dr hab. Jacek Kucharski (wykładowca WSD w Radomiu)

#### 4. Katedra Teologii Biblijnej i Proforystyki

Kierownik – ks. prof. dr hab. Henryk Witczyk

Pracownicy:

- ks. dr Piotr Kot
- ks. dr hab. Marcin Kowalski, prof. KUL
- ks. dr Marcin Zieliński
- ks. dr Paweł Lasek (wykładowca WSD w Sandomierzu)
- ks. dr Stanisław Sadowski (wykładowca WSD w Kielcach).

## II. Ważniejsze wydarzenia naukowe i organizacyjne

Od 1 października 2024 r. ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Stanisław Wróbel został mianowany przez Rektora KUL Dyrektorem Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL na kadencję 2024–2028.

W dniu 14 października 2014 r. odbyło się spotkanie profesorów i studentów INB KUL przy kościele Księży Sercanów w Lublinie. Po zebraniu członków Instytutu była celebrowana Eucharystia, a później miało miejsce spotkanie w gościnnych pomieszczeniach domu Księży Sercanów.

Dnia 17 października 2024 r. ks. abp Stanisław Gądecki otrzymał Medal za Zasługi dla Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego. Było to również podziękowanie za wsparcie dla Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych i dla Centrum Heschela KUL. W laudacji wygłoszonej przez ks. prof. Henryka Witczyka arcybiskup Stanisław Gądecki został przedstawiony jako pasterz stojący w obronie wiary osób świeckich i duchownych, poliglota, obrońca antropologii biblijnej, gruntownie wykształcony w zakresie bibliistyki i dialogu z judaizmem.

W dniu 21 listopada 2024 r. Ośrodek Studiów nad Judaizmem Drugiej Świątyni KUL, współpracujący z Instytutem Nauk Biblijnych, zorganizował otwarty wykład z cyklu „Ryszard Rubinkiewicz Memorial Lectures”. Wykład wygłosił dr Mateusz Kusio (KU Leuven), a tematem prelekcji była „Tradycja o Antychryście w judaizmie Drugiej Świątyni i wczesnym chrześcijaństwie (refleksje po kilku latach)”. Celem wykładu było przedstawienie głównych tez i konkluzji monografii dr. Mateusza Kusio, *The Antichrist Tradition in Antiquity: Antimesianism in Second Temple and Early Christian Literature* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 532; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2020). Spotkanie poprowadził ks. prof. dr hab. Henryk Drawnel SDB – Dyrektor Ośrodka Badań nad Judaizmem Drugiej Świątyni KUL.

Dnia 22 stycznia 2025 r. Centrum Relacji Katolicko-Żydowskich KUL im. Abrahama J. Heschela oraz Archidiecezjalne Centrum Dialogu Katolicko-Żydowskiego zorganizowały na Katolickim Uniwersytecie Lubelskim Dzień Judaizmu pod hasłem „Obwieścicie wyzwolenie w kraju dla wszystkich jego mieszkańców (Kpł 25,10a)”. Słowo powitania skierował abp Stanisław Budzik – Metropolita Lubelski i Wielki Kanclerz KUL, a następnie Rektor KUL, ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Kalinowski oraz Dyrektor Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL, ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław S. Wróbel – Pełnomocnik Rektora KUL ds. Relacji Katolicko-Żydowskich i Badań Naukowych w Ziemi Świętej. Po liturgii Słowa uczestnicy uroczystości wysłuchali dwóch prelekcji. Pierwszą wygłosił prof. Robert Schine – Kierownik Studiów Żydowskich w Middlebury College (USA): „Jubileusz w tradycji żydowskiej”. Drugie wystąpienie należało do s. dr Katarzyny Kowalskiej NDS – Współprzewodniczącej Polskiej Rady Chrześcijan i Żydów: „Jubileusz w Kościele katolickim”. Kolejnym punktem programu była modlitwa, poprowadzona przez kantora Symcha Kellera oraz bpa Mieczysława Cisło, a także Akatyst w wykonaniu Ewy Sykulskiej z Akademii Muzycznej w Poznaniu. Słowo podziękowania, wieńczące Dzień Judaizmu, wygłosił ks. dr Tomasz Adamczyk – Dyrektor Archidiecezjalnego Centrum Dialogu Katolicko-Żydowskiego.

Dnia 26 stycznia 2025 r. Kościół obchodził Niedzielę Słowa Bożego, której celem było ponowne odkrywanie i pogłębianie znaczenia Biblii w życiu Kościoła i w osobistym życiu człowieka. Mottem wybranym przez Ojca Świętego Franciszka był werset z Psalmu 119: „Pokładam nadzieję w Twoim Słowie”. Centralne obchody Niedzieli Słowa Bożego w Archidiecezji Lubelskiej odbyły się w parafii Trójcy Świętej w Lublinie. W uroczystej Mszy Św. o godz. 18.00 pod przewodnictwem abp. Stanisława Budzika, Metropolity Lubelskiego i Wielkiego Kanclerza KUL, nastąpiło przyjęcie nowych członków do Dzieła Biblijnego. Na pozostałych Mszach Św. homilie biblijne głosił ks. dr Marcin Zieliński, pracownik Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL. Po Mszach rozdawano wiernym cytaty Pisma Świętego i foldery Kursu Formacji Biblijnej KUL. Podczas Niedzieli Słowa Bożego była też możliwość zakupu nowych przekładów Biblii oraz literatury biblijnej.

W dniu 29 stycznia 2025 r. w Instytucie Nauk Biblijnych KUL odbyła się pierwsza w kraju obrona doktoratu w dyscyplinie nauk biblijnych. Siostra Dorota Chwiła FMA otrzymała tytuł doktora na podstawie pracy: „Ojcostwo Boga w Ewangelii Janowej w kontekście Targumu Neofiti 1. Analiza egzegetyczno-teologiczna”, napisanej pod kierunkiem ks. prof. dr. hab. Mirosława Wróbla, dyrektora Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL. Siostra Dorota Chwiła ze wspólnoty salezjanek jest absolwentką studiów teologicznych, kursu propedeutycznego w zakresie języków biblijnych oraz Specjalistycznego Kursu Teologicznego na Wydziale Teologii KUL. Pracę magisterską również z zakresu teologii biblijnej broniła pod kierunkiem ks. prof. Mirosława Wróbla, dyrektora Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych, tłumacza i redaktora naukowego wydania polskiej edycji Biblii Aramejskiej. Podczas studiów w Szkole Doktorskiej KUL siostra Chwiła otrzymała dwukrotnie Nagrodę im. Profesora Zbigniewa Zaleskiego za wysoko punktowane publikacje naukowe.

Postanowieniem z dnia 18 lutego 2025 r. Prezydent Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej nadał pracownikowi Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL, panu dr. hab. Krzysztofowi Mielcarkowi, prof. KUL, tytuł naukowy profesora nauk teologicznych w dyscyplinie nauki biblijne.

13 marca 2025 r. w Mikołowie, w 86. roku życia i w 62. roku kapłaństwa zmarł salwatorianin ks. dr Hubert Ordon.

Od 1 października 1978 r. został w charakterze asystenta zaangażowany w Szkole Biblijnej na Wydziale Teologicznym KUL, która z czasem została przekształcona w Instytut Nauk Biblijnych KUL. Dwa lata później otrzymał stanowisko starszego asystenta (1.10.1980 r.), a następnie z dniem 1 października 1982 r. został powołany na stanowisko adiunkta Katedry Teologii Biblijnej Nowego Testamentu, kierowanej wówczas przez ks. prof. dr. hab. Józefa Kudasiewicza. Z dniem 1 października 1994 r. przeszedł na stanowisko starszego wykładowcy w Instytucie Nauk Biblijnych KUL. W okresie od 1.10. 1995 r. do 30.09.2000 r. pracował także w Instytucie Jana Pawła II KUL jako jego sekretarz. W swoich badaniach biblijnych ks. Hubert Ordon koncentrował się na obydwu dziełach Łukasza oraz na Listach św. Pawła, prowadząc ponadto przez wiele lat ćwiczenia, proseminaria i wykłady na kursie zwyczajnym oraz wyższym Wydziału Teologii KUL. Po utworzeniu w latach dziewięćdziesiątych punktu konsultacyjnego dla zaocznych studentów Wydziału Teologii we Lwowie wielokrotnie udawał się tam w celu przeprowadzenia wykładów, zajęć w ramach proseminarium i egzaminów. W Instytucie Nauk Biblijnych KUL zostanie zapamiętany przede wszystkim jako wieloletni wykładowca morfologii języka greckiego Nowego Testamentu<sup>1</sup>.

Msza Św. pogrzebowa miała miejsce 18 marca pod przewodnictwem ks. bpa Adama Wodarczyka w kościele pod wezwaniem NMP Matki Zbawiciela w Mikołowie. Ciało śp. ks. dr. Huberta Ordona zostało złożone w rodzinnym grobie na cmentarzu parafialnym przy kościele pw. Ducha Świętego w Chorzowie.

Msza Św. w intencji zmarłego ks. dr. Ordona została odprawiona również w kościele akademickim KUL w dniu 24 marca 2025 r. Uroczystości przewodniczył Dziekan Wydziału Teologii ks. prof. dr hab. Przemysław Kantyka.

Dnia 24 marca 2025 r. w Collegium Jana Pawła II Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego miało miejsce spotkanie promocyjne publikacji *Biblia Aramejska Targum Neofiti 1. Księga Liczb. Tekst aramejski – przekład. Aparat krytyczny – przypisy. Tom IV. W przekładzie dr hab. Anny Kuśmirek, prof. UKSW* (Lublin: Gaudium 2025). Słowo wstępne skierował ks. dr hab. Piotr Wiśniewski, prof. KUL, Prorektor KUL ds. Misji, oraz ks. prof. dr hab. Przemysław Kantyka, Dziekan Wydziału Teologii KUL. Głos zabrali również: ks. dr Marek Szymański – Dyrektor Wydawnictwa „Gaudium”, ks. prof. dr hab. Dariusz Kotecki – Przewodniczący Stowarzyszenia Biblistów Polskich, oraz ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław S. Wróbel – Dyrektor INB KUL, a równocześnie Dyrektor Projektu i Redaktor Naukowy „Biblii Aramejskiej”. Częścią spotkania promocyjnego był również panel dyskusyjny, prowadzony przez prof. dr. hab. Sławomira Żurka, w którym udział wzięli: dr hab. Anna Kuśmirek, prof. UKSW, siostra Dorota Chwiła FMA, ks. prof. dr hab. Antoni Tronina, rabin Stas Wojciechowicz, ks. prof. dr hab. Marek Parchem oraz ks. dr Paweł Rytel-Andrianik.

1 Zob. K. Mielcarek, „Życie i działalność naukowo-dydaktyczna dr. Huberta Ordona SDS”, *The Biblical Annals* 53/1 (2006) 120.

W marcu 2025 r. ukazał się kolejny tom Biblii Lubelskiej. Autorem komentarza do Księgi Syracha jest ks. dr hab. Andrzej Piwowar, prof. KUL.

Dnia 26 maja 2025 r. miała miejsce obrona pracy licencjackiej autorstwa o. Grzegorza Kurasia OP: „Izajaszowy kontekst Listu do Kościoła w Filadelfii. Poszerzenie interpretacji Ap 3,10 o Iz 26,20–21”. Praca została napisana pod kierunkiem ks. dr hab. Adama Kubisia, prof. KUL. Recenzentem był ks. dr hab. Andrzej Piwowar, prof. KUL.

W dniu 2 czerwca 2025 r. po pomyślnie zdanym egzaminie licencjackim dwóch studentów Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL – o. mgr Grzegorz Kuraś oraz ks. mgr Kamil Kojder – uzyskali tytuł licencjata w dyscyplinie nauki biblijne.

9 czerwca 2025 r. odbyło się tradycyjne spotkanie studentów i pracowników Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL, wieńczące kolejny rok pracy naukowej. Pracownicy i studenci uczestniczyli we Mszy Św. w parafii Matki Bożej Wspomożenia Wiernych w Lublinie, po której nastąpiło okolicznościowe spotkanie. Przekazano życzenia dla ks. prof. Antoniego Troniny z okazji 80. rocznicy urodzin oraz podziękowania dla ks. prof. dr hab. Henryka Witczyka za 30 lat jego pracy naukowej w Instytucie Nauk Biblijnych KUL.

### III. Sympozja naukowe organizowane w Instytucie Nauk Biblijnych KUL

W roku akademickim 2024/2025 w ramach działalności INB KUL zorganizowano następujące sympozja naukowe:

#### 1. Sympozjum międzynarodowe: Jesienne Dni Biblijne

W dniach 5–7 listopada 2024 r. Instytut Nauk Biblijnych KUL wspólnie z Centrum ds. Relacji Katolicko-Żydowskich im. Abrahama J. Heschela zorganizował kilkudniowe sympozjum pod hasłem: „*Pray for the peace of Jerusalem (Ps 122:6). The Divine-Human, Messianic and Eschatological Gift of Peace in the Holy Land*” („*Proście o pokój dla Jeruzalem (Ps 122,6). Bosko-ludzki, mesjański i eschatologiczny dar pokoju dla Ziemi Świętej*”). Program sympozjum przedstawiał się następująco:

#### Dzień 1 (wtorek, 5 listopada)

8.45 Otwarcie konferencji

#### Sesja I

(przewodniczył ks. dr Marcin Zieliński [KUL, Lublin])

- Ibolya Balla (Seminarium Reformowane w Pápa, Węgry): „The Concept of Holy War and Peace according to Joel 4”;
- David Neuhaus SJ (Papieski Instytut Biblijny, Jerozolima, Izrael): „Teaching the Bible at the Heart of the Conflict: Can the Bible Teach Peace?”;

- Jaap Doedens (Seminarium Reformowane w Pápa, Węgry): „Royal Blindness versus Prophetic Vision: Jeremiah’s and Zedekiah’s Polar Plans for Peace”.

### **Sesja II**

(przewodniczył Jaap Doedens [Seminarium Reformowane w Pápa, Węgry])

- James H. Charlesworth (Princeton Theological Seminary, USA): „Jesus’ Teachings on Peace in the Gospels within Its First-Century Context”;
- Susan Eastman (Duke Divinity School, USA): „No Salvation without the Other: Peace and Eschatological Patience in Romans”.

### **Sesja III**

(przewodniczył Archie Wright [Katolickie Stowarzyszenie Biblistów Amerykańskich, USA])

- Volker Rabens (Uniwersytet w Jenie / Kościół Ewangelicki Środkowych Niemiec): „Intercultural Understanding as a Means of Peace in Luke-Acts”;
- Tobias Nicklas (Uniwersytet w Regensburgu, Niemcy): „Love, Peace and Jewish Hatred according to the Gospel of John?”;
- Wojciech Wasiak (Uniwersytet Adama Mickiewicza, Poznań): „Where Is Peace? On Earth (2,14) or in Heaven (19,38)? Luke’s Characterization of Peace”.

## **Dzień 2 (środa, 6 listopada)**

### **Sesja I**

(przewodniczyła Katarzyna Kowalska NDS [Polska Rada Chrześcijan i Żydów])

- Peter Dubovsky (Papieski Instytut Biblijny, Rzym, Włochy): „How to Achieve Peace according to Some Selected Biblical Texts”;
- Faydra Shapiro (Projekt Philos i Tel Hai College, Izrael): „Praying for Peace: Are We Praying for the Right Thing?”;
- Antoine Levy (Uniwersytet Wschodniej Finlandii): „True and False Peace – a Biblical, Theological, and Political Perspective”.

### **Sesja II**

(przewodniczył Piotr Żelazko [Wikariat św. Jakuba, Łaciński Patriarchat Jerozolimy])

- Eliana Kuryło CB (Toulouse Ecole Biblique, Francja): „«Great is peace, as all blessings are included in it». Midrash Vayikra Rabbah. Biblical Understanding of Peace in the Light of Rabbinical Texts”;
- Waldemar Szczerbiński (Uniwersytet Adama Mickiewicza, Poznań): „A Peaceful Vision of the State of Israel in the Statements of Jewish Reconstructionists”.

Popołudniowe zwiedzanie, kolacja i koncert (Kazimierz Dolny).

## **Dzień 3 (czwartek, 7 listopada)**

### **Sesja I**

(przewodniczył Marcin Kowalski [Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II])

- Gavin D’Costa (Angelicum, Rzym, Włochy): „Reflections on the Land, People and State of Israel. Catholic Israel Theology and Peace in the Holy Land”;

- Abraham Skorka (Georgetown University, USA): „The Path for Peace (from the Prophets to Rabbis)”.

**Sesja II** – dyskusja panelowa na temat pokoju w Ziemi Świętej (przewodniczył Robert Szwed [Rzecznik prasowy KUL])

Kard. Pierbattista Pizzaballa (Łaciński Patriarcha Jerozolimy; online), kard. Kurt Koch (Prefekt Dykasterii ds. Popierania Jedności Chrześcijan; online), Katarzyna Kowalska NDS (Polska Rada Chrześcijan i Żydów), Eliana Kuryło CB (Toulouse Ecole Biblique, Francja), David Neuhaus SJ (Papieski Instytut Biblijny, Jerozolima, Izrael), Faydra Shapiro (Projekt Philos i Tel Hai College, Izrael), Abraham Skorka (Georgetown University, USA), Archie Wright (Katolickie Stowarzyszenie Biblistów Amerykańskich, USA), Piotr Żelazko (Wikariat św. Jakuba, Łaciński Patriarchat Jerozolimy).

### **Zamknięcie konferencji**

## **2. Konferencja krajowa: Wiosenne Sympozjum Biblijne**

Dnia 11 marca 2025 r. w budynku Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego zorganizowana została konferencja krajowa: „Krzywda i przebaczenie w Biblii”. Otwarcia sympozjum dokonał Dziekan Wydziału Teologii – ks. prof. dr hab. Przemysław Kantyka oraz Dyrektor Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych – ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Wróbel. Konferencja przebiegała według następującego porządku:

### **Sesja I**

(przewodniczył ks. dr Krzysztof Naporę [KUL, Lublin])

- ks. dr hab. Tomasz Tułodziecki, prof. UMK (Toruń): „Wykradziony przywilej i poczucie wyrządzonej krzywdy – postawa Jakuba wobec Ezawy (Rdz 32,4–22; 33,1–7)”;
- ks. prof. dr hab. Dariusz Dziadosz (KUL, Lublin): „Zbrodnia mieszkańców Gibe'a i jej społeczno-moralne reperkusje paradygmatem upadku Izraela w schyłkowej epoce sędziów (Sdz 19,1–21,25)”;
- ks. dr Krzysztof Kinowski (KUL, Lublin): „Od nikczemnika do pokutnika: Achab i Manasses jako biblijne paradygmaty niosące nadzieję przebaczenia największym grzesznikom”.

### **Sesja II**

(przewodniczył ks. dr Krzysztof Kinowski [KUL, Lublin])

- ks. prof. dr hab. Janusz Nawrot (UAM, Poznań): „Czy można usprawiedliwić przemoc? Kazus 1 Mach 2,23–26”;
- ks. dr hab. Cezary Korzec, prof. US (Szczecin): „Od krzywdy do przebaczenia w biblijnej procedurze *rib*”;
- ks. dr Wojciech Wasiak (UAM, Poznań): „Łukaszowa redakcja męki Pańskiej – Jezus wobec odrzucających Go”.

### **Sesja III**

(przewodniczył ks. dr Piotr Kot [KUL, Lublin])

- ks. prof. dr hab. Artur Malina (UŚ, Katowice): „Erynie w Ewangeliach? Jezus o nieuchronnych konsekwencjach braku przebaczenia (Mt 6,14–15; 18,35; Mk 11,25)”;

- ks. prof. dr hab. Janusz Kręcidło (UKSW, Warszawa): „Czym jest grzech bluźnierstwa przeciw Duchowi Świętemu i dlaczego nie może być odpuszczony (Mk 3,28–30 i par.)?”;
- dr hab. Krzysztof Mielcarek, prof. KUL (Lublin): „Krzywda i miłosierdzie. Charakterystyka postaci z przypowieści o dobrym Samarytaninie (Łk 10,30–37)”.

#### Sesja IV

(przewodniczył ks. dr Marcin Zieliński [KUL, Lublin])

- o. dr Jakub Bluj OP (Kolegium Dominikanów, Kraków): „Postawa religijna i społeczna człowieka wobec Boga i bliźniego. Krzywda i przebaczenie w Księdze Syracha”;
- dr hab. Dorota Muszytowska, prof. UKSW (Warszawa): „Rozumienie krzywdy i przebaczenia w Liście św. Jakuba”;
- ks. dr hab. Paweł Podeszwa, prof. UAM (Poznań): „*Nie krzywdź oliwy i wina* (Ap 6,6b) – zagadkowe wyrażenie w Apokalipsie Janowej”.

### IV. Działalność naukowo-dydaktyczna pracowników Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL

Prezentację działalności naukowo-dydaktycznej rozpoczynamy od dyrektora Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL. Pozostali pracownicy, zatrudnieni na etatach badawczych lub badawczo-dydaktycznych, zostaną zaprezentowani w porządku alfabetycznym. „Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL” obejmuje wykłady wykraczające poza obowiązkowe zajęcia.

#### 1. Ks. prof. dr hab. Mirosław Stanisław Wróbel – Dyrektor Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL

##### Książki pod redakcją

1. Redakcja naukowa: A. Kuśmirek, *Targum Neofiti 1: Księga Liczb* (Biblia Aramejska 4; Lublin: Gaudium 2025).
2. Redakcja naukowa: S. Korona – M. Wyrzykowski – M. Zybala, *Komentarz do Księgi Jozuego, Księgi Sędziów, Księgi Rut, Ksiąg Samuela i Ksiąg Królewskich* (Komentarz teologiczno-pastoralny do Biblii Tysiąclecia. Stary Testament 2; Poznań: Pallottinum 2025).
3. Redakcja naukowa: A. Tronina – H. Langkammer – P. Briks, *Komentarz do Księgi Hioba, Księgi Psalmów i Księgi Przysłów* (Komentarz teologiczno-pastoralny do Biblii Tysiąclecia. Stary Testament 4; Poznań: Pallottinum 2025).
4. Redakcja naukowa: M. Parchem, *Targum Neofiti 1: Księga Powtórzonego Prawa* (Biblia Aramejska 5; Lublin: Gaudium 2025).

##### Artykuły naukowe

1. „Prototypy Kościoła w Starym Testamencie”, *Kościół a Kościoły* (red. A. Napiórkowski – A. Sejbuk) (Cracoviensis Cogitatio Ecclesialis 16; Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UPJP II – Scriptum 2025) 311–330.

2. „«Zrodzeni do żywej nadziei» (1 P 1,3) w perspektywie wybrania, obdarowania łaską i przeznaczenia do wieczności”, *Przegląd Biblijny* 17 (2025) 88–96.
3. „«Proście o pokój dla Jeruzalem» (Ps 122,6): Uniwersalny wymiar Świętego Miasta i Świątyni w Psalmie 122 w wersji hebrajskiej i aramejskiej”, *Scrutare me Deus et cognosce cor meum (Ps 139[138],23). Księga pamiątkowa dla Księdza Profesora Antoniego Troniny w 80. rocznicę urodzin* (red. M. Szmajdziński) (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2025) 173–185.
4. „Żydowskie korzenie chrześcijaństwa. Żydzi i judaizm w głoszeniu słowa Bożego i katechezie Kościoła katolickiego (1985)”, *Kościół Katolicki wobec Żydów i judaizmu. Dokumenty Stolicy Apostolskiej (1965–2015) i komentarze* (red. G. Ryś – S.J. Żurek) (Kraków: WAM 2025) 245–267.
5. „Zgodność i różnica. Naród żydowski i jego Święte Pisma w Biblii chrześcijańskiej (2001)”, *Kościół Katolicki wobec Żydów i judaizmu. Dokumenty Stolicy Apostolskiej (1965–2015) i komentarze* (red. G. Ryś – S.J. Żurek) (Kraków: WAM 2025) 291–318.
6. „Wkład Biblii Aramejskiej w dialog pomiędzy judaizmem i chrześcijaństwem”, *Człowiek – Wspólnota – Dziedzictwo. Księga Jubileuszowa Profesora Mariana Surdackiego* (red. W. Partyka) (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL 2025) 921–933.
7. „Bible, Psychology, and Social Studies: Interdisciplinary Project «The Relevance of the Bible for the Development of Religious and Spiritual Resources», KUL, Lublin”, *Verbum Vitae* 43/4 (2025) 919–958.

### Artykuły popularnonaukowe

1. „Bohaterowie Starego Testamentu: Król Dawid – życie i dzieło”, *Krag Biblijny* 56 (2025) 100–103.
2. „Grzech i nawrócenie w życiu króla Dawida”, *Krag Biblijny* 56 (2025) 104–108.
3. „Pamiętaj, abys dzień święty święcił”, *Apostoł Miłosierdzia Bożego* 1/125 (2025) 48–49.
4. „Czcij ojca swego i matkę swoją”, *Apostoł Miłosierdzia Bożego* 2/126 (2025) 46–47.
5. „Bohaterowie Starego Testamentu: Hiob – tajemnica cierpienia”, *Krag Biblijny* 57 (2025) 152–156.
6. „Cierpienie Hioba w świetle cierpienia Chrystusa”, *Krag Biblijny* 57 (2025) 157–162.
7. „Nie zabijaj”, *Apostoł Miłosierdzia Bożego* 3/127 (2025) 44–46.
8. „Bohaterowie Starego Testamentu: Król Salomon – życie i dzieło”, *Krag Biblijny* 58 (2025) 133–136.
9. „Budowle króla Salomona w świetle Biblii i archeologii”, *Krag Biblijny* 58 (2025) 137–142.
10. „Nie cudzołóż”, *Apostoł Miłosierdzia Bożego* 4/128 (2025) 42–43.

### Realizacja grantów naukowych

Grant wydziałowy dla dyscypliny nauki biblijnej: „Jesus and Christianity in the Literature of Rabbinic Judaism”.

### Działalność sympozjalna

1. Organizacja konferencji i wystawy „Rodzina Ulmów: Honorując Sprawiedliwych” (KUL, Lublin, 16.10.2024).
2. Organizacja konferencji międzynarodowej pt. „«Proście o pokój dla Jeruzalem» (Ps 122,6). Bosko-ludzki, mesjański i eschatologiczny dar pokoju dla Ziemi Świętej” (KUL, Lublin, 5–7.11.2024).
3. Referat: „Teologia w krajach Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej” – Międzynarodowy Kongres Teologiczny „Dziedzictwo i wyobraźnia” (Dykasteria ds. Kultury i Edukacji, Papieski Uniwersytet Laterański, Watykan, 9–10.12.2024).
4. Prowadzenie sesji plenarnej „Nauczanie Kościoła o Żydach i judaizmie”, międzynarodowa konferencja naukowa w ramach XXVIII Dnia Judaizmu w Kościele katolickim w Polsce (Papieski Wydział Teologiczny, Wrocław, 14–16.01.2025).
5. Organizacja Archidiecezjalnego Dnia Judaizmu „Jubileusz: *Obwieścić wyzwolenie w kraju dla wszystkich jego mieszkańców* (Kpł 25,10a)” (KUL, Lublin, 22.01.2025).
6. Referat: „Lublin – the Place of Dialogue between Christians and Jews – Past and Future”, Międzynarodowe Seminarium dla Studentów z Middlebury College (USA) (KUL, Lublin, 23–24.01.2025).
7. Organizacja i wygłoszenie referatu „Rola Słowa Bożego w Jubileuszowym Roku Nadziei”, Niedziela Słowa Bożego (Kościół Trójcy Świętej, Lublin, 26.01.2025).
8. Referat: „Hierarcha osób i możliwość «kariery» w królestwie Bożym – pokora (przykład dziecka – Mt 18,1–5; przykład Jana Chrzciciela – Łk 7,18–35; przykład matki synów Zebedeusza – Mt 20,20–28)” (Ekumeniczna Szkoła Biblijna, Łódź, 8.02.2025).
9. Referaty: „Żydowskie korzenie chrześcijaństwa. Żydzi i judaizm w głoszeniu słowa Bożego i katechezie Kościoła katolickiego (1985)” oraz „Zgodność i różnica. Naród żydowski i jego Święte Pisma w Biblii chrześcijańskiej (2001)”, Ogólnopolskie Warsztaty Dialogu Katolicko-Żydowskiego (Centrum Dialogu i Modlitwy, Oświęcim, 25–26.02.2025).
10. Referat: „Catholic-Jewish Dialogue from the Declaration of Nostra Aetate to the Present Day”, International Interdisciplinary Scientific Conference „Community, Dialogue, Identity. The Role of Dialogue in Community Building: A Return to the Roots” (University of Prešov, Słowacja, 6–7.03.2025).
11. Cykl konferencji biblijnych: „Św. Paweł – człowiek nadziei” (Ognisko Światła i Miłości, Łopoczno, 8–9.03.2025).
12. Referat: „Pascha żydowska i chrześcijańskie Triduum Paschalne”, panel dyskusyjny: rabin Boaz Pash i ks. prof. Mirosław Wróbel w dyskusji (Klasztor OO. Dominikanów, Lublin, 8.04.2025).
13. Przewodniczenie komisji Konkursu Biblijnego dla Szkół Podstawowych (Serniki, 7.05.2025).
14. Referat: „*Memra* (Słowo) w Targumie Neofiti 1 i jego związki z Prologiem św. Jana”, sesja naukowa z okazji 150. rocznicy powstania Zgromadzenia Słowa Bożego (Wyższe Misyjne Seminarium Zgromadzenia Słowa Bożego, Pieniężno, 8–10.05.2025).

15. Cykl konferencji biblijnych: „Św. Maria Magdalena – niewiasta nawrócenia” (Ognisko Światła i Miłości, Łopoczo, 17–18.05.2025).
16. Udział w panelu i wygłoszenie referatu: „Dzieje Biblii Hebrajskiej – Septuaginta – Targumy – Qumran”, wystawa „Historia Biblii i piśmiennictwa” (Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna im. H. Łopacińskiego, Lublin, 19.05.2025).
17. Referat: „Wyrażenie «druga śmierć» w Apokalipsie św. Jana (Ap 2,11; 20,6.14; 21,8) w świetle tradycji targumicznych”, II Międzynarodowa Konferencja Naukowa „Targumy: Światło na tradycje biblijne” (UKSW, Warszawa, 20–21.05.2025).
18. Referat: „Początek boleści i znaki nadchodzącego końca – czas trwogi czy nadziei? (Łk 21,7–36)” (Ekumeniczna Szkoła Biblijna, Łódź, 7.06.2025).
19. Przewodniczenie Komisji Konkursowej Finału Ogólnopolskiego Konkursu Wiedzy Biblijnej (Niepokalanów, 12–13.06.2025).
20. Referat: „Jesus and Christianity in the Literature of Rabbinic Judaism”, Society of Biblical Literature – International Meeting (Uppsala University, Szwecja, 23–27.06.2025).
21. Referat: „Proverbs 2,1–15 – Poetical and Theological Message”, Catholic Biblical Association – International Meeting (Loyola University, Chicago [USA], 2–5.08.2025).

### **Szkolenia, staże i kwerendy biblioteczne**

1. Kwerenda biblioteczna w Papieskim Instytucie Biblijnym (Rzym, 9–11.12.2024).
2. Kwerenda biblioteczna w Uppsala University (Szwecja, 25–27.06.2025).
3. Wyjazd studyjny: Siedem Kościołów Apokalipsy (Turcja, 10–18.07.2025).
4. Kwerenda biblioteczna w Loyola University (Chicago [USA], 30.07–2.08.2025).
5. Wyjazd studyjny: Szlak św. Pawła (Grecja, 30.07–2.08.2025).
6. Wyjazd studyjny: Szlak św. Pawła (Grecja, 20–28.08.2025).
7. Wyjazd studyjny: Szlak św. Piotra i pierwotnego Kościoła (Włochy, 9–15.09.2025).

### **Udział w komisjach naukowych**

1. Udział w Komisji i opinia w postępowaniu o nadanie tytułu profesora dla dr hab. Marii Kardis (University of Prešov, Słowacja, 14.04.2025).
2. Udział w Komisji i opinia w postępowaniu o nadanie tytułu profesora dla dr hab. Błażeja Stryby (Katolicki Uniwersytet w Nitrze, Nitra, 29.05.2025).
3. Przewodniczący Komisji Habilitacyjnej w postępowaniu habilitacyjnym dr. Piotra Goniszewskiego (Uniwersytet Szczeciński, Szczecin, 17.06.2025).

### **Promocja obronionej rozprawy doktorskiej**

Dorota Chwiła FMA, *Ojcostwo Boga w Ewangelii Janowej w kontekście Targumu Neofiti 1. Analiza egzegetyczno-teologiczna* (KUL, Lublin 2024).

### **Recenzja obronionej rozprawy doktorskiej**

Tomasz Grzegorz Kuziora, *Głoszenie wiary u apostoła Pawła w świetle Pierwszego Listu do Tesaloniczan. Studium historyczno-egzegetyczne* (PWT, Wrocław 2024). Dysertacja doktorska napisana pod kierunkiem promotora ks. prof. dr. hab. Sławomira Stasiaka.

### Recenzja obronionej pracy magisterskiej

Dariusz Cichoń, *Misyjna tożsamość Jezusowego ucznia w świetle Łk 10,1–12. Studium egzegetyczno-teologiczne* (KUL, Lublin 2025). Praca magisterska napisana na seminarium naukowym pod kierunkiem ks. dr. Michała Powęski.

### Recenzje wydawnicze książek

1. *Księga pamięci Gminy Żydowskiej w Siedlcach. Wspomnienia* (red. A.W. Jasny; red. wydania polskiego M.K. Frąckiewicz – M. Reczko) (Pinkasy Przedniemeńskie 11; Łomża – Siedlce: Łomżyńskie Towarzystwo Naukowe im. Wagów w Łomży – Archiwum Państwowe w Siedlcach 2024).
2. *Księga pamięci Gminy Żydowskiej w Zambrowie* (red. J.-T. Lewiński) (Łomża: Łomżyńskie Towarzystwo Naukowe im. Wagów w Łomży 2024).
3. P. Łabuda, *Tajemnica Świętych Pism. Wprowadzenie* (Tolle, Lege! 1; Tarnów: Biblos 2025).
4. „*Sermo tuus veritas est*” (Io 17,17). *Księga Pamiątkowa dla o. prof. Adama Sikory* (Opuscula Dedicata 15; Poznań: Pallottinum 2025).

### Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

1. *Tarnowskie Studia Teologiczne* (1 recenzja).
2. *Studia Paradyskie* (1 recenzja).
3. *Roczniki Humanistyczne* (2 recenzje).
4. *Wrocławski Przegląd Teologiczny* (2 recenzje).
5. *Ethos* (2 recenzje).
6. *Poznańskie Studia Teologiczne* (1 recenzja).
7. *Religions* (1 recenzja).

### Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

Wykłady biblijne u Sióstr Karmelitanek w Dysie: Egzegeza tekstów Nowego Testamentu dotyczących Maryi, Matki Jezusa.

### Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Organizacja Kursu Formacji Biblijnej KUL.
2. Wystąpienia w telewizji i w radio jako ekspert KUL do spraw biblijnych.
3. Przewodniczenie komisji egzaminacyjnej na etapie diecezjalnym i finałowym Ogólnopolskiego Konkursu Wiedzy Biblijnej organizowanego przez Katolickie Stowarzyszenie „Civitas Christiana”.
4. Spotkania z cyklu „W Blasku i mocy Słowa Bożego” w parafii Miłosierdzia Bożego w Lublinie (raz w miesiącu).
5. *Lectio divina* w Archikatedrze Lubelskiej (raz w miesiącu).
6. Spotkania biblijne w Ognisku Światła i Miłości w Łopocznie (3 spotkania w ciągu roku).
7. Organizacja konkursów biblijnych.

8. Organizacja wyjazdów studyjnych – rekolekcji biblijnych do Turcji szlakiem św. Pawła oraz do Rzymu – szlakiem św. Piotra i Pawła.

### Pełnione funkcje

1. Dyrektor Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL.
2. Kierownik Katedry Filologii Biblijnej i Literatury Międzytestamentalnej.
3. Konsultor Komisji Nauki Wiary Konferencji Episkopatu Polski.
4. Członek Rady Doskonałości Naukowej – Zespół teologiczny.
5. Prezes Stowarzyszenia na Rzecz Wspierania Biblistyki „Verbum Sacrum”.
6. Dyrektor i redaktor naukowy projektu „Biblia Aramejska”.
7. Dyrektor Kursu Formacji Biblijnej KUL.
8. Moderator Dzieła Biblijnego im. Jana Pawła II Archidiecezji Lubelskiej.
9. Redaktor naczelny czasopisma *The Biblical Annals*.
10. Redaktor naczelny serii *Studia Pomocnicze do wykładów z biblistyki*.
11. Redaktor naukowy serii KUL *Pismo Święte Starego Testamentu*.
12. Członek Stowarzyszenia Biblistów Polskich.
13. Członek Polskiego Towarzystwa Studiów Żydowskich.
14. Członek Lubelskiego Oddziału Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
15. Członek Lubelskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego.
16. Członek Associazione ex-alumni del Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
17. Członek Society of Biblical Literature.
18. Członek Catholic Biblical Association.

## 2. Ks. dr Tomasz Bąk

### Artykuły naukowe

1. „Fayyumic Glosses in Papyrus Chester Beatty VII”, *Orientalia* 93/2 (2024) 347–376.
2. „Critical Edition and Philological Analysis of the Last Chapters of Deutero-Isaiah (Isa 54–55) Based on the Coptic Manuscript sa 52 (M 568) and Other Coptic Manuscripts in the Sahidic Dialect and the Greek Text of the Septuagint”, *The Biblical Annals* 15/1 (2025) 59–83, <https://doi.org/10.31743/ba.16565>.

### Działalność sympozyjalna

1. Referat na konferencji krajowej: „Pośmiertne losy w egipskiej Księdze Umarłych na przykładzie rękopisu Pa-sheri-Khonsu”, konferencja „Wiosenne Dni Biblijne. Sąd Boży w Biblii” (KUL, Lublin, 5.03.2024).
2. Referat na konferencji krajowej: „Sobór jerozolimski w Dziejach Apostolskich (Dz 15) i w Liście św. Pawła do Galatów (Ga 2)”, konferencja „Ku lepszemu rozumieniu Pisma Świętego” organizowana przez Caritas Diecezji Rzeszowskiej i Katolickie Stowarzyszenie „Civitas Christiana” Regionu Lubelsko-Rzeszowskiego (Myczkowce, 18.05.2024).

### Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

1. Wykład gościnny: „Wprowadzenie do Ewangelii według św. Mateusza”, Instytut Teologiczno-Pastoralny im. Św. Józefa Sebastiana Pelczara w Rzeszowie (Akademia Biblijna; Rzeszów, 12.10.2024, liczba godzin: 4).
2. Wykład gościnny: „Biblijny opis stworzenia świata i człowieka”, Instytut Teologiczno-Pastoralny im. Św. Józefa Sebastiana Pelczara w Rzeszowie (Studia podyplomowe: Teologia dla nowej ewangelizacji; Rzeszów, 26.10.2024, liczba godzin: 4).
3. Wykład gościnny: „Człowiek w Biblii”, Instytut Teologiczno-Pastoralny im. Św. Józefa Sebastiana Pelczara w Rzeszowie (studia podyplomowe z teologii duchowości; Rzeszów, 9.11.2024, liczba godzin: 2).
4. Wykłady gościnne: „Obraz Chrystusa w listach św. Pawła”, Instytut Teologiczno-Pastoralny im. Św. Józefa Sebastiana Pelczara w Rzeszowie (studia podyplomowe: Teologia dla nowej ewangelizacji; Rzeszów, 30.11.2024, liczba godzin: 2).
5. Wykłady gościnne: „Starotestamentalne zapowiedzi Mesjasza”, Instytut Teologiczno-Pastoralny im. Św. Józefa Sebastiana Pelczara w Rzeszowie (studia podyplomowe: Teologia dla nowej ewangelizacji; Rzeszów, 30.11.2024, liczba godzin: 2).
6. Wykład gościnny: „Wprowadzenie do Ewangelii według św. Marka”, Instytut Teologiczno-Pastoralny im. Św. Józefa Sebastiana Pelczara w Rzeszowie (Akademia Biblijna; Rzeszów, 7.12.2024, liczba godzin: 4).
7. Wykłady dla podyplomowych studiów katechetycznych, Instytut Teologiczno-Pastoralny im. Św. Józefa Sebastiana Pelczara w Rzeszowie (I i II semestr 2024/2025, liczba godzin: 115).
8. Wykłady: „Egzegeza Starego Testamentu: Pięcioksiąg”, Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne w Rzeszowie (rok III i IV, semestr I, rok akademicki 2024/2025, liczba godzin: 45).
9. Wykłady: „Język hebrajski”, Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne w Rzeszowie (rok II, semestr I, rok akademicki 2024/2025, liczba godzin: 30).

### 3. Ks. prof. dr hab. Henryk Drawnel SDB

#### Artykuły naukowe

1. „Early Babylonian Astronomy and the Duration of the Nychthemeron in 1 En. 72:8–32”, *Revue de Qumran* 36/2 (2024) 231–247.
2. „The Illumination of the Lunar Disc in 1 En. 78:6–8 in Relation to the Lunar Month”, *Revue de Qumran* 37/1 (2025) 109–139.
3. „The Literary Structure and Schematic Clauses in 1 En. 72:8–32”, *Dead Sea Discoveries* 32/39 (2025) 45–74.

#### Recenzje

1. A.B. Perrin, „Horizons of Ancestral Inheritance: Commentary on the Levi, Qahat, and Amram Qumran Aramaic Traditions”, *Biblica* 105 (2024) 312–314.

2. D.A. Machiela, „A Handbook of the Aramaic Scrolls from the Qumran Caves: Manuscripts, Language, and Scribal Practices”, *Dead Sea Discoveries* 32 (2025) 129–131.

### Realizacja grantu naukowego

„Levitical Priesthood in the Aramaic Levi Document and Related Literature”, KONF/SN/0286/2023/01: Doskonała nauka II – Wsparcie konferencji naukowych MNiSW (1.09.2023–31.10.2024).

### Działalność sympozjalna

1. Referat: „The Illumination of the Lunar Disc in 1 En. 78:6–8 and the Lunar Month”, Society of Biblical Literature International Meeting (Uppsala, Szwecja, 24.06.2025).
2. Organizacja wykładów online przez zaproszonych gości w ramach „Ryszard Rubinkiewicz Memorial Lecture” (Ośrodek Badań nad Judaizmem Drugiej Świątyni):
  - dr Mateusz Kusio (UW, Warszawa), „Tradycja o Antychryście w judaizmie Drugiej Świątyni i wczesnym chrześcijaństwie (refleksje po kilku latach)” (24.11.2024);
  - dr Jakub Pogonowski (UW, Warszawa), „«Hebrajczyk z Hebrajczyków»: List do Galatów w kontekście judaizmu Drugiej Świątyni” (15.05.2025);
  - prof. dr hab. Piotr Muchowski (UAM, Poznań), „Hebrajszczyzna esseńczyków: jak interpretować ortografię qumrańską?” (26.03.2025; wykład przy fizycznej obecności).

### Udział w szkoleniu

Szkolenie dla wykładowców Pisma św.: „Prospettive storiche sull’Antico Testamento” (Papieski Instytut Biblijny, Rzym, 20–24.01.2025).

### Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

1. *Dead Sea Discoveries* (2 recenzje).
2. *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* (1 recenzja).
3. *Religions* (1 recenzja).
4. *Revue de Qumran* (1 recenzja).
5. *Verbum Vitae* (1 recenzja).

### Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Organizacja i prowadzenie Szkoły Biblijnej Logos dla świeckich (comiesięczne wykłady biblijne: „Wprowadzenie do Starego Testamentu”; rok akademicki 2024–2025: 10 spotkań, 80 h wykładowych).
2. Codzienne medytacje biblijne online (YouTube, Szkoła Biblijna Logos).

### Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje

1. Redaktor sekcji „Literatura Międzytestamentalna” w *The Biblical Annals*.
2. Recenzent oraz członek komitetu redakcyjnego w *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*.
3. Recenzent oraz członek komitetu redakcyjnego w *Dead Sea Discoveries*.

4. Redaktor serii Studia Biblica Lublinensia.
5. Dyrektor Ośrodka Badań nad Judaizmem Drugiej Świątyni (Wydział Teologii KUL).

#### 4. Ks. prof. dr hab. Dariusz Dziadosz

##### Artykuły naukowe

1. „Geneza sanktuariów z Góry Efraima i Lajisz/Dan w optyce najstarszych biblijnych źródeł i ich (post)deuteronomistycznej i (post)kapłańskiej relekturze (Sdz 17,1-18,31)”, *Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia* 17/4 (2024) 389–423, <https://doi.org/10.12775/BPTh.2024.021>.
2. „Los kobiety z Betlejem przejmującym wołaniem o społeczno-religijną naprawę w Izraelu u progu monarchii (Sdz 19,1–30)”, *Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia* 18/2 (2025) 127–149, <https://doi.org/10.12775/BPTh.2025.008>.

##### Działalność sympozjalna

1. Organizacja krajowej konferencji naukowej: 62. Sympozjum Biblistów Polskich (Kraków, 15–17.09.2025).
2. Referat: „Zbrodnia mieszkańców Gibe'a i jej społeczno-moralne reperkusje paradygmatem upadku Izraela w schyłkowej epoce sędziów (Sdz 19,1–21,25)”. Konferencja „Krzywda i przebaczenie w Biblii” – Wiosenne Dni Biblijne (KUL, Lublin, 11.03.2025).
3. Referat: „Biblijny świat najbardziej potrzebujących: ubogich sierot, wdów i cudzoziemców. Przepisy prawa i praktyka życia”. Konferencja „Jan Paweł II – opiekun dzieci, sierot i opuszczonych” (Przeworsk, 21.05.2025).

##### Szkolenia i kwerendy biblioteczne

1. Kwerenda biblioteczna w Bibliotece Papieskiego Instytutu Biblijnego w Rzymie, związana z edycją monografii *Księga Sędziów. Rozdziały 13–21. Wstęp – Przekład z oryginału – Komentarz*, t. 7/część 3 (Edycja Świętego Pawła; Częstochowa) (18.01–25.01.2025).
2. Udział w szkoleniu: XIII Seminario di aggiornamento per studiosi e docenti di Sacra Scrittura: „Prospettive storiche sull'Antico Testamento” (Pontificio Istituto Biblico, Rzym, 20–24.01.2025).

##### Promocja obronionej rozprawy doktorskiej

Jakub Altman, *Ostatnie słowa króla Dawida i ich deuteronomistyczna relektura. Studium historyczno-krytyczne 2Sm 23,1–7 i 1Krl 2,1–11* (KUL, Lublin, 2024).

##### Promocja obronionej pracy magisterskiej

Janusz Wiczarski, *Spółeczny i kulturowy kontekst podziału ziemi kananejskiej w Szilo. Studium historyczno-krytyczne Joz 18,1–10* (KUL, Lublin, 2025).

## Recenzja w postępowaniu dotyczącym przyznania tytułu naukowego

Recenzja profesorska dorobku naukowego ks. dr. hab. Grzegorza Szamockiego (decyzja RDN-u z dnia DRKN.Z7.401.7.2024 z dnia 6.09.2024), sporządzona 12.12.2024.

## Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

1. *Rivista Biblica* (Bologna) (1 recenzja).
2. *Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia* (3 recenzje).

## Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

1. Wykłady gościnne: „Księgi Historyczne Biblii Hebrajskiej: Księga Jozuego”, „Księgi Historyczne Biblii Hebrajskiej: Księga Sędziów”, „Księgi Historyczne Biblii Hebrajskiej: 1 Księga Samuela”, „Księgi Historyczne Biblii Hebrajskiej: 2 Księga Samuela”, Szkoła Biblijna Logos (Salezianie, Kraków, 14.12.2024, liczba godzin: 8).
2. Wykłady gościnne: „Antropologia w biblijnych tradycjach o stworzeniu: Rdz 1,1–2,4a; 2,4b–25” (Wydział Nauki Katolickiej Archidiecezji Przemyskiej, Jarosław, 14.02.2025, liczba godzin: 2).
3. Wykłady gościnne: „Powołanie i misja Jozuego w biblijnej historii podboju i podziału Kanaanu (Joz 1–24)” (Wydział Nauki Katolickiej Archidiecezji Przemyskiej, Jarosław, 15.02.2025, liczba godzin: 2).
4. Wykłady gościnne: „Teologiczne i kulturowe implikacje biblijnej idei obrazu i podobieństwa Bożego w człowieku” (szkolenia kadr Duszpasterstwa Rodzin Archidiecezji Przemyskiej, Przemyśl, 14.02.2025, liczba godzin: 2).
5. Wykłady gościnne: „Biblijne podstawy instytucji małżeństwa” (szkolenia kadr Duszpasterstwa Rodzin Archidiecezji Przemyskiej, Przemyśl, 15.02.2025, liczba godzin: 2).
6. Wykłady gościnne: „Tło religijno-kulturowe i przesłanie teologiczne kapłańskiego (Rdz 1,1–2,4a) i jahwistycznego (Rdz 2,4b–25) opisu stworzenia świata i człowieka”, „Biblijna koncepcja upadku pierwszych ludzi (Rdz 3,1–24) w świetle pozabiblijnych eposów o Edenie”, „Teologiczne przesłanie genealogii starotestamentowych (Rdz 5,1–31; 10,1–31; 11,10–26) na tle literatury starożytnego Bliskiego Wschodu”, „Teologia biblijnych cykli o patriarchach (Rdz 11,27–50,26)” (Szkoła biblijna Chełmskiego Centrum Ewangelizacji, Chełm, 7.06.2025, liczba godzin: 8).
7. Wykłady gościnne: „Boży obraz człowieka i małżeństwa w Rdz 1,1–3,24”, „Boża i ludzka miłość oblubieńcza – odmienne oblicza przymierza małżeńskiego (Sdz 19,1–20,6 i Oz 1,1–3,5)”, „Instytucja narzeczeństwa, małżeństwa i ceremonii zaślubin w judaizmie”, XXII Dni Duchowości Biblijnej w CFD w Krakowie: „Twoim małżonkiem jest twój Stwórca” (Iz 54,5) – Bóg Oblubieniec (Kraków, 8.11.2025, liczba godzin: 6).
8. Wykłady akademickie: „Księgi prorockie” (rok IV, semestr I, rok akademicki 2024/2025, WSD, Przemyśl, liczba godzin: 30).
9. Ćwiczenia akademickie: „Księgi prorockie” (rok IV, semestr I, rok akademicki 2024/2025, WSD, Przemyśl, liczba godzin: 15).

10. Wykłady akademickie: „Księgi historyczne i mądrościowe ST” (rok III, semestr I, rok akademicki 2025/2026, WSD, Przemysł, liczba godzin: 30).
11. Ćwiczenia akademickie: „Księgi historyczne i mądrościowe ST” (rok III, semestr I, rok akademicki 2025/2026, WSD, Przemysł, liczba godzin: 15).

#### **Inne osiągnięcia i przynależność do organizacji**

1. Członek Rady Programowej (Stary Testament) *Urbaniana University Journal. Euntes Docete. Rivista quadrimestrale della Pontificia Università Urbaniana di Roma* od 2022 r.
2. Członek Associazione Biblica Italiana od 2007 r.
3. Członek Zarządu Stowarzyszenia Biblistów Polskich od 2023 r.
4. Członkostwo w Radzie Programowej *The Biblical Annals*.
5. Członkostwo w zespole recenzentów periodyków: *Rivista biblica* (Associazione Biblica Italiana, Bologna), *Studia Gdańskie*, *Polonia Sacra*, *Forum Teologiczne*, *Politeja*, *Studia Nauk Teologicznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk*.

### **5. Ks. dr Krzysztof Kinowski**

#### **Artykuły naukowe**

1. „The Syro-Ephraimite War in the Context of Assyrian Trade Interests in the Southern Levant: Insights from Nimrud Letter 2715”, *Collectanea Theologica* 94/4 (2024) 5–34, <https://doi.org/10.21697/ct.2024.94.4.01>.
2. „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)”, *The Biblical Annals* 15/3 (2025) 397–435, <https://doi.org/10.31743/ba.18326>.

#### **Realizacja grantu naukowego**

Grant wydziałowy w dyscyplinie nauki biblijne: „Studium historyczno-krytyczne nad wybranymi fragmentami Ksiąg Królewskich”.

#### **Działalność sympozjalna**

1. Referat: „Post-Exilic Priestly Revisions in the Books of Kings: The Case of King Manasseh’s Account”, Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting (San Diego, CA, 24.11.2024).
2. Referat: „Sennacherib a Gerusalemme (2Re 18,13–19,37 e gli annali RINAP 3/1 n. 4:49–58)”, Seminario di aggiornamento per docenti e studiosi di Sacra Scrittura: Prospettive storiche sull’Antico Testamento (Pontificio Istituto Biblico, Rzym, 20.01.2025).
3. Referat: „Od nikczemnika do pokutnika: Achab i Manasses jako biblijne paradygmata niosące nadzieję przebaczenia największym grzesznikom”, Wiosenne Sympozjum Biblijne (KUL, Lublin, 11.03.2025).

4. Referat: „Wykorzystanie platformy Quizizz w dydaktyce”, Festiwal Uczenia (się) (KUL, Lublin, 13.05.2025).
5. Referat: „Czytać, aby zrozumieć siebie... Rola aktualizacji w lekturze Pisma świętego”, Pomorskie Centrum Edukacji Nauczycieli w Gdańsku, Webinarium (Gdańsk, 27.05.2025).
6. Referat: „The Most Original Recoverable Reading of 2 Kgs 17:5 and the Dramatic Tension within the Narrative”, SBL-EABS Annual Conference (Uppsala, Szwecja, 23–27.06.2025).
7. Referat: „To Remember, ‘Unremember,’ and Remember Otherwise: Portrayal of King Manasseh in Biblical and Extrabiblical Traditions”, SBL-EABS Annual Conference, (Uppsala, Szwecja, 23–27.06.2025).
8. Referat: „Kolokwinty, melony, ogórki czy tykwy? Dekoracje świątynne w 1 Krl 6,18; 7,24 a trujące owoce w 2 Krl 4,39. Uwagi historyczno-krytyczne”, XVIII Sympozjum: Starożytny Bliski Wschód i jego dziedzictwo (Wydział Historii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa, 22–23.09.2025).

### **Szkolenia, staże i kwerendy biblioteczne**

1. Szkolenie: „Język angielski (C1)” w wymiarze 40h wykładowych (KUL, Lublin, 24.10.2024 – 28.03.2025).
2. Szkolenie: „Odkryj pełny potencjał Scopus AI”, Researcher Academy on Campus, Elsevier, webinarium (17.12.2024).
3. Seminario di aggiornamento per docenti e studiosi di Sacra Scrittura: „Prospettive storiche sull’Antico Testamento” (Pontificio Istituto Biblico, Rzym, 20–24.01.2025).
4. Szkolenie „Pełne wykorzystanie możliwości Scopus AI: kompleksowe omówienie narzędzia i demonstracja na żywo”, Researcher Academy on Campus, Elsevier, webinarium (06.02.2025).
5. Szkolenie „Chat GPT i sztuczna inteligencja – jak z nich korzystać na zajęciach”, projekt „Doskonały dydaktyk KUL” (KUL, Lublin, 24.08.2025, czas trwania: 8h).
6. Szkolenie „Metody oceniania studentów i weryfikacja efektów uczenia się”, projekt „Doskonały dydaktyk KUL” (KUL, Lublin, 24.08.2025, czas trwania: 8h).

### **Recenzja wydawnicza artykułu naukowego**

*Collectanea Theologica* (1 recenzja).

### **Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL**

1. Wykłady z Pisma św. w Gdańskim Seminarium Duchownym afiliowanym do UKSW w Warszawie: „Księgi Mądrościowe Starego Testamentu”, „Ćwiczenia z Pisma św.”, „Wprowadzenie do narratologii biblijnej”, „Czytanie Pisma św. jako słowa Bożego”.
2. Wykłady z Pisma św. w Instytucie Teologicznym Archidiecezji Gdańskiej afiliowanym do UKSW w Warszawie: „Wstęp ogólny do Pisma św.”, „Historia starożytnego Izraela”, „Historia zbawienia”, „Księgi Historyczne Starego Testamentu”, „Ewangelie synoptyczne”, „Ewangelia i Pisma Janowe”, „Listy św. Pawła”.

### Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Dzień skupienia dla pracowników i studentów KUL: „Oczekiwanie na Emmanuela z nadzieją i radością” (Kościół Akademicki, Lublin, 14.12.2024).
2. Wykłady gościnne: „Historia aktualna wczoraj i dziś: Teologiczna interpretacja historii w 1–2 Krl, 1–2 Krn, Ezd, Neh”, Szkoła Biblijna Logos (Salezianie, Kraków, 11.01.2025).
3. Spotkanie biblijne: „Dwuznaczności i język symboliczny Ewangelii wg św. Jana”, Bibliokrąg (Gdańsk, 14.03.2025).
4. Telewizyjny Uniwersytet Biblijny TV Trwam: „Gdzie narodziła się mądrość biblijnych pisarzy? Kontekst historyczno-kulturowy Ksiąg Mądrościowych ST”, audycja na żywo (Toruń, 12.04.2025).
5. „Jak czytać Pismo święte?” – spotkanie formacyjne w ramach projektu „Odkrywamy piękno Kościoła”, Rada Ruchów, Wspólnot Formacyjnych i Stowarzyszeń Katolickich Archidiecezji Lubelskiej (Parafia Niepokalanego Serca Maryi i św. Franciszka, Lublin, 31.05.2025).

### Inne osiągnięcia i przynależność do organizacji

1. Nagroda w konkursie za najlepiej punktowaną publikację w 2024 r.: *Bloodshed by King Manasseh, Assyrians and Priestly Scribes. Theological Meaning and Historical-Cultural Contextualization of 2 Kings 21:16, 24:3–4 in Relation to the Fall of Judah* (Lublin Theological Studies 8; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2024) (KUL, Lublin, 22.11.2024).
2. Uzyskanie certyfikatu potwierdzającego kompetencje językowe w zakresie języka angielskiego na poziomie C1: TELC English C1 (very good).
3. Opiekun studentów jednego z roczników kierunku Teologia B (KUL).
4. Członek zespołu redakcyjnego czasopisma *Verbum Vitae*, redaktor tematyczny (Stary Testament), redaktor językowy (j. angielski).
5. Członek zespołu ds. wdrożenia nowego kierunku „Studia biblijne” w Katolickim Uniwersytecie Lubelskim Jana Pawła II.
6. Członek Society of Biblical Literature.
7. Członek European Association of Biblical Studies.
8. Członek Stowarzyszenia Bibliistów Polskich.

## 6. Ks. dr Piotr Kot

### Biuletyn pod redakcją

P. Kot – H. Witczyk – M. Zieliński (red.), *Przegląd Biblijny. Biuletyn Dzieła Biblijnego – Materiały na XVII Tydzień Biblijny* 17 (2025).

### Artykuły popularnonaukowe

1. „Jubileusz Eucharystii i kapłaństwa”, *Zeszyty Odnowy w Duchu Świętym* 184 (2024) 30–34.
2. „Zapuście w Nim korzenie”, *Pastores* 108/3 (2025) 105–113.

### Realizacja grantu naukowego

Kierownik grantu na przygotowanie do udziału w konkursie „Inicjatywa doskonałości – uczelnia badawcza” (IDUB), w zakresie interdyscyplinarnych badań naukowych na Katolickim Uniwersytecie Lubelskim Jana Pawła II. Tytuł działania: „Chrystologia i chrystocentryzm w osiemnastowiecznym przekładzie psalmów wydanych w starodruku: Radliński Jakub Paweł, *Tron królewski świętemu, królewskiemu i najwyższemu kapłaństwu chrystusowemu w sercach ludzkich wystawiony albo sposób adoracji uszanowania i chwaly najświętszego kapłaństwa chrystusowego przesławnemu bractwu kapłańskiemu dla codziennego ćwiczenia się w tej adoracji i uszanowaniu najwyższego kapłana Chrystusa Jezusa podany* (Lublin: Drukarnia Jezuicka, 1735, 8°)”. Współpraca: ks. dr Andrzej Kwaśniewski (historia), ks. prof. dr hab. Jarosław Popławski (teologia). Czas trwania: 30.01–31.12.2025.

### Działalność sympozjalna

Współorganizacja sympozjum: „«Proście o pokój dla Jeruzalem» (Ps 122,6). Bosko-ludzki, mesjański i eschatologiczny dar pokoju dla Ziemi Świętej” (organizacja: Katedra Teologii Biblijnej i Proforystyki INB KUL – Centrum Relacji Katolicko-Żydowskich im. Abrachama J. Heschela KUL) (KUL, Lublin, 5–7.11.2024).

### Udział w szkoleniach

1. Udział w warsztatach „Zastosowanie sztucznej inteligencji w działalności dydaktycznej i naukowej” (KUL, Lublin, 10.02.2025).
2. Webinar „Pełne wykorzystanie możliwości Scopus AI: kompleksowe omówienie narzędzia i demonstracja na żywo”, prowadzący: Elsevier Online Training Hub – Paula Milewska (25.02.2025).

### Recenzja wydawnicza artykułu naukowego

*Tarnowskie Studia Teologiczne* (1 recenzja).

### Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

1. Wykład: „Kościół zrodzony ze Słowa”, Archidiecezjalne Dni Biblijne w Gnieźnie: Dzieło Biblijne im. Św. Jana Pawła II (Centrum Edukacyjno-Formacyjne, Gniezno, 19.10.2024, liczba godzin: 2).
2. Wykłady gościnne: „Sprawiedliwość i przebaczenie” (Centrum Formacji Duchowej Księży Salwatorianów, Kraków, 8–11.11.2024, liczba godzin: 4).
3. Wykład: „*Jesteśmy pielgrzymami – postępujemy według wiary* (2 Kor 5,6–7). Misja św. Pawła jako paradygmat posługi prezbitera we współczesnym świecie”, XXXIII Sesja rekolekcyjno-formacyjna kapłanów pod patronatem Komisji Duchowieństwa KEP pt. „Pielgrzymi nadziei” (28.01.2025, liczba godzin: 2).
4. Wykład: „Formacja biblijna”, Ogólnopolskie Spotkanie Dyrektorów Wydziałów Duszpasterskich (Centrum „ARKA”, Radom, 25.02.2025, liczba godzin: 1).

5. Wykłady gościnne: „Dzieje Apostolskie i życie św. Pawła”, wykłady w Szkole Biblijnej „W Drodze do Emaus” (Wyższe Seminarium Misyjne Księża Sercanów, Stadniki, 26.04.2025, liczba godzin: 8).
6. Wykłady: „Spotkania z Chrystusem Zmartwychwstałym” (Bieszczadzka Szkoła Biblijna, Werlina, 30.04–03.05.2025, liczba godzin: 4).

### Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Audycja: „Szukając Słowa Bożego. Komentarze do liturgii Słowa 33 niedzieli zwykłej B” (Radio Maryja, Toruń, 15.11.2024).
2. Tekst: „Duch Święty potwierdza ewangelizację znakami pełnymi mocy” – komentarz do Dz 18,23–19,20 w ramach Narodowego Czytania Pisma Świętego (strony: KAI oraz Radio Maryja, 28.11.2024).
3. „Jesteśmy miłą Bogu wonnością Chrystusa” (2 Kor 2,15) – *lectio divina* ze św. Pawłem (Centrum Formacji Ewangelizacyjnej „Dom Słowa”, Legnica, 29.11–01.12.2024).
4. Audycja: „Szukając Słowa Bożego. Komentarze do liturgii Słowa Bożego z Niedzieli Chrztu Pańskiego C” (Radio Maryja, Toruń, 10.01.2025).
5. Audycja: „Biblia – list miłosny Boga do człowieka” (Radio Jasna Góra, Częstochowa, 27.01.2025).
6. Tekst: „Komentarz katolicko-żydowski do Psalmu 24” (seria „Psalmy niedzielne” na stronie [www.vaticannews.va](http://www.vaticannews.va), 2.02.2025).
7. Audycja: „Szukając Słowa Bożego. Komentarze do liturgii Słowa Bożego z V Niedzieli w ciągu roku C” (Radio Maryja, Toruń, 7.02.2025).
8. Tekst: „Komentarz do Psalmu 138 (seria „Psalmy niedzielne” na stronie [www.vaticannews.va](http://www.vaticannews.va), 9.02.2025).
9. Tekst: „Komentarz do Psalmu 1 (seria „Psalmy niedzielne” na stronie [www.vaticannews.va](http://www.vaticannews.va), 16.02.2025).
10. Tekst: „Duch Święty otwiera drogi dla Ewangelii w pogańskim świecie” – komentarz do Dz 25,13–27 w ramach Narodowego Czytania Pisma Świętego (strony: KAI oraz Radio Maryja, 17.02.2025).
11. Tekst: Komentarz do Psalmu 103 na VII niedzielę „w ciągu roku” pt. „Rahamim – czułość Ojca” (seria „Psalmy niedzielne” na stronie [www.heschel.kul.pl](http://www.heschel.kul.pl), 23.02.2025).
12. „Ja jestem Józef, wasz brat” (Rdz 45,4) – *lectio divina* o Józefie Egipskim (Centrum Formacji Ewangelizacyjnej „Dom Słowa”, Legnica, 7–9.03.2025).
13. Tekst: Komentarz do Psalmu 91 na I niedzielę Wielkiego Postu C pt. „Bóg stale i aktywnie obecny w historii” (seria „Psalmy niedzielne” na stronie [www.heschel.kul.pl](http://www.heschel.kul.pl), 9.03.2025).
14. Audycja: „Szukając Słowa Bożego”. Komentarze do liturgii Słowa Bożego z II Niedzieli Wielkanocnej C (Radio Maryja, Toruń, 25.04.2025).
15. „Szczepan pełen Ducha Świętego patrzył w niebo” (Dz 7,55) – *lectio divina* o Kościele jerozolimskim (Centrum Formacji Ewangelizacyjnej „Dom Słowa”, Legnica, 7–9–11.05.2025)

16. Audycja: „Szukając Słowa Bożego”. Komentarze do czytań z Niedzieli Trójcy Świętej C, (Radio Maryja, Toruń, 13.06.2025).
17. Program: „Rozesłanie Dwunastu” w ramach Telewizyjnego Uniwersytetu Biblijnego, katedra Ewangelii Synoptycznych (TV Trwam, Toruń, 14.06.2025).
18. Tekst: „Nowość życia jako znak przyjęcia Ewangelii Chrystusa”, komentarz do 1 Kor 5,1–13 w ramach Narodowego Czytania Pisma Świętego (strony: KAI oraz Radio Maryja, 17.06.2025).
19. Konferencje podczas Oazy Nowego Życia 3 st. dla Domowego Kościoła (Rzym, 27.06–13.07.2025).
20. „Jesus Present in the Eucharist Heals My Life”. Rekolekcje *lectio divina* z okazji Jubileuszu 150-lecia Zgromadzenia Sióstr Najświętszej Rodziny z Nazaretu w prowincji Australii (Marayong, Australia, 6–12.09.2025).

### **Inne osiągnięcia i przynależność do organizacji**

1. Członek zespołu przy Komisji Duchowieństwa KEP ds. przygotowania wskazań dla formacji stałej i posługi prezbiterów w Polsce.
2. Członek Rady Programowej Szkoły Wychowawców Wyższych Seminariów Duchownych Diecezjalnych i Zakonnych przy Centrum Formacji Duchowej Salwatorianów w Krakowie.

## **7. Ks. dr hab. Marcin Kowalski, prof. KUL**

### **Rozdziały w monografiach lub podręcznikach**

1. „At the Jordan Christ Deposited for Us the Robe of Glory. Unjustified Hiatus between the Historical Event and the Theological Interpretation of the Baptism of Jesus”, *The Transcendent Mystery of God’s Word. A Critical Synthesis of Antioch and Alexandria* (ed. J.W. Martens – P.V. Niskanen) (Catholic Theological Formation Series; Saint Paul, MN: Saint Paul Seminary Press 2024) 114–143.
2. „Separation – Yes, Divorce – No. Challenges and Implications Resulting from the Methodological Development of Biblical Studies and Systematic Theology”, *Dogma and Method* (ed. R. Woźniak) (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2024) 395–422.

### **Artykuły naukowe**

1. „Małżeństwo i celibat w 1 Koryntian 7. Perspektywy badawcze”, *Collectanea Theologica* 95/1 (2025) 17–67, <https://doi.org/10.21697/ct.2025.95.1.02>.
2. „The Character and Function of the Temple Metaphor (*ναός*) in the Corinthian Correspondence”, *The Biblical Annals* 15/2 (2025) 287–313, <https://doi.org/10.31743/ba.18084>.

### Artykuł recenzyjny

„D. Clint Burnett, *Paul and Imperial Divine Honors: Christ, Caesar, and the Gospel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2024)”, *The Biblical Annals* 15/2 (2025) 349–354, <https://doi.org/10.31743/ba.18358>.

### Artykuł popularnonaukowy

„Chrystusowa Ewangelia nadziei kontra nadzieja tego świata w Liście do Rzymian”, *Przeгляд Biblijny* 17 (2025) 97–119.

### Realizacja grantów naukowych

1. Udział w projekcie „Nowożytnie piśmiennictwo bożogrobców w Polsce”, NPRH/DN/SP/0151/2023/12. Czas realizacji: 12.02.2024–12.02.2029. Kierownik: ks. dr. Andrzej Kwaśniewski. Wykonawca: ks. dr hab. Marcin Kowalski, prof. KUL: badania tekstu traktatu rabinackiego przetłumaczonego na język polski przez jednego z bożogrobców, podejście historyczno-krytyczne, filologiczne i społeczno-kulturowe. Prace w trakcie.
2. Udział w projekcie „Regionalna Inicjatywa Doskonałości”, „Filozofia i teologia w kontekście współczesnych przemian nauki”. Kierownik projektu: dr hab. Monika Walczak, prof. KUL. Udział w konferencji w Saint Paul, MN, wygłoszenie referatu i publikacja: „At the Jordan Christ Deposited for Us the Robe of Glory. Unjustified Hiatus between the Historical Event and the Theological Interpretation of the Baptism of Jesus”, *The Transcendent Mystery of God's Word. A Critical Synthesis of Antioch and Alexandria* (ed. J.W. Martens – P.V. Niskanen) (Catholic Theological Formation Series; Saint Paul, MN: Saint Paul Seminary Press 2024) 114–143.
3. Realizacja dwóch grantów w ramach projektu „Inicjatywa Doskonałości – Uczelnia Badawcza”. Czas trwania: 2025 r. Wykonawca: ks. dr hab. Marcin Kowalski, prof. KUL: 1) 23–27.06.2025, udział w konferencji SBL i EABS, Uppsala, wygłoszenie referatu i publikacja „Affective Neuroscience, Moral Psychology, and Pauline Emotions in 2 Cor 7:5–16” (artykuł w przygotowaniu); 2) 2–5.08.2025, udział w konferencji CBA Chicago, wygłoszenie referatu i publikacja: „Interpersonal Communication and Emotions in Paul's Correspondence with the Philippians” (artykuł w przygotowaniu).

### Działalność sympozjalna

1. Organizacja Międzynarodowej Konferencji „Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem” (Ps 122:6). The Divine-human, Messianic and Eschatological Gift of Peace in the Holy Land” (KUL, Lublin, 5–7.11.2024).
2. Współorganizacja International Interdisciplinary Scientific Conference „Community, Dialog, Identity”, wygłoszenie referatu „Interpersonal Communication and Emotions in Paul's Correspondence with the Philippians” (University of Prešov, Słowacja, 6–7.03.2025).

3. Udział w konferencji „Kongres Chrobrego: Korona, Chrzczenie i Dziedzictwo” i wygłoszenie referatu „Od szabatu do zmartwychwstania Pana. Biblijne świętowanie dnia świętego” (Kolbuszowa, 12.04.2025).
4. Udział w konferencji dla duchowieństwa diecezji kieleckiej i wygłoszenie referatu „Kościół nadziei i jego przewodnicy w Liście do Rzymian” (Kielce, 12.06.2025).
5. Udział w konferencji European Association of Biblical Studies and Society of Biblical Literature International Meeting i wygłoszenie dwóch referatów: 1) „Affective Neuroscience, Moral Psychology, and Pauline Emotions in 2 Cor 7,5–16”; 2) „Pauline Opponents and the Sins of the Corinthians: An Apocalyptic Reading of 2 Cor 11:20 and 12:20–21” (University of Uppsala, Szwecja, 23–27.06.2025).
6. Udział w konferencji Catholic Biblical Association Annual Meeting i wygłoszenie referatu „Interpersonal Communication and Emotions in Paul’s Correspondence with the Philippians” (Loyola University, Chicago, USA, 2–5.08.2025).

### **Promocja obronionej rozprawy doktorskiej**

A. Stępień, *Paradoksalna mądrość krzyża objawiona przez Ducha. Analiza literacko-retoryczna 1Kor 1,18–2,16* (KUL, Lublin).

### **Recenzja obronionej rozprawy doktorskiej**

W. Morozowicz, *Chrześcielny wymiar życia chrześcijanina. Analiza retoryczna Rz 5–8* (UAM, Poznań), promotor: ks. dr hab. P. Podeszwa, prof. UAM.

### **Promocja obronionej pracy magisterskiej**

M. Smolarczyk, *Rola uczuć w Pawłowej formacji wspólnoty. Studium egzegetyczno-teologiczne 2Kor 7,5–16* (KUL, Lublin).

### **Recenzja wydawnicza książki**

Z. Kiernikowski, *List do Rzymian. Wstęp, przekład z oryginału, komentarz* (Biblia Impulsy. Nowy Testament 6; Katowice: Księgarnia św. Jacka 2025).

### **Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych**

1. *Biblica* (1 recenzja).
2. *Religions* (4 recenzje).
3. *Collectanea theologica* (1 recenzja).
4. *Biblica et patristica thorunensia* (1 recenzja).

### **Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL**

1. Wykłady z Listów św. Pawła (AKW, Warszawa, październik 2024).
2. Wykłady z Listów św. Pawła (WSD Sercanów, Kraków, czerwiec 2025).
3. Cykl wykładów z Listu do Kolosan (4 sesje; Carmel, NY, wrzesień 2025).

### Działania popularyzujące Biblię

1. Wygłoszenie referatu „Kościół niezawiedzonej nadziei (Rz 5,5). Jak budować i troszczyć się o wspólnotę Kościoła? Rozważania u progu Jubileuszu 2025”, spotkanie formacyjne księży i katechetów (WSD, Drohiczyn, 26.10.2024).
2. Wygłoszenie referatu „Przemija bowiem postać tego świata (1 Kor 7,32). Życie zmartwychwstaniem dziś” (spotkanie osób życia konsekrowanego, Jasna Góra, Częstochowa, 30.11.2024).
3. Wygłoszenie referatu „Jan Chrzciciel – duchowość mężczyzny” (DE, Kielce, 11.01.2025).
4. Wygłoszenie referatu „Prorokinie, apostołki, głowy kościołów. Kobiety u św. Pawła” (DE, Kielce, 18.01.2025).
5. Wygłoszenie referatu z okazji Tygodnia Biblijnego, „Niezawodna nadzieja w Liście do Rzymian” (WSD, Sandomierz, 7.05.2025).
6. Wygłoszenie referatu z okazji Tygodnia Biblijnego, „Dom na skale. Chrześcijańska nadzieja w Liście do Rzymian” (WSD, Kielce, 9.05.2025).
7. Programy telewizyjne w TV Trwam („Telewizyjny Uniwersytet Biblijny”) i TVP 1 („Między Ziemią a Niebem”), TVP Kielce („Siewcy Słowa”), TVP Kraków.
8. Audycje radiowe w Radiu Maryja („Szukając Słowa Bożego”), Radiu Kielce („Co Biblia mówi o...?”), Radiu Warszawa, Radiu Plus oraz Radiu eM.

### Inne osiągnięcia i przynależność do stowarzyszeń

1. Redaktor kwartalnika *The Biblical Annals*.
2. Redaktor kwartalnika *Wrocławski Przegląd Teologiczny*.
3. Członek zespołu redakcyjnego *Urbaniana University Journal*.
4. Członek Papieskiej Komisji Biblijnej.
5. Moderator Dzieła Biblijnego Diecezji Kieleckiej.
6. Członek Komitetu Redakcyjnego *Biblii Tysiąclecia* (wydanie 6).
7. Dyrektor Centrum Relacji Katolicko-Żydowskich im. Abrahama J. Heschela.
8. Członek Associazione ex-alumni del Pontificio Istituto Biblico in Rome.
9. Członek Stowarzyszenia Biblistów Polskich.
10. Członek Polskiego Towarzystwa Teologicznego w Krakowie.
11. Członek Society of Biblical Literature.
12. Członek European Association of Biblical Studies.
13. Członek Catholic Biblical Association of America.
14. Członek The Society for New Testament Studies.

## 8. Ks. dr hab. Adam Kubiś, prof. KUL

### Monografie

1. P. Batory – K. Golas – A. Kubiś, *Rzecz o aniołach. Słowo Biblii w obrazie* (Rzeszów: Bonus Liber 2025).

2. A. Kubiś – M. Münnich – M. Waclawik, *Śladami biblijnych patriarchów w Północnej Mezopotamii i Wschodniej Anatolii* (Biblioteka Szkoły DABAR 7; Rzeszów: Bonus Liber 2025).

### Rozdziały w monografiach i pracach zbiorowych

1. „Oto przychodzę (*Ecce venio*) w Ps 40,8–9 i Hbr 10,7.9”, J. Wątroba, *Ecce Venio. 25 lat sakry biskupiej biskupa Jana Wątroby. Homilie, kazania i pisma wybrane* (red. P. Steczkowski et al.) (Rzeszów: Bonus Liber 2025) 51–77.
2. „«Oto przychodzę pełnić Twoją wolę». Użycie Ps 40(39),8–9 w Hbr 10,5–9”, *Scrutare me Deus et cognosce cor meum (Ps 139[138],23). Księga Pamiątkowa dla Księdza Profesora Antoniego Troniny w 80. rocznicę urodzin* (red. M. Szmajdziński) (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2025) 387–418.
3. „Znaczenie symboliczne godziny dziesiątej w J 1,39”, „*Sermo tuus veritas est*” (*Io 17,17*). *Opuscula Adamo Ricardo Sikora OFM septuagenario dedicata* (red. B. Czyzewski) (Opuscula Dedicata 15; Poznań: Pallottinum 2025) 213–227.

### Książki pod redakcją

1. K. Bardski, *Pieśń nad Pieśniami. Wstęp, przekład, teksty paralelne, komentarz* (Biblia Lubelska; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2024).
2. A. Piwowar, *Księga Syracha. Wstęp, przekład, teksty paralelne i komentarz* (Biblia Lubelska; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2024).

### Artykuły naukowe

1. „Early Christian Prophetesses in the New Testament”, *Polonia Sacra* 28/2 (2024) 7–30, <https://doi.org/10.15633/ps.28201>.
2. A. Kubiś – O. Dziemian, „Teologiczne repozytorium cyfrowe «Theo-logos» (2020–2023)”, *Studia Sandomierskie. Teologia – Filozofia – Historia* 31 (2024) 309–328, <https://doi.org/10.15633/sts.31116>.
3. „Biblia Benedicti. Hermeneutical and Exegetical Legacy of Joseph Ratzinger/Benedict XVI”, *Verbum Vitae* 42 (2024) 1–5, <https://doi.org/10.31743/vv.18078>.
4. „The Tenth Hour in John 1:39: From Narrative Detail to Eschatological Symbol”, *The Biblical Annals* 15/3 (2025) 475–518, <https://doi.org/10.31743/ba.18549>.

### Artykuły popularnonaukowe

1. „Burza na morzu – zło dotyczące naszego życia”, *Pastores* 106/1 (2025) 128–138.
2. „Powołani do bycia przy Panu i głoszenia Pana!”, *Niedziela* 20/1416 (2025) 1.
3. „Listy na śmierć i życie”, *Gość Extra* (2025) 80–85.

### Realizacja grantu naukowego

Kierownik grantu w programie „Nauka dla społeczeństwa II” (IX 2023) na rozbudowę teologicznego repozytorium dziedziczonego „Theo-logos”. Suma: 1 330 000 zł. Zespół: 8 osób. Czas realizacji: 3 lata (1.12.2023–30.09.2026).

### Działalność sympojalna

1. Organizacja i prowadzenie: „Kongres Chrobrego. Korona, chrzest i dziedzictwo” (Centrum Rodziny Kolegiata Kolbuszowska pw. Wszystkich Świętych w Kolbuszowej, 12.04.2025).
2. Referat: „Lucan Synthesis and Paul’s Solitary Overland Walk from Troas to Assos in Acts 20:13”, International Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature & Annual Meeting of the European Association of Biblical Studies (Uppsala University, Szwecja, 25.06.2025).

### Recenzent w postępowaniu habilitacyjnym

Dr Anna Rambiert-Kwaśniewska, *Terminologia tekstylna w Biblii Hebrajskiej i Septuagincie. Szaty, dodatki i tekstylia użytkowe* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Chronicon 2023, ss. 580) (PWT Wrocław, 30.10.2024).

### Recenzja obronionej rozprawy doktorskiej

Agnieszka Blanka Ziemińska, *Ekologiczna perspektywa Nowego Testamentu – w kierunku interpretacji integralnej* (UPJP II, Kraków, 26.06.2024). Promotor: ks. dr hab. Stanisław Witkowski MS.

### Promotor obronionych prac magisterskich

1. Dominik Sobczyk, *Obraz Trójcy Świętej w Ap 5,1–14* (WSD Rzeszów/UPJP2, 22.05.2025).
2. Adam Guzik, *Typologiczne obrazy Jezusa w Mateuszowej Ewangelii Dzieciństwa* (WSD Rzeszów/UPJP2, 22.05.2025).
3. Monika Tanasiewicz, *Umycie nóg uczniom przez Jezusa jako przykład miłości. Mimesis jako klucz do lektury J 13,1–20* (KUL, Lublin, 18.06.2025).

### Promotor obronionych prac licencjackich

1. Halina Pelc, *Czy rzeczywiście Jezus nakazuje nienawiść? Znaczenie czasownika μισῶν w Łk 14,26* (KUL, Lublin, 13.05.2024).
2. Kamil Kojder, *Szabat i Tora czy Świątynia i Chrystus? W poszukiwaniu najbardziej przekonującej interpretacji Mateuszowej perykopy o uczniach zrywających kłosy w szabat (12,1–8)* (KUL, Lublin, 20.05.2025).
3. Grzegorz Kuraś OP, *Izajaszowy kontekst Listu do Kościoła w Filadelfii. Poszerzenie interpretacji Ap 3,10 o Iz 26,20–21* (KUL, Lublin, 20.05.2025).

### Recenzje wydawnicze książek

1. R. Mazur, *Analiza retoryczna Listu do Kolosan. Część dogmatyczna – Kol 1,1–2,5* (Kraków: „Scriptum” 2024).

2. *Contextuality of the Bible in Lithuania until the End of the Eighteenth Century* (red. K. Rutkowska – R. Pietkiewicz) (Eastern and Central European Voices 8; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2024).

### **Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL**

1. Warsztaty biblijne: „Pasja Jezusa wg św. Marka” (Dom Diecezjalny TABOR w Rzeszowie, 14–16.03.2025, liczba godzin: 4).
2. Warsztaty biblijne: „Patriarchowie i matriarchinie Starego Testamentu” (Turcja, 30.06–11.07.2025).
3. Warsztaty biblijne: „Księga Apokalipsy” (Turcja – Grecja, 23.07–3.08.2025).
4. Warsztaty biblijne: „Paweł i Barnaba na Cyprze. Pierwsza wyprawa misyjna (Dz 13) i List do Galatów” (Cypr, 14–21.08.2025).
5. Wykład: „Pascha Jezusa wg Ewangelii Jana (18–21)” (Dominikańskie Studium Filozofii i Teologii w Krakowie, 27.09.2025, liczba godzin: 6).
6. Wykład: „Ewangelia Janowa” (Instytut Wyższych Studiów Teologicznych w Rzeszowie, liczba godzin: 45).
7. Wykład: „Wprowadzenie do lektury Pisma Świętego” (WSD Rzeszów, liczba godzin: 60).
8. Wykład: „Wiara w Biblii” (Instytut Wyższych Studiów Teologicznych w Rzeszowie, liczba godzin: 2).
9. Wykład: „Chrystologia czterech Ewangelii kanonicznych” (Instytut Wyższych Studiów Teologicznych w Rzeszowie, liczba godzin: 2).
10. Wykład: „Mariologia biblijna” (Instytut Wyższych Studiów Teologicznych w Rzeszowie, liczba godzin: 2).

### **Działania popularyzujące Biblię**

1. Audycja radiowa: „Tydzień Biblijny”, Katolickie Radio Via (5.05.2025).
2. Audycja radiowa: „Człowiek modlitwy i działania”, Polskie Radio Rzeszów (10.05.2025).
3. Audycja radiowa: „Święcenia diakonatu i kapłaństwa”, Katolickie Radio Via (4.06.2025).
4. Audycja radiowa: „Szkoła DABAR i Akademia Biblijna Diecezji Rzeszowskiej”, Katolickie Radio Via (20.09.2025).

### **Pełnione funkcje**

1. Redaktor naczelny kwartalnika *Verbum Vitae*.
2. Redaktor serii Lublin Theological Studies (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
3. Redaktor naukowy Biblii Lubelskiej (Wydawnictwo KUL).
4. Redaktor serii Biblioteka Szkoły DABAR.
5. Wiceprezes Stowarzyszenia na Rzecz Wspierania Bibliistyki „Verbum Sacrum”.
6. Członek Zespołu ds. Umiejdzynarodowienia na Wydziale Teologii KUL.
7. Członek Uniwersyteckiej Komisji Wydawniczej KUL (od 16.03.2023).

## 9. Prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Mielcarek

### Artykuł naukowy

„Krzywda i miłosierdzie. Charakterystyka postaci z przypowieści o dobrym Samarytanie (Łk 10,30–37)”, *The Biblical Annals* 15/3 (2025) 453–474, <https://doi.org/10.31743/ba.18509>.

### Artykuły popularnonaukowe

1. „Instytucje religijne Izraela: Przedizraelskie sanktuaria w Kanaanie”, *Krąg Biblijny* 56 (2025) 128–136.
2. „Instytucje religijne Izraela: Pierwsze sanktuaria Izraela: Sychem”, *Krąg Biblijny* 57 (2025) 144–151.

### Działalność sympozjalna

1. Referat: „Interdenominational Ecumenical Dialogue of the Last Decade from the Perspective of the Activities of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches”. Konferencja „Community, Dialogue, Identity” (Prešov, Słowacja, 6–7.03.2025).
2. Referat: „Krzywda i miłosierdzie. Charakterystyka postaci z przypowieści o dobrym Samarytanie (Łk 10,30–37)”. Wiosenne Dni Biblijne: Konferencja INB KUL „Krzywda i przebaczenie” (KUL, Lublin, 11.03.2025).
3. Referat: „Dzieje Apostolskie jako obraz Kościoła synodalnego?”. 62. Sympozjum Stowarzyszenia Biblistów Polskich (Kraków, 15–17.09.2025).

### Działalność odczytowa i popularyzacyjna

1. Rekolekcje klasztorne dla oo. dominikanów: „Prawda w tradycji Janowej” (Służew, Warszawa, 24–30.11.2024).
2. Głos w dyskusji panelowej „Dzieje Nowego Testamentu”: „Geneza ksiąg Nowego Testamentu”, w ramach wystawy „Historia Biblii” (Filia Biblioteki Miejskiej im. Łopacińskiego, Lublin, 12.05.2025).
3. Rozmowa z o. Dawidem Kołodziejczykiem w ramach podcastu: „Puzzle Wiary”, nt. „Monogamia i poligamia w Biblii” (Kraków, 15.05.2025).
4. Odczyt: „Czy Słowo Boże jest sakramentem? Biblijna podstawa rozumienia i przeżywania sakramentów” (MDS KUL, Lublin, 20.05.2025).

### Recenzje prac licencjackich

1. Halina Pelc, *Czy rzeczywiście Jezus nakazuje nienawiść? Znaczenie czasownika μισώ w Łk 14,26* (kierujący pracą: ks. dr hab. A. Kubiś, prof. KUL).
2. Kamil Kojder, *Szabat i Tora czy Świątynia i Chrystus? W poszukiwaniu najbardziej przekonującej interpretacji Mateuszowej perykopy o uczniach zrywających kłosa w szabat (12,1–8)* (kierujący pracą: ks. dr hab. A. Kubiś, prof. KUL).

**Udział w szkoleniu**

Szkolenie z baz SCOPUS – Elsevier (online): Pełne wykorzystanie możliwości Scopus AI: kompleksowe omówienie narzędzia i demonstracja na żywo. Szkolenie zakończone uzyskaniem certyfikatu.

**Promocja obronionej pracy magisterskiej**

Szymon Leszczyński, OP, *Analiza przypowieści o bezowocnym figowcu (Łk 13,6–9)* (Kolegium dominikanów afiliowane do AKW, Kraków).

**Recenzja wydawnicza artykułu naukowego**

*Verbum Vitae* (1 recenzja).

**Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL**

1. Cykl wykładów: „Ewangelie Synoptyczne” (Kolegium Filozoficzno-Teologiczne Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów, Kraków).
2. Cykl wykładów: „Historia zbawienia” (Kolegium Filozoficzno-Teologiczne Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów, Warszawa).
3. Cykl wykładów: „Wprowadzenie do Pięcioksięgu” (Kurs Formacji Biblijnej, Lublin).
4. Cykl wykładów: „Wprowadzenie do Pisma Świętego” (Studium Dominicanum, Warszawa).
5. Cykl wykładów: „Wstęp do Pisma Świętego” (Dominikańskie Studium Filozofii i Teologii, Kraków).
6. Cykl wykładów: „Dzieje Apostolskie” (Dominikańskie Studium Filozofii i Teologii, Kraków).
7. Cykl wykładów: „Ewangelia Łukasza i Dzieje Apostolskie” (Akademia Biblijna, Rzeszów).

**Pełnione funkcje**

1. Członek Rady Szkoły Doktorskiej KUL.
2. Redaktor działu Nowy Testament w *The Biblical Annals*.

**10. Ks. dr Krzysztof Napora****Artykuły popularnonaukowe**

1. „Odkrywaj Serce Boga w Słowie Boga”, *Życie Duchowe* 123 (2025) 9–18.
2. „Potop – wody wielkie, które nie zdołały ugasić miłości...”, *Gość Extra* 3 (2025) 60–65.
3. „Czy biblijne opowiadanie o potopie może nawiązywać do znanej w historii klęski żywiołowej?”, *Gość Extra* 3 (2025) 66.
4. „Po to wyszedłem...”, *Czas Serca* 180 (2024) 20–21.
5. „Na cały świat... wszelkiemu stworzeniu...”, *Czas Serca* 181 (2024) 18–19.
6. „Panie do kogo pójdziemy?”, *Czas Serca* 182 (2024) 17–18.

7. „Ojciec, który jest w ukryciu”, *Czas Serca* 184 (2025) 16–17.
8. „Czy któryś z nich poszedł za nim?”, *Czas Serca* 185 (2025) 16–17.
9. „Nie potrzeba większej wiary?”, *Czas Serca* 186 (2025) 12–13.

### **Działalność sympozjalna**

1. Referat: „«Zapytaj zwierząt, a wskażą ci, i ptaki podniebne pouczą» (Hi 12,7). Świat zwierząt w porządku stworzenia”, „Godność osoby ludzkiej a humanizacja zwierząt” – konferencja i debata (KUL, Lublin, 19.03.2025).
2. Referat: „The Kingdom of God from Biblical and Theological Perspectives – Some Modern Insights”, Séminaire théologique sur l’Héritage social du Père Dehon (1925–2025) (Clairefontaine, 5–11.08.2025).

### **Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL**

1. Wykłady biblijno-pastoralne w parafii oo. Franciszkanów w Zamościu (15–17.12.2024).
2. Wykłady w ramach kursu biblijnego „Podróż przez księgi” (Księga Nahuma, Jeremiasza i Ezechiela) (8.02.2025, liczba godzin: 6)
3. Wykłady w ramach szkoły biblijnej w Stadnikach „Prorocy mniejsi” (11.01.2025, liczba godzin: 8).
4. Wykłady w ramach szkoły biblijnej w Skierniewicach: „Tora, Księgi historyczne, Prorocy, Psalmi, Księgi dydaktyczne” (1.02.2025).
5. Wykłady na temat Cyklu Abrahama w ramach Szkoły DABAR „Śladami Patriarchów” –10 wykładów w Turcji Wschodniej (30.06–1.07.2025).

### **Działalność popularyzująca Biblię**

1. Organizator, przewodnik i pilot wyprawy do Libanu (26.09–4.10.2025)
2. Udział w audycji „Szukając Słowa Bożego” w Radiu Maryja (Toruń, 29.11.2024).
3. Udział w audycji „Szukając Słowa Bożego” w Radiu Maryja (Toruń, 17.01.2025).
4. Udział w audycji „Szukając Słowa Bożego” w Radiu Maryja (Toruń, 20.06.2025).
5. Udział w audycji „Szukając Słowa Bożego” w Radiu Maryja (Toruń, 15.08.2025).
6. Comiesięczne wykłady biblijno-pastoralne dla Instytutu życia konsekrowanego Chrystusa Króla.
7. Comiesięczne wykłady biblijno-pastoralne dla Wspólnoty Zgromadzenia Sióstr Nazeretek w Lublinie.
8. Spotkania *Lectio divina* w parafii pw. Dobrego Pasterza w Lublinie.
9. Spotkania *Lectio divina* dla postulatu Sióstr Franciszkanek Misjonarek Maryi w Lublinie.

### **Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje**

1. Redaktor działu „Stary Testament” w czasopiśmie *Verbum Vitae*.
2. Skarbnik Stowarzyszenia na rzecz Wspierania Bibliistyki „Verbum Sacrum”.
3. Członek Sercańskiej Komisji Teologicznej Europy.
4. Współorganizator seminarium naukowego: Séminaire théologique sur l’Héritage social du Père Dehon (1925–2025) (Clairefontaine, 5–11.08.2025).

## 11. Ks. dr hab. Andrzej Piwowar, prof. KUL

### Monografia

*Księga Syracha* (Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu w Przekładzie z Języków Oryginalnych; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2024).

### Artykuły naukowe

1. „Rola i zadania ojca wobec jego potomstwa oraz relacja z nim w świetle starotestamentalnej literatury mądrościowej”, *Resovia Sacra* 31 (2024) 445–465, <https://doi.org/10.52097/rs.2024.445-466>.
2. „«Powiadam ci: Dziś będziesz ze mną w raju» (Łk 23,43). Czy tłumaczenie słów Jezusa jest poprawne i właściwe?», *Collectanea Theologica* 94/3 (2024) 37–67, <https://doi.org/10.21697/ct.2024.94.3.02>.
3. „Suretyship in the Teaching of Ben Sira (Sir 29:14–20)”, *The Biblical Annals* 1 (2025) 15–57, <https://doi.org/10.31743/ba.16493>.

### Staż naukowy

Staż naukowy na Wydział Teologii Uniwersytetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego (1.09–30.09.2025).

### Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

1. *Polonia Sacra* (1 recenzja).
2. *Biblia et Patristica Thorunensia* (1 recenzja).
3. *Collectanea Theologica* (1 recenzja).
4. *Wrocławski Przegląd Teologiczny* (1 recenzja).

### Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

Wykłady z języka greckiego na Kursie Formacji Biblijnej (listopad 2024 – czerwiec 2025, liczba godzin: 16).

### Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje

1. Szkolenie z II kryterium ewaluacji.
2. Szkolenie z III kryterium ewaluacji.
3. Członek Rady Doskonałości Nauki.
4. Zastępca redaktora naczelnego *Verbum Vitae*.

## 12. Ks. prof. dr hab. Stefan Szymik

### Rozdziały w monografiach lub podręcznikach

1. „Przedmowa”, *Święci Piotr i Paweł. Uroczystości i święta rok św. Pawła, inne teksty zebrane* (red. A. Demitrów – M. Dragan) (Mystagogia Benedicti. Wprowadzenie w tajemnice roku liturgicznego; Biskupów – Kraków: ORDO et PAX 2024) 13–19.

2. „Interpretacja dosłowna Pieśni nad Pieśniami dzisiaj. Zmiana paradygmatu”, „*Sermo tuus veritas est*” (Jo 17,17). *Opuscula Adamo Ricardo Sikora OFM Septuagenario dedicata* (red. B. Czyżewski) (Opuscula Dedicata 15; Poznań: Pallottinum 2025) 437–450.

### **Artykuł naukowy**

„Church Tradition and Its Biblical Foundations in the Teaching of Joseph Ratzinger / Benedict XVI. An Outline of Problems,” *Verbum Vitae* 42 (2024) Special Issue, 177–197, <https://doi.org/10.31743/vv.17648>.

### **Działalność sympozjalna**

Referat: „Św. Łukasz a tradycja Janowa w świetle współczesnych badań”, 62. Sympozjum Biblistów Polskich (Kraków-Dębniaki, 15–17.09.2025).

### **Kwerenda naukowa**

Fachbereichsbibliothek Theologie (Universitätsbibliothek der Universität Wien, Wiedeń, 7–12.07.2025).

### **Recenzje w postępowaniach dotyczących przyznawanych stopni naukowych**

1. Recenzja profesorska dorobku naukowego ks. dr. hab. Grzegorza Szamockiego, sporządzona 10.12.2024.
2. Recenzja profesorska dorobku naukowego dr. hab. Jakuba Sławika, sporządzona 10.03.2025.
3. Recenzja profesorska (opinia dodatkowa – tzw. superrecenzja) dorobku naukowego ks. dr. hab. Dariusza Sztuka, sporządzona 20.07.2025.

### **Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych**

1. *Pedagogia Christiana* (2 recenzje).
2. *Studia Nauk Teologicznych PAN* (1 recenzja).
3. *Verbum Vitae* (1 recenzja).
4. *Wrocławski Przegląd Teologiczny* (1 recenzja).

### **Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL**

1. Wykłady z Nowego Testamentu: „Ewangelie synoptyczne” (WSD MSF w Kazimierzu Biskupim, oddział zamiejscowy Wydziału Teologii UAM, Poznań, liczba godzin: 45).
2. Wykłady z metodologii biblijnej: „Metody interpretacji Pisma Świętego”, Kurs Formacji Biblijnej Arch. Lubelskiej (liczba godzin: 16).

### **Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje**

1. Członek podkomisji konkursowej do Szkoły Doktorskiej KUL na rok akademicki 2024/2025 (nauki biblijne).

2. Sekretarz Stowarzyszenia na Rzecz Wspierania Bibliistyki „Verbum Sacrum”.
3. Wykładowca Kursu Formacji Biblijnej KUL.
4. Członek Stowarzyszenia Biblistów Polskich.
5. Członek Lubelskiego Oddziału Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
6. Członek Lubelskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego.
7. Członek Associazione ex-alumni del Pontificio Istituto Biblico.

### 13. Ks. dr hab. Arnold Zawadzki

#### Książka pod redakcją

*Biblia Tysiąclecia. I. Pięcioksiąg*, wyd. 6 (Pallottinum: Poznań 2025).

#### Działalność sympozjalna

Organizator Wiosennego Sympozjum Biblijnego „Krzywda i przebaczenie w Biblii” (KUL, Lublin, 11.03.2025)

#### Recenzje wydawnicze książek

1. P. Jaworski, *Księga Malachiasza. Wstęp, przekład, marginalia i komentarz* (Biblia Lubelska. Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu w przekładzie języków oryginalnych; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2023).
2. C. Korzec, *Księga Lamentacji. Wstęp, przekład, teksty paralelne i komentarz* (Biblia Lubelska. Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu w przekładzie języków oryginalnych; Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2025).

#### Recenzje wydawnicze artykułów naukowych

1. *Sandomierskie Studia Teologiczne* (1 recenzja).
2. *Verbum Vitae* (1 recenzja).

#### Działalność dydaktyczna poza KUL

Wykłady w roku akademickim 2024/2025 w Wyższym Seminarium Duchownym w Łodzi:

- Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne dla Starszych Kandydatów do Kapłaństwa,
- Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne „Redemptoris Mater”,
- Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne OO. Franciszkanów OFMConv.

Tematyka wykładów:

1. Pisma Janowe;
2. Pisma Pawłowe;
3. Ewangelie Synoptyczne;
4. Księgi mądrościowe Starego Testamentu;
5. Język hebrajski;

6. Teologia i hermeneutyka biblijna;
7. Seminarium naukowe z biblistyki dla magistrantów (Księga Koheleta);
8. Seminarium naukowe z biblistyki dla magistrantów (Księga Ozeasza);
9. Seminarium naukowe z biblistyki dla magistrantów (Pierwszy List do Koryntian).

### **Działania popularyzujące Biblię**

1. Wykład monograficzny: „Księgi prorockie: Izajasz, Jeremiasz, Ezechiel” w Szkole Biblijnej Logos przy Wyższym Seminarium Duchownym Towarzystwa Salezjańskiego w Krakowie (22.02.2025, liczba godzin: 8).
2. Wykład monograficzny: „Księgi prorockie: 12 Proroków Mniejszych” w Szkole Biblijnej Logos przy Wyższym Seminarium Duchownym Towarzystwa Salezjańskiego w Krakowie (15.03.2025, liczba godzin: 8).
3. Wykład monograficzny: „Teologia powołania prorockiego” w Chełmskim Centrum Ewangelizacji (29.03.2025, liczba godzin: 8).
4. Wykład monograficzny: „«Oto Ja posyłam swojego anioła...» (Ml 3,1–5). Wybrane fragmenty z Księgi Malachiasza” w Szkole Biblijnej Akademii Katolickiej Collegium Joanneum w Warszawie (12.04.2025, liczba godzin: 8).

### **Inne osiągnięcia i pełnione funkcje**

1. Zastępca reaktora naczelnego *The Biblical Annals*.
2. Redaktor działu „Stary i Nowy Testament” w *Łódzkich Studiach Teologicznych*.
3. Wiceprzewodniczący Komisji przy KEP ds. Rewizji Starego Testamentu *Biblii Tysiąclecia* (6 wydanie).
4. Redaktor odpowiedzialny za rewizję Ksiąg XII Proroków Mniejszą w *Biblii Tysiąclecia* (6 wydanie).

## **14. Ks. dr Marcin Zieliński**

### **Rozdział w monografii**

„Chleb aniołów w Księdze Mądrości, psalmach i innych tradycjach biblijnych”, *Scrutare me Deus et cognosce cor meum (Ps 139[138],23). Księga pamiątkowa dla Księdza Profesora Antoniego Troniny w 80. rocznicę urodzin* (red. M. Szmajdziński) (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL 2025) 227–239.

### **Artykuł naukowy**

„Emocje bezbożnych na sądzie eschatologicznym w Mdr 5,1–3 w świetle filozofii stoickiej”, *The Biblical Annals* 15/4 (2025) 637–651, <https://doi.org/10.31743/ba.18963>.

### **Działalność sympozjalna**

1. Referat: „Emotional State of the Wicked at the Moment of the Eschatological Judgment in Wis 5:1–3 in the Context of Stoics Philosophy”, Society of Biblical Literature 2024 (San Diego, CA, 25.11.2024).

2. Referat: „The Influence of Stoicism on Wisdom 1–9: a General Overview”, Comenius-Somef Conference (Cluj-Napoca, 14–17.05.2025).

### **Promocja obronionej pracy magisterskiej**

M. Górecki, *Symbolika światła w Mdr 17,1 – 18,4* (KUL, Lublin, obrona 25.06.2025).

### **Działalność popularyzująca Biblię**

1. Wykłady na Kursie Formacji Biblijnej w Lublinie: „Historia Wyjścia opowiedziana na nowo – analiza 7 dyptyków w Księdze Mądrości” (rok akademicki 2024/2025, Lublin, liczba godzin: 16).
2. Telewizyjny Uniwersytet Biblijny (3 programy, TV Trwam, Toruń).
3. Organizator Ogólnopolskiego Konkursu Biblijnego dla Kleryków: List do Hebrajczyków.
4. Konferencje Biblijne w Radiu Maryja – „Szukając Słowa Bożego” (3 programy).
5. Redagowanie i autorstwo komentarzy do aplikacji Dzieło Biblijne (łącznie 65 jednostek zawierających komentarze i informacje biblijne do tekstów liturgicznych).

### **Pełnione funkcje**

Przedstawiciel KEP w Catholic Biblical Federation.

### **Podsumowanie statystyczne**

Podsumowując powyższą działalność w roku akademickim 2024/2025, można zauważyć, że w wyniku aktywności poszczególnych pracowników Instytutu Nauk Biblijnych KUL powstały:

- 3 monografie naukowe,
- 8 książek pod redakcją,
- 8 rozdziałów w monografiach,
- 28 artykułów naukowych,
- 27 artykułów popularnonaukowych,
- 39 ogłoszonych referatów na sympozjach naukowych (zarówno krajowych, jak i międzynarodowych),
- 3 obronione prace doktorskie,
- 7 obronionych prac magisterskich,
- 3 obronione prace licencjackie,
- 8 recenzji wydawniczych książek,
- 41 recenzji wydawniczych artykułów naukowych.

