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A Priestly Perspective on the Representation of History in the *Praise of the Ancestors* (Sir 44–49)

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Abstract: The article aims to synthetically present the idea of priesthood in the *Praise of the Ancestors* (Sir 44–49), a text that contains a theological reflection and description of selected characters in the biblical story from the point of view of a sage living at the turn of the 3rd-2nd centuries BC. First, the successive stages of history depicted by Ben Sira and their possible connections to priesthood are outlined. Then, priesthood as viewed by Ben Sira was presented using specific examples of individuals known from the history of biblical Israel (Aaron, Phinehas, David, Samuel, Joshua son of Jehozadak). However, kings from the Davidic dynasty no longer reigned after the Babylonian exile, even though the sage compares the governor Zerubbabel, who came from the House of David, with the high priest Joshua, son of Jehozadak. The sign of the covenant, however, remained the high priest. Anonymous references to women in the *Praise of the Ancestors* also feature references to the reality of the cult. Closing the *Praise of the Ancestors*, Adam is a type of priest that foreshadows the story's culmination in the description of the high priest Simon II (Sir 50:1–21). The priesthood in Ben Sira's view is the keystone that connects the past to the present.

Keywords: Old Testament, Book of Sirach, *Praise of the Ancestors*, priesthood

The Book of Sirach is a collection of wisdom sentences and poems, diverse in theme and literary genre. The diversity is due to the fact that it is likely that the book was written entirely at the end of the sage's life, as the fruit of many years of thought and experience. The presentation of his vision of history was influenced not only by Ben Sira's personal experiences, but also by the situation in which he lived. Although he was a man open to the world and its novelties – for this reason he enjoyed traveling – he noted the potential dangers of losing the identity of his own nation. Israel's identity as a people of the covenant stemmed from faithfully responding to the gift of God, whose will was enshrined in the Torah. Therefore, the description of history, already known to the sage from the Torah, the Prophets and the Writings, is approached in a new way to become a response to the needs of his time. The *Praise of the Ancestors* begins with an introduction (44:1–15), and then Ben Sira presents each character (44:16–49:16). On the one hand, the sage is guided in part by historical chronology, while on the other hand he makes significant changes to his description.

Is it possible to find a key, a criterion for the selection and presentation of people and content that Ben Sira followed? The presentation of the individual passages of

the *Praise of the Ancestors* describing different characters made it possible to notice the special connections of many of them with the institution of priesthood. This article, therefore, will attempt a synthetic, holistic analysis of the text of the *Praise of the Ancestors* in its relation to priesthood and priests. Andrew Piwowar accurately noted that the subject of priesthood is not a point of interest for the authors of the Wisdom Books.[1] The exception here is the sage Ben Sira, who speaks of the priests with great respect (cf. 7:29–31), focuses on the priests in the *Praise of the Ancestors* (cf. Sir 44–49) referring to the figures of Aaron, Phinehas, Samuel, Joshua son of Jehozadak, and crowning the entire praise with the figure of the high priest Simon II (cf. Sir 50:1–21).

There have been individual publications discussing Ben Sira's relationship to the institution of priesthood,[2] suggestions recognizing the sage's belonging to the priestly lineage,[3] referring to individual characters or groups of priestly characters,[4] showing their relationship to the priesthood, such as Aaron and his offspring, David, Adam, references to women.[5] There are also publications on the high priest Simon II.[6] The presence of the idea of priesthood throughout the *Praise of the Ancestors* has not yet been the subject of a separate study. This article aims to synthetically discuss the priesthood motif in this section of the Book of Sirach, also taking into account possible references to priesthood. After a general outline of the subsequent stages of the story in the *Praise of the Ancestors*, the characters mentioned in it who held priestly positions or who had, according to Ben Sira, connections to the cult (Aaron, Phinehas, Samuel, David, Joshua son of Jehozadak) are introduced. Then there are less apparent references to the priesthood that are present in the anonymous references to women in the *Praise of the Ancestors*. The final link that connects the priests of biblical history to Ben Sira's contemporary, the high priest Simon II, is the last one mentioned in the text of praise, Adam, the first man and also the first „priest" of creation.

1 Cf. Piwowar, „Syrach," 93–94.

2 See e.g. Perdue, *Wisdom and Cult*; Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship," 261–286.

3 Cf. Stadelmann, *Ben Sira*, 41–42.

4 See e.g.: Piwowar („Syrach," 93–117) presents the priests: Aaron, Phinehas and Simon.

5 See the author's articles discussing selected characters in the *Praise of the Fathers* through the lens of the priesthood theme: Pudełko, "Aaron jako nauczyciel świadectw," 133–153; Pudełko, "The (Apparent) Absence of Women," 107–126; Pudełko, "Dawid jako organizator kultu," 263–283; Pudełko, "Dlaczego Adam zamyka *Pochwałę Ojców*," 441–457; Pudełko "Periodyzacja dziejów Izraela," 37–74; Pudełko, "Obecność anioła," 269–284.

6 See e.g.: Mulder, "Two Approaches," 221–234; Mulder, *Simon the High Priest*.

1. The *Praise of the Ancestors* – A Theological Record of the History of Biblical Israel

In Sir 44–49, the author selected the figures and introduced them. The first characters: Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Phinehas (not counting Enoch[7]) are a cohesive whole, connected by the covenant theme, with which promises and blessings were linked (cf. 44:16–45:24). To emphasize this, the author departs from chronological order and mentions at this point additionally (cf. 45:25) the figure of David.[8] Worth noting is the emphasis on the characters of Aaron and Phinehas (45:6–24), which draws attention to the role of the priests in the story. Then Joshua and Caleb (cf. 46:1–10) and the Judges (collectively, cf. 46:11–12) appear, presenting two concepts for conquering the promised land (the swift conquest of Joshua and the quiet infiltration of the period of Judges). The history of the monarchy introduced with the figure of Samuel (cf. 46:13–20) proceeds on two parallel paths, with prophets appearing alongside the kings. Saul appears unnamed (cf. 46:20), Solomon's evaluation is ambivalent (cf. 47:12–23), and Rehoboam and Jeroboam receive a negative assessment (cf. 47:23–25). David (cf. 47:2–11), Hezekiah (cf. 48:17–25) and Josiah (cf. 49:1–6) are declared worthy of honor; the other kings of Judah regarded as transgressors, appear nameless (cf. 49:4). Among the prophets mentioned there are Samuel (cf. 46:13–20), Nathan (cf. 47:1), Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the Twelve (cf. 48:1–49:10). The time of reconstruction after the exile is represented by the figures of Zerubbabel, Joshua and Nehemiah (cf. 49:11–13). Noting that the sage makes a change in the final chronology, placing the characters from the beginning of the story at the end of the description: Enoch, Joseph, Shem, Seth, Enosh and Adam (cf. 49:14–16), one can easily understand that this is not the purpose of his presentation. The purpose is the theological message, intended to strengthen and guide the identity of future generations. It is therefore worth looking closer at some elements of the theological perspective adopted here, which emphasizes the importance and role of priests the most. This perspective, and the reference to the beginning of history, leads to the conclusion and realization of the story, which occurs in the description of the high priest Simon II (50:1–21).

7 The absence of Sir 44:16 in the manuscript from Masada and the Syriac text undermines the authenticity of this text according to some scholars. Cf. Yadin, *The Ben Sira*, 224–225; Beentjes, "Praise of the Famous," 380–382.

8 Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic*, 39.

2. From Aaron to Joshua. Priests in the History of Israel

The presentation of the character of Aaron is much broader than that of Moses, discussed earlier, and does not emphasize the Mosaic Covenant, of which Moses was the mediator. Sir 45:6, on the other hand, begins with Aaron's praise, which takes up as many as 17 verses.[9] On the one hand, the sage emphasizes Aaron's ancestry and his bond with Moses, and on the other hand, his special appointment by God. This point is further explored in the next verse, 45:7ab. There is reference to the everlasting covenant made with Aaron and the gift of the priesthood to him and his offspring.[10] Here the author wants to emphasize the irrevocability of God's decision regarding Aaron and his descendants.[11] The honor and the gift of God bestowed upon Aaron become the cause of his glory and authority, as confirmed in 45:7bc by the H versions (glory/majesty: כבד/הוד[12]). In the HB, glory and majesty (כבד/הוד) belong to God (cf. Ps 8:2; 96:6). Given to Moses, they are transferred to Joshua (cf. Num 27:20–23), and are also shared by King Solomon (cf. 1 Chr 29:25) and even the future messiah (cf. Zech 6:13). However, it is not related to Aaron or his descendants. The G version of the Book of Sirach links the glory with the high priest›s robe (περιστολή δόξης; 47:7d), as indicated in the next passage of the text: 45:7d–14.[13] According to Exod 28:2, Moses prepares priestly garments for Aaron and his sons; in Ben Sira's text, God Himself does it.[14] In the H version of Sir 45:7d, the phrase "horns of the buffalo" (תועפות ראם) appears, as one of the elements of the high priest's attire. This is a metaphor for power and strength, which in Num 23:22 and 24:8 belongs to God Himself, leading His people out of Egypt. The priest will thus be clothed in the power and beauty of God (cf. Sir 45:8a). The sage also mentions various elements of the high priest's attire: pants, tunic, ephod (cf. 45:8b), robe ornaments (pomegranate fruit and bells: 45:9a), purple robe (cf. 45:10a), bags of urim and thummim (cf. 45:10b), stones honoring the twelve tribes (cf. 45:11), decorated tiara (cf. 45:12).[15] Although the elements of the attire come from Exod 28, one notices that the author's additions clearly go beyond the description of a high priest and are a sign of authority.[16] In the H version of 45:8b, there appears the expression ויפארהו ב[...]וד ועוז ("he adorned him with

9 The description of Aaron relates directly to his person and to the office of high priest, as will be reflected in the portrayal of the high priest Simon (Sir 50). Cf. Wright, "The Use," 195; Rivkin, "Ben Sira," 97*; Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship," 267.

10 The prerogatives related to the covenant (irrevocable bond with God) are shifted here to the gift of the priesthood associated with the person of Aaron and his descendants, cf. Wright, "The Use," 195.

11 Cf. Reiterer, "Aaron's Polyvalent Role," 33; Skehan – Di Lella, *The Wisdom*, 511.

12 According to Marginalia Ms B: בברכה (in blessing). Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew*, 79; Friedrich V. Reiterer, ("Aaron's Polyvalent Role," 34) believes that this is a more original lesson as it relates to the essence of the priestly ministry – the transmission of the blessing (life) of God.

13 Cf. Zapff, *Jesus Sirach*, 328; Sauer, *Jesus Sirach*, 310; Skehan – Di Lella, *The Wisdom*, 511.

14 Cf. Reiterer, "Aaron's Polyvalent Role," 35–36.

15 Cf. Skehan – Di Lella, *The Wisdom*, 511.

16 Cf. Piwowar, "Syrach," 107.

glory[17] and strength") which finds no reference to the descriptions of the high priest in the Pentateuch. Strength (עוז), on the other hand, refers to the person of David (cf. 2 Sam 6:14; 1 Chr 13:8).[18] In describing the high priest's headdress, the sage uses the expression עטרת פז ("crown of gold"; 45:12), which appears only once more in the HB in Ps 21:4 to denote the king's crown. Thus, the attributes of a king were transferred in the mind of the son of Sirach to the person of the high priest.[19] The attire inspired admiration because of its beauty and at the same time its uniqueness – only the high priest and his successors could wear it (cf. 45:13). It was an expression of God's special appointment and the ministry to which the high priest was called. The description of the attire concludes with a reference to the offered sacrifices (cf. 45:14), and therefore – to the priestly ministry performed by God's chosen ones.[20]

After describing the high priest's attire, the sage informs of Aaron's introduction to priestly duties, which was performed through Moses (cf. 45:15). Ben Sira refers here to Exod 29 and Lev 8, which describe the consecration of priests (anointing with oil). However, there is more to this. The sage speaks of the everlasting covenant made with Aaron (ברית עולם/διαθήκη αἰῶνος), which will last forever, "like the days of heaven" (Sir 45:15: כימי שמים/ἐν ἡμέραις οὐρανοῦ), as the one made with David [Ps 89(88):30: כימי שמים/ὡς τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ]. Blessing the people in the name of the Lord also evokes David's actions (cf. 2 Sam 6:18; 1 Chr 16:2).[21] Thus, the attributes of a king were again transferred in the mind of Ben Sira to the person of the high priest.

This is confirmed by a later description of the character of Phinehas (cf. Sir 45:23–24). He is a lesser-known figure, the grandson of Aaron, but his priestly identity and struggle for purity of faith have made him prominent in the eyes of posterity.[22] He was referred to as the "third" after Moses and Aaron, and the line seems to go to the high priest Simon II (cf. Sir 50:1–21), since he in this narrative performs the rite of "cleansing" the people on the Day of Atonement, and Phinehas did it in a different way at Baal Peor (cf. Num 25:1–15).[23] By speaking out against idolatry, Phinehas received from God the promise of eternal priesthood for his descendants, the so-called "covenant of peace" (cf. Num 25:12; Sir 45:24).[24]

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17 Text damaged, possible reconstruction: בכוד („glory").

18 Cf. Reiterer, „Aaron's Polyvalent Role," 39.

19 Jesus Sirach wrote down his story for one specific purpose. It is to perpetuate the priestly succession of Simon and his successors. Their role was to guarantee God's continued involvement in Israel's history. Cf. Beentjes, „The Countries Marveled at You," 12–13; Wright, „The Use," 197.

20 Cf. Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship," 269.

21 Cf. Reiterer, "Aaron's Polyvalent Role," 48.

22 Cf. Skehan – Di Lella, *The Wisdom*, 513. Piwowar, „Syrach," 110–112.

23 Cf. Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic,* 31–32; Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship," 270.

24 According to Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, (*The Wisdom*, 513): "Ben Sira seems intent on proving that Phinehas was the legitimate successor to the high priesthood (45:24–25); according to *4 Macc* 18:12, there had been disputes about the authentic succession of high priests. 'The crisis

The Sage, in describing Aaron and Phinehas, uses the characteristics of a high priest of the Second Temple period. He portrays them as having both religious and secular authority (legislative, executive and judicial – cf. Sir 45:17) by order of God Himself.[25] Sir 45:16, on the other hand, lists the typical priestly duties that Aaron and his successors were to perform: approaching the altar, presenting sacrifices, offering incense and making expiation for the people.[26] However, one cannot help but notice the emphasis on the priesthood throughout the first part of the story. The patriarchs (Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob) were priests, as fathers and heads of families. Moses, Aaron and Phinehas descended from the tribe of Levi. Moses appointed Aaron and his descendants as priests (cf. Sir 45:15), and Ben Sira emphasizes the perpetuity of this priesthood (cf. Sir 45:7, 15, 24). The first period of the history of God's people is seen through the lens of both the covenant and the priesthood instituted in its service, the descendants of Aaron.[27]

Surprisingly, in this group there is a reference to David (45:25), who will be described in more detail when his turn comes in Sir 47:2–11. There he appears in connection with the topic of the covenant, which is discussed throughout Sir 44:16–45:26. The covenant with David references various biblical texts.[28] However, it seems that here it has a lower position than the "priestly covenant," which applies to all of Aaron's descendants, not just one heir to the Davidic dynasty.[29] The conclusion of this period of history refers to the priests contemporary to Ben Sira (cf. Sir 45:26). Perhaps the sage wanted to show that the promises given to David are fulfilled in the special ministry of priests.[30]

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of his people' that Phinehas met (45:23d) is described in Num 25:1–15. In his zeal for 'the God of all' (45:23c), Phinehas slew a certain Israelite man and a Midianite woman who had participated with other Israelites in the idolatrous worship of the god Baal of Peor, and who had tried to escape punishment for their sin (Num 25:6–8). It was by this act that Phinehas 'atoned for the people of Israel' (45:23f); cf. Num 25:10–13; Ps 106:28–31. The expression 'covenant of friendship', Heb *bĕrît šālôm*, lit., 'covenant of peace' (45:24b), is taken from Num 25:12. It was through this covenant that God promised that the priesthood would remain forever in the family of Phinehas (Num 25:12–13); cf. 1 Macc 2:54."

25 Cf. Piwowar, „Syrach," 107.

26 Cf. Reiterer, "Aaron's Polyvalent Role," 48; Wright, "The Use," 199.

27 It is no coincidence that the term ברית appears six times in the passages Sir 44:17–45:26 in the H version (Sir 44:17, 20, 23; 45:15, 24, 25), and the word διαθήκη appears as many as nine times in the G version (Sir 44:18, 20, 23; 45:5, 7, 15, 17, 24, 25). Such a concentration of terms denoting covenant takes place only in this part of the *Praise of the Fathers*. Goshen-Gottstein ("Ben Sira's Praise of the Fathers," 245) believes that this indicates the sage's intention to relate this part of the *Praise of the Fathers* to the Torah, and that the entire record of Israel's history is meant to reflect the composition of the gradually forming canon of holy scriptures.

28 "The 'covenant with David' (45:25a) is mentioned in 2 Sam 7:11–16; 23:5; Isa 55:3; Jer 33:21, 26; 2 Chr 13:5; 21:7; Ps 89:3–5, 29–30." Skehan – Di Lella, *The Wisdom,* 514. Cf. Wright, "The Use," 202.

29 Cf. Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic,* 39. John Priest ("Ben Sira 45:25," 111–118) shows that Ben Sira in this description is close to the Qumran conception of two messiahs: royal and priestly.

30 Cf. Beentjes, "Praise of the Famous," 379–380; MacKenzie, "Ben Sira as Historian," 320.

The figure of Samuel, a judge, prophet and nazirite, introduces the monarchy period (cf. Sir 46:13 H). According to Sir 46:13d H, Samuel also had a priestly function: שמואל שופט ומכהן ("Samuel the judge and priest").[31] In the further description of the figure of Samuel, the motif of offering sacrifice appears (cf. 46:16c). Here Ben Sira is talking about a sacrifice in general terms, about something that is brought (προσφορά). The term προσφορά is known to Ben Sira; he uses it, for instance, in a context related to worship at the Jerusalem Temple (cf. 50:13) and to the high priest Simon (cf. 50:14). In 46:16, the expression ἐν προσφορᾷ ("sacrifice") indicates the manner of the prayer of supplication, the invocation of the Lord that Samuel performs. The reference to Samuel offering a sacrifice also makes it possible to apply to him the functions of a person "acting as a priest" (מכהן, Sir 46:13 H).[32]

The figure of David was mentioned in the introduction of earlier characters of the Torah in connection with a reference to the covenant. However, David was also connected with the cult, which is clearly highlighted in Sir 47:8–10.[33] Based on the account of 1 Chr, Ben Sira presents King David as a ruler who praises God, and at the same time organizes the liturgy of Jerusalem. He composed psalms and songs of praise himself and appointed musicians in the temple liturgy.[34]

David, in his concern for the house and the glory of the Lord, thus appears as a man of complete commitment and care. Ben Sira's description shows that David as king is first and foremost a "man of worship."[35] However, Ben Sira's concept is not limited to copying the chronicler's message. Through such a portrayal of David, Ben Sira seems to link the origins of the cult present in the depiction of the figure

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31 "Samuel served in the tabernacle at Shiloh under the priest Eli (cf. 1 Sam 2:11), and wore the linen ephod appropriate for priests (cf. 1 Sam 2:18). This is how Samuel gradually takes over the priestly functions of the family of Eli, whose sons dishonored the ministry by appropriating the meat of the sacrifices before they were offered (cf. 1 Sam 2:12–17). This is not a simple change of the person responsible for the ministry, but it is the Lord himself who appoints the faithful Samuel as his priest, in place of the sons of Eli (cf. 2 Sam 2:35). There are other texts that indicate that Samuel's works also involved the sphere of sacrificial worship (cf. 1 Sam 7:7–9; 9:13, 19; 10:8; 16:1–5). This raises the question of Samuel's identity and his connection to the tribe of Levi and the lineage of Aaron. According to 1 Chr 6:12, 13, 18, Samuel belongs to the tribe of Levi. Ps 99:6 places Samuel on an equal footing with Moses and Aaron, which reflects the tradition that Samuel belongs to the priestly lineage: "Moses and Aaron among His priests, Samuel among those calling on His name." Pudełko, *Profetyzm w Księdze Syracha*, 210–211; Cf. McKenzie, "The Four Samuel," 3–18; Demitrów, *Quattro oranti*, 167.

32 The very sparse references to priesthood and sacrifices in the G version of the Book of Sirach can be explained by the resentment towards the Hasmonean high priests, ruling at the time of Ben Sira's grandson, the translator of the Greek version. Cf. Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic,* 27–28. Antonino Minissale (*La versione greca del Siracide*, 222–224) notes the changes in the G version, which excludes the themes relating to the priesthood and priests.

33 More on the topic: Pudełko, „Dawid jako organizator kultu," 263–283.

34 "It is not insignificant that the chronicler is compiling his work in the Persian era and wants to show that such an order of temple service is rooted in the Davidic monarchy established by God. What was God's decision communicated through David, anointed by Him, is still relevant in the Second Temple era." Pudełko, "Dawid jako organizator kultu," 274.

35 Cf. Petraglio, *Il libro che contamina le mani*, 236.

of Aaron (cf. Sir 45:6–22) with the cult of his time, represented by the high priest Simon (cf. Sir 50:1–21). This is also confirmed by the use of parallel terminology in the description of David and Simon. By repeating as many as fifteen terms in the cultic description of David and Simon, the sage connects the two figures and shows the continuity of the established cult:[36]

David (47:8–10)	**Simon (50:1–21)**
47:8: παντὶ ; πάσῃ	50:9: παντὶ 50:13: πάντες; πάσης 50:17: πᾶς 50:20: πᾶσαν
47:8: ἁγίῳ 47:10: ἅγιον	50:11: ἁγίου
47:8: ὑψίστῳ	50:15, 17: ὑψίστῳ 50:7, 14, 19, 21: ὑψίστου
47:8: δόξης	50:7, 11: δόξης 50:13: δόξῃ
47:9: ἔστησεν	50:12: ἑστὼς
47:9: ψαλτῳδοὺς	50:18: ψαλτῳδοὶ
47:9: κατέναντι	50:19: κατέναντι
47:9: θυσιαστηρίου	50:11, 15: θυσιαστηρίου
47:9: γλυκαίνειν μέλη	50:18: ἐγλυκάνθη μέλος
47:10: ἐκόσμησεν	50:9: κεκοσμημένον 50:14: κοσμῆσαι
47:10: συντελείας	50:11, 14: συντέλειαν
47:10: αἰνεῖν	50:18: ᾖνεσαν
47:10: ὄνομα αὐτοῦ	50:20: ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ
47:10: ἠχεῖν	50:16: ἤχησαν
47:10: ἁγίασμα	50:11: ἁγιάσματος

Ben Sira's depiction of the time of reconstruction after the Babylonian exile is very laconic. According to Alon Goshen-Gottstein, the sparse mention of the characters after the exile indicates that the books related to them were not yet very well known, much less had the status of holy books in Ben Sira's time.[37] This period is represented by the figures of Zerubbabel, Josiah and Nehemiah (cf. Sir 49:11–13), who may relate to the three positively portrayed kings: David, Hezekiah and Josiah.[38] Zerubbabel and Joshua receive praise because they contributed to the rebuilding of the temple, and Nehemiah to rebuilding the city walls. Zerubbabel is depicted by Ben Sira using the imagery of Hag 2:23 as a signet ring, and Joshua, son of Jehozadak is celebrated

36 Cf. Pudełko, „Dawid jako organizator kultu," 279–280.
37 Cf. Goshen-Gottstein, "Ben Sira's Praise of the Fathers," 194.
38 Cf. Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic,* 41.

for his work of rebuilding the temple, as foreshadowed in Zech 6:11–13.[39] Jehozadak, according to 1 Chr 5:40–41, was the son of Seraiah, the high priest captured during the Babylonian invasion of Judah and murdered in Ribla (cf. 2 Kgs 25:18–21). Thus, Joshua serves as a kind of bridge between the First and Second Temples. Zerubbabel and Joshua, mentioned together (cf. Ezra 3:2, 8; 5:2; Hag 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 4) as the two "restorers" of life after the Babylonian exile, represent two dimensions of authority: secular and religious, relating to the "Davidic and Aaronic" covenant.[40] Ben Sira includes both of these dimensions in his description of the figure of the high priest Simon, who, in addition to leading the cult, also possessed political power, as demonstrated by the temple renovation work mentioned in his praise.[41] The Davidic dynasty was not restored in the dimension of political power, hence the figure of Zerubbabel, a descendant of David, is no longer discernibly present in the description. That is why in Ben Sira's time it was the high priest who was the visible sign of God's promises and covenant.

3. The (Apparent) Absence of Women in the *Praise of the Ancestors* and the Priestly Perspective

Reading the *Praise of the Ancestors*, one gets the impression that there are no mentions of women. After a more careful reading, however, one notices anonymous references.[42] The praise of David in the Hebrew and Syriac versions of Sir 47:6 features anonymous women who praise him after his victory over Goliath.[43] Praise of Solomon and his deeds (Sir 47:12–18) turns to harsh judgment in Sir 47:19. All the king's previous achievements and contributions are nullified by his sin. The sage, following the description in 1 Kgs 11:1–3, points to his foreign wives as the cause of his downfall.[44] Further mentions of women relate to mothers, and even more to the beginnings of the characters' lives, which is conveyed symbolically in the expression "mother's womb." The first reference is to the figure of Samuel, who, according to 1 Sam 1, is born of the initially barren Hannah (cf. Sir 46:13ab).[45] A similar reference to a "mother's womb" is also present in the description of Jeremiah, who was already formed in

39 Cf. Skehan – Di Lella, *The Wisdom*, 544.

40 Cf. Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," 283.

41 Cf. Zapff, *Jesus Sirach*, 372; Minssale, *Siracide,* 236–237; Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus*, 247.

42 For more on the subject see Pudełko, "The (Apparent) Absence of Women," 107–126.

43 Cf. Marko, "David in the Wisdom of Ben Sira," 39; Box – Oesterley, "The Book of Sirach," 495; Hamp, *Sirach*, 129; Minissale, *Siracide*, 224; Sauer, *Jesus Sirach*, 319–321; Zapff, *Jesus Sirach*, 347.

44 Cf. Box – Oesterley, "The Book of Sirach," 498; Hamp, *Sirach*, 130; Minissale, *Siracide*, 227; Sauer, *Jesus Sirach*, 322–323; Zapff, *Jesus Sirach*, 352.

45 Cf. Demitrów, *Quattro oranti*, 149; Box – Oesterley, "The Book of Sirach," 492; Hamp, *Sirach*, 127; Minissale, *Siracide*, 222; Sauer, *Jesus Sirach*, 317–318; Zapff, *Jesus Sirach*, 341.

the womb consecrated as a prophet (cf. Sir 49:7).[46] Sir 48:19 references Sennacherib's campaign against Jerusalem and Hezekiah (cf. 2 Kgs 19; Isa 37). The Assyrian invasion caused great fear in the people of Jerusalem, and their suffering was compared by the Son of Sirach to the pain of those giving birth.[47]

Addressing these mentions in the cultic key, one cannot help but notice certain relationships. In addition to the figurative use of the image of the pain of women giving birth (cf. Sir 48:19), other examples refer to specific living persons, historical figures, mentioned by other books of the Bible (see women praising David: 1 Sam 18:7; Solomon's foreign wives: 1 Kgs 11:1–3; Hannah, mother of Samuel: 1 Sam 1–2; Jeremiah's calling that began in his mother's womb: Jer 1:5). Including such examples, albeit anonymous, leads to interesting conclusions. Although the women praising David, or God in David's life (cf. Sir 47:6 H/S) are not official personnel of the cult, they perform religious functions in public, through which they glorify the God of Israel and proclaim His great works. The contrast to this attitude is Solomon's foreign wives (Sir 47:19). Although the text itself says nothing about the king's idolatry, after all, the tarnishing of the monarch's glory (Sir 47:20) and the division of the monarchy (Sir 47:21) were the result of his idolatry, which the Bible links to the presence of his foreign wives. These women are therefore a symbol of sinful worship, opposed to the worship of the God of Israel, which has always led to ruin, both in religious and political dimensions. The metaphorical image of a mother's womb used for Samuel (Sir 46:13 H/S) and for Jeremiah (Sir 49:7) shows, on the one hand, the power of God, who reveals Himself and calls His chosen ones from the very beginning of their lives, but on the other hand emphasizes the involvement of mothers in this divine work related to His prophets and priests. Thus, these women, in some way, "fit into" the sage's cultic conception of Israel's history, either in a positive or negative way.

The lack of name references to women, then, is not a manifestation of the author's misogyny, and is not merely due to the pedagogical nature of his instructions (since instructions in the wisdom tradition could also be given by a woman, a mother). Nor is the lack of name references to women due to the choice of the literary genre of *encomium* (praise), as we know of Greek praises of women. It seems, therefore, that it is the apologia for the priesthood present in the *Praise of the Ancestors* that determines both the selection of the persons depicted and the way in which they are portrayed. Women had no part in the official priesthood of Israel,[48] which was passed down

46 Cf. Box – Oesterley, "The Book of Sirach," 504; Hamp, *Sirach*, 135; Minissale, *Siracide*, 233; Sauer, *Jesus Sirach*, 333–334; Zapff, *Jesus Sirach*, 370.

47 Cf. Box – Oesterley, "The Book of Sirach," 503; Hamp, *Sirach*, 133; Minissale, *Siracide*, 231; Sauer, *Jesus Sirach*, 328–329; Zapff, *Jesus Sirach*, 364.

48 In Exod 38:8, reference is made to the women who ministered at the entrance to the Tent of Meeting, and gave their mirrors to cast the bronze pool. The motif of women also appears in 1 Sam 2:22, considered a gloss. Perhaps it is a text of later origin, which echoes Josiah's reform and the removal of the women weaving veils for Asherah from the temple (see 2 Kgs 23:7). The fact that women sang and danced at

from father to son, beginning with the high priest Aaron. The absence of the great heroines of biblical history may therefore be a conscious choice by the author, who focused his attention on the priestly dimension of Israel's history. The successor to the high priest Simon, praised by the Son of Sirach, Onias III, no longer had as strong a personality as his father. The portrayal of Israel's history with an emphasis on God's chosenness with respect to Aaron's descendants was thus meant to become an attempt to overcome the growing crisis surrounding the weak high priest Onias, who through his office was the only remaining keystone of the covenant between God and Israel.

4. Adam as a Herald of the High Priest Simon

The praise of Nehemiah (cf. Sir 49:13) is followed by a return to the beginning. Ben Sira mentions Enoch, Joseph, Shem, Seth and Enosh (H), and the last figure of the „fathers of old" is Adam. According to Sir 49:16b, he is a completely Godly man, and there is no mention of his sin in the description. This is probably the earliest text that highlights the glory and beauty of Adam, while completely omitting his fall.[49] The Greek version emphasizes Adam's superiority over all creation: καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ζῷον ἐν τῇ κτίσει Αδαμ ("and above every living being in creation – Adam" – Sir 49:16b), while his descendants Shem and Seth received only glory among men (49:16a: ἐν ἀνθρώποις). This reflects the truth that Adam was not born, but created directly by God, and shows his superiority to both humans and all works of creation.[50] Thus, Adam has a beauty and glory that no one else has received: the closeness to God, the original beauty that God intended for man. This makes him rise to the top in the ranks of the figures of history, being both the "father" of mankind and the "father" of Israel, since he is the "son of God."[51] Therefore, it can be suggested that

religious ceremonies (cf. Exod 15:20; Judg 21:21; Ps 68:26) does not mean that they were part of the official personnel of the cult. There is evidence of the presence of female priests in Assyrian and Phoenician cults, where the female equivalent of the term "priest" was created. However, the Hebrew language lacks the feminine forms of the nouns "kohen" and "levi." Given the existence of pagan priestesses, the reference to women in a cult could have led to associations with idolatry. Cf. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 383; Marsman, *Women in Ugarit and Israel*, 536–572.

49 Cf. Oesterley, *The Wisdom of Jesus*, 336; Skehan – Di Lella, *The Wisdom*, 545. John R. Levinson (*Portraits of Adam*, 34–43) notes Ben Sira's references to Adam in other parts of the Book. He is portrayed as created by God, endowed with free will (15:4), created from the earth and returning to it (17:1; 33:10), made in the image and likeness of God, endowed with senses, knowledge and reason (17:1–8), and being the father of all men (40:1).

50 Cf. Box – Oesterley, "The Book of Sirach," 507; Levinson, *Portraits of Adam*, 45; Pudełko, "Dlaczego Adam zamyka *Pochwałę Ojców*," 452.

51 Geirg Sauer, (*Jesus Sirach / Ben Sira*, 336), calls Adam "the radiant beginning of history." Cf. Levinson, *Portraits of Adam*, 44; Pudełko, "Dlaczego Adam zamyka *Pochwałę Ojców*," 452.

the figure of Adam, who crowns the *Praise of the Ancestors* and introduces the high priest Simon II in the description, is the prototype, or seed, of the messianic figure.[52] As he stands at the beginning of the world and creation, he can be the hope of the "new beginning" that the high priest realizes.[53]

Although the story of the "fathers of old" is over, the *Praise of the Ancestors* reaches its „culmination" in the description of the priestly ministry of the high priest Simon II. The transition from Adam (Sir 49:16b) to Simon II (50:1) is natural. In the H version of Sir 49:16b, the term תפארת, which means "beauty, glory," appears in reference to Adam ("above every living being the beauty of Adam" – Sir 49:16b H) and in 50:1, 11 it describes the beauty of the high priest Simon II's attire.[54] Burkard M. Zapff, appealing to the tradition in the Book of Jubilees 3:27,[55] sees Adam as a type of high priest.[56] There is also no shortage of papers that portray the Garden of Eden as a prototype of a temple in which Adam performs priestly functions.[57]

Thus Adam, the first "priest" of creation, shows the way to the nearness of God. His glory and beauty, of which Ben Sira speaks (49:16b: תפארת אדם) finds its expression in the ministry of the high priest, both of Aaron (45:8: וילבישהו כליל תפארת, "And he clothed him in full glory") and of the high priest Simon II (50:1: גדול אחיו ותפארת עמו, "Great [among] his brethren and the glory of his people"; 50:11: והתלבשו בגדי תפאר, "And he dressed himself in the garments of glory"). Again, one can note that the praise of Simon II (50:1–21) represents a new stage that remains in close connection with the earlier text (44–49).

Thus, we can discern here Ben Sira's bizarre idea. God fulfills His promises to Israel through the ministry of the high priest, who is not just another piece of earthly history (then he should appear after Nehemiah in Sir 49:13), but the fulfillment of God's "mediator" role that Adam performed for all creation.[58] Not only Adam, but

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52 Box – Oesterley, "The Book of Sirach," 507; James D. Martin ("Ben Sira's Hymn to the Fathers," 117–118) states that in Ben Sira's time the political situation was still quite stable and probably messianic ideas were not very prominent.

53 Cf. Smend, *Die Weisheit*, 476. Alexander Toepel („Adamic Traditions," 322) notes that Adam is depicted by Philo of Alexandria as exalted above the angels and described in an almost divine manner.

54 Cf. Skehan – Di Lella, *The Wisdom*, 545; Marböck, "Henoch," 103–111.

55 "And on that day on which Adam went forth from the Garden, he offered as a sweet savour an offering, frankincense, galbanum, and stacte, and spices." Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 27. Cf. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, I, 207.

56 „Nähe Adams zu Gott macht ihn damit zum Urbild des Hohenpriesters." Zapff, *Jesus Sirach*, 374; cf. Levinson, *Portraits of Adam*, 153.

57 See for example Levenson, "The Temple and the World," 275–298; Wenham, "Sanctuary Symbolism," 399–404; Lioy, *Axis of Glory*.

58 The figure of Adam also appears in other, later Judaic writings (e.g. the *Book of Wisdom*, the writings of Philo of Alexandria, the *Book of Jubilees*, the writings of Flavius Josephus, the *4 Esdras, the 2 Baruch*), where he appears as a unique man, created directly by God, acting as an intermediary between God and creation. More on the topic: Levison, "Adam as a Mediatorial Figure," 247–272; Callender, *Adam in Myth and History;* cf. Pudełko, "Dlaczego Adam zamyka *Pochwałę Ojców*," 453.

the aforementioned Shem, Seth (Enosh in H) performed priestly functions.[59] Taking a closer look at the composition of the *Praise of the Anestors*, it seems that the role of the „new Adam" falls then to the high priest of the Jerusalem Temple. The entire *Praise of the Ancestors*, in fact, emphasizes the priestly dimension[60] in Israel's history and regards it as the fulfillment of the covenant between God and His people.

Conclusions

Regarding the text of Sir 44–49, one can see the author's strong interest in the role of priests in Israel's history, which culminates in the figure of Simon II, described at the end. There has even been a proposal to view the *Praise of the Anestors* as a genealogy of the high priest Simon II[61] – this is a rather one-sided view (since the *Praise of the Ancestors* describes the entire history of salvation) but this suggestion allows one to view the entire praise through the motif of the priesthood. The figures mentioned demonstrate to a greater or lesser extent the importance of the cult and priestly service to the sage of Jerusalem. This presentation does not exhaust the questions concerning the figures mentioned and their connections to other movements of Judaism. It is only an attempt to highlight the elements that the sage of Jerusalem included in his description.

Ben Sira, in describing Aaron and Phinehas, uses the characteristics of a high priest of the Second Temple period. He portrays them as having both religious and secular authority (legislative, executive and judicial) by order of God Himself.[62] In Ben Sira's time, there was no monarchy anymore, and the Davidic dynasty was no longer a visible sign of the covenant between God and Israel. After the Babylonian exile, it was replaced by the Temple in Jerusalem and the high priest who headed it – the mediator between God and the people. The consistency of terminology and cult themes in the depiction of David and Simon, as mentioned earlier, is thus a conscious effort by the sage of Jerusalem. David is a king, but Ben Sira also emphasizes his connection to the cult and its organization. In doing so, he adapts the figure of David to his time and presents him as a model of liturgical zeal for both the Jews of his time and for posterity. Anointed as king by Samuel, who also served as a priest, David became a "link in the chain" that, through the figures of Zerubbabel and Joshua, bridges the gap between the past and the time of the sage of Jerusalem. This

59 Shem was identified in Jewish tradition with the priest Melchizedek. In addition, since the time of Seth and Enos, people began to call upon the name of YHWH (see Gen 4:26). Cf. Petraglio, *Il libro che contamina le mani*, 383.

60 More on the subject: Piwowar, "Syrach," 93–117.

61 Cf. Lee, *Studies in the Form of Sirach 44–50*, 206.

62 Cf. Pudełko, "The (Apparent) Absence of Women," 121–122.

adaptation comes to its fullness in the person of the high priest Simon II, who by his character and actions realizes who David was in the past.[63] Thus, the most exemplary figures of the history of biblical Israel and the world, as seen through the eyes of Ben Sira, foreshadow the realization of the ideal of the pious Israelite, faithful to the covenant, in the form of the high priest of the Jerusalem Temple, Simon II. According to Ben Sira, only the priests remained faithful to God's promises, so the high priest of the Jerusalem Temple, a descendant of God's chosen Aaron, became the rightful heir to all of Israel's history and tradition.

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63 Cf. Pudełko, "The (Apparent) Absence of Women," 281.

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A Year in Stanisław Grzepski's (1524–1570) *De multiplici siclo et talento hebraico*

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Abstract: The article explores Stanisław Grzepski's workshop of biblical exegesis and his hermeneutics. By analyzing his analysis of the system of biblical measurements and his views on the concept of the year in the Jewish-biblical world – as derived and reconstructed on the basis of textual comparison of the Hebrew, Greek and Latin versions of the Scripture, along with thorough mathematical calculations – one can perceive Grzepski's approach to the Bible. His hermeneutics, seen against the background of the presuppositions of medieval and Renaissance exegesis, allow the author of the article to draw certain conclusions concerning the threats that also modern exegesis should be cautious of.

Key words: Stanisław Grzepski, year, Renaissance exegesis, biblical measurement

The exegesis of the modern era starts with the works of humanists, who introduce new research tools (philology improved by the study of classical authors, text criticism, wide-ranging comparative research with extra-biblical texts). Thus, they put an end to the theological exegesis developed by ancient and medieval authors. Renaissance exegesis can be easily identified with the beginnings of scientific exegesis; nevertheless, this seems to be a simplification which consists of two complementary convictions. The first one is the recognition that there is no continuity between ancient-medieval and modern exegesis (the latter identified with scientific exegesis). The second one is the dogma concerning the objectivity of research of modern exegetes, which places them above any doctrinal dispute. In this article, we shall see to what extent these assumptions are valid, on the example of Stanisław Grzepski (1524–1570)[1] – one of the first and most eminent humanistic exegetes.

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1 Fijałek, "Przekłady pism," 126–207, esp. 129–196; Barycz, "Stanisław Grzepski – człowiek i twórca," 1–59; Barycz, "Grzepski Stanisław," 99–102; Hajdukiewicz, "Grzepski Stanisław," 207–208; Barycz, "Stanisław Grzepski – człowiek i dzieło," 530–587; Smereka, "Biblistyka polska," 221–266, esp. 226–228; Wyczawski, "Grzepski (Grepscius) Stanisław h. Świnka," 221–266; Juszkiewicz, "Stanisław Grzepski," 29–42; Dymek, "Stanisław Grzepski z Poborza," 115–129; Linke, "The Sarmatian," 53–71.

The figure of Stanisław Grzepski remains better known among historians of technical thought[2] than among humanists,[3] philologists, historians, and even less among theologians, and yet he himself would probably consider himself a member of these circles. For example, he is not mentioned in the synthesis of Polish history by Andrzej Nowak, who draws attention to such figures of the Polish Renaissance as Abraham Kulwieć (1510/1512–1545)[4] or Andrzej Trzecieski (1530–after 1578)[5] but remains completely silent about Grzepski. Tadeusz Ulewicz mentions him among the first Greek language scholars from Kraków, along with Jerzy Liban (1464–after 1546) and Szymon Marcius (1516–1572/1574) who are vividly although synthetically characterized by the author, however, the only thing Ulewicz has to say about Grzepski is that he was "close to Jan Kochanowski."[6] While asking "Why Polish scholars do not know Kulwieć?"[7] Jakub Niedźwiedź from the Jagiellonian University points out that although Kulwieć deserves to be considered one of the most outstanding humanists in the country of Sigismund the Old, he is counted among the Lithuanian writers, so he is not considered in the study of Polish literature.[8] It is different in the case of Trzecieski, whose connections with the Babin Republic left no shadow of a doubt that he is an important figure of Polish culture of the 16th century. It is an example that illustrates the otherwise well-known fact that religious divisions and barriers were not as significant as ethnic ones. Kulwieć is outside the interest of Polish scholars because he served Bona in Lithuania, and afterwards, as a protestant, he started his service in Prussia at Albrecht Hohenzollern's court.[9] Grzepski, however, was a subject of the king from the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland and used the Polish language even in writing, ever since he wrote *Geometria*.[10] Thus, his identification with the Polish cultural circle should not be distorted by his (temporary) contacts with the Reformation. In his depiction of Mazovia, Jędrzej Święcicki expressed the opinion that time will not be able to erase the memory of Grzepski.[11] It is more than a sim-

2 It was a contribution of Jan Brożek, who in his collection of memories (second-hand because, as he writes it himself, he did not have the opportunity to meet Grzepski, as he was too young to remember the humanist from Kraków) noted above all the participation of the scholar in the Volok Reform and his interest in geometry. Cf. Brożek, "Żywot Stanisława Grzepskiego," 195–212, esp. 197–204. Cf. Kucharzewski, "Nasza najdawniejsza książka o miernictwie," 32/2, 34–36 and 32/3, 58–60; Koneczny, *Polskie Logos a Ethos*, 125; Orłowski, *Nie tylko szablą*, 79–82.

3 Karpiński, *Renesans*, 104.

4 Nowak, *Dzieje Polski*, IV, 262.

5 Nowak, *Dzieje Polski*, IV, 264.

6 Ulewicz, *Iter Romano-italicum Polonorum*, 203. Influenced by: Kot, *Polska złotego wieku*, 221–224.

7 Abraham Kulwieć was one of Christian Hebraists from the Polish-Lithuanian circle of scholars, cf. Pietkiewicz, "Reception of Christian Hebraism," 107–141, esp. 115.

8 Niedźwiedź, "Nowa edycja *Confessio fidei*," 365–377, esp. 368–369.

9 Barycz, "Kulwieć Abraham," 165–167.

10 Grzepski, *Geometria*.

11 *Quo denim unquam tempus delebit memoraim Stanislai Grepsji?* Swiecicki, *Topographia*, 46; cf. Pazyra, *Najstarszy opis Mazowsza*, 196, 242.

ple articulation of awe for his former teacher from the Kraków Academy. Święcicki was certain that Grzepski will be remembered as a pioneer of the Renaissance in Mazovia, the one who instilled the spirit of the modern era in this voivodeship, formally connected with the Crown only on the 10th of September 1526. However, the key to solving the problem in question is probably the doubt – did he really instilled this spirit or not. Apart from the textbook for geometers working with the enforcement of the Volok Reform from 1557,[12] there are no traces whatsoever in Mazovia that would suggest that this author exerted any influence on his countrymen.[13] Lesser Poland, Silesia, Greater Poland and Lithuania had their own humanists who were remembered. Thus, it still needs to be demonstrated that Grzepski contributed to the Polish Renaissance more than it was recalled. His work, *De multiplici siclo et talento hebraico*, was very popular and highly valued for almost 300 years since its first edition was published in Antwerp in the printing house of Christophe Plantin in 1568. It contained a clear synthesis of the sources (biblical, Greek, and Latin ones), contemporary studies, and ancient authors, who were partially known to him from direct reading, and mostly from other studies.

We shall attempt to demonstrate "Grzepski's research method with the example of his understanding of the year and of the sources on which he has built this understanding. However, to present the originality of this particular approach compared to Grzepski's other work, we shall first show his typical technique and its practical use for Isa 5:10 and related texts. This shall also enable us to appreciate Grzepski's contribution to the study of the Bible, as well as to point out its limitations.

2. Stanisław Grzepski among the Researchers of Biblical Antiquities

The subject of the most famous work of Grzepski has been described by Święcicki, already quoted above as *pernobile argumentum*.[14] Was it only a literary exaggeration? From our perspective, the discussion concerning biblical metrics seems to be a peripheral matter and one that does not contribute a lot to the philosophical or ideological discussion. However, we need to realize that this is not the only possible point of view. This fact is proved by the number and importance of works dedicated to this issue during the Renaissance period (e.g., Guillaume Budé,[15] Philip Melanchthon,[16]

12 Orłowski, *Nie tylko szablą*, 80; Nowak, *Dzieje Polski*, IV, 374.

13 The Renaissance in Mazovia is associated mainly with architecture and sculpture sponsored by foundations of religious character (churches, burials in churches) and was developed mainly by John the Baptist. Cf. Kozakiewicz – Kozakiewicz, *Renesans w Polsce*, 129.

14 Swiecicki, *Topographia*, 46.

15 Budeus, *De asse.*

16 Melanchton, *Vocabula Mensurarum*.

Georgius Agricola,[17] Leonardo di Portis,[18] Theodor Gaza,[19] Joachim Camerarius[20]). For a modern reader, it is not evident why the issues of metrology were so absorbing to Renaissance scholars. This is a question related to the difference that can be observed between the medieval and Renaissance exegesis. We must clearly answer what constitutes the specificity of the latter. After the ascetic-mystical medieval exegesis which aimed at unveiling God's mysteries hidden in the Holy Scripture, the Renaissance asked a question concerning the realism of the biblical Revelation, of which an important element was the material aspect of the message from God, of the text itself, and the world in which the communication of God's mysteries to man took place. The transition was continuous, and its first sign involved the revival of philological studies in the 15th century, which constituted the basis for a new type of biblical commentary.[21] This continuity, as stressed by Walter Ullmann (1919–1983) in his works, was not applied only to epistemology or art but, most of all, in social life.[22] The literality of his interpretation was built upon the historical-philological method, based on an erudite study of ancient sources. The interest in the very matter of the text manifested itself in the revival of the study of biblical texts, and great progress in this field, brought about by Lorenzo Valla (1405–1457)[23] and the skillful popularizer who used his oeuvre – Erasmus of Rotterdam (1469–1536).[24]

Although the novelty of the Renaissance is often stressed, with its keynote formulated by Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499): *fontes potius quam rivulos*,[25] which can be interpreted as a shift from Christian sources, especially the Bible, towards pre-Christian sources, there is also a possibility and a need to apply this epistemological principle to the study of the Bible itself.

The Renaissance study of history can be characterized as utilitarian, which is best seen in Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527). He presents a determinism-based idea of shaping or at least foreseeing the future with the use of known historical models: "Anyone who has thoroughly analyzed matters in the past can easily predict what

17 Agricola, *De mensuris*.

18 de Portis, *De sestertio* (ca. 1500). The next edition of this work was published in Basel at Johann Froben ca. 1520 (according to others 1537). The following edition published in Rome in the printing house of Franciscus Minitius Calvus probably in 1524. Leonardo da Porto, called il Numismatico (1466–1545), was the author of this work. Cf. Mantese, "Tre cappelle gentilizie," 227–243, esp. 235.

19 Gaza, *Liber de mensibus atticis*.

20 Camerarius [the Elder], "De numismatis."

21 Wielgus, *Badania nad Biblią*, 136–137.

22 Ullmann, *Średniowieczne korzenie*, 15–16.

23 Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, 36–49; Graf von Reventolow, *Storia dell'interpretazione biblica*, 19–35.

24 The discovery of the manuscript of Valla was made by Erasmus in 1504 and it was published in 1505 in Paris, though it was an incomplete version (lacking Phlm and Rev). As the editor of *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* he played an intermediary role (*mediator* […] *in theological debats of sixtinth century*). Cf. Celenza, "Lorenzo Valla's Radical Philology," 365–394, esp. 367.

25 Marsilio Ficino, *Letter to Piero di Padova* (cf. Ficino, *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, 152).

will happen in a given country."[26] Such a view of history was accepted and propagated by Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) who wrote: "For the principal and proper work of history being to instruct and enable men, by the knowledge of actions past, to bear themselves prudently in the present and providently towards the future […]."[27] Different tasks were assigned to history by the protagonist of encyclopedism – the tradition characteristic of the Renaissance in France and its heritage – namely Guillaume Budé (1467–1549), a lawyer by education, and a philologist and historian by passion. He stepped from a pragmatic understanding of the sense of history, to find in it a scheme organizing achievements of human culture. The thorough knowledge of Greek and Latin along with a general education allowed him, with the use of tools derived from the analysis of the style and history of institutions (helped extensively by his knowledge of the law, esp. Roman law), to evaluate the authenticity of the information provided by ancient sources.[28] The main source of history became not the oeuvre of previous historians, often accused of naivety and mythography by the representatives of critical modern historiography, but the documents from the archives, which made their collections available not solely to officials, but to researchers as well. Oftentimes those two areas of activity were combined, like in the case of Budé who was a king's secretary and as such maintained the family tradition of working in the court.

In the 16th century, under the influence of Budé and Erasmus of Rotterdam, history began to refine the method, which was linked to the formation, interpretation, and lecture of the law. On the one hand, the world grew larger (the effect of geographical discoveries that began at the end of the 15th century), and on the other hand, the crisis related to conflicts, and soon religious wars were the two factors that spoke in favor of the formation of a law which would be truly universal for the heterogeneous world. It was assumed that it must be rooted in times when Christianity did not mark the divisions. Sabina Kruszyńska points out that Budé was a part of the group of French scholars who subordinated their inquiries in the field of religion to the realization of the project of the ideal (in the Erasmian spirit) world. Meanwhile, the Revelation was treated with great carelessness by arbitrarily compiling it with philosophy, gnosis or esotericism, which led to an irretrievable loss of the "state of equilibrium" both in themselves and in their readers.[29] The work of Stanisław Grzepski should be seen against this backdrop of a vivid discussion concerning the way and purpose of practicing history, along with the question of the use of the Bible as a historical source.

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26 Machiavelli, *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio*, I, 39 (translated to English after Polish edition: Machiavelli, *Rozważania*, 101).

27 Hobbes, "To the Readers," xxi.

28 Kelley, "Clio and the Lawyers," 25–49.

29 Kruszyńska, *Zrozumieć niewiarę*, 71.

3. Isa 5:10 in *De multiplici siclo et talento hebraico* as an Example of Grzepski's Research Method

Grzepski sought to organize not only the biblical system of measurement but above all the perception of the world in which the Revelation realizes itself. Hence, the Mazovian–Kraków scholar undertook a thorough comparative study on the units of measurement and weights and their relation. The way he reads Isa 5:10 in his work can be treated as an example of his workshop. Grzepski states: "In the Septuagint, an ephah is sometimes translated as *oephi*, sometimes as τρία μέτρα, that is 'three measures.' Hence, it occurs in the sixteenth [chapter] of the Book of Exodus. Whereas a gomer is the tenth part of ephah, [where] in the Septuagint it was translated as τὸ δὲ γομὸρ τὸ δέκατον τῶν τριῶν μέτρων ἦν, which means: now a gomer is a tenth of an ephah (Exod 16:36). And in the fifth [chapter] of the Book of Isaiah instead of what one reads in Hebrew, [that] homer of seed will yield an ephah, in the Septuagint it is translated: who sows six artabs, will make three measures: ὁ σπείρων ἀρταβὰς ἓξ, ποιήσει μέτρα τρία (Isa 5:10). They present/explain a gomer or *corus* as the six artabs and the ephah as three measures."[30]

Thus, Grzepski tries to match the two systems of measurement: the one from the Hebrew text and from the Septuagint. Hence, in the Hebrew text an ephah (i.e., 1/12 of the peck-measure[31]) equals 10 homers (gomors), whereas in the Septuagint, there is a measure that represents 1/3 of an ephah equal to 20 artabas (thus an ephah equals 60 artabas and a homer equals 6 artabas, as Grzepski writes). Therefore, in Hebrew and in Greek we have different measurement systems, though it is possible to ascertain the identity of the topics referred to in those texts.

The examples quoted by Grzepski from Exod 16:36 and Isa 5:10 illustrate both a substantial diversity of the Hebrew and Greek systems of measurement and the identity of the quantities in question.

Exod 16:36 (Hebrew)	וְהָעֹמֶר עֲשִׂרִית **הָאֵיפָה** הוּא
Exod 16:36 (Greek)	τὸ δὲ γομορ τὸ δέκατον ***τῶν τριῶν μέτρων*** ἦν.

Exod 16:36 (Hebrew)	And homer is the tenth [part] of this ephah.
Exod 16:36 (Greek)	Whereas the gomor was the tenth [part] of the three measures.

30 Cf. the Polish original: "W Septuagincie niekiedy tłumaczy się efę jako oephi, niekiedy jako τρία μέτρα, to jest 'trzy miary.' Stąd występuje to w szesnastym [rozdziale] Księgi Wyjścia. Gomor zaś jest dziesiątą częścią efy, [gdzie] w Septuagincie przetłumaczyli τὸ δὲ γομὸρ τὸ δέκατον τῶν τριῶν μέτρων ἦν, to jest: gomor zaś był dziesiątą częścią trzech miar (Wj 16,36). I w piątym [rozdziale] Księgi Izajasza zamiast tego, o czym czyta się w hebrajskim[, że] homer ziarna wyda jedną efę, w Septuagincie przetłumaczyli: kto sieje sześć artab, wyprodukuje trzy miary: ὁ σπείρων ἀρταβὰς ἓξ, ποιήσει μέτρα τρία (Iz 5,10). Gomora lub *corusa* przedstawiają/objaśniają jako sześć artab, efę zaś jako trzy miary."

31 Grsepsius, *De multiplici*, 112.

The Hebrew and Greek texts remain in a relation of a close resemblance, except for the substitution of the ephah (הָאֵיפָה) by "three measures" in the Greek version. The situation is more complex in the case of Isa 5:10:

Isa 5:10 (Hebrew)	כִּי עֲשֶׂרֶת צִמְדֵי־כֶרֶם יַעֲשׂוּ בַּת אֶחָת וְזֶרַע חֹמֶר יַעֲשֶׂה אֵיפָה
Isa 5:10 (Greek)	οὗ γὰρ ἐργῶνται δέκα ζεύγη βοῶν, ποιήσει κεράμιον ἕν, καὶ ὁ σπείρων ἀρτάβας ἓξ ποιήσει μέτρα τρία.

Isa 5:10 (Hebrew)	For the ten iugers of the vineyard will give (lit. "will do") one whip, and the sowing of homer will give (lit. "will do") an ephah.
Isa 5:10 (Greek)	For the work of the ten yokes of oxen will make one jug, And the sowing of six artabs will make three measures.

The problem with this verse is linked to the first part of the parallelism:
כִּי עֲשֶׂרֶת צִמְדֵי־כֶרֶם יַעֲשׂוּ בַּת אֶחָת

in which two units of measurement appear: צִמְדֵי־כֶרֶם and בַּת, just as חֹמֶר and אֵיפָה are present in the second one. Whereas the second of those units, namely בַּת, was translated quite well, and not without ingenuity, as κεράμιον (a clay jug), the first one remains quite problematic. It is due to the fact that we do not know such a unit as צִמְדֵי־כֶרֶם.[32] It is very interesting to see how the Greek translator handles this philological problem, but Grzepski does not want to deal with this. He focuses on the second part of the parallelism, which seems unambiguous in the Masoretic Text (MT): "a sown omer will make an ephah." The conversion rate – 1 omer = 6 artabs and 1 ephah = 3 measures – is given in the same text. But what is the meaning of this verse? It is precisely this point of reference that allows one to state: "according to Isaiah the harvested crop will correspond to one-tenth of the sown grain."[33] This direction of interpretation can be found already in Luis Alonso Schökel[34] or Lech Stachowiak.[35] According to Tadeusz Brzegowy, the first part of the parallelism in Isa 5:10 would be based on a similar idea: a large area of the vineyard (2000 m^2 i.e. 1/5 ha) would bring a small yield (22–23 l of must or wine). From 1/5 ha, it would be a small yield indeed, since nowadays it is assumed that 1 ha of the vineyard gives a minimum of approx. 3500 l of wine. The yield that Isa 5:10 speaks about would be approx. 35 times lower. Hence, the text of Isaiah is not so much a technical juxtaposition of

32 The proposition to substitute those expressions by measures: two quintals, one *staio* (i.e., 1/8 modius) does not seem convincing. Cf. Alonso Schökel – Sicre Díaz, *I profeti*, 145. Joseph Blenkinsopp (*Isaiah 1–39*, 209) preserves omer and replaces ephah with the term *buschel*.

33 Brzegowy, *Księga Izajasza*, 312.

34 Alonso Schökel – Sicre Díaz, *I profeti*, 147.

35 Stachowiak, *Księga Izajasza*, 161.

measurements, as Grzepski sees it, making it a kind of Rosetta stone of biblical metrology, but rather a vivid image of the effects of God's blessing.

In those conversions, Grzepski refers also to Lev 19:36,[36] as an alternative material. It is not an obvious thing to do, as we do not find any relations between the units of measurement in this fragment and Grzepski's object of study. He does refer, however, to the juxtaposition of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin texts and the units of measurement appearing there. He makes such a comparison, though one cannot say that the language versions are in close correspondence with each other:

MT	מֹאזְנֵי צֶדֶק אַבְנֵי־צֶדֶק אֵיפַת צֶדֶק וְהִין צֶדֶק יִהְיֶה לָכֶם
LXX	ζυγὰ δίκαια καὶ στάθμια δίκαια καὶ χοῦς δίκαιος ἔσται ὑμῖν·
Vulgate	*statera iusta et aequa sint pondera iustus modius aequusque sextarius*

In the Hebrew text, the measures occur only in the second part of the verse (ephah, hin), whereas scales and weights are found in the first part. The Vulgate has respectively *modius* and *sextarius*, and in the first part *stater* and *ponder*, while the Septuagint in the first part employs scales and weights and in the second only *chous*. This remark refers especially to the Greek text which diverges from the Masoretic Text.

אֵיפַת צֶדֶק		*iustus modius*	a just ephah
וְהִין צֶדֶק	χοῦς δίκαιος	*aequusque sextarius*	a just hin

Grzepski points out that in Latin (*nostra translatio*) *iustus modius* and *sextarius iustus* correspond to Hebrew measures: ephah and hin. For him, the adjective has not only a moral but also a technical meaning. He assumes that "just" measures have a different (double) conversion value than the usual ones. This conclusion results from the following calculation. If *modius*/*medimnus*/*efa* contains six hins (since a hin is called a *sextarius*), and *corus* contains two ephahs, hence ephah is 1/12 of a homer. Based on Ezek 45:11, we state that "the ephah [may contain] a tenth of a homer" (after NAS). Grzepski discusses Ezek 45:11 in a relatively wide context, considering the plurality of definitions of measures in the Bible.[37] Thus, according to Grzepski, in the Bible we have a homer composed of 10 ephahs and 12 ephahs:

> For it seems that the oldest peck-measure (*corus*) had twelve medimons [so] that in relation to the smaller one it had a twofold proportion, just as the temple talent, which is

36 Grsepsius, *De multiplici*, 117.
37 Grsepsius, *De multiplici*, 116–118.

> known to be very ancient, had a twofold proportion to the smaller common talent. The sixth of this *corus* could have two medimons, that is two *modiuses*. However, it seems that from it *modius*, or *satum*, received the name ephah, since obviously it was the twelfth part of the gomor or *corus* containing two medimons, and later even took the same name, even if later the decima gomor was not a duodecima (twelfth part).[38]

To simplify a bit Grzepski's complicated calculations, let us say in short what Grzepski says while commenting on the talent, which he divides into the smaller and larger one. The smaller talent occurs in two variants: valued at sixty minas and eighty minas.[39] He calculated the value of the temple talent at 120 minas. The temple talent is hence double of the common talent.[40] In light of his findings, the very occurrence of the name 'talent' ceases to mean a specific quantity, because to calculate it one would require a broader context, reconstructed from various places in the biblical text and its many variants.

The very grasping of this mathematical pattern is more important for him than the lecture of the text. Is he then a mere lexicographer specialized in biblical metrology? No, there is a more ambitious project behind his research. Grzepski assumed that biblical measures changed while keeping their names. For him, the Temple was a place where more ancient values of the measures were preserved. Thus, determining the milieu of the use of a given measure name became a necessary stage in the process of defining its value and converting between units.

For him, history is not the material of philosophy, as for Erasmus or Budé, in which everything relies on a mathematical clarity of rules. He is interested in history in its detail, specificity, and historical (not necessarily linear) dynamism. Therefore, he does not confine his concept to a single-vector model, which could be characterized as a determinant of progress. Grzepski's history meanders and looks for alternative riverbeds.

What is the practical relevance of Grzepski's calculations and his discovery of the double talent? Is it a mere mathematical assumption or an interpretative tool in the search for the meaning of a text? Let us look at the verse from Isaiah which we have already had the opportunity to speak about before. This time, however, we will be looking for its meaning rather than the data to determine the values of the measures.

38 Grsepsius, *De multiplici*, 117.
39 Grsepsius, *De multiplici*, 61.
40 Grsepsius, *De multiplici*, 60.

4. A Year in Grzepski's Thought

Already in the letter of dedication Grzepski notes the exegetical significance of the problem of understanding the measure of a year and expresses his confidence that he has something original to say in this matter.[41] It is surprising because the title of his work does not indicate that Grzepski will engage in matters concerning the measures of time. Its place in the structure of the work suggests that the chapter *Plura de anno*[42] represents some sort of a supplement. Given that the dedication letter comes from mid-August 1567, we can assume that the part of the text that has the year as its subject is an addition to the previously elaborated text that awaited printing. Does the text differ from its previous parts not only in subject matter (introduction of the problem of time measures), but also in methodology? Further study will demonstrate that it rather extrapolates its methodological achievements and erudite knowledge to the field of biblical chronology.

For the sake of clarity, before we deal with the chapter concerning the year, let us note that Grzepski studied the year when he wrote about the division of *corus*, i.e. the peck-measure, into ten or twelve parts. He quotes 2 Sam (which he describes as 2 Kgs) 15:7 as an illustration of the thesis that *Decima anni annus dicitur*.[43] The thesis relates to the assertion that *Uncia in libra pars est, quae mensis in anno*,[44] which is based on a relatively extensive citation from Fannius Palaemon.[45] The following questions can be asked: Where did Grzepski know Fannius from? What did the publisher of *Hebraicae Questiones in Genesim*, Jaques Paul Migne, quote in the footnote to Jerome's commentary to Gen 24:22, where the exact same text that we see in Grzepski appears?[46] It is absent from most editions of Jerome's notes.[47]

A reference to Fannius is made in the work *Liber de asse et partibus eius*[48] by a Swiss humanist Henry L. Glareanus (1488–1563), an author who, just as Grzepski did, wanted to show in a clearer and not digressive way what Budeus presented in his work *De asse et partibus eius*.[49] Glareanus refers to Priscian of Caesarea as an

41 Grsepsius, *De multiplici*, 5.
42 Grsepsius, *De multiplici*, 152–163.
43 Grsepsius, *De multiplici*, 110.
44 Grsepsius, *De multiplici*, 110.
45 Quintus Remmius Fannius Palaemon, about whom write Suetonius (*De grammaticis* 23) or Juvenal (*Satires* VI, 452; VII, 216), was active during Tiberius' and Claudius' reign. He is not to be confused with Gaius Phannius, a consul from 122 A.D., and a participant of the debate recorded by Cicero in *De republica*, who was evoked by Budeus in *De asse*. About this character cf. Winniczuk, *Pliniusz Młodszy*, 135–136; Kumaniecki, *Cyceron*, 92, 346; Aleksandrowicz, *Kultura intelektualna*, 65–66.
46 Hieronymus, *Hebraicae Questiones in Genesim* (PL 23, 973).
47 Cf. e.g., de Lagarde, *Hieronymi Quaestiones Hebraicae*, 36; Hieronymus, *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera*, I, 29; Jóźwiak, *Kwestie hebrajskie*, 82. In the last of the mentioned publications, the author refers to Josephus (*Antiquitates* 3, 9, 4).
48 Glareanus, *Liber de asse*, 12.
49 Glareanus, *Liber de asse*, A1.

intermediary link.[50] Budeus, on the other hand, does not seem to quote this thought. Who then introduced Fannius to the discussion, so that even Francis Hotman felt compelled to mention him in the very title of his work from 1575?[51] Fannius' poem has been published in print in 1538 in Solingen, in Iohannes Soter's printing house jointly with the medical works of Cornelius Celsus and Serenus Samonicius.[52] Palaemon's poetic work was still regarded as a source in the field of ancient metrics in the next century, and it is in this character that Johann Friedrich Gronovius (1611–1671) quotes it.[53]

Grzepski starts his divagations concerning the year with the distinction between the lunar and solar years. Theodor Gaza of Thessalonica (1398–1476) – a Greek humanist, whose *Liber de mesibus atticis* was published in Latin translation by John Perrello in 1535 in Paris, and in 1536 in Basel – seems to be Grzepski's primary guide in this matter. This author presents the issue of the ambiguity of the term 'year', especially in Egypt. What Gaza speaks about on pages 30–31 from the Basel edition, appears in Grzepski's work on pages 154–155. Although Grzepski quotes rather accurately Pliny's *Historia naturalis* VII, 48 155,[54] whereas Gaza fails to do so. He refers also to Xenophon, though in a way that does not facilitate the identification of the exact source of the citation. He does however indicate it, by mentioning that Xenophon did not give the information directly but touched upon the matters interesting to Grzepski in an ambiguous way. Yet another source of his is Solinus and the third chapter[55] of his *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*.[56] From this author, he gets infor-

50 Similarly, in a polemical work Hotomanus, *De re numeraria populi romani liber*.

51 Rhemnius Fannius; cf. Hotomanus, *De re numeraria populi romani liber*.

52 Aurelii Cornelii Celsi, *De Re medica*. In the headers of the pages on which the poem about weights and measures was printed, the name of Serenus Samonicius was incorrectly given. The publisher points out in a marginal note on the first page of the poem that some attribute this poetic text to Priscian. He meant, probably, Theodorus Prisicanus (4th century), a doctor from Constantinople and a writer in the field of medicine, working in Latin (*Rerum Medicarum Libri Quatuor*), not Priscian from Caesarea, better known author from 5th/6th century, a grammarian and poet.

53 Gronovius, *De Sestertiis seu Subsecivorum*, 850.

54 Gajusz Pliniusz Sekundus, *Historia naturalna*, 102–103.

55 In the first printed edition of *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, that was published in 1473 by Johann Schurener de Bopardia in Rome, chapters were not numbered, but only marked with hand-painted initials. Those are missing in some of the copies, probably those who were sold cheaper. The editions from 1520 (e.g., Eucharius Cervicornus in Cologne, Lucas Alantsee in Vienna) have the text split in the following way: chapter III concerning the length and methods of counting the year starts (according to generally accepted indications) in I, 34 and ends in I, 52. In Kraków, a relatively high number of old prints of this work can be found, including the Viennese edition (in the library of the Camaldolese monks monastery). Cf. Kołoczek, "Wprowadzenie. Palcem po mapie," 11–75, esp. 64. Other editions (e.g., Gulielmus Anima Mia of Venice, 1493; Johannes Rubens Vercellensis of Treviso, 1498) delimitate chapter II that starts in I, 7 and ends in I, 53.

56 Solinus writes about the year in *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, I, 34–47 (cf. Gajusz Juliusz Solinus, *Zbiór wiadomości godnych uwagi*, 88–91).

mation about the multiple divisions of the year into months,[57] which allows him to construct his own reasoning.

We/One should note the order within the argumentation, expressed in the arrangement of the cited texts. The central argument, which is made plausible by the quotation from Pliny, has fundamental argumentative significance in his own reasoning. In this way, he prepares the assertion that "The year amongst the Hebrews, like weights and measures, is divided into tenths and twelfths, as well as into fifth and sixth parts."[58] Once again, he relies on the authority of Gaza (p. 33) and Aristotle quoted by him. While the scholar from Thessalonica refers vaguely to the Septuagint, Grzepski does it in a more detailed way. As the argument, he cites 2 Kgs (i.e., 4 Kgdms) 15:23, 27, which is the story of Pekachiah:

"In the last Book of Kings, in the fifteenth chapter, it is said of Fakejah that he took over the kingdom in the fiftieth year [of the reign] of Azariah, king of Judah, and that he reigned in Samaria for twelve years,[59] according to the translation of the Septuagint: in this place we should understand the twelve years [as] small years, no doubt the sixth parts of the year. For not long after the killing of Fakejah, it is described that Fakcja occupied the kingdom in the fifty-second year [of the reign] of Azariah, king of Judah:[60] so that there is no doubt that twelve years should be taken as two years."[61] The only problem is that we cannot find any edition in which 2 Kgs 15:23 contain the numeral "twelve." The edition of the Complutensian Polyglot from 1514[62] is also clear in this regard. The same can be said about the Aldine Bible[63] compiled by Aldus Manutius (1450–1515), a friend of Pico della Mirandola, published in 1518, or about the Septuagint of Sixtus V from 1587. Moreover, it is difficult to find any Latin text that would allow the possibility of such a reading of 2 Kgs 15:23. Did Grzepski create an argument himself for the sake of maintaining his thesis? Did he include a conjecture unsupported by anything in his reasoning? It seems difficult, as Grzepski declares fidelity to the biblical text and a conviction concerning its semantic value: "in the [Holy] Scripture, there is nothing absurd" (*in Sripturam nihil est absurdi*).[64]

For example, he builds an argument based on the count of David's years:

> [...] according to the translation of the Septuagint, he says that Solomon was twelve years old when he took over the kingdom [1 Kgs (3 Kgdms) 2:12], Joseph says that he lived

57 Grsepsius, *De multiplici*, 154.
58 Grsepsius, *De multiplici*, 156.
59 Cf. 2 Kgs 15:23, although two years are mentioned there.
60 Cf. 2 Kgs 15:25.
61 Grsepsius, *De multiplici*, 157.
62 *Vetus Testamentum multiplici lingua*, *sub loco* [959].
63 Cf. "Aldus Manutius."
64 Grsepsius, *De multiplici*, 161.

fourteen years before taking over the kingdom, counting seven years instead of six. And no one should undermine it by saying that in Hebrew nothing can be read about Solomon's age before taking over the kingdom. For what they translated in the Septuagint, they undoubtedly translated from Hebrew. And we cannot doubt the trustworthiness of the Greek copies, concerning this passage, since from Clement, who was a disciple of Peter, the same is quoted in the Apostolic Constitutions[65] in the second book in those words: καὶ γὰρ Σολομὼν δωδεκαετὴς τοῦ Ισραὴλ εβασίλευσεν.[66] For Solomon (says) at twelve years old he became the king of Israel. Therefore, it is probable that the Hebrews omitted this passage because it seemed not to be in accord with other places of the [Holy] Scripture. For it is written that Solomon become [the king] as an old man. If he was an old man, it is not probable that he lived for twelve years before the kingdom/reign, since it is written that he ruled for only forty years. Hence, if Solomon who reigned only forty years was twelve when he took over the kingdom, how could he leave as his successor a son Rehoboam [was] forty-one years old? Solomon could not beget Rehoboam at the age of ten. Thus, it seems that the place concerning twelve years has been omitted to avoid this kind of absurdity. Also, in the [Holy] Scripture there is nothing absurd, even if someone understands it [i.e. Holy Scripture] correctly, as it was understood by the Septuagint and Joseph, who kept this whole passage and did not see in the [Holy] Scripture anything contrary to the truth. Further, Joseph understood forty years of Solomon's reign as double years, since he said that Solomon reigned for eighty years and lived ninety-four. And there is no doubt that Joseph did not understand/did not have in mind [here] solar years, used by Greeks and Romans, for whom he wrote his history: hence we infer that for Hebrews, just as for other peoples, two solar years were described as a year.[67]

This argument is exact and supported by external testimony on the reliability of the version of the Septuagint. However, it is not completely biblical, because it is based in one part on the Septuagint (Καὶ Σαλωμων ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου Δαυιδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ υἱὸς ἐτῶν δώδεκα), and in the other part on Joseph. Thus, Grzepski creates the Hebrew version, which contains information concerning the twelve years of Solomon's life before taking over the reign, *ex nihilo*.

5. Does Grzepski Betray the Biblical Text? Conclusions

Grzepski believed in his system to such an extent that with all grammatical pedantry he forged arguments which would support it. Philological accuracy was more

65 Apostolic Constitutions (*Constitutiones Apostolorum*) – a collection of eight books, most likely from the 4th century, by an anonymous author who signed as Peter the Apostle; a work important for the history of fourth-century theology and the formation of ecclesiastical law.

66 *Const. ap.*, II, section 1, 1.

67 Grsepsius, *De multiplici*, 160–161.

earnestly declared that practiced, and the aesthetics of the reasoning meant more than the source argumentation that supported it. However, he never abandons the principle that the text has a meaning as a system (the whole of a biblical text in all different versions with extra-biblical material).

The author sets himself the task of presenting the world recounted in the biblical macro-text in a way that would not focus on the linguistic and literary layer, but rather reach the reality depicted in the text. In practice, it means that he tries to match the measures and weights from the Hebrew and Greek texts to answer clearly the question concerning the specific quantities that are mentioned. He builds his ivory tower with patience and not without a great deal of erudite diligence, but he seems to have no scruples about filling in the gaps in the argumentation. We must answer the inquiry from the introduction of this article, concerning the difference between medieval and Renaissance exegesis, without avoiding also this truth – that the Renaissance put the value of explanatory theory to the fore, and did not hesitate to place it above the text being explained. This was to become a temptation for all modern exegesis, one which also today's scholars must face. As it usually happens with temptations, it is easier to resist those that are known and considered as such. Therefore, the study concerning the deficiencies of Grzepski's technique remains an interesting occasion for us to reflect on the development of modern exegesis until the present day.

In the lecture of the Bible, Grzepski has not succumbed to utilitarianism, falsely considered to be the essence of humanism as a method of exposition of a man in isolation or opposition to a supernatural purpose. In this manner, he continued the idea of *civitas christiana*, in which the measures are relative, and the only objective measure remains the word of God – one that lasts forever (Isa 40:8, cf. 1 Pet 1:25), exists above the philological matter, is always true and carries a salvific sense. Thus, he contributed to building an alternative to humanism that disintegrates philosophical thought created by medieval masters and autonomizes the spheres of life of the individual and the society.[68] Grzepski was a Christian humanist who did not aim at autonomizing earthly, religious, moral, or political realities. In the Bible, he sought a world-uniting principle, because they are infinitely different from each other.[69] He wanted to put together the ambiguous language, which is a mosaic of cultures and changes with the course of the history of the world, in a picture that has God and His Word as the compositional and semantic center. Perhaps this is the reason why it is difficult to find him a place amongst the luminaries of atheistic humanisms.

68 Ullmann, *Średniowieczne korzenie*, 186; Szlachta, "Humanistyczne wizje," 309–332, esp. 311.

69 A similar understanding of Revelation can be found in Woźniak, *Różnica i tajemnica*, 395.

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Between Realism and Idealization. Contemporary Controversies Surrounding the Ways of Fulfilling the Didactic Functions of Images of Saints from a Theological and Moral Perspective

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Abstract: The purpose of this article is to provoke discussion on the worship of images depicting saints. However, it is not about defending this worship, since this issue has already been definitively settled by the Church. Instead, the article concerns a new problem – the controversies that arose in connection with some modern depictions of saints, mainly in painting. The mildest of these controversies involve paintings, often made on the basis of surviving photographs, showing saints during their ordinary everyday activities, e.g. while working or resting. A much sharper polarization of opinions occurs when the painting reveals the ethos of the saint with all realism, that is including also their imperfections, and even sin. Can such a saint be an object of veneration which, after all, inherently entails following them as role models? Is such veneration not an acceptance and promotion of flaws that contradict biblical morality? Can such images serve a didactic function? Instead, wouldn't a certain idealization be advisable – the portrayal of a saint as someone perfect, excluding their flaws and weaknesses? The author takes a position on these controversies by formulating criteria for "good" images based on the theological and moral principles of their worship and an analysis of their functions.

Keywords: saints, images, worship, morality

After ancient disputes over iconoclasm, sacred images, including images of saints and blessed, have been assigned a strictly specified place in Christian worship.[1] However, unlike the Christian East, Western tradition has not created a strict canon,

1 The issue was definitively settled by the Second Council of Nicaea (787) which stated: "we decree with full precision and care that, like the figure of the honored and life-giving cross, the revered and holy images, whether painted or made of mosaic or of other suitable material, are to be exposed in the holy churches of God, on sacred instruments and vestments, on walls and panels, in houses and by public ways, these are the images of our Lord, God and Savior, Jesus Christ, and of our Lady without blemish, the holy God-bearer, and of the revered angels and of any of the saintly holy men. […] Indeed, the honor paid to an image traverses it, reaching the model, and he who venerates the image, venerates the person represented in that image" (*Second Council of Nicaea – 787 A.D.*). This position was reiterated by the Fourth Council of Constantinople (869–870) and the Council of Trent in the Decree *On the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, and on Sacred Images* of 3 December 1563. The Church's contemporary

a single system that would carefully repeat once adopted formulas. In icons, the figures of the saints are depicted in a schematic manner. Intentional deformation, hieratic shapes, simple features, luminosity of figures, and symbolic colors depict bodies surrendered to the Spirit, transformed, freed from passions – bodies divinized. In addition, the distinctive robes, inscriptions placed next to the nimbus, and the so-called attributes help to recognize the figure.[2] Above all, however, they allow one to perceive the invisible in the visible.

On the other hand in the West, from the very beginning, there was great diversity in the depiction of saints; including forms that provoked controversy arising from the tension between the desire to portray the character as realistically as possible and painting them to perfection, sometimes allegorically. The resolution of these controversies was ultimately the responsibility of the Church authorities who made the decision to admit a particular image to worship or reject it as unsuitable for this role. And today divergent opinions, discussions, and disputes arise in connection with images that show saints during their ordinary everyday activities, e.g. while working or resting, and even more so in relation to those that show their imperfections, and even sin.[3] The fact is that there are not many such images yet, and therefore the problem is somewhat hypothetical in nature.[4] However, given contemporary trends to create such cultic and religious images based on surviving photographs, one can expect to see more and more of them.[5]

The question therefore arises: do such images – just like icons in the belief of the Christian East – have the potential to become a gateway to another world, an entrance into the reality of the Kingdom of God, a link between the pilgrim and the glorified Church?[6] Can they fulfill a didactic and pedagogical function by becoming

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teaching on the foundations of the worship of images is contained in *the Catechism of the Catholic Church* (no. 1159–1162).

2 Cf. Bator, "Ikony jako wezwanie," 223.

3 Here, the author completely leaves out an otherwise important and interesting issue of "new" depictions of Jesus Christ that are also controversial. This issue resounded recently on the occasion of an action organized by the environment of the *Teologia Polityczna* annual to repaint the Image of the Divine Mercy, which is actually part of a larger project planned for 21 years entitled "Paint Catholicism Anew." The action has raised many questions about the point of such attempts to paint Jesus and Catholicism anew. Ultimately, however, on 9 November 2022 at the Dominican Monastery in Kraków, the exhibition of works has been opened and, what's more, most of them will grace places of worship in the future.

4 A typical example of such an image is a depiction of the Blessed Pier Giorgio Frasatti based on a photograph where he has a pipe in his mouth. Eventually, this "attribute" was retouched out of the picture unveiled at the beatification. However, for many, he is a symbol of holiness that is close at hand, accessible to everyone, not shying away from life. Photographs of saint popes (Pius X and John XXIII) or Blessed Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko with a cigarette are sometimes perceived similarly.

5 A separate issue concerns the extremely realistic images of contemporary martyrs. Today, for example, it is not difficult to access photographs of the battered body of Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko which, albeit (fortunately?) have not yet become a model for cult images, do have their place in private worship.

6 The functions of the icon are widely described by J. Ratzinger in the book *The Spirit of the Liturgy*. Cf. Ratzinger, *Teologia liturgii*, 97–112. Cf. also: Kawecki, "O istocie sztuki," 279–280.

an illustration of biblical morality and its "fascinating commentary"?[7] Or on the contrary, are they a form of acceptance and promotion of flaws and a cause of righteous indignation? Thus, controversies surrounding such images arise not only on the level of art history and theory, theory of beauty, cultural studies, philosophy, sociology of image, sociology of culture, theology of image, and visual theology, but also on the level of moral theology – and it is from this perspective that the author intends to evaluate them, posing a question not so much about their beauty, but about the "good" that they are supposed to serve.

Defenders of these "new" forms of depicting saints justify their position by stating that the contemporary man lives in a culture of image, and at the same time has increasingly reduced ability to contemplate elaborate iconographic scenes and rich symbolism. It is more difficult for them to enter the realm of the *sacrum* with full concentration. They are insensitive to the deeper dimensions that may be present in the image. They regard a holy image the same as the images that overcrowd the streets, movie theaters, television, the Internet.[8] In contrast, it is much easier for them to absorb brief, even terse insights captured in visual form. Besides, such images allow for the inclusion of a more optimistic vision of mortal life. Therefore, the figures of the saints in the paintings are to be – in their opinion – as realistic as possible, and so they should not ignore moral imperfections either. For only then it is possible to achieve the hodegetical purposes of the worship of saints. Opponents of such forms deplore the desacralization that has affected contemporary ecclesiastical art, the mixing of religious and secular content, which had already emerged after World War I as a consequence of secularization, and today seems to be only increasing.[9]

The Church is thus dealing with new disputes over iconoclasm. Today, however, they have taken a different form. Now it is not so much about legitimizing the worship of images in general, or even the well-known – especially in the Renaissance – issue of nudity in holy images, or – already found in Romanesque art – almost erotic themes. Instead, it is about setting certain boundaries for the ways of depicting contemporary saints because of their formative influence – the power to inspire positive moral attitudes. What should be the basic assumptions of these works for them to provide an actual illustration of biblical morality and draw people to it? Are all the existing images of saints and blesseds suitable for worship – whose essential

7 According to the document of the Pontifical Biblical Commission *The Bible and Morality. Biblical Roots of Christian Conduct* "biblical morality" is the ethical content of Scripture (cf. no. 95). The saints were described as providing "a fascinating commentary on the Gospel" by pope Francis in his Address to participants in the Symposium promoted by the Dicastery for the Causes of Saints "Holiness Today" on October 6, 2022.

8 Gilbert Durand calls such a state "iconoclasm-by-excess."

9 Cf. Oficjalska, "Obrazy święte," 70.

element, after all, is to follow their example? Are they all equally revealing God's initiative, which underlies this morality, and Man's response to His gift?[10]

1. Functions of the Image and the Ways of Fulfilling Them

In order to dispel the controversy surrounding the already existing and hypothetical forms of representation of saints, one must refer to the function of the image or, more broadly, the function of sacral and religious art. Holy images, including images of saints, are created to receive the reverence of the faithful (cf. *CCL* 1188); so that the faithful can venerate them.[11] Therefore, they primarily have a worship function. Such a purpose of image veneration was already indicated by the Council of Trent which, indeed, confirmed the Church's earlier teaching on the subject: "Moreover, that the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints, are to be had and retained particularly in temples, and that due honor and veneration are to be given them; not that any divinity, or virtue, is believed to be in them, on account of which they are to be worshipped; or that anything is to be asked of them; or, that trust is to be reposed in images, as was of old done by the Gentiles who placed their hope in idols; but because the honor which is shown them is referred to the prototypes which those images represent; in such wise that by the images which we kiss, and before which we uncover the head, and prostrate ourselves, we adore Christ; and we venerate the saints, whose similitude they bear."[12]

The image is meant to facilitate an encounter with the one it depicts. By resembling the person it represents and perpetuating the memory of them, it is also intended to facilitate prayer. From the beginning, the Church justified this function by using the achievements of Platonic and Neoplatonic thought to express that "whoever venerates an image venerates the person portrayed in it."[13] This applies to both God and the saints. "For faith teaches us, that although the venerable Sacrifice may be lawfully offered to God alone, yet it may be celebrated in honor of the saints reigning in heaven with God Who has crowned them, in order that we may gain for ourselves

10 In this way, contemporary documents of the Church define Christian morality based on the Bible, as opposed to the earlier approaches which emphasized obedience to the commandments, practice of specific virtues, alignment with the imperatives of natural law, in short – human effort. Cf. Pontifical Biblical Commission, *The Bible and Morality*, no. 4.

11 Cf. Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, *General Instruction of the Roman Missal*, no. 318.

12 Council of Trent, *On the Invocation*.

13 This thought was already known in the ancient Church. St. Basil taught that "the honor rendered to the icon reaches the prototype." Cf. John Paul II, *Duodecimum Saeculum*, no. 8. Since the fifth century, this idea has been repeated throughout the centuries, providing the basic justification for the admissibility of image worship in Christianity.

their patronage."[14] Thus, if the worship function of the image is emphasized, one considers mainly the glorification of the Triune God and the celebration of the people who, through their lives, have perfectly united with Him, which the Church has confirmed by a special act of canonization or beatification. Therefore, the various forms of image worship first and foremost express respect to the people whose likenesses they depict. From a purpose thus determined, a basic demand was derived in the past in relation to the images themselves: they are to be created in such a way as to stimulate the will to piety.

The images also serve a reminding function. In a way, they are a visualization of the content of faith.[15] They help to "enter" the situation presented and thus get closer to God and the truths of Christian life, including the moral life. They stimulate one's imagination. Through the pictorial representation of religious truths, the message of the Gospel is conveyed, as in the case of verbal teaching. In the worship of images, therefore, the Church proclaims the same thing it teaches in the specific language of theology and celebrates in the liturgy.[16] This is why the *Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy*, justifying the practice of placing sacred images in churches, states that they are iconographical transcriptions of the Gospel message, in which image and revealed word are mutually clarified; memorials of our brethren who are Saints, and who continue to participate in the salvation of the world, and to whom we are united, above all in sacramental celebrations (cf. *DPP* 240). Thus, just like liturgical texts, images remind the truth about the communion of saints, about the fellowship of the pilgrim Church with the glorified Church. Their worship is thus meant to remind one of the duties to sanctify oneself on the path of life in accordance with God's law and authentically imitate the virtues of the saints and blesseds (cf. *DPP* 212).

Both the worship function and the reminding function are focused on the didactic objectives of the images. The Church in its teaching has always emphasized the important role of the example of saints in bearing witness to Christ. Today she also – as taught by the Second Vatican Council in the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy – proposes them to the faithful as examples drawing all to the Father through Christ (cf. *SC* 104). Similarly in the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, the same Council reminds us that the authentic cult of the saints consists not so much in the multiplying of external acts, but rather in the greater intensity of our love, whereby, for our own greater good and that of the whole Church, we seek from the saints example in their way of life, fellowship in their communion, and aid by their intercession (cf. *LG* 51). Performing the reminding function, the images simultaneously call for prayer so that the Lord would repeat what He has accomplished in the history of salvation, including in specific individuals associated with this history.

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14 Leo XIII, *Mirae caritatis*, no. 12.

15 Cf. Adamczyk, "Praktyka umieszczania," 162.

16 Cf. Feliga, "Obrona kultu obrazów," 25.

Strenuous encouragement of true and authentic worship of saints is motivated precisely by the fact that one can follow their example and build oneself with it (cf. *CCL* 1186). This element of the worship of saints has also always been considered the essential purpose of the worship of their images. The Church – according to *Obrzędy błogosławieństw* [Rites of Blessings] – urges the faithful to venerate holy images so that they can explore the mystery of God's glory, which lit the face of the Son of God, and which in turn is reflected in His saints, so that in this way they themselves become more like the Lord (cf. Eph 5:8).[17] The images are a form of catechesis, carriers of religious and moral content (cf. *DPP* 240). Importantly, they are to facilitate their popularization among believers. The image functions as a signpost guiding people's lives and admonishing them on how to live.[18] The holy figures in the paintings are meant to point to Christ and His moral message and prove that man is able to live according to the principles of the Gospel. Looking is to give rise to faith (*fides ex visu*) which is not just a collection of theses requiring adoption and approval by reason, but involves the whole existence, works through love (cf. Gal 5:6), creates certain moral obligations and demands its own "enactment." However, for this to happen, the saints must be presented in an appropriate manner.

Not without significance is also the decorative function of an image. Indeed, its task is also to provide an aesthetic impression, to evoke a specific experience in the viewer. The paintings are meant to inspire religious feelings, trigger experiences and, in a way, facilitate the pursuit of perfection. If they are simply beautiful, they also refer back to the values. If they are made with the utmost artistry and are characterized by religious refinement, they are – as stated in *Obrzędy błogosławieństw* – as if a reflection of the beauty that comes from God and brings one closer to Him.[19] The attraction of beauty lies in the fact that it leads to ethics, that is to a "beautiful" life.[20] Therefore, the decorative function is also ultimately focused on educational goals. What is more, by affecting emotions, images work more effectively than mere preaching about good and evil. However, only that which is a reflection of eternal beauty deserves the name of beauty. The beautiful is that which is good and which leads to goodness. Beyond this boundary marked by goodness, there is only apparent beauty, and even ugliness, which is sometimes called beauty although it is not.[21] Therefore, not everything that man creates and considers beautiful is beautiful. Images of saints can also be simply ugly and as such will certainly not fulfill the educational function.

17 Cf. Komisja ds. Kultu Bożego i Dyscypliny Sakramentów Episkopatu Polski, *Obrzędy błogosławieństw,* 83.
18 Cf. Oficjalska, "Obrazy święte," 59; Czesna, "Rola obrazów religijnych," 52.
19 Cf. Komisja ds. Kultu Bożego i Dyscypliny Sakramentów Episkopatu Polski, *Obrzędy błogosławieństw*, 83.
20 Cf. John Paul II, "Message to the Pontifical Council," no. 2.
21 Cf. Zadykowicz, "Moral Boundaries of Beauty," 125.

2. Realism and Idealization in the Service of Moral Formation

In the past, painters tried to achieve the didactic goal by means of two extremes – through realistically painted scenes and particular naturalism or through idealization.[22] Realism advocated an extremely objective, as accurate as possible rendering of ordinary life scenes – in addition, from the lives of regular people. The depiction of everyday scenes, characteristic of this trend, was carried over to sacred art, including images of saints. A realistic painting believed that the saint, despite their distinctive special qualities of spirit and character, is an ordinary person. Therefore, they must be shown as an ordinary man, without selectivity or embellishment. Such an image must also reflect the spirit of the times. Therefore, the saint should be portrayed as a figure from their own era. These assumptions were accomplished through subdued colors, mundane subject matter, and avoiding unnecessary accents. All this was meant to emphasize the "ordinariness" of the saint.

Idealization – on the contrary. It tried to express the invisible in a visible way; present people not as they are, but as they should be; bring out individual aspects of personality elevated to superhuman standards.[23] A saint is someone who managed to get close to the evangelical moral ideal, achieve heroism. Hence the features characteristic of this type of painting: static compositions, symmetry, harmony derived from mathematical principles, and triangle or circle compositions.[24] Idealization is also evident in the emphasis on expression, in painting faces to show a specific emotion: terror, hope, confusion. In addition, idealization utilizes deliberate distortion of proportions and perspective, carefully selected colors and their juxtaposition. All this is used to convey the truth that what we want to express is actually beyond our expression and even perception capabilities. Idealization in images resembles allegory in literature. It allows to bring out individual personality aspects, thus images with idealistic overtones sometimes carry a moralistic and simplistic message.

Realism and idealization – although different in their assumptions – nevertheless have the same goal: to direct the viewer toward goodness and eternal beauty. In the former case, however, this goal is achieved (e.g. in Caravaggio's painting *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas*). with realistically painted feelings (astonishment, confusion, curiosity) – the viewer can almost see Christ's physical pain from the touch of Thomas' finger. In contrast, idealization aims to show almost unearthly beauty. Ultimately, however, both beautiful gentle-faced Madonnas and dirty feet (Caravaggio's

22 Cf. Bator, "Ikony jako wezwanie," 222.

23 Bator, "Ikony jako wezwanie," 223.

24 The postulate of idealization appeared already in ancient art thanks to Aristotle, who formulated the principle of *mimesis* as expression, in contrast to depictions of mimesis as passive copying, imitation, repetition. The features derived from this principle are particularly visible in the religious painting of the Renaissance and Baroque, but also in later art.

favorite motif) had essentially the same purpose: except that in the first case, it was expressed in attempts to capture this beauty, and in the other – in highlighting that which still separates one from that beauty. Today there is a certain polemic between proponents of realism and idealization, but realism seems to be gaining more recognition. Hence, there is also a fairly high acceptance of forms that, every now and then, here and there, cause consternation and scandal.

Already in antiquity – and in Christian culture and art from the fifth century – people depicted in paintings were equipped with certain objects or symbols that made the person more easily recognizable; allowed to identify them. Such an attribute, relating to the person's life, martyrdom, or sometimes legend, was also – especially since the Middle Ages – a carrier of didactic content. To this day, we recognize that a palm symbolizes a martyr; a lily – a virgin, and a tiara – a pope. These are known as shared attributes. Some saints had individual attributes. A saint with a lamb is Agnes; with a musical instrument – Saint Cecilia; with a lion – Saint Jerome; with a club – James the Less; with a scallop shell – James the Great, with breasts on a plate – Saint Agatha; with a beehive – Saint Ambrose. In modern images, saints and blesseds are usually depicted without such symbolic attributes, although it happens that, in the spirit of idealization, they are "equipped" with such items as a cross, rosary, breviary, diary, rule of life, etc. On the other hand, if – guided by realism – the image is created based on a photograph, it may feature an item that somewhat rises to the level of an attribute and – just like the idealizing element – begins to play a reminding or didactic role.

However, where one wants to emphasize the reminding function, one would rather highlight realistic facial features, emotions, as well as the aforementioned "attributes." Realistic representation of a person makes them more familiar, and the story of their life becomes more fascinating. In contrast, for the sake of the didactic function, one would rather introduce certain idealizations aimed at the approximation of the invisible by the visible. If the image is to express man's participation in God's holiness, it is unlikely that such a role will be fulfilled by an extremely realistic depiction of imperfections or flaws, yet if we want to use the image to express the truth that also a person affected by imperfections can partake in God's holiness, then moderate realism may even be an additional advantage

The choice between realistic and idealized depictions is also motivated by the place for which the image is intended. If it is to serve worship – it usually makes greater use of idealization, if it is to be a didactic means – greater realism is allowed. In this respect, it is useful to make a distinction between sacred art and religious art.[25] Religious art has a decorative function. Images included as part of the decoration of

25 Probably already during the cult of the Roman emperors, a distinction was made between the two types of portrayals: ordinary images, placed in public places, and cult statues, placed in temples. This division was approved by Christians in the process of forming a defense of their own worship of images. Cf. Feliga, "Obrona kultu obrazów," 29.

walls, the altar, or e.g. in stained glass windows, do not draw attention to themselves but are only accompanying pieces whose presence is a reminder of the holy communion. They, too, must meet the highest artistic standards. Only images made with the utmost artistry and characterized by religious refinement can be a reflection of the beauty that comes from God and brings one closer to Him.[26]

Sacred art has a different task. Worship images are works that become objects of public worship, as signs and symbols of the supernatural reality (cf. *SC* 126). They are meant to focus the prayerful attention of the faithful at a given time and place. They are not meant – like religious art – to present a story for meditation, but the person one is talking to – the person who is currently in the kingdom of God.[27] Perhaps this explains the moral ambivalence of certain images, including the (in)admissibility of the "immoral" attributes in the depictions of saints. Admittedly, no one can prohibit an artist from creating images in accordance with their imagination. Even more so, no one can forbid having such images in one's home. However, this does not mean that they are all suitable for worship and placement in the liturgical space of the church.

St. Cyril of Alexandria wrote: "If we make images of pious people, it is not, after all, in order to glorify them as gods, but rather – by looking at them – to stimulate ourselves to compete with them. However, we make images of Christ in order to stimulate our souls to love Him."[28] Perhaps this purpose of images of saints, i.e. that "they are to stimulate competition with them" and not be an excuse for stagnation in moral development or even backtracking on the road to perfection, in a way also justifies the greater realism of religious art, especially that intended for private worship, and these – let us say – "immoral" attributes.

3. Criteria for "Good" Images

Today, the Church does not regard any style as privileged and universally valid. She does, however, formulate some general indications concerning the images of saints. In the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, the Second Vatican Council included the following statement: "The practice of placing sacred images in churches so that they may be venerated by the faithful is to be maintained. Nevertheless their number should be moderate and their relative positions should reflect right order. For otherwise they may create confusion among the Christian people and foster devotion of doubtful orthodoxy" (*SC* 125). An almost identical framework of artistic depictions

26 Cf. Adamczyk, "Praktyka umieszczania," 175.
27 Cf. Grabska, "Sztuka sakralna," 108–109.
28 Quoted after: Salij, "Miejsce świętych."

of saints is defined by the current *Code of Canon Law*.[29] The Second Vatican Council also obliges the bishops to "carefully remove from the house of God and from other sacred places those works of artists which are repugnant to faith, morals, and Christian piety, and which offend true religious sense either by depraved forms or by lack of artistic worth, mediocrity and pretense" (*SC* 124).[30]

Based on these few statements, it is possible to formulate fundamental postulates regarding the depiction of contemporary saints and potential criteria for choosing between realism and idealization. First, however, it is important to note the Church's explicit precept: "The practice of placing sacred images in churches so that they may be venerated by the faithful is to be maintained." Therefore, the custom must not be abandoned just because occasionally there are inappropriate images. This is what Joseph Ratzinger writes on the subject: "The complete absence of images cannot be reconciled with belief in the Incarnation of God. […] Iconoclasm is not a Christian option."[31] But what should these appropriate images be – more realistic or more idealized?

Only such depictions can be considered good and valuable, for which the source of inspiration is faith which – as highlighted by contemporary Church documents – has a moral dimension.[32] Moreover, the images should be created in such a way as to enable a believer to find in them the whole, unobscured, mystery of faith. Thus, anything that is not inspired by faith, does not serve to awaken and strengthen faith, much less anything that is incompatible with the faith or may be misleading, cannot be the content of images of the saints, because otherwise it would undermine the very essence and purpose of the worship of images (cf. *CCC* 1159–1162),[33] or even, in the words of the *Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy* – could lead to certain abuses (cf. *DPP* 239).

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29 "The practice of displaying sacred images in churches for the reverence of the faithful is to remain in effect. Nevertheless, they are to be exhibited in moderate number and in suitable order so that the Christian people are not confused nor occasion given for inappropriate devotion" (*CCL* 1188). Cf. also: Misztal, "Kult świętych," 108–109.

30 Cf. *DPP* 244: "It is for the local ordinary to ensure that inappropriate images or those leading to error or superstition, are not exposed for the veneration of the faithful."

31 Ratzinger, *Teologia liturgii*, 109.

32 In the Apostolic Letter *Duodecimum Saeculum* (no. 11) John Paul II writes: "I can only invite my brothers in the episcopate to maintain firmly the practice of proposing to the faithful the veneration of sacred images in the churches and to do everything so that more works of truly ecclesial quality may be produced. The believer of today, like the one yesterday, must be helped in his prayer and spiritual life by seeing works that attempt to express the mystery and never hide it. That is why today, as in the past, faith is the necessary inspiration of Church art." John Paul II commented on the moral dimension of faith, inter alia, in the encyclical *Veritatis splendor* (no. 89): "Faith also possesses a moral content. It gives rise to and calls for a consistent life commitment; it entails and brings to perfection the acceptance and observance of God's commandments."

33 Cf. Klejnowski-Różycki, "Sakralna sztuka liturgiczna," 78.

Any fragmentation, i.e. detachment from the whole of worship and the whole of Christian ethics, can be considered such "abuse." Hence the admonition contained in the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy: "their number should be moderate and their relative positions should reflect right order. For otherwise they may create confusion among the Christian people and foster devotion of doubtful orthodoxy" (*SC* 125). Fragmentation would be focusing on elements that call into question the heroism of the saint's life, and not on the whole of their life, especially its culmination. Anthropocentric humanism can also be called "abuse."[34] An image is meant to inspire Christian hope, and thus act as a bridge between man and the reality of God; between life here and now and future salvation. If it focuses attention solely on itself or directs it only toward the creator, it does not fulfill such a role.

In the worship of saints in general, and in the worship of their images in particular, it is necessary to emphasize the importance of the saint's Christian identity, the essence of their holiness, the effectiveness of their life testimony, and personal charisma (cf. *DPP* 231). However, one should not – as indicated by the *Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy* – focus on legendary elements, elements related to the saint's life, or on demonstrating their thaumaturgic powers (cf. *DPP* 231).[35] Even more so, one should not focus on imperfections or flaws, especially if there is some relativization of the requirements of the Gospel behind it. In creating and using images, all superstitions should be eliminated, let alone material gain and profit-driven depictions of saints in a playful, shameless manner, full of temporal allure and splendor. This fact alone indicates that the evaluation should take into account not only the content but also the intentions behind its creation and use.[36] The images are

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34 Cf. Syczewski, "Kult świętych," 151. This problem seems to be addressed by John Paul II ("Homélie") in his words addressed to artists: „Arguably, art is always an attempt. But not all attempts are equally inspired and equally fortunate. Some seem to distance themselves from the vocation of art, which is supposed to express beauty, truth, love, all that is deepest in the nature which is God's creation [...]. And when art interprets a strictly religious reality or when it wishes to have a sacred character, it can rightly be demanded of it to avoid any falsity, any desacralization."

35 It is worth noting that in the past images of saints often recreated some legendary element or the thaumaturgic power of a particular saint (e.g. a painting depicting the temptation of St. Anthony, a tame lion at the feet of St. Jerome, or the trumpet of last judgment appearing over his head). Moreover, these elements were included for didactic reasons. In the images of contemporary saints, there is *de facto* less of these elements, which, by the way – according to the *Directory on Popular Piety* – is more in line with the spirit of the times, and therefore what should be emphasized instead is the importance of the saint's Christian identity, the depth of their holiness and the effectiveness of their evangelical testimony, as well as the personal charisma with which they enriched the life of the Church.

36 Already St. John of Damascus stressed that if the image is created in honor of God, then its worship is by all means correct, whereas if it is to commemorate evil or lesser gods, then it is a condemnable idol: "As regards the issue of images, we must look for the truth and the intentions of those who create them. If it is truly and genuinely for the glory of God and the saints, for the promotion of virtue, the avoidance of evil, and the salvation of souls, then we accept the honor given to them. […] If anyone would make images to worship the devil and his demons, we resent them and throw them into the fire." Quoted after: Feliga, "Obrona kultu obrazów," 42.

intended to provide aid on the path of spiritual and moral development, on the path of prayer; they are to arouse piety toward the invisible saint. If they focus the attention on themselves, they prove to be an obstacle to achieving these goals. No less important is the attitude of the one who uses the image (who worships it; who faces it). They too should see the image as a source to seek inspiration for moral growth, not signs of the immoral lives of saints and arguments to justify their shortcomings.

When evaluating the value of a particular image, it is also important to take into account cultural considerations. The idea is that when conveying a message through an image, one should bear in mind the appropriate ways of expressing content for a given cultural area. This is because the images represent a specific culture. They depict real figures, people of their time (cf. *DPP* 243).[37] Determinants of contemporary culture explain why today's images of saints are closer to the Renaissance emphasis on the value and dignity of earthly life than to the ideals of medieval asceticism. Unfortunately, sometimes they only reflect the prevailing trends, the condition of man and modern culture, rather than setting more ambitious goals – leading toward objective good.

It seems that contemporary controversies surrounding the ways of fulfilling the didactic function of images cannot be resolved by choosing between realism and idealization. This is because each of these forms can become a tool for preaching moral truth, but it can also carry the danger of its falsification or distortion. Due to the modern relativization of beauty or even the apotheosis of ugliness, the resolution of these controversies cannot be left solely to subjective perception either. After all, the viewer of the image may also enjoy that which is wrong. Therefore, it is necessary to adopt objective criteria of Christian faith and morality, which set the limits of the didactic impact of painterly depictions of saints.

Conclusion

Some contemporary images of saints arouse controversies and cause objections, especially in the context of their influence on the moral attitudes of the viewers and on the formation of a holistic vision of moral life, consistent or not with biblical morality. The ambivalent nature of such "art" stems from the opportunities it presents in this regard, but also the possible risks. The opportunities are related above all to the condition of modern man as *homo videns*. Modern culture has been dominated by visual media. Thus, in addition to oral or textual messages, images should also be used for didactic purposes. The problem, however, is that not every image can fulfill

37 Cf. Syczewski, "Kult świętych," 151.

this role. Some may even falsify the very essence of Christian morality or some specific aspects of it.

The main criterion for evaluating the images concerns the very essence of their worship and role in moral life. Images of saints are meant to have a persuasive function – they are to draw one toward authentic goodness, encourage the practice of positive moral attitudes, and even create a kind of bond between the recipient and the ethical model depicted. Therefore, in their creation and veneration, one should avoid anything that could carry the risk of distorting true worship and losing genuine piety. It is also necessary to avoid anything that could falsify the moral message of the Bible, erase its authenticity, and provide an excuse for attitudes that are in clear contradiction with it. Images of saints should help participate in the mystery of the people they portray. They should also create a connection between those who create these images and those who contemplate them. An image is not a photograph in the strict sense. Its task is only to assure that the moral ideal indicated in the Bible is achievable despite various obstacles. In this way, it becomes an aid to moral growth.

It should also be remembered that the final verification of the value of a cult image is left to the Church, specifically the bishop. It is the bishop who ultimately decides whether or not to place a certain image in places designated for public worship. No one is allowed to do this on their own. Slightly more freedom is possible in the selection of images of saints for private worship, for one's own home, or for the workplace. However, it is also worth remembering that the Church – including the domestic one – is a place of the saints' communion, and therefore also communion with the saints, and therefore it is worth applying the above criteria also when making individual choices.

In the culture of image and in the face of constant demands for unlimited freedom in the field of art, it is necessary to not only talk about the didactic functions of the image but also to form the ability to perceive and evaluate them. Showing the path of holiness should be accompanied by forming a critical view of the ways of expressing this holiness. Since contemporary art often only aims to shock, and its moral boundaries are increasingly crossed in favor of absolute freedom, one can also expect lively discussions around specific forms of depictions of saints, which will find their staunch supporters, but also opponents.

A Catholic must be aware that not all art is in the service of morality. Not all art equally serves to convey moral values. Not all art shows the beauty and goodness of man, even if it depicts a holy man. There are forms of it that are misleading and sometimes outright demoralizing. However, the boundary is not between realism and idealization, but rather between an integral vision of a man and a partial view; between the truth of a man called to holiness and the so-called modernity, utility and pleasure.

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Christian Hope as Seen by J. Ratzinger/Benedict XVI

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Abstract: One of the most pressing issues today is the need to rediscover hope, which can give meaning to life and history and enables people to walk together. After all, it is that spiritual force that does not allow a person to stop or be satisfied with what they already have and who they are. It provides an opening to the future and paves new paths for human freedom. It gives meaning to human life on earth. Christianity has an important role in this regard, as it is an event that was born out of hope and entered history as a living and profound experience of hope. In doing so, it touched some particularly tender place in the human being, which is precisely hope, without which the human being cannot live. The purpose of this article is to show the magnitude and meaningfulness of Christian hope based on the analysis of selected works of Joseph Ratzinger/Benedict XVI. To answer the question: what, according to him, is Christian hope, what is its basis and what is its specificity? What could it offer to the modern world? It is also an explanation of the thesis put forward by the author, which states that without God and without Christ there is no real hope, i.e. one that corresponds both to who man is and to the aspirations and desires arising from his ontic dignity. The first section addresses the reasoning behind hope from the perspective of anthropology. The second one presents and discusses the theological basis of Christian hope. Meanwhile, in the third section, the originality and specificity of Christian hope is shown.

Keywords: hope, eschatology, future, death, resurrection of Jesus, eternal life, immortality, ascension, the Parousia, Last Judgment

"Hope is among the earthly foods sought in every longitude and latitude, even when it runs out of the mortal coil."[1] After all, man is not satisfied with what he already has and what he is. He needs the promise of something greater and of more time, thus of what is precisely called hope, without which he cannot live and is unable to take the next step.[2] Therefore, hope can be described as "a specifically human phenomenon that is neither a privilege of faith nor a natural property, but a rudiment of the existing individual."[3] It grows from the experience of the variability of the world and the human being. It links the present and the future. It opens the space of existence. It invites, so to speak, to life and paves new paths for human freedom. Its peculiarity is expressed in the fact that it "breaks into the closed order and opens the course of existence, opens the course of history ... when it gushes it is 'aporetic'

1 Ciechowicz, "Wstęp. Zadatki nadziei," 6.
2 Ratzinger, "Moim szczęściem," 427.
3 Rozwadowski, "Nadzieja egzystencjalna," 127.

not by lack, but by excess of meaning"[4]; that it unceasingly strives to transcend what is temporal and finite, so that in place of the shallower hope, there is a deeper hope, and in place of the transient hope there is an everlasting hope.

Hope, due to the fact that it is a specifically human phenomenon, is a platform for dialogue between the hope that the Gospel brings and the hopes that people have. After all, Christianity from the very beginning was an event internal to human hope. It "entered history as a living and profound experience of hope and began to do the difficult work of sorting out man's other hopes,"[5] revealing either their appearance or that they are contained in his hopes. Christian hope has thus affected a special place in man, and continues to do so, as man continues to mature in hope even today. He seeks the hope that surpasses all human possibilities and offers the promise of eternal life. The answer to this search is Christian hope, because it transcends the finite and death. It is connected to the hopes cherished by people and makes the voice of hope from the other land audible in every earthly hope. Hence, one of the significant challenges that contemporary world poses to Christianity today is the justification and explanation of the hope that believers in Christ proclaim and live by. One of the theologians who has taken on this task is Joseph Ratzinger.

This article is an attempt to synthetically present the theology of Christian hope based on an analysis of selected works of J. Ratzinger/Benedict XVI, in which he addresses this issue. Its purpose is to show what Christian hope is, what its foundation is and what its specificity is in the opinion of the author. As well as what new elements it brings to the life of a person and what significance this has for their development. In this discussion, we will first focus on introducing the anthropological dimension of hope and showing that Christian hope corresponds to the deepest aspirations and desires arising from the ontic dignity of a human being, and thus reveals the deepest truth about man and, moreover, points to the ultimate goal of human life. We will then proceed to present and discuss the theological basis of Christian hope, which in the thought of J. Ratzinger/Benedict XVI is closely related to the person of Jesus Christ, i.e. his incarnation, life, death, resurrection, ascension and the Second Coming. The final section will demonstrate the specifics of Christian hope, which boils down to the fact that it is a gift given by God through Jesus Christ, thus being linked to faith and love; that it is the hope of eternal life in and with God. The uniqueness of this study lies in extracting the various aspects of Christian hope present in the writings of Ratzinger/Benedict XVI and systematizing them in such a way as to create and present a comprehensive vision of Christian hope as perceived by our author. The result of the analysis, are the following conclusions: first, that Christian hope is not only an indispensable element in the life and spirituality of people who believe in Christ, but it actually forms their foundation and sets them in the right direction,

4 Ricoeur, *Podług nadziei*, 287.

5 Tischner, *Świat ludzkiej nadziei*, 294.

which is the Kingdom of God. Secondly, that hope in the Christian sense is nothing but love, and it is love that has been revealed through Jesus Christ. Therefore, the justification of Christian hope is, according to Ratzinger/Benedict XVI, the person of Jesus Christ.

1. The Anthropological Basis for Hope

One of the most pressing issues today is the need to rediscover hope, which can give meaning to life and history and enables people to walk together. This is because it is the foundation of human existence and is a constitutive aspect of a human being. It is inscribed in the very structure of a person: in their freedom, in their relationship with others and with the world. It is also related to the fact that a man has different hopes at different times in his life. He seeks the meaning of life and fulfillment. He cannot live without hope, because without it his life would lose all meaning and become unbearable. Therefore, the very existence of man "is a perpetual subjection to some kind of hope."[6] However, he needs a hope that is lasting and reliable, i.e. one that transcends all temporal goals and does not let him close himself in the present, but opens him to the future and directs him towards something that does not depend on him and is a gift.[7] Such hope arouses in the consciousness of the community some more or less defined project of tomorrow. Hope, therefore, has to do primarily with the future, from which man expects what he does not yet have. At the same time, it also weaves in temporality. In this way, it reveals a profound truth about the man, namely that "he never completely possesses his essence. He is himself only in the span of the past, through the present oriented towards the future."[8] Hope makes us realize that man's true desire is to look forward to what can be called a lost paradise.

To further elucidate what hope is and to substantiate its anthropological dimension and meaning, J. Ratzinger suggests considering its opposite, which is fear. He points out that there are numerous types of fears that plague us in our daily lives, which are all grounded in fear proper. It is the fear that our lives may not be successful. It is the dread of the emptiness and meaninglessness of life.[9] This fear is what our author calls the great fear, the essence of which boils down to the fear of losing love altogether. The fear of an unbearable life, which becomes such when a person no longer has any hope. The opposite of this fear is "hope beyond hope," which is

6 Tischner, *Świat ludzkiej nadziei*, 303.
7 Szymik, *Theologia Benedicta*, 7.
8 Ratzinger, "O nadziei," 388.
9 Ratzinger, "O nadziei," 389.

expressed in the confidence that man will be bestowed with the gift of great love.[10] Therefore, according to J. Ratzinger, hope is ultimately directed toward fulfilled love. Only the experience of love and being loved can overcome this fundamental fear that lies behind minor fears. However, because human love and the love that man expects from others is imperfect, he needs and seeks unconditional, infinite and indestructible love. A love that transcends death (*SS* 26).[11] Only love understood in this way can provide the proper support for the hope of all hopes. At the same time, it is what awakens "the greatest hopes," which include, according to our author, the hope for "the restoration of our original nature, and at the same time the knowledge that such healing is possible."[12] Therefore, to have true hope means, according to him, to trust in spite of death. To look beyond oneself to a new land, to paradise. To something that man needs but that is beyond his own capabilities.[13]

In light of what has been said, it can be observed that hope has, according to J. Ratzinger, its basis in some kind of deficiency that man experiences in himself. In anticipation of something more that exceeds all that the world and other people can offer him. Hope indicates that the impossible becomes necessary for the human being. At the same time, it offers a deep conviction that this aspiration, which is in each of us, will find its ultimate answer and fulfillment. Therefore, the essence of hope includes the anticipation of the future. At the same time, this "not yet" is somehow already present in it, so that it becomes a force that constantly pushes a man to go further and never lets him stop and be satisfied with what he already has and who he is. Thus, a certain dynamic is present in hope, the essence of which is expressed in the fact that, on the one hand, it transcends everything that is temporary and finite, and on the other hand, it sheds light on our lives, because it shows that what is "not yet – there" is somehow already present. And therefore only a certain kind of presence can, according to J. Ratzinger, justify the absolute confidence that is hope.[14]

Hope links the present and the future. This is because it brings with it light, tranquility and joy. It is a response to something that rests deeper and is related to the basic situation of the man in his very existence, which is adequately conveyed by the word "tragedy." This tragedy is the result of people experiencing and discovering the fragility and accidentality of their lives. At its core is the terrifying possibility that human life may have no meaning and that its end is nothingness and death. What characterizes the discussed situation of the man in his very existence is also the expectation of "paradise," which the man cannot completely reject. Therefore, hope reaches, according to our author, to the future. It directs a person towards

10 Ratzinger, "O nadziei," 389.
11 Cf. Ratzinger, "Wprowadzenie," 234.
12 Ratzinger, "O nadziei," 391.
13 Ratzinger, "O nadziei," 391–392; Ratzinger, "Patrzeć na Chrystusa," 387.
14 Ratzinger, "O nadziei," 393.

something better and does not let him be content with what he already has and who he is. At the same time, it makes him realize that he can only be satisfied by something infinite, which he cannot achieve by his own efforts (*SS* 30). Thus, hope, on the one hand, reveals the end of human capabilities and, therefore, humanity's hope of building God's kingdom on earth through its own efforts. On the other hand, it points to the need for great hope, i.e. one that transcends all human hopes and that only God can provide (*SS* 31).

What justifies, in the end, the necessity of great hope, according to Benedict XVI, is, first of all, man's commitment to making the world more humane, and although he encounters difficulties and setbacks, thanks to hope he does not become discouraged and has the courage to move forward. After all, hope asserts that man and with him the whole of history is in the hands of a loving God, so that everything that exists has meaning and value and is heading towards a real future that reaches beyond death (*SS* 35).[15] It therefore gives us courage and guides our actions in good and bad moments. Secondly, what justifies the necessity of the great hope that only God can provide to man is, according to our author, the problem of death and the existence of suffering, which are inherent components of human life and whose removal is not within our capabilities. For none of us can secure eternal life or eliminate the force of evil, which is the source of suffering. This can only be done by God, since he is the Lord of life and death. He is God who, having become a man, entered history himself and suffered in it.[16] He alone has the power to "take away the sin of the world" (John 1:29), so that there is hope for the healing of the world. This is, as Benedict XVI explains, "about hope – not yet fulfilment; hope that gives up the courage to place ourselves on the side of good even in seemingly hopeless situations" (*SS* 36). Lastly, what supports the necessity of great hope is the presence in man of a desire for happiness and a "happy life," i.e. one that will last forever and that can only be guaranteed by God since he is Life itself and the source of life (*SS* 11).

To sum up, we can say that hope, as understood by our author, is, first of all, that spiritual force that secretly, so to speak, controls human life and enables man to overcome the obstacles of the present and turn to the future. It also determines how people relate to the present. Through it, a man can believe that he is acting in a meaningful way, like someone who knows where he came from and where he is headed. Therefore, the decision to choose hope has a crucial impact on the quality and shape of human life.

Secondly, the relationship between the hope experienced by man and Christian hope can be viewed in a manner analogous to the relationship that exists between nature and grace. After all, since grace does not replace or invalidate everything that has to do with nature, but rather builds on it and perfects it, as classical theology says,

15 Cf. Ratzinger, "Miejsca nadziei," 627.

16 Ratzinger, "Miejsca nadziei," 628; Szymik, *Theologia Benedicta*, 263.

it seems that this principle can also be analogously applied to the relationship that occurs between the hope that people have and the great hope that Christianity speaks of. As Christian hope is what, as Ratzinger/Benedict XVI demonstrates, cleanses and gives depth and direction to human hopes and expectations, by virtue of the fact that it points to their ultimate goal, to which all things are directed and which gives meaning to all human life on earth. Moreover, it promises eternal life, which is participation in the life of God himself.

2. The Basis of Christian Hope

According to J. Ratzinger, Christian hope is the very core of Christ's message. Its basis is God and his omnipotence, which was manifested fully in the resurrection of Jesus from death to life and "elevating Him above the Powers of this world, not excluding the hitherto invincible power of death, and placing Him in the eschatological Kingdom of God."[17] Therefore, it says that death has been definitively defeated by God through Jesus Christ, and that therefore a new future has been opened to man and a new hope has been given to him (*SS* 2).[18] It finds its support and basis in God, who is the Creator and Father of Jesus Christ. God, who brings everything into existence and as the only entity always "is" and is not subject to transience. He abides above the impermanence of man's becoming. Therefore, God is "for us a guarantee; he is for us, by his permanence, a support for our impermanence."[19] He is different from the idols that are transient. He stands above and before all powers (cf. Rev 1:4; 1:17). He is the first and the last, and there are no gods besides him (cf. Isa 44:6). He manifests himself as the Lord of life and God of the living. Therefore, a man can rely on him.

This is confirmed by the resurrection of Jesus, which is "an eschatological act of God, i.e. one after which there will be no more death."[20] It is an event that says that Jesus lives forever because God, who is his Father, raised him from the dead. At the same time, it proves that immortality can only offer "being in someone else who still exists when I am no longer there."[21] It can only be granted by love, "which would take the beloved into itself, into what is its own,"[22] so that, as in the case of Jesus, he is not definitively annihilated by death, but saved, i.e. irreversibly brought into the sphere of God's life and participates in the glory, life and power proper to God.

17 Ratzinger/Benedykt XVI, *Formalne zasady*, 248.
18 Cf. Ratzinger/Benedykt XVI, *Formalne zasady*, 249.
19 Ratzinger, "Wprowadzenie," 114.
20 Ratzinger/Benedykt XVI, *Formalne zasady*, 252.
21 Ratzinger, "Wprowadzenie," 242.
22 Ratzinger, "Wprowadzenie," 244.

Thus, only the love that God is and with which he embraces his Son, who gave himself out of love for people and in total devotion to his Father, is stronger than death. This is possible because God, as has been said, is eternal continuity and existence. Moreover, he represents a loving community of the three Divine Persons who are open to each other in a relationship of love and live in mutual loving relationship with each other. Therefore, the ultimate foundation for immortality and its basis is, according to J. Ratzinger, God and his love, the concretization of which is the love of Jesus for human beings, which, by virtue of being at the same time the love of the Son of God, merges into one with the divine power of life and love itself. Thus, only he who loved for all could give and gave to all the basis of immortality.[23] That is because his love triumphed over death, which God confirmed by raising him from the dead. His resurrection fundamentally changed the state of affairs for all mankind, because along with it, mankind was given the hope of immortality and eternal life, defined as abiding in God beyond the possibility of death. It also revealed that Jesus as the Risen One stands before us and that "in Him the power of love has indeed proved stronger than the power of death."[24]

The second important event that is fundamental to the understanding of Christian hope, is its basis and is the fruit of Jesus' resurrection, is his ascension. According to J. Ratzinger, it expresses more than other celebrated and mentioned holidays of the liturgical year in the Church as to what Christian hope is. This is because it says that our destiny is heaven and unity with God. It means residing where the Risen Christ is, who in his glorified body sits at the right hand of the Father and draws all people to him.[25] The Ascension therefore points to heaven as our true future, which has been opened in the Man, Jesus Christ, the incarnate Son of God, through whom God entered human history and became one of us. Thanks to this, the union of the human being with the Divine being took place. The possibility of eternal existence was opened to man. Henceforth, heaven is the future of humanity, which it cannot provide for itself. This shows that hope in the Christian sense is always understood, according to our author, as a gift given by God to people in Jesus Christ. It is, in fact, about the union of the world and man with God, which is accomplished in the incarnation of the Son of God. By virtue of this event, Christ unites with us, and we unite with Christ, through which we are able to be united with God, and thus achieve final salvation.[26] The confirmation of this definitive destiny of man is precisely the ascension of Christ, which makes us realize that our belonging is already "up there," that is, in heaven, whose gates have been opened anew to mankind by the Risen Jesus, who is seated at the right hand of the Father.

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23 Ratzinger, "Wprowadzenie," 245. Cf. Ratzinger, "Moim szczęściem," 427.
24 Ratzinger, "Wprowadzenie," 248.
25 Ratzinger, "O nadziei," 396.
26 Ratzinger, "Patrzeć na Chrystusa," 385–386; Ratzinger, "Moim szczęściem," 435.

Finally, according to J. Ratzinger, what sheds light on the understanding of Christian hope and what is the basis of that hope at the same time is faith in the second coming of Christ. It expresses the certainty that the history of the world will be completed and that it will not take place within its own history, nor will it be the work of a man but the work of indestructible love, the victory of which is Christ's resurrection. Therefore, faith in the second coming of Christ is closely associated with the Risen Jesus who, although left us to prepare a place for us in the Father's house is also present and constantly visits us.[27] For that reason, the Parousia combines the "now" with the "after," thus revealing the tension that characterizes Christian life, the essence of which is that its "today" is shaped and permeated by "tomorrow" which brings the hope of completing the present history. That completion will be the fruit and outcome of the second coming of Christ, since its purpose is to complete the work of redemption initiated by the life, death and resurrection of Jesus. It is the salvation of the world, which consists in the transcendence of the world as a world, without which it would remain a world of absurdity and would head towards emptiness. The Risen Christ is a living testimony to that transcendence as he shows the destiny of the history of the world.[28] The truth of the second coming of Christ ultimately confirms that the world and human history will come to a definite and God-ordained end, and thus testifies to the fulfillment of the history of the world beyond its history. Hence, that truth brings hope for the fulfillment of the great promise of life with God and in God. Hope not only for the recovery of the lost paradise, the liberation of the created world from its corruption but also for participation in the divine sonship of Jesus, the redemption of the body and the resurrection of the dead to life.

Faith in the second coming of Christ is also, according to J. Ratzinger, related to the Last Judgment, since Christ will come at the end of time to judge the world (cf. Matt 24:29–31; 25:31–46). That judgment will consist of people seeing the truth about themselves but also in revealing the Truth, which is the Son of God who had become a man and thus a model for a man and a measure of the truth about a man. Therefore, the Truth that will judge people is equal to Love, which is confirmed by the fact that it first comes to a man to save him. It takes his place and brings the good news that a man is loved by God who is Truth and Love.[29] Faith in the Last Judgment is the belief that Truth is the ultimate judge and Love is the ultimate winner. In that way, according to J. Ratzinger, judgment is combined with the message of grace and with the aspect of hope as God has given the right to judge to the one who, as a man, is our brother and therefore one of us. The one who knows what it means to be a man because he had lived and suffered as a man. Finally, according to the author, the truth about the Final Judgment awakens in us the hope for real justice.

27 Ratzinger/Benedykt XVI, *Jezus z Nazaretu*, II, 303.
28 Ratzinger, "Eschatologia," 202.
29 Ratzinger, "Boża władza," 412.

It assures us that the final say in history does not belong to injustice within it but to justice – which is God, what brings us comfort and hope (*SS* 44). God's justice also includes grace, as we learn by looking at Christ crucified and risen from the dead. Therefore, according to J. Ratzinger, there is an intrinsic relationship between justice and grace, also in conjunction with hope. For God's judgment is, as the author explains, hope – as it is both justice and grace (*SS* 47). If the judgment was only grace it would mean that everything earthly would be meaningless and that God would not give us a definitive answer to the question about justice. If, on the other hand, it was only justice, it would mean only fear and trepidation. According to J. Ratzinger, what combines justice and grace is the incarnation of God in Christ. For justice is established through him. Therefore, we can already look forward to salvation "with fear and trembling" (Phil 2:12). Grace; however, allows us to hope and walk confidently toward the Judge, since he is also our "Advocate" (cf. 1 John 2:1). Consequently, faith in the Last Judgment is above all hope, because it suggests that God's final word in history is justice which is able to "revoke" past sufferings and restore justice (*SS* 43).[30]

To sum up, one can say that Christian hope, according to J. Ratzinger, is the kind of hope that draws from a Divine source. Its basis is God's omnipotence, the expression of which is the creation of the world and a man and, above all, the resurrection of Jesus from death to life. That event opened up a real future for humanity. And although it still remains our future, it is already part of our present.[31] For the goal of Revelation and, at the same time, the goal of mankind has been achieved, which is the union of God with a man and the union of a man with God, as part of which God and the world become one. Therefore, Christian hope is personal and Christological as its basis is the resurrection of Jesus Christ, which is the overcoming of death.[32] The confirmation of that Christological character of Christian hope is the fact that St. Paul claims that Christ is "the hope of eternal life" (1 Tim 1:1) and defines him as a personal hope as in him and thanks to him people gain access to the Father.[33] The above is also indicated by the Christian doctrine of heaven, according to which heaven is the place where God and a man meet. It is the encounter of the essence of a man and the essence of God, which takes place in Christ, who "passed life (*bios)* through death and definitely entered into the new life."[34] The confirmation is also the ascension of Jesus Christ, which reveals that our "substance" is in God and that being with God is our future. Therefore, the ultimate foundation of Christian hope is Christ, who is both the object and goal of that hope as his destiny is our destiny. At the same time, it reveals the purpose to which we are all called.

30 Ratzinger, "Moim szczęściem," 428; Ratzinger, "Miejsca nadziei," 627.
31 Ratzinger, "Wprowadzenie," 211–213.
32 Balthasar, *W pełni wiary*, 573.
33 Smentek, "Wiara jest nadzieją," 64. Jesus, as Benedict XVI (*Jezus z Nazaretu*, I, 50) says, has brought us God, "and thus the truth of our 'where to' and 'where from?' He gave us faith, hope and love."
34 Ratzinger, "Wprowadzenie," 251.

Therefore, God, through Christ, gave us the answer to the question: what is life and death? What is the meaning of human life? Where do we come from and where are we going? He became the companion of our journey. This companionship of God given to people has a face and a name. It is Jesus Christ. Jesus shows people the way beyond the border of death, which he himself overcame and returned from the kingdom of death to keep us company and give us confidence that we can find that way together with him (*SS* 6).[35] Therefore, according to J. Ratzinger, Christ is the true Teacher of life and Shepherd, because he knows the way that leads through the valley of death and to the life in God and with God, who is the source and fullness of life at the same time.[36] In this way, Christ gives people "great, true hope which holds firm in spite of all disappointments" (*SS* 27). That hope is God who loved us to the end to give us eternal life. Therefore, the basis of Christian hope and, at the same time, what it directs us towards, is the encounter with the living, personal and loving God (*SS* 3).

In light of what has been said so far, it can be seen that the only hope for a man, according to Benedict XVI, is love. However, it is the kind of love that was revealed in Jesus Christ: a reliable way of hope for immortality and the possibility of eternal existence with God. The whole life of Jesus and, in particular, his death on the cross, was a revelation of God's incomprehensible love for a man and that "God is love" (1 John 4:8). For through the death of Jesus on the cross, God sacrificed himself to raise and save man (*DCE* 12). Therefore, the death of Jesus shows that God's love is a reality that precedes everything and that we encounter that love most fully in the person of Jesus Christ, because he is the presence of God among us and he sacrificed himself out of love for us to reconcile us with his Father and give us a share in God's life through his resurrection. Hence, Christ is the realized hope and thus the anchor of our trust.[37] Since God is love, which, as has been said, anticipates everything, this means that hope in the Christian sense is a gift from God, which we were given when his Son became man and rose from the dead for our salvation. Hope understood in that way is "hope for unlimited love, which is also unlimited power,"[38] which exceeds all human possibilities and is a gift that only God can give to a man.

3. Hope as a Distinguishing Feature of the Christian Faith

The distinguishing feature of Christians is that they have – as Benedict XVI writes – the future. "It is not that they know the details of what awaits them, but they know

35 Cf. Ratzinger, "Miejsca nadziei," 628.
36 Ratzinger, *Prawda w teologii*, 11–14.
37 Ratzinger, "Patrzeć na Chrystusa," 397; Ratzinger, "Moim szczęściem," 431–432.
38 Ratzinger, "Patrzeć na Chrystusa," 387.

in general terms that their life will not end in emptiness" (*SS* 2). That future was made available by the resurrection of Jesus, which revealed the truth that death has been finally defeated because he lives and sits by the right hand of the Father. Since that time, heaven, which had been lost as a result of the sin of the first parents, has become the future of a man. Therefore, Christian hope is distinguished by the experience of meeting the risen Christ with his disciples, to whom he revealed himself as Lord of life and death. That experience reveals the specificity of Christian hope, the essence of which is expressed in the fact that it is a gift and guides a man toward the future, which is eternal life.[39] At the same time, that future, on the one hand, is already present and experienced in an initial way, on the other hand, it is still an object of expectation and promise. It awaits its definite fulfillment at the end of time. Thus, it can be said that the uniqueness of Christian hope is expressed in its characteristic tension between "already" and "not yet."[40] In that sense, Christian hope is hope for the world, although it is not bound to the world. However, the one who nourishes it already experiences the joy of it.[41] Thus, it becomes a force that pushes men to go beyond themselves and transcend themselves and all that is finite. At the same time, it affects the present because it sheds God's light on our lives.

Therefore, J. Ratzinger defines Christian hope as an anticipation of what is to come and what is closely related to faith. For hope is the fruit of faith. And faith, based on Heb 11:1, is "the guarantee (hypostasis) of the goods that we expect, the evidence of the reality we do not see." To fully understand the meaning of the quoted definition of faith and discover its connection with hope, one needs to refer to the two further verses of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which also contain the word "hypostasis," as well as to its beginning, where Christ is defined as a reflection of God's glory and a his essence – "hypostasis" (cf. Heb 1:3). It is also necessary to consider the following two chapters, which mention the relationship between Christ and Christians. That relationship is the result of faith, through which Christians receive a share in Christ and in his life. Therefore, the only true "hypostasis," "substance," i.e. a permanent and imperishable reality, is God, who reveals himself and speaks through Christ. Hence, believing in God means, according to J. Ratzinger, reaching the solid ground of true reality, that is, something that lasts and one can rely on. Thanks to faith, one can hold firm to what is hoped for and what is not visible. This is because it already gives something that comes from the expected reality. It brings the future into the present

39 Benedict XVI, "We Have Set Our Hope."

40 The particular expression of hope understood in that way is the Eucharist, since it unites a man with Christ and, through him, with the life of the Holy Trinity. Therefore, through the Eucharist, a man can participate in the life of God. Auer – Ratzinger, *Il mistero dell' Eucaristia*, 369, 376–377. It is "the foretaste" of the fullness of joy promised by Christ, the anticipation of paradise and the guarantee of the resurrection of bodies. "It sows a living seed of hope into our daily tasks and duties" (John Paul II, *Ecclesia de Eucharistia*, no. 20).

41 Smentek, "Wiara jest nadzieją," 67.

time affecting the present and making the present come into contact with the future. Hence, it can be said that hope through faith has captured its ground (*SS* 7).

There is such a close relationship between faith and hope that, according to the author, it allows to treat both terms as synonyms, an example of which is the case of Abraham, who "believed in hope" (Rom 4:18). Ratzinger makes faith equal to hope, saying that "faith is the substance of hope" (*SS* 10).[42] Hope, according to the author, is "the reverse side of the same coin, which is called faith."[43] The above is expressed and confirmed in the classical form of dialogue during the baptism of a newborn, when the parents, on behalf of the child, ask the Church for faith as it guarantees eternal life. In the *Spe Salvi* encyclical, Benedict XVI defines life as the moment that gives ultimate satisfaction; as a fullness that embraces a man and a fullness that a man embraces; as immersion in the ocean of infinite love, which is life in the full sense of the word (*SS* 12). Hence, the characteristic feature of Christian hope is that it points towards the positive future that can only be given by God, who raises the dead and, in Christ, is for us the promise and fulfillment of the future. According to Christian hope, the ultimate already exists and our life is moving towards the fullness already available through faith, which has a significant impact on the approach of Christians toward the world and what it offers.

According to J. Ratzinger, that reference is well illustrated by the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which material goods (*hyparchonta*) such as wealth or money are contrasted with better and lasting goods (*hyparxin*) (cf. Heb 10:34), which include salvation given by God to men through the blood of Jesus (cf. Heb 10:19). The first of the above-mentioned goods are normal life security and are considered the basis on which they can be built. The second goods form a new and solid foundation for a life based on faith. They are the basis of existence that lasts and that no one is able to take away (*SS* 8). The purpose of that juxtaposition is to show two ways of living. One way is characteristic of people who do not believe in God; therefore, they have no hope. The second one, on the other hand, is proper to Christians who are ready to give up everything that, from the human point of view, is the safeguard of human existence on the Earth, as they base their lives on a different ground than material goods. On solid ground, which not even death can take away from them.[44] Therefore, they have complete trust in God and in his promise, which is closely linked to the person of Christ. That promise is not only related to the expected future but, even now, indicates what human life is and what value it has. Moreover, thanks to faith, which gives a firm ground and a solid foundation to their lives, Christians free themselves from the desire to possess and the forces that govern what is tangible – to become truly free people. Hence, what characterizes being a Christian is, according to Benedict XVI,

42 Cf. Grochowska, "Nadzieja w *Spe Salvi*," 33; Smentek, "Wiara jest nadzieją," 65.
43 Ratzinger, "Spełniona nadzieja," 630.
44 Ratzinger, "O nadziei," 393–394.

hope, the certainty of which is rooted in Jesus Christ and through which a man is already saved (cf. Rom 8:24) (*SS* 1).

The fruit of hope is perseverance (*hypomone*) necessary for the believer, despite the encountered difficulties and failures, "to be able to 'receive what is promised' (cf. Hbr 10:36)" (*SS* 9), which is the source of all trust and hope. To be able to persevere in goodness and remain faithful to God. Hence, perseverance means "a life based on the certainty of hope" (*SS* 9) given to us by God through Jesus Christ. For through his person, God has already communicated to a man what is to come, so that God's expectation takes on a new certainty. It is the anticipation of things to come that proceeds from the present. Specifically, from the presence of Christ in our lives and from our abiding in Christ and with Christ (*SS* 9). Therefore, as has already been mentioned more than once, the distinguishing feature of Christian hope is that it is closely associated with Christ, which also applies to Christian perseverance since it draws its strength from its bond with Christ. It allows staying strong despite adversities, following the example of Christ and becoming similar to him.[45] Finally, Christian perseverance is the ability to suffer for the love of truth and justice, and to suffer with others and for others. That ability, as Benedict XVI explains, "depends on the type and extent of the hope that we bear within us and build upon" (*SS* 39). The one who makes that ability possible and is its unsurpassed model is God, who suffers with us through his Son. He shares and endures the suffering with us. Thanks that, from now on, in every suffering there is present "*con-solatio* … the consolation of God's compassionate love – and so the star of hope rises" (*SS* 39).[46]

The originality of Christian hope is also expressed in the fact that it draws its strength and vitality from prayer, which is a privileged state of learning hope and an expression of the fact that we are unable to reach heaven through our own efforts (*SS* 32).[47] According to the author, there is a special relationship between hope and prayer. Through prayer, it becomes clear what hope is. What prayer is, becomes clear when one understands what hope is. That relationship is shown in an exemplary way, according to J. Ratzinger, in the "Our Father" prayer, which has to do with hope from its very essence and is also its interpretation.[48] It is a response to everyday human fears, such as the need for bread, which protects human life and ensures the possibility of normal functioning. It also protects against the main evil, i.e. losing faith. Finally, it teaches Christians what they should trust as it refers to hope, to the desire for paradise and the Kingdom of God, which is expressed at the beginning

45 Smentek, "Wiara jest nadzieją," 73.

46 The aforementioned consolation, which has its basis in the incarnation and co-suffering of God, is for Benedict XVI, according to Jerzy Szymik (*Theologia Benedicta*, 261), "one of the basic arguments for the possibility and truth of Christian hope."

47 Cf. Ratzinger, "Moim szczęściem," 434.

48 Ratzinger, "O nadziei," 401.

of the prayer.[49] Therefore, prayer, and in particular the "Our Father" prayer, is a sign and expression of hope and, above all, its realization. At the same time, it makes us aware of the truth that to pray means, first, to submit to the dynamics and content of the hope contained in this prayer. Second, to be open and ready to receive the gift that only God can give to a man. That gift is the eternal being with God, towards whom Christian hope is directed and in whom it will find its ultimate fulfillment. Therefore, prayer is what gives Christians great hope and makes them its servants towards others. In that sense, Christian hope is also always, according to Benedict XVI, hope for others. "It is an active hope, in which we struggle to prevent things moving towards the 'perverse end'" (*SS* 34).

Since hope is an active hope and hope for others, it means that it is also hope for this world. For it is the driving force that sustains and transforms our lives. It shapes our lives in spiritual, bodily and social dimensions.[50] It helps to introduce the right hierarchy of values into the structure of civilization, to discover the meaning and significance of specific events by reading them through the prism of the future. It does not allow to reduce a man to the world of things as it reminds us of the truth that a man is a being created by God and has a supernatural vocation. Thus, Christian hope is a basis for recognizing the exceptional dignity and greatness of a man, regardless of what a man possesses, and confirms that dignity, and with it, affirms the entire earthly existence.[51] It liberates Christians from the obsession of this world and the desire to possess, makes them truly free people, which is one of the essential conditions for the transformation of the world. However, the first and most basic condition is the personal conversion of a man and being in communion with Christ, which empowers us and includes us in his "being for all" and makes him our way of living from that moment (*SS* 28). Hence, the way inward is at the same time the only and proper way outward, i.e. the way to genuinely engage in the transformation of the world. That commitment finds its proper motivation in Christian hope, the goal of which is the kingdom of God, which is God's gift to humanity (*SS* 25). In the opinion of J. Ratzinger, an example of hope understood in that way is St. Francis of Assisi, in whom it gave birth to the courage of poverty and the capacity for community. It allowed for the introduction of new norms of human coexistence in the religious community established by him, which were a form of common anticipation of the future world.[52] The example of St. Francis shows that looking to the future, towards which Christian hope is oriented, is not an escape from the world but, on the contrary, it has a decisive influence and importance for building the temporal order. It makes us realize that eschatological hope appreciates the presence on the one hand, and does

49 Ratzinger, "O nadziei," 401; Ratzinger, "Patrzeć na Chrystusa," 398–399.
50 Gniadek, "Moralna moc nadziei."
51 Smentek, "Wiara jest nadzieją," 75.
52 Ratzinger, "O nadziei," 399.

not allow for its idolization and trust in what passes, on the other hand. This is because it unmasks the binding of a man exclusively to the affairs of the Earth, showing the illusory nature of the efforts of humans to build the kingdom of God on the Earth based solely on the strength and capabilities of a man.

Therefore, an important aspect of Christian hope is that it always has a communal character, because the essence of Christian hope is the fact that it is true hope for me, insofar as it is, at the same time, as Benedict XVI explains, hope for others (*SS* 48).[53] That has to do, on the one hand, with the fact that human beings exist in a manifold tangle of interdependence and relationships with other people, and on the other hand, with the fact that Christian salvation is always communal in nature. For Christ loved and redeemed every man and called all men to eternal communion. He restored unity with God and with other people, which was lost as a result of original sin. He included the believers in his "being for all," so that it also become their way of life (*SS* 28).[54] That new way of existence is only possible through remaining in communion with Christ, which leads to unity with other people and people with each other. It binds us to others and makes our lives a life for others. It takes the form of responsibility for our neighbors, which is an expression of God's love and, at the same time, a specific place for its manifestation.

The communal character of Christian hope is also indicated by what characterizes the life of Christians, that is, the fact that they are pilgrims, wanderers, trying to achieve eternal glory, the synonym of which is a blessed – happy life. However, the achievement of that true life, as J. Ratzinger explains, is "linked to a lived union with a 'people,' and for each individual it can only be attained within this 'we'" (*SS* 14), which implies and, at the same time, indicates the ecclesial aspect of Christian hope. Although the Christian faith calls on each person individually, at the same time, it wants everyone for the whole. It wants to cover the whole history. That is why the call is addressed to all people. The ecclesiality and communality of Christian hope is expressed in the accountability of one for the hope of the others. Its basis is the single vocation of all people to become the one People of God and attain the eternal life promised to them through hope. This vision of a "happy life" is oriented, according to Benedict XVI, towards community and at the same time it points to something that is beyond this world "as such it also has to do with the building up of this world – In very different ways, according to the historical context and the possibilities offered or excluded thereby" (*SS* 15). This contribution is the "great hope" that Christ brings to the world. It is God who embraces the universe and grants that which we cannot achieve on our own. The power of this hope is expressed in that it pushes and motivates people to change this world. It also proposes a "new world" that does not

53 Cf. Ratzinger, "Moim szczęściem," 432–433.

54 The existence of Jesus Christ, due to the fact that he is "for many" and "for you," "enables and creates the union of all with one another through the union with Him" (Ratzinger, "Wprowadzenie," 203).

let hope be tied exclusively to the affairs of this world. Ultimately, Christian hope protects the world and man from despair. However, it is not, as has been shown, only an individual hope, as it always has a communal character. This is demonstrated by the understanding of salvation as a communal reality, which in Scripture is expressed through the depiction of a city (cf. Rev 21:9–27), a garden (cf. Rev 22:1–2), or a wedding feast (cf. Matt 22:1–14) (*SS* 14).[55]

Finally, an important aspect of Christian hope lies in the fact that it appeals to man's freedom, which is never given to him once and for all, but must be gained again and again for the sake of good.[56] Freedom, on the other hand, demands the harmonization of different values and assumes that every decision has an individual dimension and is "a new beginning, for everyone who makes it."[57] It also invites people to draw from the treasury and moral experience of all humanity (*SS* 24). This means, according to Benedict XVI, that the moral health of the world and the proper functioning of human communities cannot be guaranteed solely by man-made structures. For the latter, even if they are good, are merely helpful and insufficient for the creation and adoption of community order. What is needed for this is a living conviction and the fusion of truth and goodness with freedom, and vice versa. What this conviction can be based on is Christian hope, because it opens up a real future for humanity. It is a hope based on truth, goodness and love. Only hope understood in this way constitutes a mobilizing factor for action that is ready to bear hardships, and at the same time becomes a generous and enthusiastic action. At the same time, it shows that all progress and commitment to the creation of a better world cannot be the proper and sufficient scope of our hope, because man on his own cannot build the kingdom of God in this world or possess the paradise he expects. For without God, according to Benedict XVI, there is neither hope and faith, nor happiness, justice and a life in truth. Nor is there genuine progress or a viable future. Only his love gives us the ability to last and assures us that there is true life (*SS* 31). This statement shows us that at the center of J. Ratzinger/Benedict XVI's theological thought, is God, and it is God who has taken on our flesh and through this reveals to us our deepest nature and our future. Hence, only the truth within God makes people free and can free modern man from ideologies that offer him self-salvation and the dictatorship of relativism.

55 Ratzinger, "Patrzeć na Chrystusa," 400.
56 Gniadek, "Moralna moc nadziei," 4.
57 Grochowska, "Nadzieja w *Spe Salvi*," 38.

Conclusions

At the center of the Christian faith is the truth of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, which says that he has been victorious over death and participates in the life and glory of God. This truth is decisive for man and his future, as it points to heaven as mankind's final destination. It thus provides the basis and foundation for Christian hope. It also influences the Christian understanding of eschatology as a reality that is profoundly anthropological and, above all, Christocentric: it is anthropological because it concerns man and his future; it is Christocentric because eschatology began with the coming of Christ and is connected with his redemptive death and resurrection, which gave rise to a new heaven and a new earth (cf. Rev 21:1).

The analysis of the texts of Ratzinger/Benedict XVI presented in this paper demonstrates that the specificity of Christian hope is reflected in the fact that, firstly, its purpose is to reach the kingdom of God. In other words, its purpose is the definitive union of the world and man with God. Secondly, it is a gift that was given to people by God through the person of his Son, who became man for our salvation. Thus, what justifies Christian hope is the person of Jesus Christ, who is the embodiment of the Word of God and his love. Therefore, Christian hope has a personal and Christological character, i.e. it is in close connection with the person of Jesus Christ. Specifically, with his incarnation, life, death, resurrection, ascension and the Second Coming at the end of time. Therefore, according to our author, there is no other viable hope outside of Christ, i.e. one that corresponds to the dignity of man. To who he is and to what he is meant to be. For such hope can only be given by the One who is the presence of God himself and who, through his resurrection, offers us a share in his glorious destiny. It makes it possible for humanity to achieve a future that it cannot provide for itself. Such hope can only be offered by the One in whom the power of love proved stronger than the power of death, as confirmed by the resurrection of Christ and him being seated at the right hand of God the Father. Therefore, God in and through Christ has given mankind a new hope. It is the hope of eternal life in and with God. Thus, the God whom Jesus Christ has revealed is, as J. Ratzinger/Benedict XVI teaches, the foundation of our hope. Our hope, in turn, is Jesus Christ.

Thirdly, Christian hope is a fruit of faith. What underpins faith is abiding in and with Christ. It also includes prayer, which is the first place where one learns hope and is its concrete sign and expression.

Lastly, hope in the Christian sense is a hope that is, according to Ratzinger/Benedict XVI, closely related to love. A love that is indestructible and that a person can experience in the present. Such love was revealed in Jesus Christ. It is experienced by those who abide in Christ, making them part of his being for others. Henceforth, his "being for all" also becomes a way of living for people who believe in him.

It is noteworthy that Ratzinger/Benedict XVI, in his reflection on hope, links it to faith and love. He says the two should not be separated from each other, because love

can only be properly understood when it is seen and embraced from the perspective of hope and faith. At the same time, he emphasizes the primacy of love, seeing in it the reality that precedes everything. He also reminds us that authentic love is love that is always open to others and to the world around us. This also applies to Christian hope, since it is never just an individual hope, but always has a communal character. After all, authentic hope is invariably a hope for others, and thus an active hope, i.e. one that spurs action and makes one initially change oneself, then change the world in which one lives. It is a hope that finds its deepest motivation in the love of God and neighbor, and at the same time it finds its ultimate fulfillment in love. The fact that Benedict XVI acknowledges, as has been said, the priority of love over the other two theological virtues of faith and hope reveals one aspect of the originality of his thought, the essence of which lies in his reversal of the traditional order of presentation of the theological virtues. This is justified and supported by the new image of God revealed by Jesus Christ and described by the Pope in his encyclical *Deus Caritas Est*, in which he restates and explains the truth that God is Love.

Finally, what distinguishes Christians from non-believers, according to Ratzinger/Benedict XVI, is that they have a hope that derives its certainty from meeting Christ and knowing the true God. Therefore, they have a future, because they know that the end of their life will not be a void. And while they bring "great hope" to the world and are its servants in the world, at the same time they themselves must learn again and again what their hope is. They must discover it again and again within themselves and let it penetrate and shape their lives more and more deeply. They must draw strength and motivation from it to act and transform the world. In other words, they must first live by hope themselves in order to be credible witnesses to it in the world and to be able to proclaim the hope that lifts people out of despair and lets them look to the future with confidence. This hope is the "great hope" that declares that the last word belongs to God, who in his Son has defeated death. For his cross carries with it the fullness of consolation and is the seal of its truthfulness, because it is the sign and expression of God's incomprehensible love for man, who suffers with people, shares their pain and accompanies them to the end, by which he brings with him the hope of achieving the Easter victory with God.[58]

To conclude, it is worth noting that Ratzinger/Benedict XVI in his reflections on Christian hope presents and captures in an original way, in theological and spiritual terms, what Scripture and the Tradition of the Church and philosophy say on the subject. He engages in a dialogue with modern ideologies that, by proposing human self-salvation and replacing faith in God with faith in the progress and development of mankind without God, are secularizing Christian hope. He contrasts these tendencies with the Christian understanding of hope, which derives its certainty and basis from faith in God and places all its trust in God. Therefore, he

58 Szymik, *Theologia Benedicta*, 263.

demonstrates in his writings that the only real hope is the one given and offered to people by God in his Son, who became a man to save us all. For this hope transcends death and opens up a real future for humanity. The strength of our author's theological reflection on Christian hope is that it does not float above the ground, but approaches divine matters in terms of our human experiencing of them, and vice versa. Moreover, the fact that it inspires and stimulates thought and at the same time shows the reasonableness of Christianity and the validity of its proposals is another strong point of the reflection.

The synthesis presented in this paper certainly does not exhaust the entire volume of Ratzinger/Benedict XVI's thought on Christian hope. Nevertheless, it can become a point of reference and a contribution to further research. It seems that one of the issues that should be addressed in the future is a demonstration of the contribution that Christian hope makes and can make today, both in building the world and in better human self-understanding. Specifically, it should involve bringing out and showing the praxeological dimension of Christian hope.

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The Christian Question in Jamnia Academy at the End of the 1st Century AD? An Attempt to Re- and De-construct the "Myth"

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Abstract: The author of this article asks whether the Christian question was discussed in Jamnia Academy at the end of the first century. In order to find the answer, an attempt is made to determine, based on the sources, what happened in the Jamnia Academy at that time (1). The literature on this issue indicates that a synod was held at Jamnia, which established the canon of Jewish sacred books, rejected the Septuagint as an inspired book and excluded Christians from the Synagogue. The second part of the article seeks to re- and de-construct the "myth of Jamnia" (2) while its third part provides the answer to the central question asked in the title (3). The conclusion proves that only the thesis that Christians were excluded from the Synagogue is supported by the sources.

Keywords: Jamnia, the Council of Jamnia, *Birkat ha-Minim*, Septuagint, the parting of the ways of the Church and the Synagogue

The small town, whose Hebrew name is *Jabneh* and Greek name is *Jamnia* or *Jamneia*, is most often identified with today's Yibna, located near Tel Aviv, fifteen kilometers southwest of Ramla.[1] According to Talmudic tradition, it was to become the seat of Jewish scholars even before the fall of the temple, shortly after Yohanan ben Zakkai prophesied to Vespasian that he would become emperor (*Gittin* 66.1).[2] After the destruction of the Temple, the Sanhedrin, which was headed by Yohanan ben Zakkai, was to move here (*Rosh Hashanah* 31,1).[3] It was here that the process of the renewal of Judaism, i.e. the transition from its biblical to rabbinic form, was to begin.[4] There was a persistent belief that the seat of the Council of Elders was located in a vineyard, but there is no evidence for this. Talmudic treatises only mention that members of the Sanhedrin used to sit in rows resembling rows of vines planted in vineyards

1 Gottheil – Seligsohn, "Jabneh," 18. In the Vulgate, Jerome refers to the city by the term *Iabniae*; Lewis, "Council of Jamnia," 634. In this article the name "Jamnia" shall be used.
2 Shaye J.D. Cohen (*The Significance of Yavneh*, 45) calls the Talmudic mention of the event a "legend."
3 Gafni, "The Historical Background," 29.
4 Georgi, "The Early Church," 53.

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(*Eduyyot* 2,4; TJ *Berakhot* 4,1).[5] The academy survived until the Bar Kokhba revolt (AD 132–135).

Far more important, however – as far as the Christian question is concerned – are other beliefs that were almost universal among scholars for several decades of the twentieth century. Shaye J.D. Cohen and other authors whose work is cited in this article[6] note that many historians and biblical scholars have taken it for granted that a synod was held at Jamnia, at which the former Pharisees who were renamed as rabbis[7] defined the new orthodoxy of Judaism after the fall of the temple. During this synod, they were to exclude Christians (and other heretics) from the Synagogue and establish the canon of the Hebrew Bible.[8] The exclusion of the followers of Christ from the Synagogue was linked to the inclusion of the so-called blessing on the heretics (*Birkat ha-Minim*) in the daily prayer, while the establishment of the canon was linked to the rejection of the Septuagint. Today – in the light of sources – it is evident that the situation was entirely different.[9] Some scholars are even inclined to speak of the "myth" of Jamnia which was created to set the emergence of rabbinic Judaism in the context of a specific historical event, and thus lend credibility to this form of the Jewish religion.[10]

This article consists of three main parts. In the first part, an attempt will be made to shed light on the beliefs that have prevailed for some time among scholars on the subject regarding the alleged synod at Jamnia (1). The second part offers an attempt to demonstrate how these beliefs were perpetuated and then abandoned (2). The third one will address the Christian question in the Jamnia academic community by asking whether, and if so to what extent, it was a subject of consideration for its rabbis (3). Findings will be presented in the conclusion of the article (4).

1. What Happened in Jamnia?

As recently as twenty years ago, dictionaries and works on biblical studies would have stated: "After Jerusalem's destruction, Jamnia became the home of the Great

5 It is not until the Babylonian Talmud that the rabbis are said to "came into the vineyard at Yavneh" (*b. Ber.* 63B). Cf. Newman, "The Council of Jamnia," 331–332. However, in the 4th century, Rabbi Hijja confirms that it is said to be a vineyard because the disciples sat in rows, just as vines are planted (*Midrash Rabba* on Eccl 2,8,1).

6 Günter Stemberger, Philip R. Davies, David E. Aune, Roger T. Beckwith, Shnayer Z. Leiman, Jack P. Lewis, James A. Sanders, Peter Schäfer, Mirosław S. Wróbel.

7 Cohen (*The Significance of Yavneh*, 57) notes that "at no point in antiquity did the rabbis clearly see themselves either as Pharisees or as the descendants of Pharisees."

8 Cohen, *The Significance of Yavneh*, 44.

9 Stemberger, "Jabne und der Kanon," 163–174.

10 Aune, "On the Origins," 491; McDonald, *The Biblical Canon*, 334.

Sanhedrin. Around 100, a council of rabbis there established the final canon of the OT."[11] There was also a predominant view that the question of the relevance of the Septuagint was debated in Jamnia's academic community[12] and that Judeo-Christians were excluded from the Synagogue, which was linked to the rabbinic obligation to recite a prayer containing the "blessing on the heretics," who included followers of Christ. Back in 1984, Norbert Mendecki wrote: "During his [Gamaliel II's] term of office, the so-called Council of Jamnia was held. The term is used to describe a number of laws and decisions issued by Jamnia's teachers. One of these laws was the approval or new development of the so-called blessing on the heretics (*Birkat ha-Minim*)."[13]

This section of the article confronts these now mostly outdated opinions with the source material. However, one should be aware that the source material does not date from the late first century AD, but comes from later times, hence it must be taken into account that the information it contains may have been transformed in the process of transmission. An essential source of knowledge about early rabbinic Judaism is the Mishnah, whose final editing probably dates to the end of the second century, but whose origins can be traced to several centuries earlier, and whose writing was inspired by a circle of Jamnia scholars.[14] The Mishnah became part of the Talmud in its two versions (Palestinian and Babylonian) which were edited three (Palestinian) or four (Babylonian) centuries later. Three issues will be the focus of reflection: the alleged Council of Jamnia (1), the question of the establishment of the canon of Jewish sacred scriptures there and the disputes over the Septuagint (2), and the relationship of the Jamnia academic community to the establishment of *Birkat ha-Minim* and the exclusion of followers of Christ from the Synagogue (3).

The Issue of the Council of Jamnia

As mentioned, until just over half a century ago, the belief that a synod of Jewish scholars was held at the Jamnia academy was almost universal.[15] However, this belief is based only on the *disjecta membra* of the Mishnah and later rabbinic works.[16] The Mishnah states that Yohanan ben Zakkai appointed the young Rabbi Eleazar ben Azariah as head of the academy. During his presidency, many resolutions or decrees were formulated, each of which is introduced in the Mishnah with the phrase "that

11 *DLNT*, 185. Cf.: "At the end of the first Christian century, the Jewish rabbis, at the Council of Gamnia [Jamnia], closed the canon of the Hebrew book"; Swaggart, *Catholicism & Christianity*, 129. Cf. also: Geisler – MacKenzie, *Roman Catholics and Evangelicals*, 169.

12 Cohen, *The Significance of Yavneh*, 45; Frankowski, "List Arysteasza," 12–22.

13 Mendecki, "Działalność Jana ben Zakkaja," 67.

14 Overman – Scott Green, "Judaism," 1047; von Glasenaap, "Judaizm," 26; Moore, *Judaism*, 83–92; Vermes, *Jezus Żyd*, 13; Stemberger, "Dating Rabbinic Traditions," 82.

15 Lewis, "What Do We Mean by Jabneh?," 125–132.

16 Cohen, *The Significance of Yavneh*, 46.

day" (Hebr. *bô bayyôm*; *Jadaim* 4,1–4; *Zebahim* 1,3). This particular phrase may have suggested to scholars the idea of a particular meeting where further norms of behavior were introduced into the religion that was devoid of its temple. Over time, this meeting came to be known as council or synod.[17] A passage from a much later text of the Babylonian Talmud, which states that the phrase *bô bayyôm*, used several times, refers to the same event (*Berakhot* 28,1), has become an argument to strengthen this thesis. It is clear, however, that the Mishnaic phrase "on that day," repeated several times, interpreted in the Talmud as an indication of a single day, does not constitute a substantively convincing argument supporting the historicity of the assembly referred to in the literature as the "Council of Jamnia."

In the light of the sources, therefore, it is not possible to say whether an event took place at Jamnia that could be called a council.[18] The arguments are fairly contradictory to such a thesis. Terms such as "school" (*bet ha-midrash*) or "academy" (*yeshiva*) seem much more adequate.[19]

The Issue of the Canon and the Septuagint

For decades, many scholars had taken it for granted that it was at Jamnia that the canon of the Hebrew Bible was finally established.[20] This was to happen when the aforementioned Eleazar ben Azariah became president of the academy.[21] Such a hypothesis was first proposed by Heinrich Graetz[22] and was popularized by other researchers, including Frants Buhl, Herbert E. Ryle, Robert Pfeiffer and Otto Eissfeldt.[23] The process of canonization was supposed to be as follows. First, the books of the Torah were declared sacred, and this happened during the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah in connection with the religious reforms carried out by these kings. It was decided that absolutely nothing could be changed in the text of the five books of Moses (Deut 4:2; 13:1). The second significant moment in the formation of the canon of the Jewish Bible was the reforms of Ezra carried out after his return from Babylonian captivity (Ezra 7:14, 25–26).[24] Another important stage was in fact the rabbinical discussions

17 Schäfer, "Die sogenannte Synode von Jabne," 54–64.

18 The first to question the hypothesis of a council at Jamnia was William M. Christie ("The Jamnia Period," 347–364).

19 Newman, "The Council of Jamnia," 331–332.

20 Lewis, "Jamnia Revisited," 145.

21 Lewis, "Council of Jamnia," 634.

22 Graetz, *Kohélet*, 155–156.

23 Lewis, "Jamnia (Jabneh)," 634; Buhl, *Kanon und Text*, 24; Ryle, *The Canon of the Old Testament*, 185.

24 Krzysztof Pilarczyk (*Literatura żydowska*, 96) believes that the final "determination of the set of books that make up the first part of Judaism's sacred scriptures, known as the Torah or Pentateuch, occurred before the separation of the inhabitants of Samaria, located to the north of Judea, from the community of Jewish believers linked to the cultic centre in Jerusalem. Despite growing hostility towards the Jews, the Samaritans retained the Pentateuch as their scripture. Regrettably, the date of this break-up, or the beginning

held at the Jamnia academy.[25] The Jamnia congregation has even been referred to in the literature as the "canonizing council."

Source research, however, does not support this.[26] The process of canonization of the Hebrew Bible neither began nor ended at Jamnia.[27] In Christian literature, the terms "canon" and "canonical books" were not used for the first time until the fourth century, but in Jewish literature, their Jewish equivalents had already appeared in the Jamnia academic community: "scriptures" and "books that render the hands unclean/impart uncleanness." According to Jewish law, if an item 'renders the hands unclean', it means that it causes ritual impurity, which must be removed by washing the hands (*netilat yadayim*).[28] After using the sacred, or inspired, books, the hands must be washed.

Rabbinic sources report that the Song of Songs (*m. Yadayim* 3,5; *b. Megillah* 7,1; *Midrash Rabba* on Song 1:1:11) and the Book of Kohelet (*m. Eduyyot* 5,3; *m. Yadayim* 3,5; *b. Shabbat* 30; *b. Megillah* 7,1; *Midrash Rabba* on Lev 28:1).[29] Let us quote the most extensive passage in the Mishnah on this issue:

> All the Holy Scriptures render the hands unclean. The Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes render the hands unclean. R. Judah says: The Song of Songs renders the hands unclean, but about Ecclesiastes there is dissension. R. Jose says: Ecclesiastes does not render the hands unclean, and about the Song of Songs there is dissension. […] R. Simeon b. Azzai said: I have heard a tradition from the seventy-two elders on the day when they made R. Eleazar b. Azariah head of the college [of Sages], that the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes both render the hands unclean. R. Akiba said: God forbid! – no man in Israel ever disputed about the Song of Songs [that he should say] that it does not render the hands unclean, for all the ages are not worth the day on which the Song of Songs was given to Israel; for all the Writings are holy, but the Song of Songs is the Holy of Holies.[30]

The connection between "rendering one's hands unclean" and inspiration is made evident by another passage in the Tosefta treatise *Yadayim*: "The Song of Songs imparts uncleanness to hands, because it was said by the Holy Spirit. Qohelet does not

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of the process of moving away from each other, is uncertain. It probably began in the late 4th or early 3rd century BC."

25 Some scholars have favored the thesis that the entire canon of Jewish writings was closed as early as before AD 90. This opinion was held by: Shnayer Z. Leiman (*The Canonization*); Roger T. Beckwith (*The Old Testament Canon*), Philip R. Davies (*Scribes and Schools*) and Andrew E. Steinmann (*The Oracles of God*). Cf. Sanders, "The Canonical Process," 230.

26 For an extensive study challenging the thesis that the canon was established at Jamnia, see Newman, "The Council of Jamnia," 319–348.

27 Cohen, *The Significance of Yavneh*, 59.

28 McDonald, *The Biblical Canon*, 139.

29 Schäfer, "Die sogenannte Synode von Jabne," 116–119.

30 "Mishna Yadaim," 781–782.

impart uncleanness of hands, because it is [merely] the wisdom of Solomon" (2:14).[31] The fact that the inspiration for the Song of Songs and the Book of Kohelet was discussed at Jamnia does not at all prove that the canon of Jewish sacred scriptures was established there. This discussion continued long after the Jamnia period, as rabbinic sources clearly indicate.[32]

Now, let us examine the issue of the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible in relation to Jamnia academy. The Septuagint had been used by Diaspora Jews for about three centuries. What is more, it was very popular.[33] Flavius and Philo made extensive use of this translation. The latter most likely did not know Hebrew at all so, in a way, he had no choice but to rely on the LXX.[34] In fact, even the Greek-speaking Palestinian Jews reached for the LXX, and the language of their prayers was Greek of the *Koine* variety. Evidence shows that in the synagogues of the coastal cities of Palestine, the *Shema Yisrael* prayer was recited in Greek.[35]

As studies show, the Jamnia rabbis made every effort to extend their jurisdiction not only to the Palestinian territories, but also to the Diaspora, including in Egypt. At some point, Gamaliel II, the grandson of Yohanan ben Zakkai, was even able to make the Jews of the Diaspora come to Jamnia to seek advice there on the principles of professing and practicing Judaism. In this way, the authority of Palestinian rabbis was successfully extended, at least in part, to the Diaspora. This had to be reflected in the decreasing role of the Septuagint in Jewish non-Palestinian communities.[36]

But was it at Jamnia that the final decision was made to consider the Septuagint as a book that does not render one's hands unclean? There is nothing to suggest this.[37] Such a view probably has its origins in the accepted view that the canon has been established at Jamnia. It is known that the criterion of canonicity adopted by the rabbis was the Hebrew language,[38] hence the simple conclusion that the Septuagint had to be considered a non-inspired translation.

Birkat ha-Minim and the Issue of the Exclusion of Christians from the Synagogue

According to Talmudic tradition (*b. Berakhot* 28,2–29,1), in Jamnia, Samuel the Lesser, during the time of Gamaliel II, included in the daily *Shemoneh 'Esreh* prayer

31 Neusner, *The Tosefta*, 1908.
32 Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament*, 486.
33 Jędrzejewski, "Septuaginta," 245.
34 Jędrzejewski, "Judaizm diaspory," 21.
35 Cohen, "The Place of the Rabbi," 953.
36 Sandmel, *Judaism and Christian Beginnings*, 245–247; Alon, *The Jews*, 119–131.
37 Lust, "Septuagint and Canon," 55.
38 While in *Megillah* (9,1) the rabbis claim that the translators of the Hebrew Bible into Greek were under divine inspiration, in *Soferim* (1,7) they already compare the day the Septuagint was written to the day of the idolatrous worship of the golden calf in the desert; Feldman, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 68.

the twelfth blessing, known as the blessing against heretics (Hebrew: *minim*).[39] The passage in question reads: "Said Rabban Gamaliel to sages, «Does anyone know how to ordain a 'blessing' [curse] against the Sadducees [minim]?» Samuel the younger went and ordained it (*b. Ber.* 4:3; 28A).[40] The Gemara relates: "A year later he [Samuel the younger] forgot it, and for two or three hours he attempted to recover it. But they did not remove him [as leader of the worship-service]." (*b. Ber.* 4:3; 28B-29A).[41]

This is also confirmed by other texts (*b. Megillah* 17:2; *Numbers Rabba* 18:210). The rabbis obliged followers of Judaism to recite the *Shemoneh ʿEsreh* at least twice a day.[42] According to some editions of the Babylonian Talmud, the *Berakhot* tractate contains the passage: "If anyone tells you that there are only seventeen blessings, say to him: the Sages in Jamnia added 'o *minim*' to the prayer" (18:4).

This benediction, sometimes referred to as the "blessing against the apostates" or the "blessing against heretics,"[43] has two versions, the Palestinian and the Babylonian one. The Babylonian version reads:[44]

> May no hope be left to the slanderers;
> but may wickedness perish as in a moment; may all Thine enemies be soon cut off,
> and do Thou speedily uproot the haughty and shatter and humble them speedily in our days. Blessed be Thou, O Lord, who strikest down enemies and humblest the haughty.[45]

The Palestinian version of the twelfth blessing is quoted from S. Schechter[46] and D.C. Allison:

> For the apostates let there be no hope.
> And let the arrogant government be speedily uprooted in our days.
> Let the noẓerim and the minim be destroyed in a moment.
> And let them be blotted out of the Book of Life
> and not be inscribed together with the righteous.
> Blessed art thou, O Lord, who humblest the arrogant.[47]
> For the apostates let there be no hope,
> and uproot the kingdom of arrogance, speedily and in our days.
> May the Nazarenes and the sectarians perish as in a moment.

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39 Sanders, "The Canonical Process," 235; Stemberger, "Die sogenannte 'Synode von Jabne'," 15; Schäfer, *Studien zur Geschichte*, 45–46.
40 Neusner, *The Babylonian Talmud*, 190–191.
41 Neusner, *The Babylonian Talmud*, 191.
42 Horbury, "The Benediction," 19–20.
43 Cohen, "In Between," 230.
44 Mann, "Genizah Fragments," 306.
45 Hirsch, "Shemoneh 'Esreh," 271.
46 Schechter, "Genizah Specimens," 657–659.
47 Ehrlich, "Birkat Ha-Minim."

Let them be blotted out of the book of life,
and not be written together with the righteous.
You are praised, O Lord, who subdues the arrogant.[48]

The Talmudic passage quoted above (*b. Berakhot* 28,2) is not contested in the rabbinic tradition or in Christian-Jewish polemics, so it seems that the information that Samuel the Lesser is the author of *Birkat ha-Minim* should be considered probable. However, was there an explicit decision to exclude Christians from the Synagogue in Jamnia academy? In this case, the answer could not be clear.[49] In the light of the Talmud, those who disseminated views contrary to the teaching of official Judaism were admonished and denied participation in the world to come, but they were not excluded from the community of Israel (*b. Sanhedrin* 12,9–13,12). Those who recited prayers that were not in line with the common teaching of Judaism were silenced, but not excluded (*m. Berakhot* 5.3; *Megillah* 4.8–9). However, insofar as one recognises that *Birkat ha-Minim* applies to Christians (as discussed below) and that those referred to in it are excluded from among the followers of Judaism, then the answer must be in the affirmative.

2. An Attempt to Reconstruct the Origin of the Jamnia "Myth" and its Deconstruction

At this point, time has come to ask the question of how the so-called "myth" of Jamnia emerged, consisting of at least five beliefs indicated above: that a council was held at Jamnia (1); that the canon of the Tanakh was established there (2); that the role of the Septuagint was debated and discredited (3); that the *Birkat ha-Minim* was established there (4); and that the official exclusion of Christians from the Synagogue happened at Jamnia (5). Let us try to reconstruct this process.

As far as Christian scholars are concerned, the belief in the Council of Jamnia was first expressed by Frants Buhl in his book *Kanon und Text des Alten Testaments* (1891). Buhl wrote: "the whole question [of the canon – M.R.] was brought up for discussion before a Synod at Jabne (Jamnia, a city not far from the coast, south of Jaffa), the very one at which Gamaliel II was deprived of his office of patriarch. At that Synod the canonicity of the whole of the sacred writings was acknowledged. Special emphasis was laid upon the affirmation of the canonicity, not only of Ecclesiastes

48 Allison, "Blessing God," 397.

49 Cohen (*The Significance of Yavneh*, 58–59) observes this about the scholars gathered in Jamnia: "At no point did they expel anyone from the rabbinic order or from rabbinic synagogues because of doctrinal error or because of membership in some heretical group."

but also of Canticles, which affords clear evidence of the existence of an opposition against that book."[50]

The opinion of the German researcher was disseminated by H.E. Ryle in his monograph *The Canon of the Old Testament* (1892). Both F. Buhl and H.E. Ryle were probably familiar with a slightly earlier work by the distinguished nineteenth-century Jewish historian Heinrich Graetz, entitled *Kohélet oder der Salomonische Prediger* (1871). In this monograph, the author mentions a "synod" or "synodal assembly" (German *Synodal-Versammlung*).[51] Christian scholars have therefore taken the idea of a synod from the work of a Jewish historian.

From where, however, could Graetz have derived information about the alleged Council of Jamnia? Is it only from the rabbinic passages mentioned above? It would be reasonable to think that there was another factor: Graetz must have read Baruch Spinoza's work, entitled *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, first published in 1670. Spinoza argues that in post-Maccabean times, the Pharisees debated the divine inspiration of the books of the Bible and ranked them as canonical. However, the name Jamnia does not appear even once in his work. Instead, the *concilium Pharisaeorum* is mentioned twice. The first mention reads: "Qui itaque authoritatem Sacrae Scripturae demonstrare volunt, ii authoritatem uniuscujusque libri ostendere tenetur, nec sufficit divinitatem unius probare ad eandem de omnibus concludendam: alias statuendum concilium Pharisaeorum in hac electione librorum errare non potuisse, quod nemo unquam demonstrabit."[52]

The author argues that it is not enough to demonstrate the inspiration of one book and from this infer about the entire collection, but the divine authority of each book must be demonstrated. The second mention is about the existence of a *concilium*, which was to decide on the acceptance or rejection of individual books: "Ex quibus clarissime sequitur, legis peritos concilium adhibuisse, quales libri ut sacri essent recipiendi, & quales excludendi."[53] It seems reasonable to suppose that Graetz may have drawn on the Latin term *concilium* and linked it to the establishment of the academy of Jamnia. However, the Latin noun *concilium* does not necessarily indicate an "assembly" or a "gathering" (implying the existence of a synod), but can also mean a "debate," "hearing" or "discussion."[54] There are at least two arguments to support Graetz's reliance on Spinoza: both authors claim that the canon of

50 Buhl, *Canon and Text*, 24.

51 Graetz, *Kohélet*, 162.

52 Gebhardt, *Spinoza Opera*, 150; Aune, "On the Origins," 492–493. Own translation: "Those, therefore, who wish to demonstrate the authority of Scripture must demonstrate the authority of each book, for it is not enough to show the divine origin of one and hence make inferences about all of them. Indeed, one must assume that the assembly of Pharisees could not have been mistaken in its choice of books, which no one will ever prove."

53 Gebhardt, *Spinoza Opera*, 150.

54 *Latin-English Dictionary* (http://www.latin-dictionary.net/search/latin/concilium), *Dizionario Latino Olivetti* (https://www.dizionario-latino.com).

the Hebrew Bible was established in the late Second Temple period; both argue that this was undertaken by the Pharisees; and the term "synod" appears in the works of both authors in this context.[55]

3. Was the Question of Christians Resolved at Jamnia?

Each of the issues discussed above refers, more or less directly, to the relationship of the Jewish religion with the relatively young Christianity. This is because if a synod was held in Jamnia, it is possible that it would have been anti-Christian. The followers of Christ were in open conflict with the followers of Judaism in the first century, as the Gospel of St John expressly demonstrates.[56] If a canon of Jewish writings was established there and the Septuagint was discussed, this canon differed from the Christian scriptures accepted centuries later and, therefore, the Greek Bible, i.e. the Bible of the first Church, was rejected there. The Jewish difficulty with the Septuagint was that it became the Bible of Christians.[57] The vast majority of quotations from the books of the old covenant are not from the Hebrew Bible but from the Septuagint. The Christians, developing their mission in the *Koine* Greek language areas, drew on the translation referred to in the *Letter of (Pseudo-) Aristeas* (*Let. Aris.* 50,273), extensively repeated by Flavius (*Ant.* 12,11–118).[58] By the time of the Jamnia academy, the LXX was already the Bible used by Christians to a much greater extent than the Hebrew Bible.[59] This was due to the development of the church in missionary terms, as it spread throughout the Mediterranean basin and probably into India as well, and in these areas, Greek was the dominant *lingua franca*.[60] Finally, if *Birkat ha-Minim* was composed in Jamnia, it is almost certain that it also (but not exclusively) applied to Christians, which would have involved their exclusion from the Synagogue.

As shown above, no synod was held at Jamnia and the definitive shape of the canon of the sacred Hebrew scriptures was not established there, which also means that no decision was made to radically reject the Septuagint. Rabbinic sources have been able, to a very negligible extent, to provide a basis for scholars to discuss the first two issues (synod and canon), while the third view (the rejection of the Septuagint)

55 Aune, "On the Origins," 493.
56 Wróbel, *Synagoga a rodzący się Kościół*; Wróbel, "'Żydzi' Janowi," 47–61.
57 Slawik, "Stary Testament," 431.
58 Moreover, the differences between the BH and the LXX in passages such as Gen 49:10; Num 23:21; 24:7, 17 led Christians to choose the LXX version because it was far more suitable for Christological interpretation than the Hebrew version; Collins, *Jewish Cult*, 80–81.
59 Waldemar Chrostowski ("Żydowskie tradycje," 46) emphasises the Jewish origin of the Septuagint.
60 Chrostowski, "Żydowskie tradycje," 47.

is a typical calculation resulting from the thesis that the canon was established in Jamnia; it has no support in the Talmud, much less in the Mishnah.

Two final issues remain to be resolved: whether the "blessing on the heretics" was composed at Jamnia and whether it was there that Christians were excluded from the Jewish community. To answer these questions, it is necessary to specify the meaning of the terms *minim* and *notzrim*. The former occurs in both versions of the blessing, the latter only in the Palestinian version, i.e. the one associated with Jamnia. *Minim* is the term from which the entire blessing takes its name. It was presumably interpreted in different ways depending on the era. It is etymologically most likely derived from the stem *min*, meaning a person who goes "beyond" (*min*) Torah.[61] Since the term originated in Pharisaic circles, it was originally used to describe Jews breaking the Law and failing to observe the traditions of the elders[62] or the adversaries of the Pharisees (Sadducees, Essenes, collaborators with the Roman authorities).[63] The Sadducees, for example, are also indicated in the Mishnaic passage of the treatise *Sanhedrin*: "And these are the ones who have no portion in the world to come: He who says, the resurrection of the dead is a teaching which does not derive from the Torah, and the Torah does not come from Heaven; and an Epicurean." (*b. Sanhedrin* 11:1; 90A).[64]

The same is true in the Mishnaic treatise *Megillah* (4:8).[65] As demonstrated by Hartmut Stegemann, it is highly probable that the Pharisees referred to the Essenes as *minim*.[66] The word *minim* could also mean those who collaborated with the Roman occupiers.[67] After AD 66, when the Judeo-Christians did not join the uprising against Rome, they could be perceived by the Pharisees as collaborators with Roman imperial power.[68] After the rise of rabbinic Judaism, the term *minim* was used to refer to the Jews who opposed this trend.[69] Some authors tend to argue that

61 Brown – Driver – Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 577–579.

62 Herford, *Christianity*, 361–397.

63 Shaye J.D. Cohen ("Judaism to the Mishnah: 135-220 CE," 230) believes that "Just as the rabbis used the term 'gentiles' (goyim) to refer to all non-Jews, whatever their ethnic origin, theological belief or ritual practice, so too the rabbis used a single term 'heretics' (minim) to designate a wide variety of Jews whose theology or practices the rabbis found offensive."

64 Neusner, *The Babylonian Talmud*, XVI, 477.

65 Wróbel, "*Birkat ha-Minim*," 108; Simonsohn, *The Jews of Italy*, 298–301.

66 Stegemann, *Esseńczycy z Qumran*, 195–204; Overman – Scott Green, "Judaism," 1043.

67 Charlesworth, "Jesus," 189–192.

68 Wróbel (*Synagoga a rodzący się Kościół*, 191) argues that "[...] Judeo-Christians professing faith in the Messiah did not engage in any political messianic movements in the land of Palestine. Thus, they were suspected of supporting the policies of the Romans." For the sake of research integrity, mention should also be made of the unlikely hypothesis that the term *minim* is an acronym for the phrase "believer in Jesus Christ." In Hebrew it would read: *ma'amin be-Jeszu ha-Nocri*. The letters "m" (from *ma'amin*), "i" (i.e. "j"; from *be-Yeshu*) and "n" (from *ha-Nocri*) would form the word *min*, clearly indicating Christians; Mimouni, "Les Nazoréens," 242.

69 Katz, "Issues in the Separation," 73.

Birkat ha-Minim began to refer to followers of Christ in the 3rd century.[70] It should be noted that this neologism does not appear until the Mishnah, i.e. at the end of the 2nd century. However, this does not mean that the term *minim* was not used in colloquial speech as early as the 1st century, which is when Christianity was developing. If that was the case, the term *minim* may have referred to Christians at a time when they were regarded as Jews deriving from the Pharisees who do not keep the precepts of the Torah and disobey the traditions of the elders.[71] In the treatise *Hullin*, the word *minim* almost certainly refers to Christians of Jewish origin (2,20–21; 22–24).[72] *Hullin* (2,22–24) prohibits followers of Judaism from seeking medical advice from the *minim* and, according to the Talmud, Jesus is considered a healer using magic (*Sanhedrin* 43,2). The treatise *Hullin* is very early; its origins should probably be dated before the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba revolt.[73]

Considering the data mentioned above with their analysis, one can attempt to formulate a cautious hypothesis about the understanding of the term minim. The meaning of the term evolved over time and was dependent on the geographical location where it was used.[74] Due to the fact that the first literary use of the term *minim* was recorded around the year 200 AD, one should be assumed that it was earlier used in everyday speech. If the term was used in the first half of the first century (or earlier), it designated those Jews who, descending from the Pharisean movement, went "beyond" the rules of this trend of Judaism. The meaning of the term was quickly extended to include not only the Jews associated with Pharisaism, but also the Sadducees, the Essenes and the collaborators with the Roman authorities. The Judeo-Christians who did not join the uprising in the year 66 could also be included in the latter group. After the exclusion of Christians from Synagogue, probably in the second half of the second century, the term *notzrim* was used in relation to them but in some environments (especially in Babylonia, where the Church was not yet well-established) the term *minim* was still used. The meaning of the term considerably evolved over time so that in the Babylonian Talmud (VI c.) it sometimes denotes goys (non-Jews). As a result, it may be assumed that this group also includes ethno-Christians.[75]

As an example of how much importance the rabbis placed on the twelfth blessing, a passage from the Babylonian Talmud can be used that shows that in reciting

70 This is the view held, for example, by Boyarin ("Justin Martyr," 434): "Once the evidence of and for a so-called 'blessing of the heretics' before the third century is removed from the picture, there is no warrant at all to assume an early Palestinian curse directed at any Christians. I am not claiming to know that there was no such thing, but rather that we cannot know at all, and that it is certain, therefore, that we cannot build upon such a weak foundation an edifice of Jewish-Christian parting of the ways."

71 Herford, *Christianity*, 361–397.

72 Herford, *Christianity*, 362.

73 Schiffman, *Who Was a Jew?*, 65–67.

74 Rosik, *Church and Synagogue*, 278.

75 Rosik, *Church and Synagogue*, 278.

all the other blessings, mistakes were permissible, but one was not allowed to make a mistake in reciting *Birkat ha-Minim* without being suspected of heresy: "If the reciter errs in any blessing, they shall not be dismissed, but if they err in the *Birkat ha-Minim* blessing, they shall be dismissed, for perhaps they themselves are *minim*" (*Berakhot* 29,1).[76]

The term *notzrim* also appeared in the Palestinian version of *Birkat ha-Minim*. Researchers generally agree that the term *notzrim* refers to the followers of Jesus of Nazareth and is based on two phrases from the New Testament: "He will be called a Nazarene," (Matt 2:23) and "the Nazarene sect" (Acts 24:5).[77] When the ways between Church and Synagogue definitely parted, i.e. when Christians were no longer considered to be Jews, the term which was associated with them (at least in Palestine) was *notzrim*.[78] The term is difficult to explain etymologically. The fact that today the term refers to Christians in modern Hebrew does not at all explain the origins of its usage with regard to the followers of Christ. It may have been derived from a verb meaning "to guard," "to oversee," or from a noun meaning "shoot," "branch" or "twig."[79] In Isaiah, the term means "carcass": "But thou art cast out of thy grave like an abominable *natzer*, and as the raiment of those that are slain, thrust through with a sword, that went down to the bottom of the pit, as a carcase trodden under feet" (Isa 14:19). The above is not far from negative connotations. Nevertheless, in the light of the New Testament, a reference to Nazareth should rather be seen here.[80] Biblical scholars and historians are still debating whether the term refers exclusively to Jewish Christians or does it also refer to gentile Christians. They also ask whether it was introduced by Samuel the Younger or perhaps at a later time (in the second half of the second century). For the former, most researchers adopt the first solution,[81] while the second solution is adopted for the latter.[82]

Conclusion

As a summary of the analyses carried out above, it is concluded that there is no source data to confirm the convening of a synod of Jewish scholars at Jamnia in the 90s of the first century AD. Likewise, there is no indication that a definitive list of

76 Wróbel, *Jezus i Jego wyznawcy*, 147. See also: Wróbel, "Znaczenie formuły *Birkat ha-Minim*," 65–80; Alexander, "The Parting of the Ways," 10.
77 Rosik, *Church and Synagogue*, 277.
78 Rosik, *Church and Synagogue*, 277.
79 Wróbel, "Znaczenie formuły *Birkat ha-Minim*," 67–69.
80 Mrozek, "Chrześcijaństwo," 21.
81 Schäfer, *Studien zur Geschichte*, 48; Jocz, *The Jewish People*, 51–52.
82 Thoma, "Die Christen in rabbinischer Optik," 38; Kimelman, "Birkat Ha-Minim," 233.

the canonical Jewish holy scriptures was established at Jamnia, nor that the Septuagint was rejected by the Palestinian rabbis.[83] On the other hand, what seems highly probable is the composition of *Birkat ha-Minim* in Jamnia academy, and the resulting conclusion that Jewish Christians are no longer followers of the new form of Judaism known as rabbinic Judaism.

Daniel Boyarin of the University of California, Berkeley, has coined a phrase that seems to reflect well the results of the analyses presented in this article: he speaks of the so-called Jamnia (Yavneh) effect.[84] In his opinion, even though the rabbinic sources refer to the academy at Jamnia, thus constructing the myth of the origins of rabbinic Judaism, in fact, the opposite is true: Jamnia is not the beginning of a new path, but the effect of rabbinic disputes that sought a historical justification of how the history of Judaism unfolded after the fall of the Temple.[85] These disputes attributed to the academy a role that it actually did not play. According to the Jewish researcher, the entire issue of Jamnia should be de-mythologised, and then it will become clear that Rabbinic Judaism does not simply begin in a small town on the Mediterranean Sea, but is the result of complex, often highly nuanced processes within the fabric of the declining biblical Judaism.[86]

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83 Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon*, 3; Aune, "On the Origins," 491.

84 "All of the institutions of rabbinic Judaism are projected in rabbinic narrative to an origin called Yavneh. Yavneh, seen in this way, is the effect, not the cause" (Boyarin, *Border Lines*, 48).

85 The author acknowledges that there was some shift in emphasis in the understanding of religiosity in Judaism after the destruction of the temple, but the nature of this shift has yet to be thoroughly investigated: "There was a significant shift from Second Temple Judaism to the rabbinic formation. The nature of that shift, it seems, still requires further specification" (Boyarin, *Border Lines*, 45).

86 The author notes, for example: "Thus, where traditional scholarly historiography refers to Yavneh as a founding council that restored Judaism and established the rabbinic form as hegemonic following the disaster of the destruction of the Temple, I am more inclined to see it as a narrative whose purpose is to shore up the attempt at predominance on the part of the Rabbis (and especially the Patriarchate) in the wake of the greater debacle following the Fall of Betar in 138" (Boyarin, "Justin Martyr," 428). Stephen G. Wilson (*Related Strangers*, 181) agrees with this view: "The influence of the Yavnean sages on Jewish thought and practice between 70 and 135 C.E. and beyond should not be overestimated. Their decisions were not imposed overnight, nor were they felt uniformly across all Jewish communities." Boyarin's opinion is rejected by Jacob Neusner ("The Formation of Rabbinic Judaism," 3–42) as too extreme.

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Hebrew as a Subject of Research and Teaching in Poland from the Early 16th Century to the 20th Century. A Contribution to Further Reflections

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Abstract: The paper explores the history of Hebrew studies in Poland from the early 16th century to the 20th century. The beginnings of academic studies and thorough research into biblical Hebrew can be traced back to the 16th century as the first lecturers of classical languages appeared at the Kraków University. They were also the first to write textbooks for learning this language, and some of them translated biblical books from their original languages. Jewish printing houses had a significant impact on the growing interest in Hebrew studies, both in the Jewish and Christian communities. Passion for Hebrew was still observed in Poland in the 17th and 18th centuries. In turn, the late 18th century and the 19th century were the times of the Jewish Enlightenment (Haskalah) and disputes about the shape of Hebrew. At universities theological studies included biblical Hebrew courses. The 20th century saw the emergence of numerous centres for Hebrew studies at leading Polish universities, offering full-time Bachelor and Master's programmes, conducting interdisciplinary research, developing scholarly publications in the field and establishing organizations aiming to promote research on Jewish history, culture and language.

Keywords: Hebrew studies, biblical Hebrew, Jewish Enlightenment, translations of the Bible

The paper, as the title suggests, aims at presenting the research and teaching of the Hebrew language in Poland from the early 16th century to the late 20th century. *Hebrew studies* should be understood to mean research on the Hebrew language and university programmes. Consequently, Hebrew courses conducted in primary and secondary schools, major theological seminaries, religious communities (both Jewish and Christian) and other non-academic institutions have not been discussed here. My intent is to present the most important places of scholarly interest in the Hebrew language in Poland, i.e. academic centres as well as their scholars and publications. Naturally, it would not be possible to exhaust the topic. Hence, the expansion of the title indicates that this article is meant to be a contribution to further considerations.

Publications on the history of the Hebrew language in Poland are rare. Among the older studies, it is worth noting Mojżesz Schorr's article entitled "Język hebrajski w Polsce" [The Hebrew Language in Poland][1]. In turn, newer publications include

1 Schorr, "Język hebrajski w Polsce," 425–438.

my articles "Z dziejów polskiej hebraistyki" [Sketches from the History of Hebrew Studies in Poland] and "על תולדות הלשון העברית בפולין,"[2] as well as my research relating to the state of the Hebrew language in Poland in the 18th century and the early 19th century. Focusing on the recent publications, one should mention studies and research on biblical Hebrew in Christian circles, especially the works by Rev. Rajmund Pietkiewicz. (His and my works will be listed further.) This article also takes into account the contribution of Jewish circles to the research and development of the Hebrew language in Poland.

Finally, this paper does not provide sources of textbooks or other aids for teaching Hebrew used in Jewish schools, which I have extensively analysed in other publications.

1. Hebrew Studies in Poland in the 16th Century

Interest in the Hebrew language as a subject of study in Europe dates back to medieval times, when knowledge of this language was perceived as indispensable for the exegesis of Sacred Scripture as well as for the Christian missions induced by the Crusades. At the beginning of the 16th century, Hebrew courses were included in the academic curricula of most European universities, following the view that mastering three ancient languages: Greek, Latin and Hebrew, completed the ideal humanistic education of those times.

In Poland, the beginnings of academic studies and thorough research into the Hebrew language (in particular, biblical Hebrew[3]) can be traced back to the sixteenth century.[4] New intellectual currents from the West began to flow into Poland. The Renaissance spread throughout Europe, including Poland. One of the manifestations of these changes in the spirit of *humanitas* or rediscovery was the "tendency to base religion on the original text of the Bible," favouring the study of Semitic languages.[5] Interreligious friction forced a better understanding of the original languages of the Bible, including Hebrew. At the beginning of the 16th century, one of the first teachers of classical languages at the Kraków University (Wszechnica Krakowska,

2 Marcinkowski, "Z dziejów polskiej hebraistyki," 72–105. See also Marcinkowski, "על תולדות הלשון העברית בפולין," 102–108.

3 The Hebrew language was revived at the end of the 19th century, and Eliezer ben Yehuda is considered to be its reviver (1881).

4 Questions about the reception of Hebrew studies in the renaissance Poland have been dealt with by Rev. Rajmund Pietkiewicz ("Początki polskiej hebraistyki," 8).

5 See Reychman, "Śląska i pomorska orientalistyka," 53.

now the Jagiellonian University) was Wacław Koler,[6] better known as Wacław of Jelenia Góra, who was employed[7] at the University in 1507 and 1513.[8] He had a good command of Greek, Latin and Hebrew.[9] Koler is considered to be the first Hebrew teacher in Kraków, who taught mainly privately,[10] following the example of German universities. In turn, Leonard Dawid[11] was probably the first formal lecturer of Hebrew at the Kraków University around 1528; he took over this post thanks to the efforts of Bishop Piotr Tomicki. In 1530, Dawid succeeded in publishing *Elementale hebraicum, in quo praeter caetera eius linguae rudimenta, declinationes et verborum coniugationes habentur* by Philipp Novenian of Hassfurt in Maciej Scharffenberg's printing house. This work was a textbook intended primarily for students. Leonard Dawid could have written a Hebrew grammar textbook, which was, however, lost.[12] Other sources regarding Hebrew language classes being taught at the Kraków Academy in 1528[13] give credit to Jerzy Liban of Legnica (1464–1550),[14] a student of Wacław of Jelenia Góra. Yet, Liban had to stop his research and teaching activities after a short time[15] and to leave the university.[16] Soon, other eminent Hebrew scholars became

6 The inventory of Koler's library was given by Artur Benis ("Materyały do historyi drukarstwa," 207–210). See also Barycz, *Historia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, 86–88; Migoń, "Śląscy orientaliści," 11.

7 Due to the difficulty of determining the specific forms of employment as well as the titles and degrees of scholars in earlier centuries, and their outdating in the 21st century, in most cases academic titles were not given; only the names of scholars dealing with Hebrew or broadly with Jewish culture were provided. As for the late 20th century scholars, I have mentioned only those who had a Master's degree in Hebrew Studies.

8 See Madyda, "Z dziejów filologii klasycznej," 15.

9 The equal treatment of these three ancient languages in Kraków in the middle of the 16th century is confirmed by the fact that one of the university professors, Benedict of Koźmin (d. 1559), allocated his property to a permanent fund enabling the acquisition of novelties concerning these languages, see Madyda, "Z dziejów filologii klasycznej," 20.

10 See Zajączkowski, "Z dziejów orientalistyki," 368.

11 A Jewish scholar who converted to Christianity taking the name Leonard; his godfather was the very Bishop Tomicki.

12 This is confirmed by Jan van Campen in his grammar textbook published in Kraków, cf. Barycz, *Historia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, 89–90. See also Barycz, "Dawid Leonard," 461; Zajączkowski, "Z dziejów orientalistyki," 368.

13 According to Reychman ("Śląska i pomorska orientalistyka," 52), Jerzy Liban was to introduce Hebrew classes at the Kraków Academy as early as 1520. The Council of Vienne (1311) decided to establish the chairs of Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic in Rome, Paris, Bologna, Oxford and Salamanca, but already in 1325, Pope John XXII ordered control over lecturers of the Semitic languages for fear of disastrous teachings (*peregrina dogmata*). See Reychman, "Śląska i pomorska orientalistyka," 51; Dugat, *Histoire des orientalistes de l'Europe*, VIII–IX, XIII.

14 Jerzy Liban of Legnica is known as the first Polish Hellenist, see Madyda, "Z dziejów filologii klasycznej," 11, 15.

15 Probably already in 1535, cf. Madyda, "Z dziejów filologii klasycznej," 9. See also Voisé, "Twórczość naukowa," 29–35.

16 Jerzy Liban was to defend Hebrew and Greek lecturers who had been suspected of preaching heresy: "it is not right that these people should be expelled from the Academy for teaching languages, opening the door to all science, under the pretext that their teaching leads to heresy." See Reychman, "Śląska i pomorska orientalistyka," 52–53. Let us also recall that the outstanding German humanist, expert in Hebrew and Greek, Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522), author of the Hebrew grammar *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae*

known: the Dutch Jan van Campen,[17] a professor of Collegium Trilinguae in Leuven, as well as the Italian Franciszek Stankar (better known as Francesco Stancaro [1501–1574]), a professor who taught at several European universities. Lecturers of biblical Hebrew were the first to write textbooks for learning this language; some of them also translated biblical books from their original languages. In 1532, Jan van Campen translated *Psalter Dawidowy. Psalmorum omnium iuxta hebraicam veritatem paraphrastica interpretatio* (Kraków 1532), and two years later, he wrote a Hebrew primer entitled *Libellus de natura litterarum et punctorum hebraeorum* (Kraków 1534). In 1547, he published his translation of the Proverbs of Solomon, entitled *Proverbia Salomonis*…[18] In the same year, Franciszek Stankar published his Hebrew textbooks *Ebreae grammaticae compendium* and *Ebreae grammaticae institution* in Basel. Bishop Samuel Maciejowski of Kraków financed the publication of Stankar's Hebrew grammar, *Grammatica institutio linguae Hebraeae*, in the printing house of Jan Halicz[19] in Kraków, around 1547 and again in 1555.[20] It is believed that in 1530, Stankar published his first work on Hebrew issues, entitled *De modo legendi Hebraicae institutio brevissima*,[21] in Venice.

Another well-known teacher of Hebrew at the Kraków University was Walerian Pernus who, after graduating in Paris, worked in Kraków from 1536 until the 1537/1538 academic year. He used the Hebrew grammar by Jan van Campen.[22] At the Faculty of Philosophy of the Kraków University, only four holders of Master's degree took up teaching the Hebrew language from 1540 to the late 16th century. They were: Jan of Trzciana, a student of Leonard Dawid and Jan van Campen, who in the 1556 summer semester lectured on comparative grammar of *trium linguarum*; Andrzej Troper, who taught Hebrew grammar in the 1556/1557 winter semester; Wojciech Buszowski, who in 1564–1569 conducted Hebrew grammar courses three

(Pforzheim 1506), whom Wilhelm Gesenius called "the father of Hebrew studies among Christians," acted against burning Hebrew books, considering them valuable materials for teaching this language, for which he fell out of favour with the Church. Reuchlin is also credited with introducing Latin terminology into Hebrew grammar.

17 Jan van Campen, a student of Eliasz Lewita (Elias Levita), Latinized Johannes Campensis (c. 1490–1538), author of *Ex variis libellis Eliae grammaticorum omnium doctissimi*.

18 This date of publication of the translation of the Proverbs of Solomon is given by Schorr ("Język hebrajski w Polsce," 430). According to another source, the translation *Przypowieści Salomona* appeared in Kraków in 1534, see Zajączkowski, "Z dziejów orientalistyki," 430.

19 See Gmiterek, "Franciszek Stankar," 158–163.

20 The information regarding the reprint of F. Stankar, *Grammar* in 1555 can be found at http://www.archive.org/stream/bibliografiapols16estre/bibliografiapols16estre_djvu.txt"estre_djvu.txt (access 31.03.2022).

21 See Gmiterek, "Franciszek Stankar," 159.

22 See Zajączkowski, "Z dziejów orientalistyki," 369. See also Reychman, "Śląska i pomorska orientalistyka," 53, quoting after: Sołtykiewicz, *O stanie Akademii Krakowskiej*, 296–298; Morawski, *Historia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, 257–259; Barycz, *Historia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, 84–95.

times; and Jan Porębny, lecturing on Hebrew grammar in the 1590 summer semester.[23] A notable exception was the resolution of the Council of the Faculty of Philosophy in 1579, encouraging the teaching of Greek and Hebrew grammar. The knowledge of the Hebrew language was poor at the Kraków University, and with time it completely disappeared.[24]

The above-mentioned, Jerzy Liban and Wacław of Jelenia Góra, came from the Silesian Protestant milieu, with which other Silesian scholars of the Hebrew language were associated: Scholtzius, Springer and Jan Jacobellus or Jocissas of Legnica (d. 1587).[25]

In the second half of the 16th century, the first Polish translations of the Bible were made directly from the original languages, or these languages were taken them into consideration. The Protestant Brest Bible (Polish: *Biblia Brzeska*)[26] was published in 1563.[27] In 1572, there appeared the so-called Zasław Bible (Polish: *Biblia Zasławska*),[28] based on the Septuagint and the Hebrew Bible, i.e. a translation by Szymon Budny, who was firstly a Calvinist and then an Arian pastor. Szymon Budny, who is supposed to improve the translation of the Brest Bible, stated that it was in fact a translation from Latin and French. Thus he made his own translation of Sacred Scripture, which was the first Polish translation of the Bible made by one translator. In 1599, the so-called Jakub Wujek Bible (Polish: *Biblia Jakuba Wujka*), i.e. translation of the Jesuit Jakub Wujek, based on the Vulgate and taking the original languages into account, was published.[29]

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23 In 16th-century Kraków, in the time of the Renaissance, there were more *viri trilingues* who were not directly involved in teaching Hebrew, e.g. Mateusz of Kościan (d. 1545), Wojciech Nowopolczyk (d. 1559), Stanisław Grzepski (d. 1570), Stanisław Mareniusz (d. 1580); see Pietkiewicz, *W poszukiwaniu „szczyrego słowa Bożego"*, 115–117; Pietkiewicz, "Początki polskiej hebraistyki," 7–26.

24 See Zajączkowski, "Z dziejów orientalistyki," 369–370.

25 See Reychman, "Śląska i pomorska orientalistyka," 56–57.

26 *Biblia Brzeska* (the name comes from the place of its publication); also called *Biblia Radziwiłłowska* (from the name of the benefactor of the undertaking: the Radziwiłł family) and *Biblia Pińczowska* (from the place of its translation: Pińczów). It is the second translation of the entire Holy Scriptures into Polish (after the Catholic *Biblia Leopolity*, whose source was the Latin Vulgate) made by Polish Calvinists in 1563. It is also one of the world's first modern translations of the entire Bible from the original languages: Hebrew and Greek (the Latin version was also utilised). More on the Brest Bible, see Pietkiewicz, "Hebraica veritas," 44–62; Pilarczyk, "Biblia Radziwiłłowska," 64–104.

27 Pietkiewicz ("Początki polskiej hebraistyki," 13) provides a list of Hebrew scholars, associated with the center in Pińczów.

28 *Biblia Zasławska*, also known as *Biblia Nieświeska* (Nesvizh Bible) or simply *Biblia Szymona Budnego*, is a Polish translation of the entire Bible from the original languages, made by the Polish-Lithuanian biblical scholar, Szymon Budny, mainly for use by the Polish Brethren (Bracia Polscy). It was translated in Nieśwież and printed in Zasław or in Uzda in 1572 by Maciej Kawęczyński.

29 A translation of some New Testament books appeared in 1593, revised and reprinted in 1594. The translation of the whole New Testament was completed in 1595. The author's Jesuit confreres revised the translation to adjust it to the version of the Vulgate, which they regarded as correct. Thus, the translation of the entire Bible was not published until two years after the death of Rev. Jakub Wujek in 1599. For the background of this translation of the Bible and its references to Jews, see Pietkiewicz, "Jews and Their Language," 9–18.

Norman Davies even claims that Szymon Budny was called "the greatest Hebrew scholar of the sixteenth century."[30] Budny was undoubtedly one of the greatest Polish biblical scholars of the 16th century, besides the Jesuit Jakub Wujek. The aforementioned Franciszek Stankar (Francesco Stancaro) and Jan van Campen certainly made great contributions to the field of Hebrew studies, since in addition to translating, they both wrote works on strictly Hebrew issues. Franciszek Stankar is the author of a Hebrew grammar textbook and was also one of the translators of the Brest Bible. He taught Hebrew at many universities, including Padua (1530s), Vienna, Augsburg and Basel (1540s), Transylvania (1548/1549 academic year), and in Kraków (from the 1549 academic year).[31] Besides translating biblical books, Jan van den Campen authored a script on Hebrew consonants and vowels, also known as a Hebrew grammar textbook, based on the work of his master, Elias Levita.[32] Van Campen came to Kraków in 1530,[33] after being formerly a professor at Leuven. Both were lecturers at the Kraków University, which was later named the Jagiellonian University (1817).

Franciszek Stankar was strongly involved in religious disputes, which earned him a reputation of a quarreller. After he had been expelled for his views from the University of Vienna, he was employed at universities in Germany, Switzerland, Transylvania, as well as in Kraków and Królewiec.[34] After Stankar had left Kraków, Hebrew studies in the Kraków University were disapproved by the church authorities and fell into decline.[35]

2. Hebrew Studies in Poland in the 17th Century

Passion for the Hebrew language, which was deeply rooted in the Reformation, was still observed in Poland in the 17th century, after the Calvinist Maciej Ambroski, who had tried to translate the Psalms from the original language, became famous as a Hebrew scholar. Among the seventeenth-century scholars, attention should be drawn to Marcin Słonkowic, a lecturer at Kraków around 1650 and author of a grammar textbook.[36] In the 17th century, there were Hebrew scholars at the University

30 Davies, *Boże igrzysko*, 260.

31 See Gmiterek, "Franciszek Stankar," 158–163.

32 Levita – Münster, *Grammatica hebraica absolutissima*, cf. Zajączkowski, "Z dziejów orientalistyki," 368. Sebastian Münster is also the author of the Hebrew dictionary (*Dictionarium Hebraicum*). More on Protestant Hebrew studies in the 16th and 17th centuries, see Pietkiewicz, "Hebraistyka protestancka," 371–403; Pietkiewicz, *W poszukiwaniu „szczyrego słowa Bożego"*, 87–91.

33 Some sources say that it was in 1534. Probably his first stay in 1530 was temporary. See Zajączkowski, "Z dziejów orientalistyki," 368.

34 See Gmiterek, "Franciszek Stankar," 158–163.

35 See Zajączkowski, "Z dziejów orientalistyki," 369.

36 *Synopsis Grammaticae Hebraicae*. See Baczkowska, "Słonkowic," 27–28, quoted after Pietkiewicz, "Początki polskiej hebraistyki," 12.

of Kraków: Marcin Hankowicz, Jan Kłobucki, Jakub Vitelius, Mikołaj Żórawski and Wojciech Griglicius. Jakub Najmanowicz, who served as Rector of the University for a long time, was believed to know Hebrew.[37]

Jewish printing houses[38] had a significant impact on the growing interest in Hebrew studies in Silesia (southwest Poland), both in Jewish and Christian communities. The oldest Jewish printing house in this region was in Oleśnica, in the years 1529–1532.[39] Thanks to Chaim Schwarz of Prague and David ben Jonathan, a Hebrew edition of the Pentateuch, entitled *The Pentateuch*,[40] was published in 1530. The heyday of Hebrew studies in Silesia took place in the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century. Many enthusiasts studied Hebrew there.[41] The most famous were: Piotr Kirsten, a physician from Wrocław (Latinized Kirstenius, 1577–1640), a Silesian Orientalist, who was primarily interested in the Arabic language and culture[42]; Andrzej Akolut[43] (Latinized Acoluthus), a native of Bierutów (1654–1704), known as an Arabic scholar and translator of the Koran; Jan Herbinius (1630–1679, whose grandfather's family name was Kapusta), a poet, teacher, religious scholar and Orientalist; he tried to find Hebraicisms in Slavic names[44]; Daniel Springer (1656–1708)[45] and Kasper Neumann (1648–1715).[46] Samuel Weinisch (1700–1764)[47]

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37 See Zajączkowski, "Z dziejów orientalistyki," 370.

38 More on this topic, Pilarczyk, *Leksykon drukarzy*.

39 Kocowski, *Zarys dziejów drukarstwa*, 43–44.

40 Brann, *Geschichte der Juden*, 167–171. The only copy of this edition is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; Migoń, "Śląscy orientaliści," 18.

41 For example, Gotfryd Hensel, Rector of the Evangelical school in Jelenia Góra, issued *Diatriba, mirandam exhibens Linguae Germanicae indolem Hebraeam, Persicaeque*…, in 1739, in which he tried to prove that Hebrew was the oldest language in the world; Migoń, "Śląscy orientaliści," 43.

42 He mainly dealt with secular Oriental studies, but also in biblical philology. In 1610, he published *Notae in Evangelium S. Matthaei ex collatione textuum Arabicorum, Aegyptiacorum, Hebraeorum, Syriacorum, Graecorum, Latinorum*. Quoted after Migoń, "Śląscy orientaliści," 38. An extensive bibliography on Kirsten was included in Migoń, "Z dziejów recepcji," 229–239.

43 He also published the voluminous work *De aquis amaris*, a biblical and philological study devoted to the ritual rules in the Book of Numbers 5:11–31; Migoń, "Śląscy orientaliści," 25. See also Migoń, "Wrocławski orientalista," 325–335.

44 See Reychman, "Śląska i pomorska orientalistyka," 58–60; see also Ciszewski, "Hebraismi sclavi," 298.

45 Springer dealt mainly with the Hebrew language and with Judaism. He translated into Hebrew *De imitatione Christi* by Thomas à Kempis. He possessed the 1551 Venetian edition of Maimonides' *More Nevukhim* (Hebrew: מורה נבוכים – *The Guide to the Lost*) which was supposed to belong to the Polish King Sigismund Augustus. See Migoń, "Śląscy orientaliści," 12, and also Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon*, 760; Peucker, *Kurze biographische*, 129. A copy of Maimonides' work can be found in the University Library in Wrocław (Cat. No. 561061).

46 He wrote *Genesis linguae sanctae Veteris Testamenti*; Migoń, "Śląscy orientaliści," 13, see also Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache*, 126. Kasper Neumann considered Hebrew the proto-language of all mankind. At the end of his life, he became a member of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, as the second inhabitant of Wrocław after Andrzej Akolut; Migoń, "Śląscy orientaliści," 13; see also Guhrauer, "Leben und Verdienste," 7–17, 141–151, 202–210, 263–272.

47 None of his Hebrew works have survived. His library included over two hundred books in Hebrew. *Catalogus bibliothecae*, quoting after Migoń, "Śląscy orientaliści," 14.

stood out particularly in the 18th century, and Christian Unger at the turn of the century (1671–1719).[48]

3. Hebrew Studies in Pomerania in the 17th and 18th Centuries

In the 17th and 18th centuries, there were scholars of the Hebrew language in Pomerania, including Jan Fabrycy (1608–1653) from Gdańsk, who was a Hebrew and Arabic scholar and author of *Dissertatio philologica de nomine Jehova* (Gdańsk 1636). The Grodek family, coming from Silesia, made a significant contribution to Hebrew studies. Gabriel Grodek (d. 1709) published *Chilches Lilew ex antiquitate iudaica philologicae explanata*. Beniamin Grodek (1720–1766) wrote *Dissertatio de litteris hebraicis*.[49] Gotfryd Ernest Grodek (son of Beniamin Grodek) promoted Hebrew among the Vilnius youth. Jan Reychman called him "father of Vilnius Oriental studies." Jan Fidalke (1703–1763) wrote, among other works, *Theocratiam iudaicam*. Bogumił Wernsdorf (d. 1768), professor of the Gdańsk gymnasium (secondary school), published *Commentatio historico-critica de fide historica librorum Maccabaeicorum*. The Hebrew language was also studied by Michał Bogusław Ruttich (d. 1729), a proficient Hebrew and Arabic scholar, who was a professor in Moscow in 1705–1708, and later in Toruń.[50]

In Pomerania, Hebrew studies were also undertaken by Daniel Ernest Jabłoński (1660–1741), publisher of *Biblia hebraica cum notis hebraicis*. His son, Paweł Ernest Jabłoński (1693–1757), conducted pioneering research on Egyptian lexical borrowings in Old Greek. Jabłoński's disciple, Gotfryd Wojde (1725–1790), was supposed to have dealt with Hebrew. He was better known as an expert on Coptic and editor of the grammar textbook entitled *Grammatica aegyptica utriusque dialecti* by Jabłoński's brother-in-law, Christian Scholz. Hebrew was taught at the school associated with St. Elizabeth's Church in Wrocław as well as the school of Mary Magdalene's Church in Wrocław.[51]

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48 Chrystian Bogumił Unger, considered by some scholars (F. Babinger) to be the greatest Silesian Hebrew scholar, hadd a large collection of Hebrew-Jewish books, including Hebrew manuscripts. For example, he compiled *Index typographicus Dyrrhenfurtensis* as well as *Collectanea ad bibliothecam rabbinicam*, referring to the Sabataj Bass printing house from Brzeg Dolny. He also translated the New Testament into Hebrew; Migoń, "Śląscy orientaliści," 15–16.

49 See Szantyr, *Działalność naukowa Godfryda Ernesta Grodka*, 37; Hirsch, *Geschichte des academischen Gymnasium*, 64. The bibliography was quoted after Reychman, "Zainteresowania orientalistyczne," 75.

50 See Reychman, "Śląska i pomorska orientalistyka," 64–67.

51 See Reychman, "Śląska i pomorska orientalistyka," 60–64; quoted after Reychman, "Śląska i pomorska orientalistyka," 64; see also Fuchs, *Die Elisabethkirche zu Breslau*, 47; Fuchs, *Gymnasium zu St. Elisabeth*; Meister, *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, 20–21 (on teaching Hebrew).

4. Hebrew Scholars in Kraków in the Second Half of the 18th Century

Tomasz Małyszko and Sebastian Salomon should be mentioned among the experts in the Hebrew language in Kraków in the second half of the 18th century; they both taught Hebrew in 1755.[52] From then on, Hebrew was taught mainly by Catholic priests at the Faculty of Theology of the University of Kraków: Rev. Antoni Żołędziowski in 1744, Rev. Idatte between 1780 and 1783, and Rev. Wincenty Smaczniński[53] in 1783.

5. Tendencies to Revive Hebrew on Polish Lands

There were growing tendencies to revive the Hebrew language in Poland. Although Jews spoke Yiddish on a daily basis, there was also private correspondence written in Hebrew. It was used in private records when trading with non-Jews. There were memoirs written in Hebrew. Some of them have survived and are important witnesses to the use of Hebrew during that period.[54] The Hebrew of the 18th century was far from being grammatically correct; punctuation marks were not used, and there were borrowings and clichés from Polish. However, this form of Hebrew was completely sufficient to express thoughts and describe events. We are speaking about the 18th century Hebrew, so a language that was to be revived over a century later. The diaries written in Hebrew testify to the state of its use in Poland. Some of them, such as זכרונות רב דוב מבולחוב [The Memoirs of Dov Ber of Bolechow], are an important source of information on the history of Jews in Poland. We learn about their attempts to use spoken Hebrew in the 18th century; we learn about young people who met to speak Hebrew, for example in Tyśmienica. Some scholars consider the author of these memoirs, Dov Ber of Bolechów (1723–1805), a pioneer of the Jewish Enlightenment (Haskalah). He also translated historical books into Hebrew, having in mind the enlightenment of his nation[55].

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52 See Schorr, "Język hebrajski w Polsce,"430; Zajączkowski, "Z dziejów orientalistyki," 370.

53 See Zajączkowski, "Z dziejów orientalistyki," 370.

54 For example, זכרונות רב דוב מבולחוב [The Memoirs of Dov Ber of Bolechow] or קורות משה ווסרצוג [Autobiography of Moses Wasserzug]. On these diaries and the peculiarities of the Hebrew language at that time, see Marcinkowski, *Critical Edition of the Hebrew Manuscript No. 42*; Marcinkowski, *Pamiętniki reba Dowa z Bolechowa (1723–1805)*, and also the article: Marcinkowski, "Żydzi w Galicji Wschodniej," 153–167; Marcinkowski, *Pamiętniki reba Dowa z Bolechowa*; Marcinkowski, "העברית על אדמת פולין בתקופת ההשכלה," 59–62; Marcinkowski, "Dow Ber z Bolechowa," 183–190; Marcinkowski, "עברית על אדמת פולין בסוף המאה ה-18 ובתחילת המאה ה-19," 62–67; Marcinkowski, "ראשית 'ההשכלה' היהודית על אדמת פולין," 30–39; Marcinkowski, "Jews in Eastern Galicia," 41–58; Marcinkowski, "The Precursor," 45–56.

55 Marcinkowski, "העברית על אדמת פולין בתקופת ההשכלה על פי זיכרונותיו של דוב בר מבולחוב," 117–120; Marcinkowski, "ראשית 'ההשכלה' היהודית על אדמת פולין," 30–39.

6. Hebrew Studies in Poland during the Haskalah

The end of the 18th century and the 19th century were the times of the Jewish Enlightenment (Haskalah). There were disputes about the shape of the Hebrew language between the followers of the Enlightenment (*maskilim*), Orthodox circles (*chasidim*) and clear opponents of changes (*mitnagdim*). From the beginning of the 19th century, both popular and scientific Hebrew magazines began to appear, such as *Kerem Chemed* ("Vineyard of Pleasure" or "Vineyard of Delight") headed by Galician Hebrew scholars who cared for the purity of Hebrew by eliminating all foreign influences, clichés or lexical borrowings from it. Marking out influences from Yiddish and the rabbinical (Talmudic) style, they limited themselves to the language of the Bible, getting rid of any elements of post-biblical Hebrew. When they lacked Hebrew terms, they used biblical ones, creating new meanings, and thus making the language artificial and unnatural. This style is termed *melitsah*. New studies on the language emerged, such as the Hebrew grammar by Judah Leib Ben Zeev (1764–1811), which was an indispensable aid to teaching Hebrew in Jewish schools throughout the 19th century. Noteworthy is the work of Isaac Erter (1792–1851, born near Przemyśl, died in Brody), entitled *Ha-Tzofeh* [The Watchman], which is a collection of polemics against Hasidic Jews, written in a pure biblical style. What is important, the author demanded to develop grammatical rules, establish vocabulary and even an institution ensuring the purity and correctness of the Hebrew language.[56]

Jakub S. Abramowicz (b. 1836) published *Toldot hateva* [The History of Nature] in four volumes, creating the basis for Hebrew terminology in the field of zoology. Zevi Hirsch ben Meir ha-Kohen Rabinowitz (Hirsz Rabinowicz [1832–1889]) published אוצר החכמה והמדע [The Treasure of Wisdom and Knowledge] in Vilnius, 1876, in three parts, creating terminology in the field of physics and chemistry, while Chaim Zelig Słonimski[57] in the field of astronomy and mathematics.[58]

7. A Growing Interest in Hebrew in 18th and 19th Centuries

With the development of Hebrew literature, interest in the language itself increased. The most important Hebrew scholars at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries undoubtedly include the above-mentioned Ben Zeev Judah Leib, author of the Hebrew grammar textbook *Talmud leshon ivri* [Learning the Hebrew Language], in

56 See Schorr, "Język hebrajski w Polsce," 432–433.

57 Chaim Zelig Słonimski, born in Białystok on March 10, 1810, died in Warsaw on May 15, 1904, of Jewish origin, a writer, mathematician, astronomer and inventor. In 1862, he founded the first periodical in Hebrew called הצפירה [Morning Star] to promote science.

58 See Schorr, "Język hebrajski w Polsce," 434–435.

five parts; its first edition was published in Wrocław in 1796. Moreover, he published a Hebrew-German dictionary in three parts, entitled אוצר השורשים – *Otsar Ha-Shorashim* [Treasury of Roots], in Vienna in 1807. Its sixth edition, edited by Moses Schulbaum (Lwów 1880–1882), included another volume devoted to new Hebrew literature. In the 19th century, it should be indicated that Chayim Zvi Lerner (1815–1889) published the Hebrew grammar מורה הלשון – *More Halashon* [Language Teacher] in Leipzig (1859) and the Aramaic דקדוק לשון ארמית – *Diqduq lashon aramit* [Grammar of the Aramaic Language]. Joshua Steinberg developed the Hebrew grammar מערכי לשון עבר– *Maarche leshon ever* [Study of the Hebrew Language] in Vilnius (1884) and the Hebrew-Russian-German biblical dictionary, entitled אוצר המילים – *Otsar hamilim* [A Treasury of Words].

8. Biblical Hebrew in the New Theology Study Programmes

At the beginning of the 19th century, Austrian universities introduced a new curriculum for theological studies including Biblical Hebrew. This was also to be required at the Kraków University. In 1802, Hebrew classes were taken over by Rev. Florian Kudrewicz. In 1805, under the imperial decree to merge the University of Lwów with the Kraków University, a project was introduced to create a chair of Semitic languages, including Hebrew. Biblical Hebrew was taught mainly by priests: Marcin Altegger (1808–1809), Jan Kanty Górnicki (1810–1814) and Florian Kudrewicz[59] (he resumed lectures in the 1815/1816 academic year), Piotr Pękalski (1827–1832), Aleksander Jan Schindler[60] (1832–1836), Jan Stanisław Przybylski (1836–1838), Ignacy Penka (1839–1840), Leon Laurysiewicz (1840–1841), Jan Droździewicz[61] (1860–1863 and 1871–1883), Zygmunt Lenkiewicz (1883–1891) and Władysław Knapiński (1887–1909).

9. Development of Centres for Hebrew Studies in Vilnius and Warsaw

At the beginning of the 19th century, centres for Hebrew studies were founded in Vilnius and Warsaw. In his project of the Vilnius Academy, Hugo Kołłątaj

59 He wrote the textbook *Compendium hermeneuticae*, see Zajączkowski, "Z dziejów orientalistyki," 371.

60 He used the grammar of Johanne Jahn (*Grammatica linguae hebraicae* from 1824). In 1840, he obtained an honorary doctorate from the Jagiellonian University, see Zajączkowski, "Z dziejów orientalistyki," 371–373.

61 He wrote "O napisie hebrajskim," cf. Zajączkowski, "Z dziejów orientalistyki," 373.

indicated the need to create a chair of the Hebrew language. Tadeusz Czacki wrote to Prince Adam Czartoryski that "teachers of Hebrew, Chaldean and Arabic are ready"[62] in Krzemieniec. In another letter to the same addressee, on November 17, 1807, the Rector of the University of Vilnius, Jan Śniadecki, pointed to the seminarian Szymon Feliks Żukowski, who had learned Hebrew with Fabrycy, a Basilian monk. Rev. Szymon Żukowski was the author of *Początki języka hebrajskiego przez Sebastiana Żukowskiego* and *Wypisy hebrayskie* [Hebrew Excerpts] (with a Hebrew-Polish dictionary). He also translated fragments of the Psalms, which he published together with their Hebrew texts in *Dzieje dobroczynności krajowej i zagranicznej, 1823* [Acts of National and Foreign Charity]. Among Żukowski's students at the Major Seminary in Vilnius, the following should be mentioned: Piotr Chlebowski, a later translator and co-worker of Luigi A. Chiarini; Jan Chrzciciel Gintyłła (d. 1857), the author of a Hebrew-Polish dictionary; he was also fluent in Arabic; Hebrew scholar Herbert Mamert (1789–1873) as well as Jan Skidła and Michał Bobrowski. Jan Nepomucen Wiernikowski (1800–1877), a translator of fragments of the Psalms from the original, and Ludwik Spitznagel (1805–1829), who taught Oriental languages, including Hebrew,[63] to Adam Mickiewicz, were also associated with the Vilnius community. Spitznagel committed suicide, an incident which echoed in Juliusz Słowacki's work.[64]

62 See Dębicki, *Puławy*, 95; quoted after Reychman, "Zainteresowania orientalistyczne," 72.

63 Perhaps it was because of him that the famous wording by Adam Mickiewicz "and his name shall be forty and four" was created. Adam Mickiewicz in *Dziady* [Forefathers' Eve], part III, Scene V, through the mouth of Father Piotr, spins the following vision (translated by Dorothea Prall Radin, in Mickiewicz *Poems*, 291–294, https://books.openedition.org/ceup/2369:

The restorer of our land!
Born of a foreign mother, in his veins
The blood of ancient warriors – and his name
Shall be forty and four.

According to many literary critics, with these words Mickiewicz foretold the coming of a hero who would become the nation's restorer, symbolically called "forty and four." This is probably a misreading of the numerical value of Hebrew consonants in the word "Adam," which is Hebrew for "man." Adam is also the poet's name. In the Polish word "Adam" we have two consonants *d* and *m*, which correspond to the Hebrew consonants ד and מ. Their numerical value in the Hebrew alphabet is 44. The correct numerical value of the word אדם is 605 because we have three consonants. א is a consonant with a value of 1, and מ at the end of a word is written as ם, which has a numerical value of 600. א = 1, ד = 4, ם = 600, total 605. At least a few Vilnius Orientalists were in close contact with Adam Mickiewicz, among them, usually standing in opposition to the bard, Józef Sękowski. And "foreign mother" is probably the poet's mother, Barbara Majewska, who was supposed to come from the Jakub Frank's sect, whose members were baptized in the mid-18th century. Such a hypothesis was developed by Artur Sandauer ("Nie czy, lecz po co 'Z matki obcej,'" 3).

64 See Reychman, "Zainteresowania orientalistyczne," 73–74, 89.

10. Lecturers of Hebrew at Polish Universities in the Late 18th Century and the 19th Century

Among the lecturers of the Hebrew language at Polish universities in the late 18th century and the 19th century, the following should be mentioned: Szymon Żukowski in Vilnius, Piotr Pękalski in Kraków, Innocent Fessler (1755–1839) at the Josephine University in Lwów and Luigi A. Chiarini[65] at the University of Warsaw. M. Molinary and Villaume lectured at the Jesuit Academy in Połock. The most important publications on Hebrew include I. Fessler's *Antologia hebraica*; S. Żukowski's *Początki języka hebrajskiego z wypisami* [The Beginnings of the Hebrew Language with Excerpts]; Giraud's *Vocabulaire hebreu-français*; and Luigi A. Chiarini's *Grammatyka hebrayska*.

11. Hebrew Studies at the University of Warsaw until World War I

11.1. The Beginnings

The Hebrew language as an auxiliary subject of theology existed almost from the very beginning in most academic centres in Poland. This was also the case at the University of Warsaw,[66] where the teaching of Hebrew was initiated as early as two years after the establishment of the University, i.e. in 1818. The first lecturer of the Hebrew language at the University of Warsaw was Rev. Prof. Paweł Szymański. Soon after, Rev. Sebastian Ciampi[67] joined the teaching staff, having been invited from Tuscany to conduct Hebrew language classes by another Italian clergyman, Rev. Luigi Chiarini.[68] Soon, with the consent of Tsar Nicholas I, scholars began translating the Talmud into

65 Rev. Chiarini was friends with the Krasiński family. He taught Hebrew and Arabic to Zygmunt Krasiński; they read the Bible and the Quran in original languages. Chiarini died in Warsaw at the Krasiński Palace in 1832. More on Chiarini, see Manteufflowa, "Chiarini Alojzy Ludwik," 290–291; Parente, "Chiarini Luigi," 582.

66 On the beginnings of the University of Warsaw, see Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski*, I–III.

67 In the 1817/1818 academic year, Sebastian Ciampi was one of the first professors of the University of Warsaw. He taught classical languages at the Faculty of Philosophy, which at that time also included philological and historical sciences. That is why he is mentioned in the history of the Faculty of History of the University of Warsaw. He made a mark in Polish historiography as a researcher of Polish-Italian relations. See also Bieliński, *Królewski Uniwersytet Warszawski*, II, 392–395; Caccamo, "Sebastiano Ciampi," 131–134; Barycz, "Sebastian Ciampi," 15–17; Barycz, "Sebastian Ciampi i jego działalność literacka," 467–479.

68 Rev. Chiarini, in addition to the aforementioned Hebrew grammar textbook, compiled *Słownik hebrayski*; from Latin translated by P. Chlebowski. For the beginnings of Hebrew studies at the University of Warsaw, see Marcinkowski, "לואיג'י קיאריני בוורשה ומאמציו לתרגם את התלמוד לצרפתית," 9–18; Marcinkowski, "Luigi Chiarini (1789–1832) – jeden z pierwszych hebraistów Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego," 24–25; Marcinkowski, "Luigi Chiarini (1789–1832) – an Anti-Judaistic Reformer of Judaism," 237–248; Marcinkowski, "Reformator judaizmu czy antyjudaista?," 52–59.

French. Their translation and teaching of Hebrew were interrupted by the November Uprising and the closure of the University of Warsaw in 1831. After the university had been reactivated in 1861, first as the Warsaw Main School and then from the Imperial University of Russia in 1869, there were no Hebrew studies there (although Celestyn Disnart opened a chair of Hebrew at the Warsaw Main School, due to the lack of students, Hebrew classes were suspended after two years[69]).

11.2. The Restoration of Hebrew courses in 1915

Courses of Hebrew were restored only in 1915 after the University of Warsaw had resumed its activity as a Polish university. At that time, biblical Hebrew was taught at three faculties: Catholic Theology (Rev. Prof. Jan Stawarczyk, an excellent Hebrew teacher and head of the Biblical Philology Department), Evangelical Theology (Rev. Prof. Jan Szeruda, a well-known translator of the Old Testament books) and Orthodox Theology (Asst. Prof. Sergiusz Kisiel-Kisielewski). Hebrew courses were treated as an auxiliary science of theology, enabling its students to study the Old Testament.[70]

12. Hebrew Studies at the Jagiellonian University in the First Half of the 20th Century

In the first half of the 20th century (interrupted by the wars), biblical Hebrew was taught at the Faculty of Theology. The lecturers were: Rev. Jan Korzonkiewicz[71] (1909–1920), Rev. Józef Archutowski[72] (from 1920 to autumn 1939), Rev. Alfons Bielenin (1923–1949, including the break of World War II with), Rev. Jan Mazerski (1938/1939), Rev. Aleksy Klawek[73] (after the war until 1954), Rev. K. Gliński (1946/1947), and later Rev. Władysław Smereka (1947–1953) and Rev. Stanisław Grzybek (1945–1953).

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69 In 1877–1880, a twelve-volume bibliography, entitled אוצר הספרים, was published; it contains a list of Hebrew manuscripts and prints published before 1863.

70 See *Skład Uniwersytetu i Spis Wykładów*. Cf. Tyloch, "Hebrew Studies in Poland," 11–17.

71 He was primarily concerned with the history of the Bible, and his main work is a monograph entitled *Jehošua – studium biblijne*, see Zajączkowski, "Z dziejów orientalistyki," 373–374.

72 One of the leading Polish biblical scholars, author of *Gramatyka języka hebrajskiego*. A little earlier *Gramatyka języka hebrajskiego* by Rev. Klemens Sarnicki, professor at the University of Lwów, second edition, Lwów 1906, was published. Also in the Jewish community, textbooks for teaching Hebrew in schools were prepared: Szenhak, *Gramatyka języka hebrajskiego*; Hausner, *Gramatyka języka hebrajskiego*; Weissberg, *Słownik hebrajsko-polski*.

73 He was particularly concerned with the etymology of Hebrew biblical names. He translated the Book of Psalms (*Psalter*).

13. A Growing Interest in Modern Hebrew

13.1. In Kraków

In the late 19th century and the early 20th century, one could observed an increasing interest in modern Hebrew, to which the example of Eliezer ben Yehuda contributed. The Jewish diaspora began establishing primary and secondary schools, where Hebrew was not only a subject but also the language of instruction. From 1926 until the outbreak of World War II, the teaching of modern Hebrew as part of a foreign language course was introduced at the Faculty of Philosophy of the Jagiellonian University. The classes were conducted in turn by Dawid Rosenman, Edmund Stein and Bencjon Katz.[74]

13.2. In Warsaw

In Warsaw, the Institute of Judaism became the Centre of Hebrew Studies at the university level. Its lecturers included Moses Schorr[75] and Majer Bałaban.[76] Thus there were no Hebrew studies at first at the Institute of Oriental Studies, established in 1932.[77]

14. Break Caused by World War II

The intense development of Polish Hebrew studies in the mid-1930s was interrupted by the outbreak of World War II, which resulted in irreparable losses for both Jewish and Polish experts in the subject. The academic staff was exterminated, and institutions dealing with the Hebrew language and its culture were destroyed.

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74 See Zajączkowski, "Z dziejów orientalistyki," 379.

75 Moses Schorr was undoubtedly a great figure (born in Przemyśl on May 10, 1874 and died in a labour camp in Posty, Uzbekistan, on July 8, 1941). He was a Polish historian and Orientalist, an outstanding expert in Babylonian law, Semitist, rabbi, political activist, senator of the Second Polish Republic, Vice-President of B'nai B'rith, and one of the founders of modern historiography of Polish Jews. He authored many scientific publications on the history of Polish Jews, Hebrew language and culture, as well as old Semitic languages and Babylonian legislation. See Prokopowicz, *Żydzi polscy*, 291–293, Żebrowski, *Mojżesz Schorr*; Marcinkowski, "קורות חייו ופועלו המדעי של פרופ' משה שור," 113–117.

76 Majer Bałaban (1877–1942), a historian and educator, rabbi, precursor of research on the history of Jews in Poland from the 14th century to his contemporary times; author of many publications on the history, culture and customs of Polish Jews. For the purposes of this study, a particularly important publication by Prof. Majer Bałaban is *Historja i literatura żydowska*, which covers the history of the Jewish nation and their literature written in Hebrew in three volumes.

77 Cf. Tyloch, "Historia studiów hebraistycznych," 107.

15. Hebrew Studies after the War

After World War II, Hebrew studies in the field of biblical languages were resumed at only three universities: the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, the University of Warsaw, and the Catholic University of Lublin.[78] Hebrew studies were treated as an auxiliary science of theology. Some of the biblical scholars were also good philologists, not only at the Catholic University of Lublin, but also at other universities. One of them was undoubtedly the aforementioned Rev. Prof. Aleksy Klawek (1890–1969), who worked at the University of Lwów before the war. Later he worked at the Jagiellonian University, teaching the Faculty of Theology till 1954 and then in the Department of Oriental Philology until 1969. The first post-war teacher of Hebrew at the Faculty of Theology, University of Warsaw, was Rev. Prof. Paweł Nowicki.[79]

In 1954, the communist authorities removed faculties of theology from all Polish state universities. They created the Academy of Catholic Theology in Warsaw (ATK), which embraced the Faculty of Theology of the University of Warsaw. The academic staff of the Faculty of Theology of the Jagiellonian University opposed the merger with the Academy of Catholic Theology and, despite the repression, remained in Kraków, although they were forced to limit their activities only to educating seminarians preparing for the sacrament of Holy Orders.

The teaching of biblical Hebrew was continued at the Academy of Catholic Theology by Rev. Paweł Nowicki (1888–1980) and the Franciscan priest Józef Wiesław Rosłon (1929–1993),[80] who gained fame through their achievements. The author of this article also taught Hebrew at the Academy of Catholic Theology from 1990 until 2003. In the last decade of the 20th century, Rev. Krzysztof Bardski and Anna Kuśmirek, who wrote her Master's thesis *"Sefer Elijahu" jako przykład żydowskiej literatury apokaliptycznej* under my supervision at the University of Warsaw in 1997, joined the ATK team of Hebrew scholars.

78 An outstanding biblical scholar, Rev. Prof. Stanisław Łach (1906–1983), was the author of many translations, studies and commentaries to biblical books. He lectured biblical Hebrew at the Catholic University of Lublin in 1948–1976. For many years, the Polish version of Paul Jouon's grammar, edited by Rev. Paweł Leks (*Gramatyka języka hebrajskiego*), served as a textbook there. At the Catholic University of Lublin, this tradition was continued by Rev. Prof. Ryszard Rubinkiewicz (1939–2011).

79 He moved to the Academy of Catholic Theology, working there till 1969. He wrote the textbook Nowicki, *Hebrajszczyzna biblijna*.

80 Author of many teaching aids for ATK students, including Rosłon, *Podręcznik języka hebrajskiego*, and Rosłon, *Wypisy do nauki języka hebrajskiego*.

16. Hebrew Studies at the University of Warsaw after World War II

After the restoration of the Institute of Oriental Studies at the University of Warsaw in 1945, Hebrew was first offered again at the Chair of Ancient Eastern Philology, headed by Prof. Rudolf Ranoszek in 1948, and then in the Chair of Semitic Studies, headed by Prof. Stefan Strelcyn[81] in 1950. For Semitists, Hebrew was one of the subjects of their main interests. At the time, modern Hebrew also began to be taught.[82] One of its first lecturers, apart from Prof. Strelcyn, was Władysław Tubielewicz,[83] who worked at the Institute of Oriental Studies until 1962 and then in 1990–1995. In 1959, the study programme was expanded, with a stronger emphasis on Israel's history and Hebrew literature. In 1968, the Chair of Semitic Studies was transformed into the Department of Semitics and African Studies. In 1969, Witold Tyloch took over managing the Department as an associate professor. At the time, separate programmes were developed, comprising three specialties: African studies (Hausa and Swahili), Ethiopian studies and Hebrew studies. The curriculum of the Hebrew studies was changed in 1973, expanding the scope of the programme to include modern Hebrew classes. In 1975, Hebrew studies became part of the Middle East and Maghreb Department.[84] In 1979, it was part, along with Assyriology, Egyptology and Hittology, of the Division of Ancient East and Hebrew Studies, which was then renamed the Department of Ancient East Philology, Egyptology and Hebrew Studies.

In the late 1970s and 80s, the teaching and research staff of the Department of Hebrew Studies included Prof. Witold Tyloch, Ewa Świderska[85] and Tomasz Federowicz.[86] (I joined the team upon graduation in 1982[87]). The whole team, through

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81 Stefan Strelcyn was primarily an Ethiopist, but also a Hebraist. Together with F. Kupfer, he published a book on strictly Hebrew topics (Kupfer – Strelcyn, *Mickiewicz w przekładach hebrajskich*). In 1969, he left Poland, first working at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, then he became a professor at the University of Manchester. His scientific achievements were appreciated when he was appointed a member of the British Academy in 1976, see Tyloch, "Historia studiów hebraistycznych," 109.

82 An undoubtedly important lexicographic event at that time was the publication of the two-volume *Słownik hebrajsko-polski*, compiled by Miriam and Dawid Szir and known in Poland as "Słownik Sieraczków," in Tel-Aviv in 1958. The same authors developed a three-volume *Słownik polsko-hebrajski*, Tel-Aviv 1975/1976 (unfortunately, less successful than the first one).

83 Tubielewicz, "Vom Einfluß europäischer Sprachen," 337–351. Earlier, Moshe Altbauer published "O technice zdrobnień," 189–198, and also "Elementy słowiańskie," 64–68.

84 In 1972–1977, Witold Witakowski worked as an assistant at the Department of Semitics and African Studies. Later he left for Scandinavia.

85 She wrote her Master's thesis on the stories of Shmuel Yosef Agnon, winner of the 1966 Nobel Prize in Literature. She worked at the University of Warsaw from 1973 till 1988. She wrote, inter alia, Świderska, "Wpływy słowiańskie," 339–340.

86 His Master's thesis *Funkcje imiesłowu w języku „Ksiąg Królewskich"* was written under the supervision of Prof. W. Tyloch. He worked at the University of Warsaw in 1977–1986.

87 I began writing my MA thesis on the prepositional rection of Hebrew verbs, but as a result of the imposition of martial law in Poland in 1981, my contacts with international science were limited and I had to

their excellent work especially in the field of didactics, set high standards in Hebrew studies.[88]

17. The Department of Hebrew Studies at the University of Warsaw

A severe blow to the department was the unexpected death of Prof. Witold Tyloch in 1990. At that time, the Department of Ancient East Philology, Egyptology and Hebrew Studies was divided into three separate departments: the Department of the Ancient East, the Department of Egyptology and the Department of Hebrew Studies. I took over the management of the latter.[89] The scope of modern and biblical language classes was expanded. Yiddish and Aramaic were added to the study programme. The number of hours of Arabic classes was also increased and conducted by Anna Parzymies, Jolanta Kozłowska, Ryszard Piwiński, Agata Nalborczyk, George Yacoub, Georges Kass and others. It became practice to employ a native speaker of Hebrew as a teacher. Such teachers included Jael Mehl from Israel (1990/1991), Lavinia Davenport from Great Britain and Shoshana Ronen from Israel (1992/1993). Ronen[90] graduated with a degree in philosophy from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1992. Meanwhile she was employed as a language teacher in the Hebrew Department. In 1994–1998, she was on a sabbatical preparing her dissertation with which she earned a PhD in philosophy from the University of Warsaw[91], after which she returned to lecture at the Department.

A great contribution to development and maintaining a high level of education during the difficult times of the department in the 1990s was made by Hebrew studies graduates of the University of Warsaw Iwona Brzewska and Daniel Starzyński.

Students pursuing Hebrew studies participated in history classes conducted by Prof. Jerzy Tomaszewski and Prof. Andrzej Chojnowski. They learnt the arcane of the Yiddish language and culture from three great experts: Ewa Geller, Tadeusz Józef Michalski and Jakub Weitzner. It is worth mentioning some graduates of Hebrew

change the subject of my thesis to *Traktat Miszny „Pesachim". Wstęp, przekład, komentarz.*

88 More information on Hebrew studies in the 1980s and the 1990s can be found in Marcinkowski, "Zakład Hebraistyki," 15–17.

89 I was the first Head of the Hebrew Department of the University of Warsaw from 1990 until 2001. I obtained further academic degrees: in 1993 – a doctor's degree in the field of linguistics for my dissertation entitled *Pamiętniki reba Dowa z Bolechowa. Rękopis z Jews College London nr 31 – wstęp, edycja, przekład z języka hebrajskiego, komentarz*, submitted to the Council of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the University of Warsaw.

90 Ronen – Sobelman, *Samouczek języka hebrajskiego*.

91 Her Ph.D. thesis: *Nietzsche and Wittgenstein in Search of Secular Salvation*.

studies, who later joined the teaching staff: Małgorzata Sandowicz,[92] Anna Kuśmirek[93] and Paweł Zdun.[94] There were many others who made important contributions to the development of the Department of Hebrew Studies.

In the late 20th century, the scientific achievements of the Department include prolific publications, mainly those by Witold Tyloch[95] and to a lesser extent those by the undersigned. They were studies on the Dead Sea manuscripts, texts from Ugarit, Judaism, especially rabbinic Judaism, with its main work, Mishnah, as well as eighteenth-century Hebrew manuscripts written in Poland, Hebrew linguistics and issues related to contemporary Israel, in particular contemporary Hebrew literature.

Prof. Witold Tyloch kept in touch with the world's leading research centres in the field of Hebrew studies, particularly in Israel. After his death, this function was taken over by the undersigned, who was an active and tenured participant in numerous international Hebrew conferences, including the World Congresses of Hebrew Language and Culture. Moreover, I am a member on the editorial board of important scientific journals, e.g. *Revue Européenne des Études Hébraïques*, based in Paris. Thanks to this activity, the Polish Hebrew community gained recognition among specialists around the world, which was reflected in the fact that the Department of Hebrew Studies was entrusted with the organization of international conferences. The first was the Fourth World Congress of Hebrew Language and Culture, held in August 1980 in Warsaw, and attended by scientists from twelve European countries and from Israel. It was the first congress on the Hebrew language and culture in Central and Eastern Europe. Prof. Witold Tyloch also initiated the second conference titled "Polish and Jewish Society in 1863–1939," which took place in 1990. However, due to a serious illness followed by his death, the burden of organizing the conference fell on me. This conference was attended by scholars from France, Israel, the former Soviet Union and Poland.[96] Until the end of the twentieth century, the Department of

92 MA thesis *Kodyfikacja prawa żydowskiego według Majmonidesa*, supervisor R. Marcinkowski.

93 MA thesis *„Sefer Elijahu" jako przykład żydowskiej literatury apokaliptycznej*, supervisor R. Marcinkowski.

94 MA thesis *Nomenklatura angelologiczna oraz terminologia dotycząca Boga w „Pieśniach Ofiary Szabatowej" z Qumran i Masady*, supervisor R. Marcinkowski.

95 The main research area of Prof. Tyloch was Semitic linguistics, especially Hebrew and religious studies. He wrote, inter alia, Tyloch, *Gramatyka języka hebrajskiego* and many articles, e.g. Tyloch, "The Evidence of the Proto-lexicon," 55–61. His works on Qumran are well-known: Tyloch, *Rękopisy z Qumran*; Tyloch, *Aspekty społeczne gminy z Qumran* (habilitation thesis). He also dealt with Ugarit (Ras Shamra), about which he wrote in Tyloch, *Odkrycia w Ugarit*. His biblical research included Tyloch, *Dzieje ksiąg Starego Testamentu*. In 1987, his book *Judaizm* was published as part of the series Religie Świata [Religions of the world], presenting in an accessible way the history and principles of the first of the three great monotheistic religions. On Prof. Tyloch's Hebrew publications, see Marcinkowski, "פרופ' ויטולד טילוך ולימודי העברית באוניברסיטת ורשה," 117–120; Marcinkowski, "Witold Tyloch a studia hebraistyczne," 37–42.

96 This momentous event was described by R. Marcinkowski, "Społeczeństwo polskie i żydowskie w latach 1863–1939," 156–160; Marcinkowski, "Polacy i Żydzi między powstaniem styczniowym a wybuchem II wojny światowej," 183–186; Marcinkowski "Stosunki polsko-żydowskie w latach 1863–1939," 363–365.

Hebrew Studies of the University of Warsaw[97] was the only centre in Poland, which conducted MA programmes in Hebrew Studies.

18. The Mordechai Anielewicz Centre for the Study and Teaching of the History and Culture of the Jews in Poland

The Hebrew Studies at the University of Warsaw became a unit that supported other research and teaching centres in Poland, which taught the Hebrew language and culture as auxiliary subjects. In 1990, the Mordechai Anielewicz Centre for the Study and Teaching of the History and Culture of the Jews in Poland was established at the University of Warsaw, the Faculty of History, also becoming a place where courses of Hebrew were offered. Regina Gromacka was teaching Hebrew, mainly to history students, there for many years. The Centre employed graduates of Hebrew Studies, including Anna Michałowska-Mycielska.[98]

19. Hebrew as Research and Didactic Subject at Other Academic Centres in Poland

It would be impossible to list here all the scholars[99] who, even partly, did research into the Hebrew language till the end of the 20th century. Neither would it be possible to list all the places in Poland, where work related to the study or teaching of the Hebrew language, mainly biblical, was undertaken. The leading centres includes the Catholic University of Lublin and the Academy of Catholic Theology in Warsaw, now the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw. It is also worth mentioning the Christian Theological Academy, in particular its theologian and Hebraist Prof. Jan Szeruda (1889–1962).

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97 One of the graduates is Piotr Muchowski, who is now working at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, where in 1993, he obtained a doctorate in linguistics for his dissertation *Zwój miedziany (3Q15)*. He also wrote *Rozmówki polsko-hebrajskie*; *Rękopisy znad Morza Martwego*; *Komentarze do rękopisów znad Morza Martwego*.

98 In 1995, she wrote her MA thesis *Pinkas gminy żydowskiej w Boćkach*, under the supervision of R. Marcinkowski.

99 In the late 20th century, many Polish scholars undertook research on Hebrew topics, e.g. Prof. Jerzy Woronczak (1923–2003) from the University of Wrocław, who supervised the doctoral dissertation entitled *Inskrypcje hebrajskie na Śląsku XIII–XVIII w.* [Hebrew Inscriptions in Silesia in the 13th–18th Centuries] by Marcin Wodziński in 1995. We should also mention Prof. Stanisław Frybes (1922–2013, the Righteous Among the Nations, honored by Yad Vashem) from the Faculty of Polish Studies of the University of Warsaw, and Ewa Geller from the Faculty of Modern Languages of the University of Warsaw.

It is certainly worth mentioning Prof. Andrzej Zaborski (1942–2014), a lecturer at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Faculty of Philology of the Jagiellonian University from 1967, who also taught biblical Hebrew.

By a resolution of the Senate of the Jagiellonian University, on October 1, 1986, the Inter-Faculty Department of Jewish History and Culture in Poland was established, which was then transformed into the Department of Jewish Studies at the Faculty of History of the Jagiellonian University. Kraków Jewish studies is thus the oldest academic unit dealing with Jewish research established in post-war Poland.

Judaic research indirectly related to Hebrew topics, in which Prof. Krzysztof Pilarczyk was involved, were also undertaken at the Institute of Religious Studies, Faculty of Philosophy of the Jagiellonian University. In addition, the Department of the Middle and Far East was established at the Jagiellonian University in 2000, and in 2009 it was transformed into an independent Institute of the Middle and Far East, Faculty of International and Political Studies of the Jagiellonian University.

20. The Polish Association of Jewish Studies

An important event in the field of research and teaching of Jewish languages and culture in Poland at the end of the 20th century was the conference titled "Żydzi i judaizm we współczesnych badaniach polskich" [Jews and Judaism in contemporary Polish research], which was held in Kraków on November 21–23, 1995.[100] It gathered Polish scholars representing the most important research centres dealing with Jewish culture: the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, the Department of Hebrew Studies of the University of Warsaw, the Centre for Research and Teaching of Jewish History and Culture in Poland of the University of Warsaw and the Inter-Faculty Department of Jewish History and Culture in Poland of the Jagiellonian University. The Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences was a co-organizer. The opening lecture on Hebrew studies at the University of Warsaw was delivered by the undersigned as Head of the Department of Hebrew Studies of the University of Warsaw. The participants of the conference founded the Polish Association of Jewish Studies (Polskie Towarzystwo Studiów Żydowskich), which was officially registered in Kraków in 1996. Krzysztof Pilarczyk became its first president. The statutory goal of the Society was to consolidate the scholarly community dealing with the broadly understood history and culture of Jews, mainly in Poland, including the study and teaching of the Hebrew language. The second conference organized by the Polish Association of

100 Pilarczyk, *Żydzi i judaizm*.

Jewish Studies, having the same title as the first conference, was held in Kraków on November 24–26, 1998.[101]

Conclusion

Hebrew studies in Poland have undergone a process of very intensive development and transformation over centuries, from the first lecturers of classical languages and translations of biblical books from their original languages in the 16th century, through the Jewish Enlightenment (Haskalah) and disputes about the shape of Hebrew in the late 18th century and the 19th century, to the emergence of numerous centres for Hebrew studies offering full-time Bachelor and Master's programmes, conducting interdisciplinary research, developing scholarly publications in the field and establishing organizations aiming to promote research on the history, culture and language of Jews.

Today Polish universities and research centres can boast a range of achievements, including the development of scholarly publications on Hebrew and Jewish studies, interdisciplinary research conducted in cooperation with scholarly institutions in Poland and abroad, offering blocks of specializing courses and organizing conferences that attract many prominent scholars from all over the world.

All this creates a good institutional basis for the development of Hebrew studies at Polish institutions of higher education. Hebrew and Jewish studies are represented at all the leading universities in Poland, attracting a growing number of Polish and international students. Moreover, the number of high quality articles published by Polish authors in the most prestigious Hebrew Studies journals in the world is increasing.

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Letters as a School of the Christian Exegesis. A Study of the Selected Early Christian Latin Letters of the 4th and 5th Century (Augustine, Jerome, and Paulinus of Nola)

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Abstract: Letters are often treated as a secondary literary genre, serving only to convey information and maintain relationships between people. But Christianity, which has been called the religion of the book, can also be described as the religion of the letter. In fact, from the very beginning, it was mainly through the letters (e.g., of Paul the Apostle) that the faith and the doctrinal, moral, and disciplinary instructions were transmitted. Of course, the authors of the early Christian letters also referenced biblical themes and the Bible itself. Following the ancient rules of rhetoric, they also implemented the postulate of didacticism (*docere*) by making the Scriptures and their exegesis more widely known. This article aims to show how this postulate is put into practice in Latin letters written by three great patristic figures: Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, and Saint Paulinus of Nola, the most important representatives of the golden patristic age. These outstanding early Christian pastors and writers are considered to have created a kind of "virtual school" of biblical exegesis in their letters. This article presents how this "school" functioned, from the invitation to participate, through the methods and the study program, to the praise that good students earned. It can be an excellent model for our current age, marked by online education. This can also be applied to biblical studies and the study of biblical and patristic exegesis.

Keywords: letters, exegesis, Bible, Jerome of Stridon, Paulinus of Nola, Augustine

Most often, when discussing patristic exegesis, its development, and studies on it, one thinks chiefly about exegetical treatises, commentaries, and homilies or special exegesis handbooks created in the patristic period.[1] Rarely, however, in scientific considerations do we turn to highly abundant sources, i.e., collections of letters. Perhaps this is because letters are treated more as a private means of communication, underdeveloped and difficult to specify as a literary form. In contrast, it is one of the most interesting forms in the patristic period and conveys much knowledge, including that concerning patristic exegesis. In addition to the regular interpretation of

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1 E.g., Augustinus, *De doctrina Christiana*.

the Scriptures, which appears in almost every patristic letter, by quoting passages of the Bible or using them as arguments, they form a fascinating approach to exegesis, or rather to learning it, namely, letters as a peculiarly understood school of exegesis. The collections of letters by Augustine, Jerome, and Paulinus of Nola – three remarkable disciples and masters of Bible interpretation during the patristic period in the West – will be used as sources to consider this phenomenon. Such a selection of sources and topics is all the more justified by the fact that, generally, the exegesis issues in the letters of the Church Fathers were not the subject of the separate studies. In works on patristic exegesis[2] or the exegesis of individual authors, the letters are treated only as an addition to commentaries and homilies. Therefore, it is worth looking at the letters as independent works, including theological ideas, and reading in this context what the Church Fathers tell us about learning and teaching biblical exegesis through their correspondence. Since a letter, as Rafał Pawłowski notes in his study,[3] is an extension of the art of eloquence – rhetoric should also meet the requirements of a good speech, including the *docere*[4] postulate, to which St. Augustine paid special attention when discussing the rhetorical rules applicable to Christian authors.[5] Since one of the basic requirements of a good speech is teaching and educating, it seems that for the early Christian writers and theologians, also in their numerous letters, education in the proper biblical exegesis should occupy a unique and important place.

Of course, each of our three authors devoted a great deal of space in his letters to the interpretation of the Scriptures and, most often, practically interpreting different passages according to the subject of interest. They were aware, however, that this skill of interpretation and studying the Scriptures is an extraordinary one and requires, on the one hand, divine inspiration and, on the other, human knowledge

2 For example, in a basic study of patristic exegesis, its author, Manlio Simonetti, in the chapters devoted to Augustine and Jerome, makes only three references to the letters (only in Jerome) and only on matters of minor importance. See Simonetti, *Lettera e/o allegoria*, 321–354. The same is true of the latest study on the patristic exegesis by Charles Kannengiesser (*Handbook of Patristic Exegesis*). It invokes Jerome's letters to show his biography and briefly mentions that "The Bible is also present in the whole course of his correspondence [...] we can point to more than twenty letters referring to points of exegesis, some of which having directly as their object the explication of a biblical text" (*ibidem*, 1098) and takes a longer discussion of letter 120 and presents a theory of the three senses of Scripture (*ibidem*, 1104). Unfortunately, in the chapter devoted to Augustine, there was no important reference to his correspondence, and in the short paragraph about Paulinus, the information about his letters is actually limited to the statement that "the whole collection of Paulinus's letters would demonstrate their deliberate and constant recourse to scripture" (*ibidem*, 1241). For more about patristic exegesis and current studies on it, see Marin, "Orientamenti di esegesi," 273–317; Kannengiesser, "État des travaux," 71–82; Maraval, "La Bible," 445–466; Simonetti – Vian, "L'esegesi patristica," 241–267.

3 See Pawłowski, "Teoria i praktyka," 27.

4 See Wysocki – Pyzik-Turska, "O listach," 87–112.

5 See Skwara, "O teorii retorycznej," 99–118.

and competence.[6] Therefore, their letters establish a kind of school and a relationship between student and teacher. Of course, it is impossible to speak of a school in the strict sense of the word. However, from the practical point of view and extant letters, it is not without reason that it is St. Jerome,[7] the oldest of them and the one best known for his biblical interests, who appears most often in the role of a teacher in the surviving letters and treated by the others as such,[8] with the letters considered as schooling of sorts.

1. Invitation to Become a Student of Exegesis

The first question is how to become a student of such a school. In their letters, the Church Fathers repeatedly encouraged people to get involved in studying the Bible. For example, St. Augustine, in his letter to the faithful of Hippo in the year 404, urges them, "I could wish that you might ponder over the Scripture of God with earnest attention."[9] In his letter to Maximus, who was just entering the path of the Christian life, Augustine pointed out that "with a mild and gentle piety you should refrain from objecting to passages of the holy Scriptures which you do not yet understand and which seem to the uninstructed devoid of sense and self-contradictory."[10] The need to study the Scriptures was known to the converts to Christianity and all the believers in general. This was the case with Paulinus of Nola, who was searching for a teacher to introduce him to the world of the Scriptures. To this effect, he wrote in his first letter to Augustine, "So teach me as one still a child in the word of God and a suckling in spiritual life and still needs the breasts of faith, wisdom and love. […] So cherish and strengthen me, for I am a novice in the sacred writings

6 It should be remembered that, almost from the beginning of Christianity, more or less official schools were set up whose adepts acquired knowledge in the interpretation of the Scriptures, such as the Alexandrian or the Caesarean school of Origen, see Crouzel, *Origen*, 25–28; Young, "Interpretation of Scripture," 850–851.

7 Certainly, it is Jerome who can be regarded as the father and the protector of this particular epistolary school of the Bible, for, as Pierre Jay ("Jerome [ca. 347–419/420]", 1098) has pointed out, "The Bible is also present in the whole course of his correspondence. Without speaking of the abundant quotations and reminiscences, we can point to more than twenty letters referring to points of exegesis, some of which having directly as their object the explication of a biblical text: parable (Epist. 21) or psalm (Epist. 65 and 140)." Cf. Degórski, "Esegesi," 89–123; Wysocki, "Hope Found," 727–742. St. Jerome also strongly recommended biblical education; see Martino Piccolino, "La regola," 465–475; Grilli, "Alla scuola," 385–394.

8 On Jerome as a scholar and exegete of the Bible see Meershoek, *Le latin biblique*; Cummings, "St. Jerome," 279–282; Köpf, "Hieronymus," 71–89; Eckmann, "Hieronim ze Strydonu," 422–429; Gilbert, "Saint Jérôme," 9–28; Gamberale, "Problemi di Gerolamo," 311–345; Kelly, *Jerome*, 141–167; Meiser, "Hieronymus," 256–271; Gamberale, *San Gerolamo*; Wysocki, "Jerome," 657–658; Brown, *Vir Trilinguis*; Jay, "Jérôme," 523–541; Jóźwiak, "Hieronim ze Strydonu," 49–66.

9 Augustinus, *Ep*. 78, 1 (FC 12, 375).

10 Augustinus, *Ep*. 171A, 1 (FC 30, 69).

and in spiritual studies."[11] As we can see, sometimes, a student asks a famous, older theologian to become his teacher. Sometimes, however, the teacher suggests that the mysteries of exegesis should be explored by a younger and less experienced adept of Christianity. In Letter 53 of AD 394,[12] Jerome proposed Paulinus study the Scriptures under his guidance.[13] However, he did not see himself as a teacher in this arrangement but rather as a companion in the meditation of the Word of God and a coinhabitant of the Kingdom of Heaven here on earth.[14] He wrote, "I am not so dull or so forward as to profess that I myself know it, or that I can pluck upon the earth the fruit which has its root in heaven, but I confess that I should like to do so. I put myself before the man who sits idle and, while I lay no claim to be a master, I readily pledge myself to be a fellow-student. […] Let us learn upon earth that knowledge which will continue with us in heaven"[15] and assured him, "I will receive you with open hands and […] I will strive to learn with you whatever you desire to study."[16] Augustine addressed Volusianus similarly:

> I urge you not to shrink from applying yourself to the study of the truly and surely Sacred Letters. This is a sound and substantial study; it does not allure the mind with fanciful language, nor strike a flat or wavering note by means of any deceit of the tongue. It appeals strongly to him who is more desirous of reality than of words, but it strikes fear into him who puts his trust in created things. […] And if, in your reading or meditation, some difficulty arises, and it seems that I could be useful in solving it, write to me and I will answer. It may even be, with the help of the Lord, that I shall do more that way than I should by speaking to you in person, partly because of your and my varied duties since it might happen that you and I should not be free at the same time and partly because of the importunate presence of other persons, who are usually not disposed to this pursuit, and who take more pleasure in the sword-play of words than in the enlightenment of knowledge. But, what is set down in writing is always ready to be read when the reader is ready, and its presence never becomes burdensome because it is taken up and laid aside at your pleasure.[17]

Thus Augustine, but also Jerome, who was not expecting Paulinus in person, were the founders of this school of exegesis through the letters, not only for Paulinus but

11 Paulinus, *Ep*. 4, 3 (ACW 35, 50).

12 It was about the time of Paulinus' ordination and his decision to move to Nola; see Santaniello, *Vita di Paolino*, 141–245.

13 For more about the correspondence between Jerome and Paulinus, see Canellis, "Les Rapports," 311–335; Courcelle, "Paulin de Nole," 250–280; Duval, "Les premiers rapports," 177–216; Guttilla, "Paolino di Nola," 278–294.

14 See Hieronymus, *Ep*. 53, 10.

15 Hieronymus, *Ep*. 53, 10 (NPNF² 6, 269).

16 Hieronymus, *Ep*. 53, 11 (NPNF² 6, 269).

17 Augustinus, *Ep*. 132 (FC 20, 5).

also for many other recipients of their letters. So this school had no geographical limits, and anyone who claimed to be a Christian could and should be part of it.

2. Magistri et Discipuli

This school also had peculiar lectures and disputes among the "professors." This transpires from the exchange of correspondence between Jerome and Augustine[18] and the aforementioned statements of the former. However, they became both professors and students in this school. Indeed, Augustine wrote to Jerome, "Perhaps I ought to end my letter here, and so I should if I were satisfied with the conventional type of formal letter. But my mind bubbles over with thoughts which I want to share with you about the studies which we pursue in Christ Jesus our Lord, who deigns to bestow on me, through your Charity, a great abundance of useful ideas and provision for the road mapped out by Him."[19] Subsequently, he proceeded to ask questions about the meaning of certain passages of the Scriptures, concluding with a significant statement, "There are many other points of Christian learning which I should like to mention and to discuss with you in your straightforward way, but no letter can satisfy this desire of mine."[20] In the face of various disagreements between them, including on issues related to the studies of the Holy Scriptures,[21] Jerome ends up proposing to Augustine, "Let us, if you please, exercise ourselves in the field of Scripture without wounding each other"[22] to which the Bishop of Hippo replied:

> You ask, or, rather, with the boldness of charity you command, that we play together in the field of the Scriptures without hurting one another. Indeed, as far as I am concerned, I would rather deal with those matters seriously than in sport. […] I confess that I ask something greater of your kindly ability, of your learned, exact, experienced, expert and gifted prudence and care, that, in these great and involved questions, by the gift, or rather

18 For more about the correspondence between Augustine and Jerome, see Torscher, "The Correspondence," 476–492; Haitjema, "De briefwisseling," 159–198; De Bruyne, "La correspondence," 233–248; Fürst, *Augustins Briefwechsel*; Hennings, *Der Briefwechsel*; White, *The Correspondence*.

19 Augustinus, *Ep*. 28, 1 (56, 1 apud Hieronymum) (FC 12, 94).

20 Augustinus, *Ep*. 28, 5 (56, 5 apud Hieronymum) (FC 12, 98).

21 The dispute between Augustine and Jerome lasted many years. This was because Augustine could not agree with Jerome's choice to make a new Latin translation of the Bible on the basis of the Hebrew Bible. In his letters, Augustine argued for the superiority of the Greek and Latin ecclesiastical authorities over the original text of the Bible, which was difficult to accept, not only for Jerome but also from today's point of view. See Malfatti, *Una controversia*; Czuj, *Spór św. Augustyna*; Morta, "Bluszcz kontra dynia," 91–120; Wysocki, "Biblia i nadzieja," 721–733; Fürst, "*Veritas Latina,*" 105–126.

22 Hieronymus, *Ep*. 115, 1 (my own translation).

> under the guidance, of the Holy Spirit, you would help me not so much playing in the field as toiling up the mountain of the Scriptures.[23]

Ultimately, however, he admitted, "But what am I about? I am forgetting to whom I am speaking; I have been making myself out to be a teacher after proposing something which I wished to learn from you?."[24] For it was necessary, in this school, to have a teacher, someone to guide the disciples and show them the right ways to interpret the Scriptures. In his letter 53 to Paulinus,[25] Jerome addressed the issue, "These instances have been just touched upon by me (the limits of a letter forbid a more discursive treatment of them) to convince you that in the holy scriptures you can make no progress unless you have a guide to show you the way […]."[26] Then he recalled the example of St. Paul and his followers, who had such teachers on their path toward knowledge of the Scriptures. Thus Jerome demonstrates the need for a master in the introduction to the world of the Bible and, at the same time, the qualities such a teacher should have.[27]

3. Learning and Teaching Methods

In this school, everyone asked each other questions about how to interpret the most complex pages of the Scripture. Questions were asked of Jerome by Pope Damasus, emphasizing that "there will be no more worthy conversation between us than that in which we will talk about the Scriptures, that is, I will ask and you will answer."[28] Augustine[29] and Marcella[30] asked Jerome, and Paulinus asked Rufinus.[31] With an awareness of his ignorance, Paulinus appeared before Augustine when he wrote in his letter, "[…] I who am needy and poor, your foolish little pupil whom you are accustomed to tolerate as a truly wise man does, am asking you to tell me your own knowledge or theory of this matter, because I know that you are enlightened by the spirit of

23 Augustinus, *Ep*. 82, 2 (116, 2 apud Hieronymum) (FC 12, 391).
24 Augustinus, *Ep*. 167, 14 (132, 14 apud Hieronymum) (FC 30, 43).
25 Certainly, Jerome's advice and teachings bore fruit in the life and work of Paulinus of Nola. This can be seen in his works, in which he repeatedly exegetes biblical passages and quotes numerous scriptural passages; see Di Palma, "Paolino," 151–166; Leanza, "Aspetti esegetici," 67–91; Mülke, "Bibelstudium," 54–70; Nazzaro, "L'esegesi patristica," 257–268; Pałucki, "Pismo Święte," 139–147; Piscitelli Carpino, "Il Cantico," 387–400; Rallo Freni, "Il testo," 231–252; Swoboda, "Egzegeza," 261–268; Wysocki, "The Symbolism," 165–173.
26 Hieronymus, *Ep*. 53, 6 (NPNF² 6, 262).
27 Cf. Maritano, "Il maestro," 167–190.
28 Hieronymus, *Ep*. 35, 1 (my own translation).
29 See Hieronymus, *Ep*. 56; 67; 104; 116; 132.
30 See Hieronymus, *Ep.* 25; 26; 27; 28; 29; 32; 34; 37.
31 See Paulinus, *Ep*. 28, 5; 46; 47.

revelation from the very Leader and Fount of wise men."[32] Paulinus knew his place and position and was aware of his lack of knowledge of the Bible. Augustine, on the other hand, wrote in a letter to Jerome:

> I have spoken at length, and probably I have bored you by repeating arguments which you accept but which you do not expect to learn because you have been accustomed to teach them. If there is anything in them regarding their content […] anything in them which offends your learning, I beg you in your answer to warn me of it, and to take the trouble to correct me. Unhappy is he who does not worthily honor such great and holy labors as are those of your studies, and give thanks for them to the Lord our God, by whose gift you are what you are! Therefore, since I ought to be more ready to learn from anyone at all what I am so useless as not to know rather than eager to teach anyone at all what I do know.[33]

And since, as Jerome states, "such is the important function of the priesthood to give answers to those who question them concerning the law,"[34] they answered questions and explained uncertainties and difficult passages in the Scripture. There is a lot in the letters of our Fathers about what such exegetical lectures, or rather letters, should look like. Jerome, in a letter to another of his disciples – Marcella – indicates that one should not so much be mindful of the words as of the content;[35] they should often be based on the writings of recognized authors[36] and on a profound knowledge of the ancient languages and of the various versions of Scripture.[37] Thus, asking questions and appealing to respected authorities was the primary learning method in this school of letters.

4. Study Program

And the program of this school is clearly specified. It is presented by Jerome in his letter to Paulinus, "[…] give ear for a moment that I may tell you how you are to walk in the holy scriptures. All that we read in the divine books, while glistening and shining without, is yet far sweeter within. 'He who desires to eat the kernel must first break the nut.'"[38] Therefore, studies on the allegorical interpretation of the Holy Scriptures are the base and the most important part of education. However, in the aforementioned

32 Paulinus, *Ep*. 45, 7 (ACW 36, 250–251).
33 Augustinus, *Ep*. 167, 21 (132, 21 apud Hieronymum) (FC 30, 49).
34 Hieronymus, *Ep*. 53, 3 (NPNF² 6, 259).
35 See Hieronymus, *Ep*. 29, 1.
36 See Hieronymus, *Ep*. 36, 1.
37 See Augustinus, *Ep*. 149, 3; Hieronymus, *Ep*. 29, 1.
38 Hieronymus, *Ep*. 58, 9 (NPNF² 6, 311).

letter to Volusianus, Augustine detailed this program, detailing its various steps, "I urge you especially to read the language of the Apostles; by these you will be roused to make the acquaintance of the Prophets, to whose testimony the Apostles appeal."[39] Jerome also pointed out the complex issues related to the particular books of the Scripture in the mentioned letter to Paulinus. The letters also inform about the method used in this school. In addition to this specific dialogue of question and answer, the manner of formulating an answer is important. In response to the priest Cyprian's request for an explanation of one of the Psalms, Jerome stated, "I will explain it to you not in layabout and people-pleasing words, which usually seduce and caress the ear of the inexperienced, but in plain language and in words truly ecclesiastical, so that my interpretation does not require another interpreter, which happens very often to those who are too eloquent that it is more difficult to understand their explanations than what they are trying to explain."[40] It is, therefore, important that the answer to the questioner should be complete and yet simple so that the person can obtain an understanding of the mysteries of the Scripture. It is also essential that the answer should be in compliance with the teaching of the Church. This fidelity to orthodoxy is one of the program's features for interpreting the Sacred Scripture.

5. Recognition in the Eyes of a Master

As in any school, praise was due when a student was skillful and talented. And such we also find in the letters of our writers. Jerome particularly lauded Paulinus of Nola. In one of his letters, he praises Paulinus thus:

> You have a great intellect and an inexhaustible store of language, your diction is fluent and pure, your fluency and purity are mingled with wisdom. Your head is clear and all your senses keen. Were you to add to this wisdom and eloquence a careful study and knowledge of scripture, I should soon see you holding our citadel against all comers; you would go up with Joab upon the roof of Zion, and sing upon the housetops what you had learned in the secret chambers. Gird up, I pray you, gird up your loins. As Horace says: 'Life has no gifts for men except they toil'. Show yourself as much a man of note in the church, as you were before in the senate. […] I am not content with mediocrity for you: I desire all that you do to be of the highest excellence.[41]

39 Augustinus, *Ep*. 132, 1 (FC 20, 5).
40 Hieronymus, *Ep*. 140, 1 (my own translation).
41 Hieronymus, *Ep*. 58, 11 (NPNF^2 6, 312).

Paulinus himself was aware of the need to acquire knowledge of biblical exegesis. As one scholar of his writings, Antoni Swoboda, notes, his letters "are evidence of a constant effort to deepen the study of the Word."[42] St. Jerome, however, in praise of his studious and diligent pupil, shows the qualities of a genuine interpreter and student of the Bible. As we have seen, these requirements are not spiritual or religious but intellectual qualities. In this way, the Christian exegete, also in the context of epistolography, somehow fits in with the idea that Christians could use pagan literature for the process of education while using the skills acquired for the interpretation of Scripture.[43]

Conclusions

The letters are one of the most fascinating literary genres. They tell us much about their authors and addressees, about the times in which they were written. But they also perform various functions within society. The example of the Latin epistolary of the most illustrious writers of the golden age of patrology shows that they implement a fundamental postulate of ancient epistolography – *docere*. But they do it in the most important field for the Christians: the knowledge of the Scriptures and the ability to interpret them, because, as Saint Jerome said, "Ignorance of the Scriptures is ignorance of Christ."[44] By creating a kind of school of knowledge and interpretation of the Scriptures in their letters, many "virtual" students of Jerome, Augustine, or Paulinus undoubtedly gained and continue gaining knowledge and love of Christ.

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42 Swoboda, "Egzegeza," 262.

43 Cf. Young, "The Rhetorical Schools," 182–199; Young, *Biblical Exegesis*.

44 Hieronymus, Praef. *Commentariorum in Esaiam* (ACW 68, 67).

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The Credibility of the Church Based on Benevolence in the Light of the Works of Marian Rusecki

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Abstract: The problem addressed in the article is the question of the credibility of the Church based on benevolence in the light of the work of Marian Rusecki. The present issue was addressed and resolved in three stages. In the first stage – invoking the Ecclesia-forming activity of Jesus – the benevolence-based aspects related to the genesis of the Church were pointed out. In the second stage, the benevolent identity of the Ecclesia was presented, for which well-being is an essential part of its life and mission. At the final stage, the matter of recognizing the benevolence-based credibility of the Church was addressed, taking into account Rusecki's personalistic and sign-based concept of the Church and the signs of its credibility. Elements that are helpful in recognizing the benevolence-based credibility of the Church were also identified. The Church's benevolence – which is rooted in the life and work of Jesus – is clear in its connection to the entirety of human life. Goodness is the overriding value that man needs in life, especially in illness, suffering or misfortune. The Ecclesia is a clear and credible sign of God's goodness when, aware of the salvific goods which it has received from Christ, it bestows them on human beings, remaining particularly sensitive to human injustice and evil, and takes the side of the disadvantaged and the suffering, providing them with concrete help, both spiritual and material.

Keywords: Jesus Christ, Church, goodness, Church credibility, signs of Church credibility, benevolence-based argument

Who is the Church? This question is posed nowadays mainly in the context of the crisis the Ecclesia is experiencing and is particularly concerned with the meaning of its existence, its credibility and its salvific significance for mankind. In media, the Church is often judged without considering the overall picture. Not only is its supernatural dimension disregarded, but isolated situations from the life of the Ecclesia become the basis for making false generalizations to confirm preconceived assumptions about its untrustworthiness.

In this context, an important mission for fundamental theology is the apologia of the Church, an essential part of which is to demonstrate its credibility. Although there are many conceptions of credibility in contemporary fundamental theology (e.g., semeiotic, martyrological, personalistic, axiological, transcendental), they all move away from an intellectualistic and voluntaristic understanding of the concept and emphasize the personal character.[1] Credibility can be defined as a quality or set

1 Rusecki, *Wiarygodność chrześcijaństwa*, 87–97; Rusecki, "Struktura naukowa," 40–44; Rusecki, "Wiarygodność," 1328–1334. Pottmeyer, "Teologia fundamentalna," 285–293; Seweryniak, *Antropologia*, 182–187.

of characteristics of a person, event or reality – which cannot be known directly and obviously because they constitute a certain mystery – that allow a person, event or reality to be considered credible.[2] Since credibility cannot be understood statically, but rather dynamically, the credibility of the Church must be constantly deepened, shown in new ways. The development of theological thought, as well as the changing socio-cultural-religious context of the world, should also be taken into account.[3] It is worth noting that the question of the credibility of the Church is addressed in contemporary fundamental ecclesiology from a number of perspectives.[4]

The Lublin School of Fundamental Theology[5] has developed a number of signs of the credibility of the Ecclesia to help verify its validity. These signs highlight the divine-human nature of the Church and reveal essential aspects of its life and salvific work.[6] Their comprehensive study helps in understanding who the Church is. With the above rationale in mind, we want to look at the benevolent side of the Church in order to demonstrate its credibility. This study is inspired by the academic publications of Marian Rusecki. There are two reasons behind this choice of source base. The first is related to the fact that Rusecki has proposed a number of signs of the Church's credibility,[7] but has not explicitly discussed the benevolent sign, although in publications he points to the benevolent elements of Christianity and even presents an argument from the good for its credibility.[8] The second reason is to commemorate the person and work of the eminent professor of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin on the 10th anniversary of his death.[9]

The good, in the general sense, is everything that appears worthy of a person's desire, valuable and useful, and beneficial and helpful in achieving the person's intended goal.[10] In addition to the general understanding of the concept, we will also refer to its existential and moral meaning. In the existential aspect, the good identifies the perfection, the value of being. In the moral aspect, on the other hand, it means

2 Rusecki, "Wiarygodność," 1328; Kaucha, *Wiarygodność Kościoła*, 10.

3 Rusecki, *Wiarygodność chrześcijaństwa*, 98.

4 Rusecki, "Wiarygodność Kościoła w Polsce," 377–390; Rusecki, "Czy Kościół w Polsce jest wiarygodny?," 143–156; Seweryniak, "Sposoby uzasadniania," 27–48; Kaucha, "Wiarygodność Kościoła," 335–359; Kaucha, "Współczesne metody uzasadniania," 77–96; Kaucha, "Wiarygodność Kościoła i jej uzasadnianie," 133–145; Kaucha, *Wiarygodność Kościoła*; Kaucha, "Joseph Ratzinger's Very Critical," 141–160; Rabczyński, "Wiarygodność Kościoła," 319–334; Michalik, "Wiarygodność chrześcijaństwa," 121–134; Mastej, "Paschalna wiarygodność chrześcijaństwa," 135–151; Borto, "Josepha Ratzingera ujęcie wiarygodności Kościoła," 203–216.

5 Kaucha, "Lubelska szkoła," 11–24.

6 Rusecki – Kaucha – Pietrzak, "Znaki wiarygodności Kościoła," 1381.

7 Marian Rusecki (*Traktat o Kościele*, 287–294; "Czy Kościół w Polsce jest wiarygodny?," 148–155) presents the following signs of the Church's credibility: Peter, the apostolic college, unity, holiness, universality, apostolicity, agathological, praxeological, martyrological, and culture-forming.

8 Rusecki, "Bonatywny argument," 152–155; Rusecki, *Traktat o wiarygodności*, 197–208; Rusecki, "Bonatywny wymiar cudu," 65–88.

9 Kaucha, "Doctor Credibilitatis," 5–12.

10 Herbut, "Dobro," 116.

acting in accordance with principles that perfect the human person (this is an objective and not merely subjective understanding of it).[11] In theology, it is accepted that the absolute and supernatural Good is God. In Him, the good is equated with truth and love. It is also from God that all good originates.[12]

The purpose of this article is to show the credibility of the Church based on benevolence in the light of the work of Marian Rusecki. The solution to the problem thus posed will be presented in three sections. In the first, the benevolent aspects of the genesis of the Church will be presented, in the second, the benevolent identity of the Ecclesia will be shown, and in the third, the question of recognizing the benevolence-based credibility of the Church will be discussed.

1. Benevolent Aspects of the Church's Genesis

Among the fundamental ecclesiological issues is the question of the genesis of the Church. The theological reflections on this topic are rich and multifaceted.[13] Contemporary fundamental ecclesiology presents the question of the founding of the Church integrally, taking the position that Jesus Christ is the Founder of the Ecclesia, since he willed to found it and indeed did so. The *Magisterium Ecclesiae* teaches that the Church, which has its origin in the eternal design of the Trinity, was foreordained and prepared in the history of the people of Israel, founded by Jesus Christ and sent to the world on the day of Pentecost[14].

The Ecclesia is the fruit of the whole life of Jesus. Presenting the origins of the Church in close connection with the life of Jesus inspires an emphasis on its benevolent character. Rusecki states: "Jesus' benevolent activity is evidenced by his entire life, and thus by his teaching (the preaching of the word of God is also a vehicle for supernatural goods), his passion, his death and his resurrection (these events restore to humanity the God-given dignity, freeing it from sin and eternal death, restoring faith and hope for ultimate fulfilment in God), since they bring with them goods unimaginably new to man."[15]

11 Kowalczyk, "Dobro," 1374–1375; Rusecki, *Traktat o wiarygodności*, 200.

12 Rusecki, "Bonatywny argument," 152.

13 Bartnik, *Kościół Jezusa Chrystusa*, 58–99; Nagy, *Chrystus w Kościele*, 17–90; Nagy, *Ty jesteś Piotr*, 27–68; Rusecki, *Wiarygodność chrześcijaństwa*, 238–242; Rusecki, "Boska geneza Kościoła," 72–78; Rusecki, *Traktat o Kościele*, 93–108; Seweryniak, *Święty Kościół powszedni*, 23–42; Napiórkowski, "Geneza, natura," 71–105; Napiórkowski, "Powstawanie Kościoła," 57–73.

14 Second Vatican Council, *Lumen gentium*, no. 2; *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, no. 758–759; Rusecki, *Traktat o Kościele*, 131–144; Rusecki, "Rola Ducha Świętego w Kościele," 5–19.

15 Rusecki, "Bonatywny argument," 154.

Jesus Christ most fully reveals the benevolence of God himself. St. Peter, in his Paschal catechism – delivered after Jesus' resurrection – makes an unequivocal summary of his life and activity: "He went around doing good and healing all who were oppressed by the devil, because God was with him" (Acts 10:38).[16]

As Rusecki notes, the Incarnate Son of God is "the author and giver of good."[17] From the very beginning of his public ministry, he proclaims the Good News of the coming of the messianic times announced by God: "The time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God is near" (Mark 1:15).[18] The advent of the kingdom of God has a benevolent dimension, as it involves God's salvific actions for the good of mankind. The professor from Lublin – referring to Origen – highlights the truth that the kingdom of God not only began with the coming of Jesus, but that he himself is God's kingdom, which is why he calls him *Autobasileia*.[19] Christ is therefore the personal embodiment of the Good God.

Jesus, proclaiming the Good News, gathers around him a community of listeners, disciples, apostles. The fruit of his teaching is the community of faith, which is the pre-paschal seed of the Ecclesia.[20] The words by which the Son reveals the Father who is in heaven and cares for all people play an important role in its origin: "since he causes the sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the righteous and the unrighteous" (Matt 5:45). The words of the Teacher of Nazareth constitute a call to faith, proclaim the love of God and serve to create an ecclesial community. Christ's message is a word full of power and grace and is therefore an effective call to faith for man, the fruit of which is a life of love.[21]

Jesus' attitude towards people is conducive to the growth of the Ecclesia. His pro-existential involvement is evident throughout his life and is expressed in the fact that he associates himself with the poor, the hungry, the persecuted, the sick, the suffering and the abandoned.[22] This is highlighted by Jesus in his speech about the last judgment, particularly in the following words: "For I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you

16 All biblical texts after New English Translation (NET).

17 Rusecki, *Traktat o wiarygodności*, 203.

18 Rusecki, *Traktat o Kościele*, 33.

19 Rusecki, *Cud w chrześcijaństwie*, 435.

20 Rusecki, *Traktat o Kościele*, 101.

21 Mastej, "Eklezjotwórczy wymiar miłości," 109.

22 Rusecki (*Traktat o Objawieniu*, 433) explains: "The crowds followed Jesus not only because of the originality of his teaching, but also because of his attitude towards people, namely a pro-existential attitude. One can even speak of the ecclesial pro-existence of Jesus. It must be understood in a broad sense – Jesus comes to the aid of people in their various existential needs, feeds the hungry, heals the sick, forgives sins, and restores to community people who have been excluded from it. He is merciful and gracious towards the weak and sinners, forgiving them and bringing them into the kingdom of God, he is a friend of the poor, the sick, the suffering and the wronged, but he is also harsh towards the hypocrites, the Pharisees, the unjust and the wrong-doers of fellow human beings, the proponents of pure religious formalism. Jesus' attitude towards people and the world is also community-forming, or ecclesia-forming."

invited me in, I was naked and you gave me clothing, I was sick and you took care of me, I was in prison and you visited me" (Matt 25:35–36). The Teacher from Nazareth shows compassion for people in need, as the Gospels show: "As Jesus came ashore he saw the large crowd and he had compassion on them, because they were like sheep without a shepherd. So he taught them many things" (Mark 6:34); "When he saw the crowds, he had compassion on them because they were bewildered and helpless, like sheep without a shepherd" (Matt 9:36); "As he got out he saw the large crowd, and he had compassion on them and healed their sick" (Matt 14:14); Jesus says to the disciples: "I have compassion on the crowd, because they have already been here with me three days, and they have nothing to eat" (Mark 8:2).

Jesus' attitude to man is marked by concern, kindness, graciousness, mercy. He brings comfort, peace, forgiveness and love. This is particularly evident in relation to those on the margins of socio-religious life, as well as women and children.[23] At the same time, He is uncompromising towards hypocrites, Pharisees, wrong-doers, proponents of pure formalism – He admonishes them with love. He places kindness toward sinful man and those in need of help above Old Testament sacrifices (see Matt 9:13; 12:7). A better understanding of the boundless love of the Incarnate Son of God for man is conveyed by the image of the good shepherd who gives his life for the sheep (see John 10:7–18). This attitude of the Master of Nazareth is an expression of His care for each person and inspires people to trust and believe in Him, and thus gives rise to and defines the nature of the new community.

The miracles of Jesus serve to build the ecclesial community. They reveal the attitude of the Son of God towards people expecting specific help from Him.[24] Jesus' miracles are "vehicles" of good and cause both natural and supernatural good. Rusecki unequivocally states: "Jesus in good deeds works for the natural and supernatural good of man, which can be seen most clearly in His thaumaturgical activity."[25]

The miracles of Jesus are rooted in the daily existence of man, who considers life and health as the highest good in earthly life, and therefore cares for them, and in case of danger wants to save them at all costs. Jesus' miracles bring concrete good to man. Rusecki explains:

> Miraculous healings are the facts of the transition from a state of illness to health, it is the restoration of it in an instant by the power of the word of Jesus [...]. Miracles – rescues mean pulling a person out of life-threatening dangers, such as quieting a storm on a lake. Miracles – gifts are the coming of unexpected help to a person, bestowing certain gifts, resolving a difficult situation, such as the multiplication of bread. Exorcism is the liberation

23 Rusecki, *Wiarygodność chrześcijaństwa*, 240; Rusecki, "Argumentacja prakseologiczna," 123; Mastej, *Od objawienia do wiary*, 187; Seweryniak, *Świadectwo i sens*, 236–241.

24 Rusecki, *Traktat o Kościele*, 34.

25 Rusecki, "Bonatywny argument," 153.

of a person from the domination of demons. Resurrections are the restoration of life to those who have lost it.[26]

The natural goods resulting from the miracle become discernible by comparing the final situation with the initial state. However, it must be added that natural goods, while important, are not the essence of a miracle. The miracles performed by Jesus are not just about highlighting his humanitarian attitude, but about seeing their supernatural value, i.e. God's saving action. Rusecki emphasizes that "Jesus' good deeds resemble the works of God, especially the work of creation, which God himself saw as good."[27] The mission of the Incarnate Son of God is to repair and renew the order of creation, which was violated by sin. In miracles, Jesus manifests God's power and restores the good that man has lost through sin, which is why His thaumaturgical activity is seen by the witnesses as doing good: "People were completely astounded and said, 'He has done everything well. He even makes the deaf hear and the mute speak'" (Mark 7:37).

Through miraculous events, God invites man to enter into a personal dialogue with Him. Rusecki stresses that a miracle is not just about surprise or amazement, but about a personal encounter between God and man, accompanied by divine grace.[28] Thus, the miracle becomes an interpersonal event – there is an encounter between God and man and the act of bestowing a gift by God.[29] A miracle is a special manifestation of God's presence in history, which must be distinguished from His natural and creative presence.[30] Through a miracle, God manifests His personal existence and presence, reveals His willingness to enter into dialogue with man. Through miraculous acts, God realizes His economy of revelation and salvation, and at the same time becomes believable to man.[31]

Jesus' care for people has two fundamental dimensions that mutually affect and complement each other. On the one hand, it involves providing earthly assistance to people in need, and on the other hand, it concerns spiritual goods. In miracles, then, one should see Jesus' concern for the totality of man; both in the temporal and supernatural dimensions. This is made evident, for example, in the healing of the paralytic, where Jesus forgives his sins and restores his ability to move on his own.[32] Similarly, the miraculous multiplication of bread cannot be simply narrowed to the Master of Nazareth's satisfying the physical hunger of the people who listened to Him. The meaning of this event must be seen in conjunction with the speech in

26 Rusecki, "Bonatywny wymiar cudu," 74.
27 Rusecki, "Bonatywny wymiar cudu," 75.
28 Anderwald, "Znakowe ujęcie cudu," 105–108.
29 Rusecki, "Bonatywny wymiar cudu," 71–88.
30 Rusecki, *Funkcje cudu*, 50–57.
31 Mastej, "Patrystyczne podstawy," 266–267.
32 Rusecki, *Traktat o Objawieniu*, 273–274.

which He reveals the following: "I am the living bread that came down from heaven. If anyone eats from this bread he will live forever. The bread that I will give for the life of the world is my flesh" (John 6:51). The miraculous event foreshadows further, even more wonderful divine action.

Jesus' benevolent acts reveal who He is and authenticate His divine dignity and messianic mission. By doing good, Jesus is close to people, guarantees to help those in need and fills their hearts with well-founded hope. Thus, Jesus' words and actions are signs of the realization of God's plan of salvation; they fully realize the coming of the messianic times and reveal the abundance of goods coming from God.[33]

Paschal events were also important for ecclesiogenesis. At the Last Supper, Jesus institutes the Eucharist and establishes the New Covenant, which becomes the basis for the foundation of the new people of God. By virtue of this covenant, man has become a participant in a special good: human sins are taken away, and mankind is reunited with God (Rom 11:26–27). The sacrifice that was sacramentally offered by the Son of God at the Last Supper is one with the sacrifice offered on the cross and represents the pinnacle of love, for "No one has greater love than this – that one lays down his life for his friends" (John 15:13; cf. 1 John 3:16). Jesus, obedient to the Father, accepted the humiliation of the cross and death, giving them the salvific meaning of giving himself up out of love "for many."[34]

The Resurrection and Pentecost are also benevolent Ecclesia-forming events. For the resurrection of Jesus Christ shows the supernatural character of God's love, which is more powerful than death. And consequently, the goods coming from Jesus, Rusecki stresses, are eschatological in nature.[35] This is made evident by the resurrection, which is an extraordinary act of God's omnipotence and goodness by which Jesus passed from death to a new, supernatural life in God's glory.[36] Christ's resurrection is the basis for a well-founded belief in the universal resurrection and participation in eternal life, which is the greatest good that man receives from God.[37] The fulfillment of the Paschal events is the day of Pentecost, when the ecclesial community receives the gift of the promised Comforter, the Spirit of truth and love. Henceforth, the Paraclete is constantly present in the life of the Church; He assists the ecclesial community on the way to achieving the totality of salvific goods.[38]

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33 Rusecki, "Bonatywny wymiar cudu," 79–81; Rusecki, *Funkcje cudu*, 151–202; Rusecki, *Cud w chrześcijaństwie*, 408–426.

34 Rusecki, "Krzyż w wydarzeniach paschalnych," 520–523; Rusecki, "Eklezjotwórczy charakter Eucharystii," 361–365; Dola, *Teologia misteriów życia Jezusa*, 239–242.

35 Rusecki, "Bonatywny wymiar cudu," 84–87.

36 Rusecki, *Traktat o cudzie*, 371–380; Rusecki, "Czy zmartwychwstanie jest cudem?," 231–232; Rusecki – Mastej, "Zmartwychwstanie," 1367.

37 Rusecki, *Pan zmartwychwstał*, 210.

38 Rusecki, "Rola Ducha Świętego w Kościele," 5–19.

2. The Benevolence-based Identity of the Ecclesia

The Church was not only called into existence by Christ, but was also endowed by Him with gifts. The fundamental good of the Church is Christ himself. Thus, the Church of Christ is good because God is in it. The Ecclesia is also confident of the existence in it of supernatural goods.[39] These gifts come from God and are at the same time a mission for the Ecclesia. It is about the presence of good in the Church in the ontological sense, which involves the presence in it of God and the salvific goods received from Him. The Church is also continually being born and actualized in history, thus growing in the dimension of benevolence through the actualization of good and the good done by believers.[40] Thus, we can speak of benevolence as a note of the Church, that is, an essential attribute of the Church that forms part of its identity.

The Church is the Tradent of the goods it received from Christ. The life of the Church is a mission of preaching and doing good. It is part of the essence of the Church's life to "distribute" the goods it has received from the Lord. The Church, in which Christ is permanently present, proclaims the Gospel, heals, gives hope, lifts from sin and strengthens the weak. The Church's mission is carried out on the supernatural and temporal levels. These two dimensions in the daily life of the Ecclesia intertwine and complement each other.[41] Rusecki characterizes the dimension of the Church's supernatural activity as follows: "The Church, in its activity assigned to it by the Founder, imparts supernatural goods, proclaims the Gospel, that is, awakens faith and deepens it, administers the Holy Sacraments, unites with God, imparts grace for the deification of man, and shows the meaning of life. In the spiritual and supernatural order, these are essential goods for the religious and salvific life of man."[42]

The benevolent mission of the Church includes preaching. In its teaching, the Church – referring to Revelation – points out that the highest and most perfect good is God Himself, who is the Absolute Good and the source of all good.[43] The good is not only a personal attribute of God, it is part of His essence. God is Good in the ontic sense. God's goodness is expressed in the work of creation, in His providential watch over the world and in His presence in the history of the Chosen People.

Rusecki stresses that the Christian understanding of the good does not grow out of philosophical understanding, which has been formed over the centuries and is a product of human reason, instead, the Christian understanding of the good is linked to God's revelation. What is good – is revealed to us by God, who is Himself

39 Rusecki, "Bonatywny argument," 152.
40 Rusecki, "Współczesna eklezjogeneza," 226–234; Rusecki, "Urzeczywistnianie się Kościoła dziś," 5–14.
41 Rusecki, *Traktat o Kościele*, 305–306.
42 Rusecki, *Traktat o wiarygodności*, 205; Rusecki, "Bonatywny argument," 154.
43 Rusecki, *Traktat o wiarygodności*, 201; Nadbrzeżny, "Kościół jako sakrament," 45.

the supreme Good. God's revelation shows us what good is and what is right and wrong.[44] Although the Christian understanding of the good specifies its origin from God, it should not be contrasted with the philosophical understanding (especially when it comes to classical philosophy), since Revelation does not stand in opposition to man's rational search, but is its fulfillment. Thus, the human search for goodness found fulfillment in Jesus Christ.

In the Church's preaching, the truth that God is the source of all good resounds clearly. God, in creating the world and man, "saw all that He had made, and it was very good" (Gen 1:31). Thus, the work of creation, which is good, becomes an epiphany of God.[45] In the created world, man can recognize how good the One who created everything is. God's goodness is especially revealed in man, who is the crown of creation. The goodness of the Creator is made apparent in calling man into existence by a distinct act; he was created in the image and likeness of God.[46] The personal existence of man, the ability to enter into dialogue with God, as well as conscience and the ability to use speech, are testimony to the goodness of God. The above reasons lead Rusecki to describe man as a theophane of God.[47]

In the biblical understanding, the good is a value that man desires. Man wants to possess and keep what is good for him – he does not want to lose it, e.g., life, health. However, he is aware that the Giver of true good and the guarantor of its permanence can only be God. True and lasting good comes from God, and He is the supreme good. This is shown in the history of salvation, where God is constantly acting for the good of man. This action applies to securing temporal goods such as health, freedom, prosperity, as well as supernatural goods such as the presence and proximity of God. God not only shows man what is good for him, but also helps him achieve and enjoy this good. Israel continuously experiences the goodness of God. "The Israelites, having experienced, among other things, evil during the Egyptian captivity, discovered good in their Deliverer, Yahweh. God saves them from death (Exod 3:7ff.), leads them into the Promised Land, a land 'flowing with milk and honey,' 'over which the eye of Yahweh watches constantly,' in which the Israelites find their happiness."[48] Rusecki highlights the fact that "The truth about God's goodness is one of the most important in Old Testament revelation. Experiencing the goodness of God through His care, concern, saving, liberating was an important rationale in accepting the revelation manifested in the word and deeds of God's goodness."[49] Undoubtedly, Jesus

44 Rusecki, *Traktat o wiarygodności*, 369.
45 Rusecki, *Traktat o wiarygodności*, 201–202; Rusecki, *Istota i geneza religii*, 204–231; Rusecki, *Traktat o religii*, 243–267.
46 Rusecki, *Traktat o Objawieniu*, 278; Rusecki, *Traktat o Kościele*, 82–86.
47 Rusecki, *Traktat o religii*, 254–260.
48 Rusecki, *Traktat o wiarygodności*, 202.
49 Rusecki, *Traktat o wiarygodności*, 202; Arndt, "Stworzony 'dobry' świat,'" 45–57.

Christ and the benevolent dimension of His life (as mentioned in the first section) always remain at the center of the Church's preaching.

An important part of the Church's mission is sanctification, which is carried out especially through the celebration of the liturgy and sacraments. Both liturgy and sacramental life are thoroughly benevolent in nature, as they bring God's presence to life and actualize goods that come from Him. Rusecki points out the benevolent nature of liturgy, sacramental life and prayer. It emphasizes the presence of God in them and the fact that through them He allows man to participate in saving goods.[50]

The professor from Lublin also shows areas of the Church's earthly activity that are permeated by supernatural reality: "In the earthly life, the Church builds and promotes Christian culture, bringing into it the values typical of the religion, promotes charitable works, often takes care of the lonely, the sick (hospices), the disabled. These works, stemming from motives of faith and love, are among the good actions of the Church and give it credibility as the Church of Jesus Christ."[51]

The defining characteristic of the ecclesial community is love of God and neighbor: "by this all will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another" (John 13:35).[52] Christian love should be manifested in personal, family, marital, neighborhood, professional, parish, and national life. Goodness full of sensitivity, kindness, sacrifice, devotion, should be directed to all people, including enemies. Having its source in God, selfless love is a characteristic that distinguishes the ecclesial community from other human communities. In the totality of daily life, concrete acts of goodness can be seen in juxtaposition with lack of love, hatred, indifference or sin.

Good plays an important role in building the Church vertically and horizontally. In the vertical dimension – God's love for man continually sanctifies and renews the ecclesial community; man's love for God contributes to the growth and benevolent fulfillment of the Ecclesia. In the horizontal dimension – mutual kindness between people, as well as the attitude of Christians towards the world, contributes to the growth of a civilization of love – to imbue the affairs of this world with God's love. Thus, it is not just a matter of humanitarian, altruistic goodness, but an existential, lifelong attitude of goodness and service, stemming from faith in Jesus Christ.

Rusecki shares St. John Paul II's conviction that "the man is the way for the Church."[53] The professor highlights the fact that for almost two thousand years the Church has served and continues to serve man; it is with him in the daily life, it does not abandon him, but accompanies him every day, especially in situations of fear, danger and

50 Rusecki – Mastej, "Eklezjotwórczy wymiar modlitwy," 114–120.

51 Rusecki, *Traktat o wiarygodności*, 205.

52 Rusecki, "Miłość jako motyw," 229–247; Drączkowski, *Miłość syntezą chrześcijaństwa*; Balthasar, *Glaubhaft*; Kaucha, *Miłość za miłość*; Kaucha, "Agapetologiczny argument," 184–192; Mastej, "Permanentna eklezjogeneza," 123–125.

53 John Paul II, *Redemptor hominis*, no. 14.

anxiety. The Church's constant concern for man is evident on many levels. In addition to the areas already mentioned above, the professor recognizes the contribution of the Ecclesia to spiritual and material culture. The Church, concerned with the welfare of the human person, has contributed to the development of education and science, which is evident in literature, art, architecture, music and film.[54]

3. Recognition of the Benevolence-based Credibility of the Church

The considerations carried out allow us to conclude that goodness is connected with the genesis of the Church, belongs to its identity, and thus constitutes its vital note.[55] In presenting the issue of recognizing the benevolence-based credibility of the Ecclesia, we will refer to Rusecki's preferred personalistic and sign-based understanding of the Church.[56] The concept he proposed takes into account the personal nature of the Church and its realization of signs in history. Recognizing the credibility of the Ecclesia involves noticing and analyzing in detail the signs of its presence in the world.[57]

The signs of the Church's credibility are analogous to the Church itself: visible and invisible, natural and supernatural, historical and suprahistorical.[58] The correct and complete reading of them involves discerning the visible element and recognizing its supernatural meaning and significance. While the first element is empirical and subject to the senses and reason, the second (given meaning, significance) refers to Revelation. Fully recognizing the signs of the Church's credibility requires both a correct perception of the reality around us, rational knowledge, as well as faith, which helps to accept the supernatural.[59]

In recognizing the benevolence sign of the Church's credibility, reason plays a leading role. However, the whole human person participates in the full reading of the sign, and its definitive clarification is done by faith (*fides et ratio*). Recognition,

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54 Rusecki, *Dziejowe znaczenie chrześcijaństwa*, 64–126; Rusecki, *Fenomen chrześcijaństwa*, 131–197; Rusecki, *Traktat o Kościele*, 347–402.

55 Rusecki ("Czy Kościół w Polsce jest wiarygodny," 147–148) distinguishes the four basic notes of the Church, which are listed in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, and defines the Church of Christ as one, holy, catholic, and apostolic – and are traditionally referred to as marks – other qualities that testify to its credibility are called signs. Therefore, in the remainder of this article, we will generally use the term "benevolence sign."

56 Bartnik, "Metoda znakowo-personalistyczna," 69–73; Dola, "Metody teologicznofundamentalne," 25–39; Dola, "Personalistyczna koncepcja," 59–67; Prawda, *Personalistyczno-znakowa chrystologia*, 170–218.

57 Kaucha, "Wiarygodność Kościoła i jej uzasadnienie," 133–146; Krzyszowski, "*Mysterium Ecclesiae*," 123–131.

58 Rusecki, "Czy Kościół w Polsce jest wiarygodny?," 147–148.

59 Rusecki, *Traktat o Kościele*, 286.

through intellectual reasoning, involves trying to explain the nature and genesis of the good that exists in the Church. Seeing the external manifestations of goodness, such as selfless help to those in need, forgiveness, and sacrificial and selfless dedication to others, one must find their ultimate source. The correct reading of the benevolence sign can also be helpful in comparing the Church with other communities. While such a juxtaposition significantly highlights only the natural plane, it can help to see the uniqueness of Christian kindness. Its originality and uniqueness are evident both in the frequency of good deeds and in the selflessness of those who perform them.[60]

Reading the benevolence sign involves answering the question: what kind of goods exist in the Church? Undoubtedly, both natural and supernatural goods are involved. The ecclesia, in serving man, does not stop at the purely natural plane but proclaims and realizes supernatural goods.[61] The goodness present in the Church involves concern for the whole person and concerns both his physical and spiritual spheres. Therefore, it is legitimate to put it in personalistic and sign terms since it has a personal character and its definitive explanation demands reference to God. The benevolence-based credibility of the Ecclesia is evident in the fact that it cares for people not only by ensuring that they have decent material conditions for their daily life and health but also provides them with spiritual care, especially sacramental care.

The following are helpful in recognizing the credibility of the Church based on benevolence:

- The Church's faith in God, who in his Son Jesus Christ reveals himself as the Good Father. The Church believes not only in the existence of God but also in His living and personal presence and salvific action for the good of man, the completeness of which was accomplished in Jesus Christ.
- Expressed in the teaching and confirmed in the life of the Ecclesia, the conviction that Christ is the fundamental good of the Church. A credible Church is therefore transparent as to Christ and does not obscure Him with itself. Unfortunately, today the Church in Poland is too preoccupied with itself and its petty affairs and forgets about the Lord, who is its greatest asset.
- The Church's self-awareness that it has received salvific goods from Christ and the mission to spread them in the world. This conviction is expressed in teaching and made evident in the daily life of the Ecclesia. Ecclesial goods are universal (catholic) – they apply to all people: all places and times. Benevolence-related aspects should constantly be present in homiletic and catechetical preaching, and the liturgy and sacraments should be the actual realization of the goods that God gives to man on the path of salvation.

60 Mastej, "Miłosierdzie w funkcji eklezjotwórczej," 34–35.
61 Rusecki, "Miłość jako motyw," 245.

- The Church's clear opposition to moral relativism.[62] The Church emphatically rejects moral relativism, for which there is essentially no difference between good and evil; there is no objective and unambiguous definition of what is good and what is evil. In the modern world, in which the relativization of good and the blurring of the distinction between good and evil are taking place, the test of the Church's credibility becomes its fidelity to the truth revealed in Christ and its clear and unambiguous indication to man of what is good and what is evil.
- Verification of goodness in light of truth. Goodness is inseparable from the truth, which safeguards it from distortion. Rusecki describes this relationship as follows: "If the relationship between good and truth is severed, then the danger of subjectivism and a selective grasp and understanding of the good becomes apparent. In light of Revelation, the problem is decidedly different. Jesus Christ constantly links good and truth, when only truth sets safe boundaries for the Christian view of good, definitely different from its modern, utilitarian understanding."[63] In Christianity, good is objectified and defined "by truth, the Supreme, Revealed Truth, which is God (Christianity preaches the primacy of truth over good)."[64]
- The uniqueness of the Christian concept of goodness. Since goodness is a value in the religious sense but also in the philosophical and anthropological significance, therefore benevolence-based credibility has a multifaceted meaning. The Christian understanding of goodness is clearly linked to God's Revelation: goodness comes from God, and it is He who reveals what it is in no uncertain terms. In the case of classical philosophy and anthropology, as well as theology, the rational reflection on goodness is mutually complementary – man is sensitive to goodness, wants to experience it from others, has an inner need to show goodness to others, and finds the source of goodness in God.[65]
- Preaching the primacy of spiritual over temporal goods. Although goodness in the Christian view concerns the whole person – both the spiritual and corporeal dimensions – the Ecclesia proclaims the primacy of spiritual values over material ones. Thus, the credibility of the Church is undermined by its lack of holistic concern for humankind, as well as the misplaced priority of spiritual values over temporal ones. Neglecting the provision of good in the spiritual dimension, and focusing only on material aid, puts the Church's charitable activities on the same plane as those of strictly humanitarian organizations.
- Highlighting the benevolence-based nature of liturgy, sacraments, and prayer. It is worth noting the need to make the faithful aware of the value of supernatural

62 Rusecki, *Traktat o wiarygodności*, 199.
63 Rusecki, *Traktat o wiarygodności*, 199–200.
64 Rusecki, "Bonatywny argument," 154; cf. Kaucha, *Cóż to jest prawda?*, 15–66.
65 Rusecki, *Traktat o wiarygodności*, 198.

gifts, which are the fruit of participation in the liturgy, sacraments, or prayer, since sometimes they focus only on temporal goods, for example, the object of prayer intentions are earthly goods (health, passing an exam, etc.). While trust in the power and goodness of God should be appreciated, the credibility of the Ecclesia is enhanced when believers place supernatural values above temporal ones.

– The outlook on life of the faithful concerning both good and evil, which is its opposite. St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, instructs: "Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good" (Rom 12:21). The Christian life is guided by the conviction that evil does not lead to true victory. By heading down the path of retaliation, the Christian will not succeed in defeating evil but will be defeated by evil. True victory is achieved by overcoming evil with good. Thus, the Christian attitude of forgiveness and remitting the wrong-doers speaks to the credibility of the Church.
– A personal testimony. The truthfulness and uniqueness of the Church are evidenced by the outlook on life – personal testimony – of believers in Christ. Acts of kindness speak more powerfully than mere words. The testimony becomes clear and credible, especially in the context of indifference and violence. Good becomes powerfully apparent when juxtaposed with evil, to which it remains in opposition. The realization of good in life requires the believer's effort and cooperation with God's grace; sometimes, it is also combined with heroism, when for the sake of the good of another person, you have to endanger or sacrifice your own life.[66] A telling example is the Poles who risked their lives to save Jews during the German occupation. The testimony of the family of Wiktoria and Józef Ulm from Markowa, executed by the Germans together with their children, including an unborn one, for helping a Jewish family, is beautiful.
– Selflessness in doing good. The credibility of the Church increases if the good deeds of believers do not involve gaining benefits. Words and deeds that are selfless appeal to modern man. Christian kindness expressed in prayer, the good word or acts of love, has its source in the goodness of God himself. Therefore, the manifestations of goodness in the life of a Christian point to God, who is the source of all goodness.

The elements indicated above help to recognize the benevolence-based credibility of the Church. Their detailed presentation and highlighting are important in demonstrating its credibility. Their careful analysis can also inspire the identification of new ones. Recognizing the credibility of the Church requires sensitivity and openness to values, especially goodness and love. The value of the benevolence sign is related to the fact that there is a demand for and pursuit of goodness in man.

66 Rusecki, *Traktat o wiarygodności*, 197; Mastej, "Pneumatologiczna wiarygodność Kościoła," 236–237.

According to Rusecki, "a person who has experienced goodness knows how to enjoy and share it (*bonum est diffusivum*)."[67]

Finally, we still need to ask an important question: is the Church today a "place" where people can experience the goodness of God? The answer is not at all easy because, on the one hand, we can see the immensity of the good done in the Church and thanks to the Church (although it is often unnoticed and unappreciated), and on the other hand, evil and sin are present in the Church; among other things, the sins and weaknesses of people of the Church are evident (for example, the wounds inflicted on children by the clergy still hurt). We must never forget these wounds and do everything possible to heal them.

We can see a great tension that appears with the statement: "The Church is good." In attempting to explain this tension, it is necessary to refer to the sign concept of understanding the Church, which highlights its visible and invisible elements. The common perception is that the human element present in the Church overshadows the supernatural reality present in it. It is also worth remembering that the Church is still on its path to holiness; thus, it is not yet perfect, but it is holy by the power of Christ living in it and the Holy Spirit working in it and by the holiness of holy people. Similarly, we can say that the Church, although not perfect, is good due to the goodness of God and the people who live in it (both in heaven and on earth).

The Holy Church of sinful people is credible when it recognizes evil and responds firmly and accordingly. Unfortunately, downplaying evil and concealing or "sweeping under the rug" complex issues of the Church significantly weakens its credibility and sometimes makes it even unreliable in the eyes of the world, which makes it much more difficult, and sometimes even impossible, to say the words: "The Church is good." Benevolence should therefore be viewed even more explicitly as a task that the Lord sets before the believers who are His Church again and again. It is also worth adding that the recognition of the benevolence sign should be done by accounting for other signs of the Church's credibility, especially the signs of holiness, praxeology, martyrdom, agapetology, veritability, or option for the poor.

Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to show the benevolence-based credibility of the Church in the light of the works of Marian Rusecki. The problem addressed was elaborated and resolved in three stages. In the first stage – invoking the Ecclesia-forming activity of Jesus – the benevolence-based aspects related to the genesis of the Church were pointed out. In the second stage, the benevolent identity of the Ecclesia was

67 Rusecki, "Bonatywny argument," 155.

presented, for which well-being is an essential part of its life and mission. The final stage addressed the issue of identifying the Church's credibility based on benevolence, taking into account Rusecki's preferred personalistic and sign-based understanding of the Church and the signs of its credibility. Elements that can be helpful in recognizing the benevolence-based credibility of the Church were also identified. In reading the signs of the Ecclesia's credibility, it is necessary to simultaneously engage reason and faith (*fides et ratio*).

The Church's benevolence – which is rooted in the life and work of Jesus – is clear in its connection to the entirety of human life. Goodness is the overriding value that man needs in life, especially in illness, suffering or misfortune. The Ecclesia is a clear and credible sign of God's goodness, when aware of the salvific goods which it has received from Christ, it bestows them on human beings, remaining particularly sensitive to human injustice and evil, and takes the side of the disadvantaged and the suffering, providing them with concrete help, both spiritual and material.

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The Significance of Antitrinitarian Translations of the Bible into Polish in the Dialogue between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Eastern and Western Europe

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Abstract: The author of this essay poses the question about the significance of antitrinitarian translations of the Bible into Polish for the exchange of ideas and achievements of science between Eastern and Western Europe in the second half of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries. In an attempt to systematize various facets of this significance, the author will deal with the bibliographical and bibliological aspects of the editions of the Bible in the Polish language, the dynamics of the development of Polish antitrinitarian biblical translations and biblical editing against the background of the history of the Polish Brethren in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the sources of the translations and the influence they exercised in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and abroad. The author's research made it possible to identify two directions of the exchange of ideas. The first direction is the reception in Central and Eastern Europe of the achievements of Western biblical philology and exegesis. The second is related to the Polish Brethren's contribution to Western Europe's science and culture. Particularly noteworthy here is the voice of Polish Antitrinitarians in the field of research into the criticism of the biblical text, although this impact was limited due to the language barrier. Of much greater importance were the translations of the Polish Brethren in the East (the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Muscovite lands), where the language barrier was less significant. They also popularized the philological and exegetical achievements of the West among the Karaites and Tatars of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Keywords: Antitrinitarians, Polish Brethren, Socinians, translations of the Bible into Polish (16th and 17th centuries), biblical philology

The period of the activity of Polish Brethren in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – that is, during the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries – coincided with the unprecedented development of philological studies, with particular emphasis laid on the Holy Scripture texts.[1] Polish biblical translations were compiled by recourse to European philological and biblical literature. Biblical versions, translated in this way and regarded as popular and readable

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1 Cf. Pietkiewicz, *In Search*.

books, became a tool for popularizing achievements of biblical philology and biblical studies of the period. Since in the 16th and 17th centuries, the greatest development of this type of research took place in Western Europe, we can regard Polish translations of the Bible to be the tools for popularization of the West's scholarly attainments in the Central and Eastern parts of the continent. Furthermore, if we consider the fact that, for instance, the development of Western European Hebrew studies drew on those conducted by Arab and Jewish scholars as early as the 10th century, then the scope of the above-mentioned exchange and dialogue between the East and the West will expand even more in terms of culture, geography and chronology.[2] The same is true of the studies on ancient Greek in Renaissance Europe, initially made mainly by refugees from Byzantium.[3]

While studying the phenomenon of cultural exchange, we should consider the influence of Polish translations which later became the foundation for the production of other Eastern and Western language versions. In an attempt to systematize the significance of Polish antitrinitarian translations of the Bible, Parts 1–5 of this essay will deal with their bibliographical and bibliological aspects (2), the dynamics of the development of Polish antitrinitarian biblical translations and biblical editing against the background of the history of the Polish Brethren in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (3), the sources of the translations (4), the influence they exercised in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (5) and abroad (6).

The assessment of the influence of Polish Antitrinitarians poses a challenge. Undoubtedly, the phenomenon of the Polish Brethren, who acted as intermediaries in the cultural and academic dialogue between the West and the East, is an exceptional one and surely worthy of a closer look. However, we should remember that the evaluation of their influence, conducted from the point of view of orthodox Christianity (which professes the creed laid down by the first Ecumenical Councils), is decisively negative for dogmatic reasons. The author of this essay only makes an attempt to present – exclusively by way of description of the historical phenomenon – the significance of antitrinitarian translations of the Bible as tools of reciprocal influence exerted by different parts of Europe and distances himself from theological or denominational evaluation completely.

2 Pietkiewicz, *In Search*, 23–98.

3 Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406) founded the first Department of Greek in 1396 in Florence. Greek scholar Manuele Crisolora (1355–1415), who came from Byzantium, was the first lecturer there in the years 1396–1400, whose role was described by Antonio Rollo ("Problemi e prospettive," 85) as "il ponte tra due culture."

1. Description and Appraisal of Sources

The first biblical impressions that can be considered antitrinitarian appeared just after the disintegration of the Reformed Church of Little Poland into the Antitrinitarian "Minor Church" (*Ecclesia Minor*) and the Reformed "Major Church" (*Ecclesia Maior*). These were two 1566 reprints of the Brest Bible: four Gospels in the form of Evangelical Harmony and The Acts provided with the commentary by Tritheist Tomasz Sokołowski (Tomas Falconius) (Falconius 1566; Falconius, Acts 1566).[4]

Subsequent translations were made by Szymon Budny (1530–1593). In 1570, he published *Księgi, które po grecku zową Apokryfa, to jest kryjome księgi* (*Books Which Are Called in Greek Apocrypha That Is Secret Books*) along with the New Testament (Budny 1570). The printer of the work, Daniel of Łęczyca (c. 1530–1600?), printed the largest number of sheets of the translation, which were distributed as a separate book with individual title pages and a colophon. The unsold sheets were used to produce the 1572 Nesvizh Bible, translated by Budny (Budny 1572). The typographer used 91% of the 1570 impression and printed only six new sheets containing fragments of the New Testament which differ in translation, punctuation and spelling.

Much the same can be said about Budny's New Testament translation. The text appeared in 1574 (Budny 1574). Next – to enable the translator to introduce changes significant for the critical approach to the text and dogma (Budny renounced some of his radical views by 1589) – about 4.5% of the New Testament text was printed anew (three sheets), which when combined with those which remained from the 1574 edition, resulted in the 1589 version (Budny 1589). On account of the above, we cannot treat the 1570, 1572 and 1574, 1589 impressions as separate editions of Budny's translations. The whole 1570 impression should be regarded as almost a part of the 1572 Bible, whereas the 1589 New Testament as a variant of the 1574 edition.[5]

In 1577, Marcin Czechowic (1532–1613) made a subsequent translation of the New Testament (Czechowic 1577), with the second edition appearing in 1594 (Czechowic 1594). Some studies and bibliographies assert that it was Walenty Niegalewski in Choroszów near Ostrog who in 1581 translated Czechowic's text into vernacular Ruthenian.[6] Unfortunately, the author of this article has neither managed to find a copy of that work nor confirmed this information.

The Antitrinitarians also used the translations made by the Evangelicals. In 1587, Aleksy Rodecki (?–1605) financed for his own purposes the second edition of the paraphrase of almost the entire Book of Psalms together with prayers, translated and elaborated by Reformed Evangelical Paweł Milejewski (?–before 1578) (Milejewski 1587). The date and place of the first edition remain unknown (Milejewski 1563).

4 Misiurek, "Falconius"; Górski, *Studia*, 129–130.
5 Pietkiewicz, "Nowe 'pilne weźrzenie.'"
6 Kot, "Czechowic," 308; Pollak, *Bibliografia literatury polskiej*, 107.

In 1606, the Racovian New Testament was published, which was the Czechowic version (Racovian 1606) reviewed by Walenty Szmalc (1572–1622), Hieronim Moskorzowski (1560–1625), and Jan Licinius Namysłowski (?–after 1633).[7] The second edition appeared in 1620 (Racovian 1620). The third one was printed in Raków in 1638. Its printing was, however, discontinued when the Raków printing house was closed.[8] The Racovian New Testament came out once again in 1686 in Amsterdam, edited by Jan Kreliusz (Racovian 1686). In 1630, a German version appeared (Racovian 1630) in Raków.[9] Karol Estreicher connects the German edition elaborated by Jeremias Felbinger (1616–ca. 1690) and printed in Amsterdam in 1660 by Christoff Cunraden (d. 1684?) with the Raków text: "This edition is precious to us because Felbinger mostly sticks to the German translation printed in Raków, on which the Polish Socinian translation, which was printed in Amsterdam in 1686 draws."[10]

The rhyming translation of the Book of Proverbs was compiled and published by Józef Domaniewski. His work appeared in two 1623 editions in Latin–Polish (Proverbiorum 1623) and exclusively Polish versions (Przypowieści 1623).

The community of Polish Brethren also produced Polish commentaries to biblical texts. The above-mentioned works of Falconius are an example. Walenty Szmalc also published his commentary on the Prologue to John's Gospel (John 1:1–18). His work appeared in two editions in 1607 and 1613 (Szmalc 1607; Szmalc 1613). Unfortunately, it is extant only in German (Szmalc 1611) and Dutch translations.[11]

2. Antitrinitarian Translations of the Bible against the Background of the History of Polish Brethren

The extent of the impact of biblical translations on a given religious community depends on whether the texts corresponded to the particular requirements of the recipient group. As far as the Polish antitrinitarian translations are concerned, their history runs concurrently with the troubled history of the Polish Brethren in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Budny's translations were occasioned by the split of

7 This information comes from Szmalc's diary on the planned meeting of the staff for February 19, 1606, which involved people mentioned above. The other source is a handwritten note put on a copy of National Library of Poland in Warsaw XVII.3.2713, which explicitly states that the team undertook the work of editing Czechowic's New Testament (Czerniatowicz, "Niektóre problemy," 86–87; Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Ariańskie oficyny*, 53).

8 Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Ariańskie oficyny*, 66.

9 Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Ariańskie oficyny*, 53, 197.

10 "O tyle nas zajmuje to wydanie, że Felbinger przeważnie trzyma się niemieckiego przekładu w Rakowie drukowanego – i że na nim opiera się przekład polski socyniański wydany w Amsterdamie 1686." Estreicher (*Bibliografia polska*, 43) provides this information after Bock, *Historia Antitrinitariorum*, 349–352.

11 Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Ariańskie oficyny*, 276.

the Reformed Church of Little Poland into two congregations. The Antitrinitarians disapproved of the translation of many passages of the Evangelical Brest Bible and, starting with the 1567 Synod of Skrzynno, held debates over its errors, paving the way for a new translation.[12] Budny's views on the unreliability of the witnesses to the New Testament text and his preference for the Latin Vulgate over the Greek original caused much controversy (of course, Budny translated from Greek; he only relied on the Vulgate for the passages which required critical approach).[13]

Marcin Czechowic's texts, which better suited the aspirations of the Antitrinitarian left wing, appeared in opposition to Budny's translation, which the Polish Brethren deemed very much controversial in terms of doctrine and the philological point of view. Thus, the works resulted from dogmatic and social disputes in the "Minor Church" in the 1570s and Czechowic's aspirations, as he wanted to take charge of the congregation.[14]

The 1578 arrival of Fausto Paolo Sozzini (1539–1604) (known in Poland as Faust Socyn) in Poland heralded a new epoch for the Polish Brethren. Over a few years of polemic between Marcin Czechowic and Jan Niemojewski (c. 1526/1530–1598) on one side with Faust Socyn on the other, the latter assumed leadership in the "Minor Church." He succeeded in suppressing doctrinal disputes and introducing tolerance of varied dogmatic views. The system he created put emphasis on the ethical dimension of religion and was permeated with rationalism. The new face of the antitrinitarian movement entailed the need to re-elaborate the New Testament, which now had to be purified of everything unclear or ambiguous and all allegory, but first and foremost of dogmatic views and interpretations which Socinians regarded as incorrect and misleading.[15] The new direction taken by Socinians brought about a consecutive edition of the New Testament, compiled by the heirs to Fausto Sozzini's thought.

This cursory overview of the origin of the most important antitrinitarian Polish translations of the Holy Scriptures explains their popularity and, at the same time, delineates their impact. Each and every version was dedicated to a particular target group. Moreover, the atmosphere fraught with disputes and conflict, which accompanied their emergence, widened the circle of recipients who used the translations to combat their confessional opponents, who, in turn, were forced to address the argumentation contained in them, promoting a further exchange of views. Undoubtedly, those impressions attracted the attention of a large readership, enabling, at the same time, the reception of the expounded views and the sources from which they originated.

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12 Cf. Budny 1572, b1r–v; Merczyng, *Szymon Budny*, 48.

13 Cf. Budny 1574, c3v–6v; Budny 1589, c3v–5r; Frick, "The Biblical Philology," 334; Moszyński, "Biblia Szymona Budnego," 41–43.

14 Szczucki, *Marcin Czechowic*, 98.

15 Grabowski, *Literatura ariańska*, 306–307; Racovian 1606, *2r–3r.

3. Sources of Antitrinitarian Translations of the Bible into Polish

The sources of antitrinitarian translations of the Bible into Polish can be divided into two groups: (1) the texts of the Holy Scriptures constituting the basis for translation and (2) meta-text sources, i.e., annotations, commentaries, introductions, and other supplementary material accompanying a biblical text.

In the case of Thomas Falconius's works (Falconius 1566; Falconius, Acts 1566), the text and annotations are derived from the Brest Bible. Falconius used them to refer his readers to the same sources as the creators of the Brest Bible did: the New Testament in Greek,[16] the Latin Bible (Geneva 1556–1557) of Robert Stephanus (1499–1559), which contained commentaries on the New Testament by Theodore Beza, and to Calvinist editions of the Bible in French (Genève: Nicolas Barbier – Thomas Courteau 1559).[17] When it comes to the sources of the commentary, which is of pastoral and moralizing character, Falconius remains silent and does not reveal its sources. The chances are that these are his own elaboration compiled on the basis of sermons given at the court of Mikołaj "the Black" Radziwiłł (1515–1565).[18]

Szymon Budny's translations show the whole gamut of sources used by the translator. However, particular editions that he drew on are not easily identifiable as he gives a very vague description: Bible texts in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and also in the vernacular, writings of the Church Fathers plus ancient and contemporary Christian writers and commentators (Lorenzo Valla [1407–1457], Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus, and Theodore Beza).[19] Using the Old Church Slavonic version as one coming from ancient sources was a novelty.[20] In his notes, Budny points to the works of John Calvin (1509–1564), François Vatable (c. 1493–1547), Sebastian Münster (1480–1553), David Kimchi (1160–1235), Sébastien Castellion (1515–1563), Targum Jonathan, and the works of Jewish scholars as the sources he used for his Old Testament translation; he also referred the ancient historian Flavius Josephus.[21]

Budny did not follow the originals strictly, which makes the identification of his sources difficult.[22] He tended to alter the text in the original language available in editions of the time in keeping with his critical approach (mainly in passages that

16 Czerniatowicz ("Niektóre problemy," 35, n. 5) posits that it could be the so-called polyglot Bible by Robert Stephanus (Geneva 1551), which contained the Greek text, a version of Vulgate and Latin translation by Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus (1469–1536). Kwilecka ("Die Brester Bibel," 1552–1563) points to the Greek-Latin edition as elaborated by Theodore Beza (1519–1605), printed in Basel in 1559.

17 For discussions on the sources of the Brest Bible, see: Kwilecka, "Biblia brzeska," 115; Kwilecka, "Die Brester Bibel," 1534–1563; Kwilecka, "Staropolskie przekłady Biblii," 284–285; Półćwiartek-Dremierre, "Humanizm i reformacja," 231; Pietkiewicz, *In Search*, 206, 217, 274.

18 Falconius 1566, **1r (the first page of the letter of dedication).

19 Budny 1574, a1v; Budny 1589, d1v–2r.

20 Czerniatowicz, "Niektóre problemy," 54–56.

21 Kamieniecki, "Zapiski językowe," 152; Pietkiewicz, *In Search*, 195–275.

22 Pietkiewicz, *Biblia Polonorum*, 218–219.

posed a challenge) and compared the text with other available ancient or parallel versions.[23] To establish the basis for translation, he would correlate many variants (of printed critical editions) and resort to biblical quotations from the Church Fathers, ancient and contemporary Christian writers, and commentators.[24] He did not follow Masoretic vocalization blindly.[25]

The translator based his first works (Budny 1570; Budny 1572) on the Greek version of the New Testament, which he considered the most adequate. Yet, in the 1574 edition (Budny 1574), he admitted that his attitude was wrong and ascertained that Latin translations were more accurate. Hence, whenever in his opinion, it was warranted, he corrected the Greek text based on the Vulgate.[26] While assuming a critical approach to dogmatically disputable fragments, Budny did not follow the established principles consistently but prioritized extra-textual (theological) argumentation to preserve his dogmatic concepts.[27]

For his texts, Budny also used non-printed sources. For example, while working on the transcription of proper names in Hebrew, he drew on contemporary Jewish pronunciation. In contrast, while searching for appropriate words to reflect the original biblical terminology, he resorted to Polish dialects used in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – those spoken around Cracow, Sandomierz, Masovia and Podlasie – and to Ruthenia.[28]

Marcin Czechowic presents a list of the most important sources he used in the foreword to the first edition of his New Testament translation. The first item is the Brest Bible, whose text he edited on the basis of the Greek version.[29] Of all the New Testament Greek editions, he largely adopted the 1534 Parisian text by Simone de Colines, the 1549 Parisian text by Robert Stephanus, and the 1553 Genevan one by Jean Crespin. He also used other Greek editions: the Antwerp Polyglot, the Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus version, one by Nicholas Tacitus Zegers,[30] and others. While working on commentaries, he drew on the Church Fathers and other contemporary or past commentators. He also resorted to the Vulgate as an ancillary text.[31]

The Racovian New Testament (Racovian 1606; Racovian 1620; Racovian 1686) is the Czechowic revised version. Its editors confronted the work of his predecessor with the Greek text, aiming at a more accurate translation. Rather than selecting one

23 Czerniatowicz, "Niektóre problemy," 57–61.
24 Budny 1574, d1v; Budny 1589, d1v–3r.
25 See, e.g., notes to Gen 12:6 and 45:19 in Budny 1572. Budny would mark places in his notes where, in his opinion, a translation error occurred in the text: see, e.g., notes to Num 13:26 and 21:24.
26 Budny 1574, c3v–6v; Budny 1589, c3v–5r.
27 Czerniatowicz, "Niektóre problemy," 48–53, 61.
28 Budny 1572, c1r.
29 Czechowic 1577, *2r–v, †1v.
30 It must have been a version by Desiderius, published in Louvain by Stephanus Valerius in 1559, edited by Zegers.
31 Czechowic 1577, †2r–v; Czerniatowicz, "Niektóre problemy," 63–64, 67–68.

Greek version as the basis, they chose the prevalent readings from several editions, trying to avoid the rarer variants.[32]

Józef Domaniewski neither directly pointed to his sources for translating some passages from the Book of Proverbs, nor was it necessary because in one of the editions of 1623 (Proverbiorum 1623), he provided the Latin poetic version next to the Polish text. The origin of the Latin text is unknown: it may have been Domaniewski's own composition, which is suggested by the book's title page (*Proverbiorum Salomonis interpretatio poëtica Iosephi Domanevii*). The analysis of glosses sheds some light on the poet's sources. To some, he added a footnote *Vatab*. Most probably, these were the remarks to the Hebrew Bible, attributed to Parisian Hebrew scholar François Vatable (c. 1493–1547). The notes, collected and elaborated by Robert Stephanus (1499–1559), were published in Latin editions of the Bible in 1543 (along with the text of the Zurich Bible translated by Leo Jud [1482–1542]) and 1556–1557 in the so-called Stephanus Bible (popular in Poland and used by the Brest Bible translators, among others), which – like the Vulgate – contained the literal Latin translation of the Santes Pagnini (1470–1536/1541) Hebrew Bible.[33] Domaniewski's Latin marginal notes are reminiscent of those attributed to Vatable[34]. Furthermore, the poet allegedly alludes to the Leo Jud translation in his Latin poem *Ad Lectorem* (*Nec mihi displicuit volvisse Leonis Judae | Biblia Sacra manu*), from which we can conclude that he may have referred to one of the Latin Bible editions provided with notes attributed to the French Hebrew scholar.

The above examples show that the antitrinitarian translators of the Holy Scripture used a significant amount of biblical literature produced in Western Europe. This way, they made their philological and exegetical research findings available to Polish-language readers. However, it should be noted that Polish antitrinitarian biblical literature also made use of East-European sources – though to a much smaller extent (the Old Church Slavonic version of the Bible; the Ruthenian language) – and Jewish sources (rabbinic biblical studies and assistance in the translation of proper names).

In discussing the sources of biblical translations, attention should be drawn to certain research issues. The plethora of literature quoted both by translators and literature commentators does not necessarily mean that the final form of the meta-text accompanying a translation makes it an original work. Rather than drawing on the quoted sources directly, Polish biblical scholars are likely to have resorted to Western publications made on their basis. Therefore, the whole gamut of Western achievements made available to Polish readers could be of second-hand nature. These

32 Czerniatowicz, "Niektóre problemy," 87–88.

33 Vatable denied having written the notes. For Vatable's history of notes, see Pietkiewicz, *In Search*, 78–80.

34 The author of this article compared Domaniowski's notes to the Book of Prov 2:3 and Prov 31 with notes from the Stephanus Bible.

suppositions have been supported by recent studies of the sources of Polish biblical translations conducted on the Brest Bible[35] and the translations of Jakub Wujek.[36] On account of the absence of detailed and systematic studies on source usage accompanying the translations and biblical commentaries by the Polish Brethren, it is now impossible to formulate any final and reliable conclusions. One thing seems certain, though, Szymon Budny appears to have been the most independent and self-reliable (and by the same token, the most controversial) translator among the antitrinitarian biblical scholars.

4. The Impact of Polish Antitrinitarian Translations of the Bible on the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

The social impact that the printed works of specific religious groups exert depends on their number, the number of editions, and circulation, in other words, on the publication volume in its various aspects. The interest in and demand for such works testify to their popularity, which stimulated supply. The analysis of the impact of the works of specific groups entails the examination and comparison of the quantitative scale of their publications.

In relation to other religious groups, the Polish antitrinitarian volume of biblical publications was the lowest and reached 13.2% (766.75 sheets) of the whole (Catholics – 44.4%, Protestants – including Lutherans, the Reformed and Bohemian Brethren – 28.6%). In comparison, the antitrinitarian Polish printing house run by Aleksy Rodecki (?–1605) and Sebastian Sternacki (?–1635) in Cracow and Raków printed at least 5458 sheets, that is on average about 87 sheets a year between 1574 –1637.[37]

The antitrinitarian production peaked in 1566–1577 (582.75 sheets), just after the split of the Reformed Church of Little Poland into two parts. In this period, the Polish Brethren mounted determined opposition to the Reformed Church and

35 The Brest Bible, with its notes and commentaries, appears to have been based on the Stephanus Bible (see Pietkiewicz, "*Hebraica veritas* in the Brest Bible," 44–62).

36 Recently, the researchers (Nicko-Stępień, "Louvain Edition of the Vulgate"; Nicko-Stępień, *Nowy Testament w tłumaczeniu ks. Jakuba Wujka*) proved that the critical notes in the 1593 New Testament by Wujek were taken from the Louvain Vulgate (Antverpiae: Plantinius 1574) and noticed that the commentary to the Wujek New Testament comes mostly from the English New Testament edition (Rhemes: Fogny 1582). Wujek translated those commentaries from English, adjusting them to Polish conditions – so he must have known English or resorted to somebody's help – along with footnotes and references to sources (e.g., the Church Fathers and contemporary writers), whom he may not even have consulted. Also, other resources which can be found in the Wujek New Testament come from the English edition, e.g., synoptic tables (Frick, "Anglo-Polonica"; Pietkiewicz, *Biblia Polonorum*, 465–468; Rubik, "Czy Jakub Wujek znał angielski?" 236).

37 Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Ariańskie oficyny*, 126.

questioned the authority of the Reformed Brest Bible, which was supplanted by Budny's translations. The disputes in which the Polish Antitrinitarians were embroiled in that period also played a role and led to Czechowic's translations. Religious controversies and divisions appear to have fostered Polish biblical translations, the increase in their publication, and certainly the enlargement of their readership. In the twenty years that followed, the production of antitrinitarian biblical impressions gradually fell: 51 sheets in 1578–1597, 88 in 1598–1617, and 45 in 1618–1638. It must have been due to the organizational and doctrinal stabilization of the Polish Brethren Church. After 1638, the antitrinitarian publications in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth ceased.

The figures (Table 1) suggest that Polish Catholic and Protestant biblical printing must have had a much more significant impact than that of the Polish Brethren. There is no evidence in the form of circulation data to prove it for the Renaissance. Generally, an average circulation of 500 copies per edition is assumed for that period.[38]

Table 1. The number of publications of biblical prints in Polish (1518–1638) by denomination in 1518–1638[39]

	Bible			New Testament			Psalter			Biblical Commentaries			Small Prints			TOTAL		
	1st eds.	eds. altog.	pr. sh.	1st eds.	eds. altog.	pr. sh.	1st eds.	eds. altog.	pr. sh.	1st eds.	eds. altog.	pr. sh.	1st eds.	eds. altog.	pr. sh.	1st eds.	eds. altog.	pr. sh.
Catholics	2	3	1,197	3	8	606.625	5	16	540.76	1	1	6	12	23	221.34	23	51	2,571.725
Protestants	2	2	459.75	4	10	645.915	5	14	348.765	2	2	168	18	23	36	31	51	1,658.43
Antitrinitarians	1	1	194	3	5	319.5	–	–	–	3	4	236.5	1	2	16.75	8	12	766.75
PsKoch.	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	28	799.25	–	–	–	1	1	1.5	3	29	800.75
	5	6	1,850.75	10	23	1,572.04	12	58	1,688.775	6	7	410.5	32	49	275.59	65	143	5,797.655

1st eds. – first editions; eds. altog. – editions altogether; pr. sh. – printed sheets;
PsKoch. – Psalter translated by Jan Kochanowski

38 Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Z dziejów polskiej książki*, 122.

39 The data published by Pietkiewicz (*Biblia Polonorum*, 550–567) provide grounds for detailed explanations of the calculations. The Psalms translated by Kochanowski were separately counted because they cannot be assigned any particular faith orientation (27 editions of the whole of the Psalter, one edition of the melodies for the Polish Psalter by Mikołaj Gomółka of 1580, and one with seven penitential psalms of 1579). The chronology is as follows: 1518 – the appearance of the first biblical print in Polish (*Poczautek swiæte evanielie podług swiætegho Iaana, in Septem canonice epistole beatorum apostolorum Jacobi. Petri. Joannis et iude* [Kraków: Haller 1518/1519]); 1638 – the closure of the Raków printing house and the end of the Renaissance for Polish printers (Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Z dziejów polskiej książki*, 23).

The evaluation of the impact of Polish Bible translations must not be restricted to production volume alone. It is also crucial to indicate areas of influence where permanent marks were left.

Budny's contribution to the Polish language cannot be overrated. To better convey the meaning of Hebrew and Greek words, he would coin neologisms. It was him who introduced such terms as "całopalenie" (burnt offering), "napletek" (foreskin), or "rozdział" (chapter), which have been in use ever since. Budny was affectionate towards the Polish language and preferred creating new words derived from Slavic languages rather than resorting to Latin, German, or Italian so that "we could use our own mother tongue" and not "despise" it.[40]

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the Polish Brethren were engaged in disputes within their community and with religious opponents over Polish antitrinitarian translations of the Holy Scriptures. As mentioned above, the internal doctrinal and philological arguments centered around the dispute between Czechowic and Budny[41] and between the followers of Sozzini with both of them. These brought about the Czechowic (Czechowic 1577) and the Racovian New Testaments (Racovian 1606).

Also, Father Jakub Wujek argued with Budny and Czechowic. On numerous occasions within his commentary on the New Testament, he expressed his disapproval of the Polish Brethren because of their radical critique of the text and controversial doctrine.[42] However, Wujek, as a Catholic, agreed with Budny that priority must be given to the Vulgate, which conveys the text better than the Greek version.[43]

It has to be said, though, that Budny and Czechowic had some influence on Wujek, not restricted to merely motivating him to undertake his translation. Wujek borrowed words from Budny, for instance, "rozdział" (chapter) and "całopalenie" (burnt offering).[44] He probably made use of commentary notes from the Nesvizh Bible, though he never admitted to it or revealed it for religious reasons.[45] Today we have indications of the influence of the Czechowic New Testament on the Wujek translation.[46]

Budny's controversial innovations sparked polemic around his person and his translations. His renderings were opposed by Jesuit theologian Mikołaj Cichowski (1598–1669), Cistercian theologian and polemicist Stanisław Zdzieszek Ostrowski

40 "…żebychmy swoim własnym a przyrodzonym" językiem "nie gardzili" (Budny 1572, b4v); see also Budny 1572, b3v–c1r; Budny 1574, d1r–v; Pietkiewicz, *In Search*, 190–191; Moszyński, "Biblia Szymona Budnego," 43–44, 46–48; Moszyński, "Zur Sprache der Bibelübersetzung," 415.

41 Frick, "The Biblical Philology," 334.

42 Wujek 1593, 4–8 (of the first pagination), 67–68, 288, 305, 306, 555, and many others; Frick, "The Biblical Philology," 335.

43 Wujek 1593, 15 (of the first pagination).

44 Smereka, "Wstęp," XL; Pietkiewicz, *In Search*, 204.

45 Pietkiewicz, *In Search*, 201, 204, 212.

46 Czerniatowicz, "Niektóre problemy," 83.

(c. 1550–after 1596), Jesuit Marcin Łaszcz (writing under the pseudonym of Szczęsny Żebrowski, 1551–1615), humanist Fr. Stanisław Reszka (1544–1600), and Jesuit Piotr Skarga (1536–1612),[47] who were outside the circle of Polish biblical scholars-translators. The Czechowic translation was critiqued by Marcin Łaszcz (*Recepta na plastr Czechowica*, Kraków 1597). However, more often than not, those disputes boiled down to deriding, mocking, and disparaging the opponent without giving substantive reasons for the criticism. Against this background, Wujek's objections stand out as substantiated.

The antitrinitarian biblical impressions also targeted Ruthenians living in the eastern provinces of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and across its eastern borders. It is evident in the chapter titles rendered as Ruthenian "zaczała" in the Budny and Czechowic translations. Budny did it "at the request of kind Ruthenian brothers."[48] Czechowic followed suit for similar reasons.[49] Wujek, too, applied Budny and Czechowic's idea.[50] The requests of the Ruthenians testify to their interest in antitrinitarianism and biblical texts translated for this circle.

This interest went even further. Belarusian Antitrinitarian Wasyl Ciapiński (c. 1530–c. 1604), an acquaintance of Budny, drew on the latter's translation while rendering the Gospels into Ruthenian in the 1570s. Also, the Nesvizh Bible is thought to have been among the versions collected by Prince Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (1526–1608) to prepare the text of the Holy Scriptures in Old Church Slavonic – the so-called Ostrog Bible (1580–1581). In addition to that, in 1616, in Vilnius, a hugely popular collection of sermons in Ruthenian was published by Meletius Smotrytsky (c. 1577–1633) – originally an Orthodox clergyman (c. 1616–1627), and then a Uniate convert, the son of Herasym, one of the editors of the Ostrog Bible, who translated the Gospel passages from Budny's texts. In 1638, Petro Mohyla (1597–1647), an Orthodox Metropolitan of Kyiv, issued the corrected version of sermons, in which he changed parts of the Gospel texts to Ruthenian versions, compiled on the grounds of the Wujek and the Danzig Bibles, leaving the remainder as the old translation based on Budny. Thus, for many years of the 17th century, Uniate and the Orthodox believers would listen to Gospel texts penned by one of the most radical antitrinitarian translators, considered in no uncertain terms a heretic. Of course, the fact that they drew on Budny was kept secret and never revealed by the authors and printers of the above-mentioned works.[51]

The translations by Budny and Czechowic were also familiar to Lithuanian Karaites professing non-Talmudic Judaism. Isaac of Troki (1533–1594), a Karaite polemicist, exegete, and apologist, used them (mainly Budny). The Christology of Budny

47 Kamieniecki, *Szymon Budny*, 130–135; Frick, "The Biblical Philology," 312, 334–336.
48 "…na żądanie braciej miłej z narodu ruskiego" (Budny 1574, d3r).
49 Czechowic 1577, ††4r.
50 Wujek 1593, 24–25 (of the first pagination).
51 Frick, "The Biblical Philology," 336–338.

and Czechowic and the fact that Budny undermined to some extent the credibility of the New Testament (obviously Budny would not have agreed with this statement, even though his criticism of different New Testament versions was perceived in this way by his opponents) presented a source of plausible arguments for Karaites, who did not believe in Jesus's divinity and messianic mission, and declined the divine authority of the New Testament writings.[52]

Also, the influence of Budny's translations on the Muslim Tatars of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is worth mentioning. They used Budny's biblical texts for disputes with the Christians and possibly with the Jews or Karaites. A copy of the Nesvizh Bible, kept in the Library at the University of Warsaw (shelf mark: 614.300), features handwritten notes in Polish and Turkish in the Arabic script and quotations from the Qur'an corresponding to the biblical passages, which testifies that these two books underwent comparative studies. Quotes from the Nesvizh Bible can also be found in 17th-century Tatar polemical manuscripts, which were written in Polish though employing 17th-century Arabic script[53] and in other manuscripts dating from the 16th, 17th, or even 19th centuries.[54] The choice of Budny's translation does not seem accidental; rather, his text satisfied their concern for the purity of God's word (Budny would translate from the original almost literally) and better corresponded with the doctrine of Islam due to the dismissal of the dogmas of the Holy Trinity and the divinity of Christ. It also fitted in with the spirit of the Reformation, in which the scriptural arguments were of great importance. Furthermore, the Tatar settlements were situated in the neighborhood of antitrinitarian centers, where Budny was active (Kletsk, Trakai, Ashmyany, Vilnius) and where beyond any doubt, Budny's impressions were readily available.[55]

5. The Influence of Polish Antitrinitarian Translations of the Bible across the Borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

Translations of Polish Antitrinitarians became known in Western and Eastern Europe. The language barrier limited their influence in Western Europe, which explains

52 Frick, "The Biblical Philology," 339–341.

53 The manuscript which contains four polemic works under the same title "Where did idols come from" (Minsk, the Central Scientific Library of the National Academy of Sciences in Belarus, shelf mark P97; Тарэлка – Сынкова, *Адкуль пайшлі ідалы*, 422; Kulwicka-Kamińska, *Kształtowanie się polskiej terminologii*, 27).

54 E.g. prayer books, by the so-called *Chamaiła* (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, shelf mark B.OR.280); *Chamaił of Mustafa Koryski* of 1802 (Gdańsk Library of Polish Academy of Sciences shelf mark akc. 692); Drozd, "Wpływy chrześcijańskie," 10, 22.

55 Drozd, "Wpływy chrześcijańskie," 9–13, 17, 32–33; Tarèlka – Synkova, *Adkul' pajšli idaly*, 422–424; Kulwicka-Kamińska, *Kształtowanie się polskiej terminologii*, 26.

why Budny started to popularize his views on the Holy Trinity, Christology, and baptism of children, and writing theological treatises in Latin. In this way, he sought to involve Protestant theologians and biblical scholars from Switzerland and England in debate.[56] As far as we know, Josias Simmler (1530–1576), a Zurich professor of the New Testament exegesis and an eminent Reformed philologist,[57] and Johann Wigand (c. 1523–1587), a Lutheran bishop of Ducal Prussia, polemicized with Budny over textual criticism and dogma. Italian Jesuit Antonio Possevino (1533–1611) was also active in Poland and familiar with Budny's views.[58]

Budny's achievements, especially in textual criticism, namely his theory presented systematically in the 1574 "Preface to the New Testament" ("Przedmowa na Nowy Testament"),[59] are worth emphasizing because, for all practical purposes, the translator gave preference to denominational viewpoints. Budny believed that different versions of the biblical text should be subjected to rational criticism, just like other ancient texts. Such criticism was to be based on methodical work with various witnesses to the text. Budny classified and described types of mistakes made by copyists and ancient translators, evaluated the quality of subsequent versions, presented principles of establishing variants, and drew attention to the need for a critical approach to the age of witnesses (the older ones do not mean better). As can be seen, the 1574 "Preface to the New Testament" constitutes an introduction of sorts to textual criticism and is reminiscent even of contemporary works of this type. Such an approach was very avant-garde in the 16th century. Richard Simon (1638–1712), regarded as the father of modern criticism of the biblical text, formulated principles of biblical text criticism in 1678 and 1689, which resembled Budny's rules.[60] Unfortunately, because of the language barrier and critical approach to the Antitrinitarians of the Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed communities, Budny's critical and textual proposals in 16th and 17th century Europe (apart from some exceptions – see above) were practically unknown. Also, the Sozzini followers developed a critical attitude toward the text of the New Testament. However, compared with Budny's, their criticism was of a much-simplified character (priority was given to prevailing readings or to those included in versions that were considered best).[61]

The transformation of Polish Antitrinitarism into Socinianism, which aimed at creating a universal ethical-philosophical system, brought about a new phase in

56 "De duabus naturis in Christo" and "Contra paedobaptismum" and a letter which was sent by Simmler to John Fox (1516–1587) "Brevis demonstratio, quod Christus non sit ipse Deus qui Pater nec ei aequalis" (Kot, "Budny Szymon," 97–98) – two lost texts are meant.

57 Frick, "The Biblical Philology," 336.

58 Kamieniecki, *Szymon Budny*, 130; Kot, "Budny Szymon," 97.

59 Budny 1574, b1r–d3r.

60 Simon, *Histoire critique du texte du Vieux Testament* (1678); Simon, *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament* (1689).

61 Czerniatowicz, "Niektóre problemy," 88.

the movement's history. The followers of Sozzini wrote and printed books in Latin and other languages, mainly in German, which greatly facilitated the popularity of their doctrine all over Europe.[62] With this in mind, an attempt was made to publish biblical impressions also in German. The Racovian New Testament was published in German in 1630 (Racovian 1630), and the commentary to the Prologue to John's Gospel (Szmalc 1611) by Walenty Szmalc was published in 1611. The latter also had a Dutch edition printed outside Raków in 1623 (and maybe in 1611).[63]

The translations made by Polish Antitrinitarians were known across the eastern borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. With the reform implemented by Moscow's Patriarch Nikon (1605–1681) until 1751, when the first authorized Bible in Old Church Slavonic was published, work was carried out in the East of Europe to correct this version. To this end, Polish translations, including those by Budny, were also used. The polemical presentations of Evfimiy, a monk of Chudov Monastery in Moscow, who defended the authority of Septuagint in 1703 and objected to using Latin versions, mostly Polish (particularly by Wujek), testify to the popularity of Polish Bible translations in the Moscow region. In his treatise, the monk presents a very critical attitude to the translations of Budny and Czechowic, drawing attention to "unorthodox" renderings of some texts crucial for Christology.[64]

Jewish scholar and poet Hezekiah David Abulafia, who lived in Italy in the 18th century, was familiar with the achievements of Budny, whom he praised for his knowledge of the Talmud.[65]

Conclusions

While studying the antitrinitarian translations of the Holy Scriptures in terms of their relevance to the exchange of thought between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Eastern and Western Europe, we should point out two directions of this exchange. The first direction is the reception through translations in the Polish-speaking territories of the achievements of the East and West of Europe with particular regard to the Western European philology and biblical exegesis in the spirit of the Reformation, even the radical one. The influence of the East in this matter was far less significant. The second direction concerns the contribution of the Polish Brethren to European scholarship and culture. The impact of Polish scholars on Western thought was much weaker due to the language barrier. The scholarly contribution

62 Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Z dziejów polskiej książki*, 67.
63 Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Ariańskie oficyny*, 276.
64 Frick, "The Biblical Philology," 338–339.
65 Rosenthal, "Budny," 421.

of Polish Antitrinitarians to biblical research deserves particular notice in the field of biblical textual criticism. The translations of the Polish Brethren gained a much greater significance in the East (Moscow territory), where the language barrier was not so much of a hindrance. It should be mentioned that in their anti-Christian polemics, the Karaites and the Tatars of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania drew on the exegetical-theological inferences of the Polish Brethren, promoted through translations and biblical commentaries. In other words, the antitrinitarian translations of the Bible had an inter-religious impact.

Walenty Szmalc, who prepared the German version of the Racovian New Testament (Racovian 1630) and a commentary on the Prologue to John's Gospel (Szmalc 1611), made attempts to overcome the language barrier between the Polish thought of the followers of Sozzini comprised in the editions of the Bible and that of Western Europe. Still, they all appear to have had limited success. No wonder – Europe, flooded by different editions of the Bible, did not need to use those produced in Poland. Other works of Polish Antitrinitarians played a much greater role in the exchange of thought, among which the Racovian Catechism, which in the 17th century was translated into Latin, German, Dutch, and English, and the biblical commentaries in Latin,[66] played a leading role.

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Sprawy y słowa Jezusa Krystusa Syna Bożego / ku wieczney poćiesze wybranym Bożym napisane przez świadki y pisarze na tho od Boga zrządżone / a tu wykłady krotkiemi są obiaśnione (Brześć Litewski: [Cyprian Bazylik] 1566, 2°) (shelf marks: Kraków, Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich, Cim.787/III adl.; Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, XVI.F.4098 adl.) (= Falconius 1566).

Commentaries on the Acts of the Apostles by Tomasz Falconius

Wtore księgi Lukasza świętego / ktorych napis iest / Dźieie abo Sprawy Apostolskie / krotkiemi wykłady obiaśnione (Brześć Litewski: [Cyprian Bazylik] 1566, 2°) (shelf marks: Kraków, Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich, Cim.788/III adl.; Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, F.4099 adl.) (= Falconius, Acts 1566).

Translations by Szymon Budny

Kśięgi ktore po Grecku zową Apokryfa / to iest kryiome księgi. Nowy Testament z Greckiego na polski ięzyk s pilnością przełożony (Nieśwież: Daniel of Łęczyca 1570, 4°) (shelf marks: Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, XVI.Qu.2337) (= Budny 1570).

66 Koryl, "Hermeneutyka braci polskich."

Biblia. To iest / księgi starego y nowego Przymierza / znowu z ięzyka Ebreyskiego / Grecskiego y Laćińskiego / na Polski przełożone (ed. Maciej Kawieczyński; [Nieśwież, Zasław or Uzda (?)]: Daniel of Łęczyca 1572, 4°) (shelf marks: Warszawa, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Sd.614.300; Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, XVI.Qu.2336; 2338; 2339; the printer used here about 91% of the edition of the New Testament and the Apocrypha from 1570 – no. 3) (= Budny 1572).

Nowy Testament znowu przełożony / a na wielu mieyscach za pewnemi dowodami odprzysad przez Simona Budnego oczyśćiony / y krotkiemi przypiskami po kraioch obiaśniony. Przydane też są na końcu tegoż dostateczńieysze przypiski / ktore każdey iak miarz odmiany przyczyny ukazuią (Łosk: [Daniel of Łęczyca] 1574, 8°) (shelf marks: Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, XVI.O.191; Kórnik, Biblioteka P.AN, Cim.O.261) (= Budny 1574).

Typographical variant of the edition 1574 with about 4.5% pages changed: [the New Testament translated by Szymon Budny (Łosk: Feliks Bolemowski about 1589, 8°)] (shelf mark: Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, XVI.O.858) (= Budny 1589).

The New Testament, translated by Marcin Czechowic

NOWY TESTAMENT. To iest Wszytkie pisma nowego Przymierza / z Greckiego ięzyka na rzecz˙ Połską wiernie y szczźerze przełożone. Przydane iest rozne czytanie na brzegach / ktore się w inszych księgach nayduie: y Reiestr na końcu ([Kraków]: Aleksander Rodecki 1577, 4°) (shelf mark: Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, XVI.Qu.1773) (= Czechowic 1577).

NOWY TESTAMENT. To iest Wszytkie pisma nowego Przymierza / z Greckiego ięzyka na rzecż Polską wiernie y szczyrze przełożone ([Kraków]: Aleksander Rodecki 1594, 8°) (shelf marks: Kraków, Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich, Cim.1645/I; Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cim.550) (= Czechowic 1594).

The David Psalms, translated by Paweł Milejewski

[*PSALMY Dawidowe / na modlitwy Chrześćijańskie przełożone. Przydana iest k temu rozmowa o modlitwie / y modlitwy ludźi świętych z Bibliey wybrane* {unknown place and printer, about 1563–1578, probably 12°}] (lost) (= Milejewski 1563).

PSALMY Dawidowe / na modlitwy Chrześćijańskie przełożone. Przydana iest k temu rozmowa o modlitwie / y modlitwy ludźi świętych z Bibliey wybrane ([Kraków]: Aleksander Rodecki 1587, 12°) (shelf mark: Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, XVI.O.409) (= Milejewski 1587).

The Racovian New Testament

Nowy TESTAMENT: To iest, WSZYTKIE PISMA NOWEGO Przymierza, z Greckiego ięzyka na Polski z nowu wiernie przełożone. Przez Niektore sługi Słowa Bożego, taiemnic niebieskich, y ięzykow do takiey prace potrzebnych wiadome, y Starsze tych Zborow, ktore wyznawaią, że nikt inszy, iedno Ociec Pana naszego Iezusa Christusa, iest onym iedynym Bogiem Izraelskim, a że on człowiek Iezus Nazaranski, ktory się z Panny narodził, a żaden inszy oprocz niego, abo przed nim, iest iednorodzonym Synem Bozym (Raków: Sebastian Sternacki 1606, 4°) (shelf mark: Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, XVII-1472) (= Racovian 1606).

NOWY TESTAMENT: To iest, WSZYTKIE PISMA NOVVEGO PRZYMIER.ZA, z Greckiego ięzyka na Polski znovvu vviernie przełożone. Przez Niektore sługi Słowa Bożego / taiemnic niebieskich / y ięzykow do takiey prace potrzebnych wiadome / y Starsze tych zborow / ktore wyznawaią / że nikt inszy / iedno Ociec Pana naszego Jezusa Christusa / iest onym iedynym Bogiem Jzraelskim, a że on człowiek Iezus Nazarański / ktory się z Panny narodził / a żaden inszy oprocz niego / abo przed nim / iest iednorodzonym Synem Bozym (Raków: Sebastian Sternacki 1620, 12°) (shelf marks: Kraków, Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich, 25177/I; Cluj (Romania), Academia Annexa III (Collegium Unitariorum), R.1850; 1892) (= Racovian 1620).

Das Newe TESTAME.NT, Das ist / Alle Bücher des newen Bundes / welchen Gott durch Christum mit den menschen gemacht hat / Trewlich aus dem Griechischen ins Teutsche versetzet (Raków: [Sebastian Sternacki] 1630, 8°) (shelf mark: Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 585302.I; Kr BKC 25074.I def.; Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, XVII.2.1045; Wr BU 307910) (= Racovian 1630).

Nowy Testament, to iest wszytkie Pisma nowego Przymierza, z greckiego ięzyka na Polski znowu wiernie przełożone, przez niektore sługi Słowa Bożego, ięzykow do takięy prace potrzebnych wiadome, y Starsze tych Zborów, ktore wyznawaią, że nikt inszy, iedno Ociec Pana naszego Jezusa Christusa, iest onym iedynym Bogiem Izraelskim. a że on człowiek Jezus Nazarański, ktory się z Panny narodźił, a żaden inszy oprocz niego, abo przed nim, iest iednorodzonym Synem Bożym (Amsterdam: Jan Krelliusz 1686, 8°) (see: http://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/staropolska/baza/57640.html [access 22.12.2022]) (= Racovian 1686).

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Kurtze auslegung Uber den Anfang des Evangelii des Heiligen Iohannis. Durch eine Unterredung Gestellet / fur vier Iahren in Polnicher [!] sprache / nu aber auch in Deutscher / Durch VALENTINUM SMALCIUM GOTHANUM Lehrer der Gemeine zu Rakaw in klein Polen (Raków: [Sebastian Sternacki] 1611, 8°) (shelf mark: Kórnik, Biblioteka P.AN, 12705; Kraków, Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich, 29060.I) (= Szmalc 1611).

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Nowy Testament Pana naszego IESVSA CHRISTVSA. Z nowu z Laćińskiego y z Gręckiego na Polskie wiernie a szczyrze przełożony: y Argumentami abo Summariuszami każdych Kśiąg / y Rozdźiałow / y Annotacyami po brzegach obiaśniony. Przydane są Nauki

y Przestrogi mało nie za każdym Rozdźiałem: Porownanie Ewangelistow SS. Dźieie y drogi rozmaite Piotra y Pawła S. y Regestr rzeczy głownieyszych na końcu. Przez D. Iakvba Wvyka, Theologa Societatis Iesv. Z dozwoleniem Starszych. Pod rozsądek Kośćioła S. Powszechnego Rzymskiego wszytko niech podlęże (Kraków: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk 1593, 4°) (shelf marks: Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, XVI.Qu.3065; Kórnik, Biblioteka P.AN, Cim.Qu.2729) (= Wujek 1593).

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The Ignatian Way of Discerning God's Will. The Second Time for Making Election According to St. Ignatius of Loyola

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Abstract: Man was created to fulfill God's will by following Jesus Christ. St. Ignatius of Loyola (1591–1556), through his famous *Spiritual Exercises*, proposes a path of spiritual development in which the retreatant comes to know oneself, comes to deeply know Jesus Christ and desires to love and follow Him more in the given state of one's life. The *Spiritual Exercises* contain profoundly deep and effective Rules of Discernment of Spirits and Rules for Making a Good and Reasonable Election, aiding in the discernment of God's specific will. In the latter, St. Ignatius identifies three times, as if periods, in which a reasonable and good election can be made. The purpose of the article is to scientifically analyze the second time for election. As St. Ignatius states, this occurs "when much light and understanding from the experience of consolations and desolations and from experience in the discernment of different spirits." In the text, I use an analytical method and demonstrate that receiving much light and understanding from God regarding His will is accomplished by properly discerning spiritual consolations and desolations and by skillfully discerning the actions of different spirits, which is to be helped by an experienced spiritual director. In conclusion, I show that the Ignatian second time of election is immensely practical and helpful for anyone desiring to discern the specific will of God in order to follow Jesus Christ in the best way possible.

Keywords: spiritual discernment, election of God's will, *Spiritual Exercises*, rules of St. Ignatius of Loyola

Man was created in the image of God: "So God created mankind in his own image, in the image of God he created them" (Gen 1:27), that is, in the likeness of Jesus Christ: "For those God foreknew he also predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son" (Rom 8:29). Jesus Christ is the most perfect example of discerning and fulfilling God's will: "My food is to do the will of him who sent me" (John 4:34). Therefore, a Christian desires to discern and fulfill God's will in the likeness of Jesus Christ. The need for such discernment and obedience to God's will is revealed in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, especially in the letters of St. Paul the Apostle,[1] various documents of the Church throughout the centuries,[2] as well as many saints

1 Cf.: Gouvernaire, *La práctica*; Guillet, "Discernement des esprits," 1231–1247; Mazur, "Rozeznanie w Piśmie Świętym," 15–44; Ruiz Jurado, *Rozeznawanie duchowe*, 13–36; Schiavone, *Il discernimento evangelico oggi*; Tornos, "Fundamento bíblico-teológicos del discernimiento," 319–329. For more on discernment in Scripture, see: Mazur, "Rozeznanie w Piśmie Świętym," 15–44.

2 Cf. Drzyżdżyk – Gilski, "Sobory pierwszego tysiąclecia," 65–80.

and blessed.[3] Pope Francis also emphasizes that spiritual discernment is particularly necessary in today's Church in order to make proper decisions. In the apostolic exhortation *Gaudete et Exultate*, we read: "The gift of discernment has become all the more necessary today" (*GE* 167). Elsewhere in this document, he adds:

> We are free, with the freedom of Christ. Still, he asks us to examine what is within us – our desires, anxieties, fears and questions – and what takes place all around us – "the signs of the times" – and thus to recognize the paths that lead to complete freedom. […]. Discernment is necessary not only at extraordinary times, when we need to resolve grave problems and make crucial decisions. It is a means of spiritual combat for helping us to follow the Lord more faithfully. We need it at all times, to help us recognize God's timetable, lest we fail to heed the promptings of his grace and disregard his invitation to grow (*GE* 168–169).

One of the saints of the Church of Christ to whom God granted special grace in the field of spiritual discernment is St. Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556). In his famous *Spiritual Exercises* (*SE* 115–322), he included both the Rules of Discernment of Spirits (cf. *SE* 313–336) and the Rules for Making a Good and Reasonable Election (cf. *SE* 169–189).[4] In the rules concerning choice, he speaks of the so-called "Three times when a correct and good choice of a way of life may be made" (*SE* 175) Ignatian "three times of election" are like three periods, "three signs, or kinds of evidence, by which God shows his will"[5]; three privileged moments, "spiritual dispositions,"[6] three "opportunities for decision-making,"[7] or three ways in which God's will is manifested, "in which one can make an election" (*SE* 173) in accordance with God's will.

As St. Ignatius explains, the first time of election takes place "when God our Lord so moves and attracts the will that a devout soul without hesitation, or the possibility of hesitation, follows what has been manifested to it. St. Paul and St. Matthew acted thus in following Christ our Lord" (*SE* 175). The second time of election is "when much light and understanding are derived through experience of desolations and consolations and discernment of diverse spirits" (*SE* 176). And the third time of election, called "peaceful," "it is a time of tranquility, that is, a time when the soul is not agitated by different spirits, and has free and peaceful use of its natural powers" (*SE* 177).

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3 Cf.: Bardy, "Discernement des esprits," 1247–1254; Kasprzak, "Rozeznawanie duchów," 45–63; Pegon, "Discernement des esprits," 1266–1281; Ruiz Jurado, *Rozeznawanie duchowe*, 71–147; Vandenbroucke, "Discernement des esprits," 1254–1266. For more on the need for spiritual discernment, see: Królikowski, "Rozeznanie woli Bożej," 5–24, esp. 7–10.

4 Cf. Królikowski, *Jak dokonać wyboru*; Sampaio Costa, *Los tiempos de elección*.

5 Ivens, *Understanding the Spiritual Exercises*, 128.

6 Iparraguirre, *Introduzione*, 74.

7 Lefrank, *Przemiana w Chrystusa*, 253.

In this article, I undertake an analysis of the second time of election, during which a person wishing to follow Christ receives from him "much light and understanding" regarding God's will. This occurs through two integrally related spiritual processes, that is, first, "through experience of desolations and consolations" and second, through proper discernment of spirits ministering to these states, that is, "through discernment of diverse spirits" (*SE* 176).

1. Spiritual Consolations and Desolations as Help in Discerning God's Will

St. Ignatius lists the first time of election as the most certain time for discerning God's will. It is at that time that God, our Lord, "moves and attracts the will that a devout soul without hesitation, or the possibility of hesitation, follows what has been manifested to it" (*SE* 175). However, if a person seeking to discern what God's will is could not find a basis for making an election in it (in the first time), as we read in the Ignatian Directory for the *Spiritual Exercises*, they should proceed to the second time,[8] in which "much light and understanding are derived through experience of desolations and consolations" (*SE* 176).

The purpose of the second time of election is to obtain from God spiritual certainty, great "light and understanding" regarding His most holy will. Among the means to achieve this goal are the experienced states of spiritual consolation and desolation. These states of spiritual consolation and desolation serve as a kind of language of communication between the God and the believing person. St. Ignatius emphasizes that through these spiritual states, one can receive "much light and understanding" (*SE* 176) regarding God's will during the second time of election. He similarly states in his first Directory for the *Spiritual Exercises*. Ignatius points out that the second way of making election is to know one's vocation through the experience of consolation and desolation. He advises the retreatant to pay attention to what stirs within them during consolation and desolation while contemplating Christ. Therefore, it is important to provide a clear explanation of what spiritual consolation and desolation entail.[9] Understanding these spiritual states, recognizing them within oneself, and interpreting them correctly are key elements in the process of spiritual discernment and making decisions in accordance with God's will.

8 Cf. Palmer, *On Giving*, I, no. 10.

9 Cf. Palmer, *On Giving*, I, no. 18; see also no. 11–12.

1.1. Spiritual Consolation

St. Ignatius experienced spiritual consolations many times in his life, especially after his conversion. His testimonies regarding these spiritual consolations and divine visitations are present especially in his *Autobiography*[10] and *Spiritual Diary.*[11] These mystical experiences aided him in providing an adequate description of the state of spiritual consolation. He does so, among other instances, in the *Spiritual Exercises*.

> *Spiritual Consolation*. I call it consolation when an interior movement is aroused in the soul, by which it is inflamed with love of its Creator and Lord, and as a consequence, can love no creature on the face of the earth for its own sake, but only in the Creator of them all. It is likewise consolation when one sheds tears that move to the love of God, whether it be because of sorrow for sins, or because of the sufferings of Christ our Lord, or for any other reason that is immediately directed to the praise and service of God. Finally, I call consolation every increase of faith, hope, and love, and all interior joy that invites and attracts to what is heavenly and to the salvation of one's soul by filling it with peace and quiet in its Creator and Lord (*SE* 316).[12]

Elsewhere in the *Exercises*, St. Ignatius adds that "it is characteristic of God and His Angels, when they act upon the soul, to give true happiness and spiritual joy, and to banish all the sadness and disturbances which are caused by the enemy" (*SE* 329).[13] "God alone can give consolation to the soul without any previous cause. It belongs solely to the Creator to come into a soul, to leave it, to act upon it, to draw it wholly to the love of His Divine Majesty" (*SE* 330).[14]

In his first Directory for the *Spiritual Exercises*, he points out that consolation is spiritual joy, love, hope placed in heavenly things, tears, in addition to any inner stirrings that make the soul feel consolation in God.[15] All these feelings come from God and are gifts of the Holy Spirit.[16]

In a letter to Sister Teresa Rejadell, written in Venice on June 18, 1536, St. Ignatius lists the fruits of spiritual consolation. According to him, true consolation

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10 Tylenda, *A Pilgrim's Journey.*

11 Decloux, *The Spiritual Diary.*

12 We recognize and judge spiritual consolation by its salvific effects: true joy, peace, inner rest, etc. Cf.: Bertrand, "J'appelle consolation…," 335–348; Corella, "La consolación en los Ejercicios," 319–337; Fiorito, *Discernimiento y lucha espiritual*; Kotlewski, "Pocieszenie duchowe," 119–133; Mądrzyk, "Przyczyny i właściwe postawy," 169–181; Molina Molina, "Discernir la presencia," 229–240; Zollner, *Trost – Zunahme an Hoffnung*; Zollner, "Core, Criteria and Consequences," 52–65.

13 Cf. Corella, "Consolación," 413–425.

14 Cf. Gallagher, *Pocieszenie duchowe*.

15 Cf. Palmer, *On Giving*, I, no. 18; see also no. 11–12.

16 Cf. Palmer, *On Giving*, I, no. 11.

> […] casts out all disturbance and draws us into total love of the Lord. There are some whom the Lord lights up in such consolation, and there are others to whom he uncovers many secrets, and more later. With this divine consolation, all hardships are ultimately pleasure, all fatigues rest. For anyone who proceeds with this interior fervour, warmth and consolation, there is no load so great that it does not seem light to them, nor any penance or other hardship so great that it is not very sweet. This shows to us and opens the path with the direction we are to follow, and the opposite we are to avoid.[17]

Experiencing spiritual consolation, which is a gift of the Holy Spirit, enables the recognition and fulfillment of God's will. That is why St. Ignatius emphasizes that spiritual consolation "shows to us and opens the path with the direction we are to follow, and the opposite we are to avoid."[18] A similar role in discerning and fulfilling God's will is played by the state of spiritual desolation, which needs to be discerned correctly.

1.2. Spiritual Desolation

In addition to spiritual consolations, St. Ignatius also experienced many spiritual desolations, torments of the spirit, and scruples, especially during his stay in Manresa, as testified in his *Autobiography.*[19] Through these painful and purifying spiritual experiences, he understood how God could use them to better prepare a person for discerning and fulfilling God's will. That is why, in describing the second time of choice, he emphasizes that "much light and understanding are derived" regarding God's will not only "through experience of consolations" but also through "desolations" (*SE* 176). In this context, Father Jérôme Nadal (1507–1580), one of Ignatius' early companions and close collaborators, as well as an excellent connoisseur of his spirit, provides a general principle that "if someone experiences consolation in something and later encounters desolation, the latter often confirms the former."[20]

How does St. Ignatius describe the state of spiritual desolation? In the *Spiritual Exercises*, we read that spiritual desolation is the "darkness of soul, turmoil of spirit, inclination to what is low and earthly, restlessness rising from many disturbances and temptations which lead to want of faith, want of hope, want of love. The soul is wholly slothful, tepid, sad, and separated, as it were, from its Creator and Lord" (*SE* 317).[21] During this time, a person experiences "the sadness and disturbances

17 Ignatius of Loyola, "Steps in Discernment," 137.
18 Ignatius of Loyola, "Steps in Discernment," 137.
19 Cf. Tylenda, *A Pilgrim's Journey*, 47–52.
20 Nadal, *Epistolae*, 644.
21 Scientific commentaries on the state of spiritual desolation described by St. Ignatius, taking into account the spiritual, psychological, social, or cultural dimension, can be found in: Aufauvre, "Depression and

which are caused by the enemy. It is characteristic of the evil one to fight against such happiness and consolation by proposing fallacious reasonings, subtilties, and continual deceptions" (*SE* 329).[22]

In the first Directory to the *Spiritual Exercises*, St. Ignatius adds that spiritual desolation, being a gift of the evil spirit, is as opposite to consolation as war is to peace, sadness is to spiritual joy, hope placed in lowly things is the opposite of hope in lofty things; similarly, as earthly love opposes lofty love, dryness opposes tears, and the wandering of the mind in lowly things opposes the elevation of the mind.[23] According to him, spiritual desolation entails sadness, lack of hope, lack of love, dryness, etc.[24]

On the other hand, in the aforementioned letter to Sister Teresa Rejadell, St. Ignatius explains the essence of spiritual desolation as follows:

> […] our old enemy places before us every possible obstacle to divert us from what has been begun, attacking us very much. He acts completely counter to the first lesson, often plunging us into sadness without our knowing why we are sad. Nor can we pray with any devotion, or contemplate, or even speak and hear of things about God Our Lord with any interior savour or relish. And not stopping there, if he finds we are weak and let ourselves be subjected to such tainted thoughts, he brings us to think that we have been completely forgotten by God, and we end up with the impression that we are completely separated from Our Lord. Everything we have done, everything we were wanting to do, none of it counts. In this way, he tries to make us lose trust in everything. But we can see from all this what is the cause of so much fear and weakness on our part: at one stage we spent too long a time with our eyes fixed on our own miseries, and subjected ourselves to his deceptive lines of thought.[25]

Since, according to the second time of election, discernment and election of God's will be accomplished through "much light and understanding [which] are derived through experience of desolations and consolations and discernment of diverse spirits" (*SE* 176), it is important to properly experience spiritual desolation and pay attention to what stirs the God's impulse.[26] Therefore, not only spiritual consolation but also desolation is a crucial spiritual experience through which God can reveal

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Spiritual Desolation," 47–56; Corella, "La desolación espiritual," 325–344; Font – Guillén, "Desolación," 570–580; García Domínguez, "Desolación," 359–375; García Domínguez, "Discernir la desolación," 93–96; Sampaio Costa, *Los tiempos de elección*, 121–132; Tornos, "Dimensiones culturales de la desolación," 377–388; Wielgus, "Strapienie duchowe a depresja," 135–147.

22 Cf.: Homa, "Jak działa Bóg," 50–68; Teixidor, "La primera de las reglas," 28–44.

23 Cf. Palmer, *On Giving*, I, no. 12.

24 Cf. Palmer, *On Giving*, I, no. 18.

25 Ignatius of Loyola, "Steps in Discernment," 138.

26 Cf. Palmer, *On Giving*, I, no. 18.

His most sacred will. The terms "consolations" and "desolations" are used in the plural because "the Second Time is a process not a single event. Ultimately the decision is made on the criterion of tested consolation, but the process can be a difficult and stressful one, for election is a moment of conversion, entailing change, relinquishment and cost, and these are liable to produce desolate reactions. Working through these is an important element of the process."[27] That is why St. Ignatius expects the one giving the *Exercises* to always ask the retreatant not only about consolations but also about desolations. We read in the first Directory to the *Spiritual Exercises* that the one giving the *Exercises* should always ask the retreatant about consolation and desolation and about what they experienced within themselves during the exercise or exercises performed since the last conversation with them.[28]

The aim of the second time of election is to receive much light and understanding of God's will, both "through experience of desolations and consolations" and through the experience of "discernment of diverse spirits" (*SE* 176).

2. Discerning Different Spirits to Understand God's Will

According to the Ignatian second time of election, a Christian who desires to discern and fulfill God's will, following the example of Jesus Christ, receives "much light and understanding" in the Holy Spirit not only "through experience of desolations and consolations" but also through proper discernment of these states and the spirits acting in them, "through experience of [...] discernment of diverse spirits" (*SE* 176). Particularly helpful in this regard are the Ignatian Rules for the Discernment of Spirits (cf. *SE* 313–336), which, as St. Ignatius emphasizes in their title, "[are] for understanding to some extent the different movements produced in the soul and for recognizing those that are good to admit them, and those that are bad, to reject them" (*SE* 313).[29] All these rules are divided into two series. The rules of the first series (cf. *SE* 313–327) are "more suited to the first week" [of the *Exercises*] (*SE* 313),[30] while the rules of the second series (cf. *SE* 328–336) "[are] for understanding the different movements produced in the soul. They serve for a more accurate discernment of spirits and are more suitable for the second week" [of the *Exercises*] (*SE* 328).[31] In both series of rules, we find not only the aforementioned description

27 Ivens, *Understanding the Spiritual Exercises*, 137.

28 Cf. Palmer, *On Giving*, I, no. 5.

29 A more extensive analysis of the title of these rules can be found in: Królikowski, "Tytuł ignacjańskich Reguł," 41–66.

30 A scientific analysis of these rules, specific to the so-called first week of the *Spiritual Exercises*, can be found in: Królikowski, *Rozeznawanie duchowe*.

31 Cf. Królikowski, "Dla większego rozeznania duchów," 37–50.

of spiritual consolation and desolation and tactics of different spirits but also a profound analysis of different spiritual stirrings, their causes, and invaluable guidance for their proper experience in order to ultimately make an election in accordance with God's will. This entire spiritual process forms the foundation of the second time of election.[32]

2.1. Causes and Proper Attitudes During Spiritual Desolation

In the first series of rules, St. Ignatius lists three causes of spiritual desolation: (1) due to our own faults and negligence, (2) as a test, and (3) to make us aware that everything is His free grace and not our own merit:

> The principal reasons why we suffer from desolation are three:
>
> The first is because we have been tepid and slothful or negligent in our exercises of piety, and so through our own fault spiritual consolation has been taken away from us.
>
> The second reason is because God wishes to try us, to see how much we are worth, and how much we will advance in His service and praise when left without the generous reward of consolations and signal favors.
>
> The third reason is because God wishes to give us a true knowledge and understanding of ourselves, so that we may have an intimate perception of the fact that it is not within our power to acquire and attain great devotion, intense love, tears, or any other spiritual consolation; but that all this is the gift and grace of God our Lord. God does not wish us to build on the property of another, to rise up in spirit in a certain pride and vainglory and attribute to ourselves the devotion and other effects of spiritual consolation (*SE* 322).[33]

How should one behave during spiritual desolation? The fundamental principle of behavior is not to make any changes regarding previous decisions during that time.

St. Ignatius explains it as follows: "In time of desolation we should never make any change, but remain firm and constant in the resolution and decision which guided us the day before the desolation, or in the decision to which we adhered in the preceding consolation. For just as in consolation the good spirit guides and counsels us, so in desolation the evil spirit guides and counsels. Following his counsels, we can never find the way to a right decision" (*SE* 318).[34]

Based on this fundamental principle of behavior during spiritual desolation, St. Ignatius recommends three subsequent attitudes that are proper responses in

32 Sampaio Costa, "Elección," 728.

33 Cf. Corella, "La desolación espiritual," 325–344.

34 Cf.: Biel, "Jak się zachować," 147–156; García Bonasa, "En tiempo de desolación," 227–234; Pietrasina, "Przyczyny i właściwe postawy," 149–167.

such a spiritual situation. The first one is his recommendation to change oneself, one's attitude, by showing courage, fidelity, resourcefulness, and resisting the suggestions of the evil spirit, armed with prayer, penance, and examination of conscience, to determine whether the desolation is by any chance due to the fact that "we have been tepid and slothful or negligent in our exercises of piety" (*SE* 322). Although "in desolation we must never change our former resolutions," "it will be very advantageous to intensify our activity against the desolation. We can insist more upon prayer, upon meditation, and on much examination of ourselves. We can make an effort in a suitable way to do some penance" (*SE* 319).[35]

The second proper attitude is to realize that a given spiritual desolation can be a spiritual trial that, with the help of God's grace, can be survived victoriously: "When one is in desolation, he should be mindful that God has left him to his natural powers to resist the different agitations and temptations of the enemy in order to try him. He can resist with the help of God, which always remains, though he may not clearly perceive it. For though God has taken from him the abundance of fervor and overflowing love and the intensity of His favors, nevertheless, he has sufficient grace for eternal salvation" (*SE* 320).

The third proper attitude towards spiritual desolation is to persevere in patience and hope that consolation will soon be experienced: "When one is in desolation, he should strive to persevere in patience This reacts against the vexations that have overtaken him. Let him consider, too, that consolation will soon return, and in the meantime, he must diligently use the means against desolation" (*SE* 321).[36]

Spiritual direction is of great help in accurately discerning spiritual desolations, their causes, and adopting the appropriate attitude during their duration. In spiritual direction, a person who discerns God's will receive "much light and understanding" (*SE* 176) from God, which enables them to accept and fulfill God's will. Similar spiritual fruits can be achieved when one discerns states of spiritual consolation correctly.

2.2. Causes and Proper Attitudes during Spiritual Consolation

St. Ignatius emphasizes that the primary cause of spiritual consolation is the God Himself and the good spirits. In the first rule of the second series of the Rules for Discernment of Spirits, we read: "It is characteristic of God and His Angels, when they act upon the soul, to give true happiness and spiritual joy, and to banish all the sadness and disturbances which are caused by the enemy" (*SE* 329).[37] In the

35 Cf. Guillén, "El valor pedagógico," 345–357.

36 St. Ignatius gave similar advice and guidance to Sister Teresa Rejadell in letters written from Venice in 1536. Cf. Ignatius of Loyola, "Steps in Discernment," 136–138.

37 Cf.: Corella, "La consolación en los Ejercicios," 319–337; Fiorito, *Discernimiento y lucha espiritual*.

second rule, he adds: "God alone can give consolation to the soul without any previous cause. It belongs solely to the Creator to come into a soul, to leave it, to act upon it, to draw it wholly to the love of His Divine Majesty" (*SE* 330).[38]

Although consolation without any preceding cause comes directly from God, it is still accompanied by certain dangers and the need for spiritual discernment. Specifically, St. Ignatius distinguishes two periods within this consolation – the actual time of the ongoing consolation and the period that follows. In the second time, there is a risk of yielding to illusions rather than to the will of God. St. Ignatius writes as follows:

> When consolation is without previous cause, as was said, there can be no deception in it, since it can proceed from God our Lord only. But a spiritual person who has received such a consolation must consider it very attentively, and must cautiously distinguish the actual time of the consolation from the period which follows it. At such a time the soul is still fervent and favored with the grace and after-effects of the consolation which has passed. In this second period the soul frequently forms various resolutions and plans which are not granted directly by God our Lord. They may come from our own reasoning on the relations of our concepts and on the consequences of our judgments, or they may come from the good or evil spirit. Hence, they must be carefully examined before they are given full approval and put into execution (*SE* 336).[39]

The second cause of consolation can be both a good and an evil angel, but both acting for opposite purposes: "If a cause precedes, both the good angel and the evil spirit can give consolation to a soul, but for a quite different purpose. The good angel consoles for the progress of the soul, that it may advance and rise to what is more perfect. The evil spirit consoles for purposes that are the contrary, and that afterwards he might draw the soul to his own perverse intentions and wickedness" (*SE* 331).[40]

The danger of "consolation" that the evil spirit can give arises from the fact that it has the power to transform itself into an angel of light: "It is a mark of the evil spirit to assume the appearance of an angel of light [cf. 2 Cor 11:14]. He begins by suggesting thoughts that are suited to a devout soul, and ends by suggesting his own. For example, he will suggest holy and pious thoughts that are wholly in conformity with

38 A comprehensive analysis of spiritual consolation "consolation to the soul without any previous cause" (*SE* 330) can be found in: García de Castro, "Consolación sin causa precedente," 425–428; García de Castro, *El Dios emergente*; Gil, *La consolación sin*; Gouvernaire, *Quand Dieu entre*; Kotlewski, "Pocieszenie bez uprzedniej przyczyny," 69–82; Mendiboure, "La consolation," 71–84; Sampaio Costa, *Los tiempos de elección*, 265–287.

39 More on this topic in: Dyrek, *Poznać, wybrać i ukochać Jezusa*, 65–86; Homa, "Właściwe przeżywanie," 189–208.

40 Cf. Mądrzyk, "Pocieszenie duchowe," 83–98.

the sanctity of the soul. Afterwards, he will endeavor little by little to end by drawing the soul into his hidden snares and evil designs" (*SE* 332).[41]

So, what should one do to properly experience spiritual consolations and discern God's will through them? First and foremost, one must examine the course of thoughts associated with a particular consolation – their beginning, middle, and end. St. Ignatius speaks about this as follows:

> We must carefully observe the whole course of our thoughts. If the beginning and middle and end of the course of thoughts are wholly good and directed to what is entirely right, it is a sign that they arc from the good angel. But the course of thoughts suggested to us may terminate in something evil, or distracting, or less good than the soul had formerly proposed to do. Again, it may end in what weakens the soul, or disquiets it; or by destroying the peace, tranquillity, and quiet which it had before, it may cause disturbance to the soul. These things arc a clear sign that the thoughts are proceeding from the evil spirit, the enemy of our progress and eternal salvation (*SE* 333).[42]

In this context, St. Ignatius wrote to Sister Teresa Rejadell (June 18, 1536): "the enemy is making you upset […] in the sense of separating you from His greater service and your greater tranquillity. The first of these ways is that he insinuates a false humility, the second is that he introduces an extreme fear of God, in which you remain too long and become too occupied."[43] As we can see, the accompanying person, that is, the spiritual director, plays a very important role in properly discerning the actions of different spirits. It is their task to assist in recognizing the effects of the good and evil spirits.[44]

If we discern that a particular "consolation" did not come from the God but from the evil spirit, then St. Ignatius advises us to reflect on the entire course of our thoughts and consider how it happened, so that we may better guard ourselves against future dangers:

> When the enemy of our human nature has been detected and recognized by the trail of evil marking his course and by the wicked end to which he leads us, it will be profitable for one who has been tempted to review immediately the whole course of the temptation. Let him consider the series of good thoughts, how they arose, how the evil one gradually

41 Cf.: Augustyn, "Zaszczyt doznawania pokus," 99–108; González-Quevedo, "Quando o mal se disfarça de bem," 84–96; Mendiboure, "La tentation," 229–238.

42 The importance of studying the course of thought, as discussed by St. Ignatius, but also as early as the 4th century by Evagrius Ponticus, is brought closer by Piotr Słabek ("Zwracać uwagę na przebieg myśli," 109–141).

43 Ignatius of Loyola, "Steps in Discernment," 136. Cf. Guerrero, "La práctica del discernimiento espiritual," 187–210.

44 Cf. Palmer, *On Giving*, I, no. 19.

> attempted to make him step down from the state of spiritual delight and joy in which he was, till finally he drew him to his wicked designs. The purpose of this review is that once such an experience has been understood and carefully observed, we may guard ourselves for the future against the customary deceits of the enemy (*SE* 333).[45]

The Ignatian Rules for Discernment of Spirits, their proper understanding and application, are excellent tools that effectively facilitate discerning God's will. Through them, the discernment person can receive "much light and understanding" from God regarding His most holy will.

Conclusions

A believer in Christ who desires to imitate Him in daily life and discern His specific will can benefit greatly from using the Ignatian Rules for Making a Good and Reasonable Election. The Three Times of Election contained in them facilitate making "a correct and good choice" (*SE* 175) in accordance with the most holy will of the God. In the second time of election, which is analyzed, "much light and understanding are derived through experience of desolations and consolations and discernment of diverse spirits" (*SE* 176). St. Ignatius proposes in it an incredibly clear and fruitful method for discerning God's will. The application of the Ignatian Rules for Making a Good and Reasonable Election, including the second time of election, assumes the assistance of a companion in this process, the spiritual support of a mature and experienced spiritual director. St. Ignatius provides a series of guidelines for the spiritual director, among others in the Annotations to the *Spiritual Exercises* (cf. *SE* 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17).[46] With his help, the person discerning God's will better understand the states of consolation and desolation and properly assesses the different spirits working in him, resulting in having "much light and understanding" regarding the most holy will of God.[47]

45 Cf. Augustyn, "Retrospekcja grzechu," 153–164.

46 A scholarly analysis of these Annotations can be found in: Królikowski, *Adnotacje do Ćwiczeń duchowych*.

47 For more on Ignatian spiritual direction, see in: Charmot, "Rozeznawanie duchowe," 293–299; García Domínguez, *La entrevista en los Ejercicios espirituales*; Królikowski, *Kierownictwo duchowe*; Špidlik, "Ignacjański model," 189–202.

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The Angelized Rabbis and the Rabbinized Angels. The Reworked Motif of the Angelic Progeny in the Babylonian Talmud (*bShabb* 112b)

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Abstract: The myth of the fallen angels, as it is known from the intertestamental literature, narrates the story of the angels who break the divine law, marry earthly women, and beget malevolent hybrid progeny. The latter element of this narrative can be found in the Babylonian Talmud, where it is invested with new significance: these are the distinguished rabbis who are the heavenly messengers' offspring. I start this paper by outlining the traces of the rabbis' familiarity with the myth of the fallen angels and then move on to an analysis of the tradition about the angelic origins of the sages found in *bShabb* 112b. I offer that this passage should be read as exemplifying the practice of associating rabbis and angels that permeates the whole Babylonian Talmud. I base on two methodological paradigms: cognitive linguistics, which allows for the translation of this problem into two conceptual metaphors (SAGES ARE ANGELS and ANGELS ARE SAGES), and the *Elyonim veTachtonim* – a system of quantitative and qualitative analysis of the traditions involving supernatural entities, which permits to locate all the Talmudic passages utilizing these metaphors and to interpret their place in the broader conceptual network. The data show that the sages and rabbinized biblical figures are frequently juxtaposed with angels, and the main dimension of comparison is their intellectual proficiency. When it comes to the mapping of specific rabbinic competencies onto the angels, the most popular is the ability to engage in halakhic scrutiny and teaching. In sum, this presentation of the sages as angels can be taken as an expression of the sense of elitism entertained by the Babylonian sages and, as such, sheds additional light on the interpretation of the passage in *bShabb* 112b.

Keywords: angelology, Babylonian Talmud, conceptual metaphor

The myth of the fallen angels (hereinafter the MFA) is one of the popular narratives found in religious literature that draws inspiration from Gen 6:1–7. Its script could be summarized as follows: a group of angels breaks the divine law, cohabits with the earthly women, and begets hybrid semi-celestial creatures, who then engage in various acts against humanity. God, in turn, dispatches a division of righteous angels who punish the rebels and destroy their progeny. The insurrection is thwarted, but some fallen angels and their children remain intact and continue to afflict humanity ever after. According to the most popular version, the angels sire the giants

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(e.g., *1 En*. 7:1–6; *2 En*. 18:3), whose cadavers are then transformed into demons (e.g., *1 En*. 15:8–12; *T.Sol.* 70–71), but there are also variants in which these are the latter who are born from these unions (e.g., *Jub*. 10:1–7). As such, the MFA explains the origins of evil in the world by tracing it back to the primeval cosmic misalliance.[1]

An often-repeated assertion is that the MFA did not penetrate the literature of early Rabbinic Judaism and emerged only in the later works such as *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer* or *Sefer ha-Zohar*. This claim is based on the statement transmitted in the Palestinian midrash *Gen. Rab.* 26:5 and attributed to Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai, according to whom the "sons of God" (Heb. בני האלהים) of Gen 6:1–7 refer not to the supernatural beings (Aram. בני אלהיא) but to the antediluvian aristocracy, "the sons of judges" (Aram. בני דיניא).[2] However, as I argued elsewhere,[3] there are several hints scattered in the Babylonian Talmud (hereinafter the BT) suggesting that at least some of the rabbis were familiar with the MFA. First, the BT transmits the angelic name "Azazel" in the phrase שעיר לעזאזל used in the protocol of Yom Kippur fest (*bYoma* 37a, 62a–b, 67b, and *bHul* 11b) and in *bYoma* 67b the sages disclose that this is a toponym: the place is called "Azazel" because it atones for the deeds of "Uzza and Azael," the evil angels known for teaching sorcery to the generation of Enosh (*3 En*. 5). Second, *bNid* 61a explains that Og, the Rephaite warlord of gigantic height and strength (Deut 3:11), is the grandson of Shamhazai, the fallen angel known exclusively from the MFA as transmitted in *1 En*. 6:1–8; 8:1–3, *TgPsJ* ad Gen 6:4, and the Dead Sea Scrolls (4Q201 3:6; conjectured in 4Q202 2:5, and 4Q530 2:3–23). Third, according to *bErub* 18b, after witnessing Cain's crime, Adam decides to withhold from cohabitation with Eve so as not to beget any more wicked offspring but experiences ejaculations (Heb. שכבת זרע) that lead to the formation of three types of demons: רוחין, שדין, and לילין. The text remains mute about the mother of these entities, but according to the Palestinian variant in *Gen. Rab.* 20:11, the first man was seduced by evil spirits (Heb. רוחות). Thus, it is possible to spot the structural similarity to the MFA: Adam, the archetypal human (Heb. אדם) of biblical prehistory, cohabits with some supernatural beings and begets hybrid creatures just like "the daughters of human" (Heb. בנות האדם) of Gen 6 and the primeval women of the later reiterations. Fourth, according to *bSanh* 109a, the builders of the Tower of Babel are turned into רוחות, שדים, and לילין, and from the contextual literature, both Rabbinic (e.g., *Gen. Rab*. 31:12, *Deut. Rab*. 184) and Christian (e.g., Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* 9.17.2–3, 9.8.12), it is clear that we could interpret these craftsmen as giants. From this perspective, the transformation of the builders of Babel into demons parallels the Enochian motif of the metamorphosis of giants'

1 Reed, *Fallen Angels*; Wright, *The Origin of Evil Spirits*.

2 Hirsch, "Fall of Angels," 332–333, https://jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/11442-nephilim (access 18.02.2023).

3 Kosior, "The Affair of Uzza and Azael," 294–322.

cadavers into evil spirits (e.g., *1 En.* 15:8–12 and *T.Sol.* 70–71). I concluded that the sages were familiar with the MFA but decided to rework it as a part of their quest for differentiation from among other religious and cultural traditions of the era: these are not the angels who are responsible for the existence of demons but God, the creator and ruler of all things.

1. Between Angels and Donkeys

In this paper, I offer follow-up observations and focus on how the Talmudic rabbis altered the motif of the angelic progeny. The point of departure for my considerations is a unique passage from *bShabb* 112b, which speaks about the angelic origins of sages. The tradition is entangled in a halakhic discussion: Rabbi Yohanan gives an insightful remark which is met with enthusiasm by Rabbi Hizkiya, who exclaims, "this is not a human!" (Aram. לית דין בר אינש), hence suggesting a supernatural status of Yohanan. Right afterward, the sages furnish the following teaching.

> **Rabbi Zeira said** that **Rava bar Zimuna said: If the early** generations **are** characterized as **sons of angels** {Heb. אם ראשונים בני מלאכים}**, we are the sons of men** {Heb. אנו בני אנשים}**. And if the early** generations **are** characterized as **the sons of men, we are akin to donkeys** {Heb. אנו כחמורים}[4]**. And** I do **not** mean that we are **akin to** either **the donkey of Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa or** the donkey of **Rabbi Pinḥas ben Yair,** who were both extraordinarily intelligent donkeys; **rather,** we are **akin to other** typical **donkeys.**[5]

The textual context of this passage and the humorous punch line invite interpreting it simply as an innocuous allegory: the earlier scholars were not literally sons of angels, just as the later ones are not literally donkeys. However, there are at least two reasons for treating it as a possible reference to the MFA. First, the text contains vocabulary and concepts suggestive of the *in illo tempore* reality. The term

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4 Note that this is the only comparison that deploys the participle כ- (Vilna edition). Given the traditions concerning donkeys (e.g., *bAbodZar* 5b, *bShabb* 51b), the expression might be taken as a suggestion that the sole purpose of those later scholars is merely carrying what they received from the earlier ones – as if ironically travestying the meaning of the term תנאים (Eng. "repeaters"). However, there is some variation in the manuscripts: München 95, Vatican: Vat. ebr. 487/82 and Oxford: Heb. c. 27/10–15 have אנו חמורים, while Oxford 366 and Vatican 108 have אנו בני חמורים. The structure and terminology of the passage suggest that the latter reading should be preferred, and accordingly *bShabb* 112b would read: "If the earlier sages were the sons of men, we are the sons of donkeys."

5 All the Talmudic sources are quoted after Steinsaltz – Weinreb – Schreier, *Koren Talmud Bavli*. The citations retain the orthography and visual convention: the bold font indicates the translation, the standard font – the supplement, while the square brackets contain editorial comments. The curly brackets indicate my own additions.

used in reference to the "earlier ones" (Heb. ראשונים) is ambiguous and simply indicates the sages preceding the contemporary ones without disclosing their identity as if locating them in the distant past.[6] Analogically, the phrase "sons of men" (Heb. בני אנשים), occurring exclusively in this passage in the scope of the entire BT, is highly evocative of analogical biblical expression בני אדם denoting explicitly a descendant of Adam the forefather, i.e., a member of the human race. Finally, the text transmits the ideas typical for the narrative of the lost Golden Age:[7] the angelic wisdom is attributed to the early rabbis, and from the context, it is clear that the subsequent generations were less than perfect in this regard. Second, just like various reiterations of the MFA, our passage deals with the matters of hierarchy. Rava bar Zimuna, himself a Palestinian Amora, relies on a set of comparisons based on the underlying assumption of the great chain of being, in which humans are situated higher than animals but lower than supernatural creatures such as angels or demons.[8] The most outspoken Talmudic passage tackling this issue comes in *bHag* 16a, but there are also other fragments entertaining the idea of a hierarchy of beings. For instance, *bBer* 4b compares the swiftness of Michael, Gabriel, seraphim, and Elijah; *bShabb* 88b–89a has the ministering angels oppose the presence of Moses in the sacred Sinaitic space in front of God, while in *bGit* 68b Solomon the king of Israelites and Asmodeus the king of demons debate the matter of superiority. The hierarchy of beings and their ascription to the specific place was one of the popular subjects tackled by the BT, and given its prevalence, we could argue for its importance to the rabbis who – just like the authors of the *First Book of Enoch* or *Book of Jubilees* – used it as a legitimization for their outlook.[9]

2. Methodology: Metaphor and Modeling

Although our fragment is a unique case of explicit acknowledgment of the angelic provenance of rabbis, there are numerous other Talmudic passages associating angels and sages, and they should be treated as the backdrop for this interpretation of *bShabb* 112b. To present the tendencies which emerge from these accounts in an orderly manner, I need to ground my scrutinies in two methodological paradigms. First, the association of rabbis and angels is a case of a conceptual metaphor that I understand as experiencing one phenomenon (the target domain) in the categories

6 Ta-Shma, "Rishonim," 339.
7 Smith, "Golden Age," 3626–3630.
8 Krzeszowski, *Angels and Devils in Hell*, 277–280; Szwedek, "Angels and Devils," 3–20.
9 The classical treatment of this problem was offered by Peter Schäfer (*Rivalität*, 41–74). Schäfer argued that the rabbis portrayed righteous Israel as superior to angels.

of another one (the source domain) based on their perceived similarity.[10] The crucial component of this process is metaphoric projection – the mapping of specific source domain features onto the target domain. An often-repeated example is TIME IS MONEY: this core metaphor is reflected in the way people project selected facets of the more concrete source domain of MONEY, such as countability and value, upon the more abstract source domain of TIME, which allows them to think about the latter in terms of the former as something to be saved, lost, managed, invested, etc.[11] This projection is partial: only some aspects of the source domain are mapped upon the target domain, and only some of the aspects of the target domain are addressed by the source domain. This core metaphor highlights the importance and scarcity of both resources (as perceived in the West) but hides one difference: while people can make money during their life, they cannot do so with time. Whereas the proponents of this paradigm emphasized the unidirectionality of the metaphoric projection, the later adherents stressed that such mapping is possible only when there is some initial similarity between the domains. Hence, conceptualizing TIME as MONEY means that some aspects of MONEY are already present in TIME.[12]

With this understanding of metaphor, I can now deconstruct the problem of similarity between angels and sages. This pair can be seen as two conceptual domains bearing some initial resemblance allowing for the projection. The traditions found in the BT reflect two core metaphors: SAGES ARE ANGELS, and ANGELS ARE SAGES. As I will show, the first one is provided explicitly, and the texts directly compare the rabbis to the angels in various respects (e.g., Rabbi Yehuda bar Ilai in *bShabb* 25b). The second metaphor is implicit, and the texts resort to metaphoric projections with specific rabbinic features mapped onto the angels (e.g., Gabriel in *bMenah* 29a).

Such comparisons and mappings are present throughout the BT and constitute a tendency that is apparent only if we switch to the macroscale perspective. This brings me to the second methodological paradigm, which is the *Elyonim veTachtonim* (hereinafter the EvT).[13] It is a system of quantitative and qualitative analysis of the traditions involving supernatural entities (hereinafter the SEs) currently deployed to the scrutiny of two corpora: the Hebrew Bible and the BT. The main tool of the EvT is a database – a structured collection of data together with the methods of access, organization, selection, retrieval, and modeling[14] – maintained in the spreadsheet file format (.xlsx). The meticulously analyzed sources that feature the SEs are divided manually into units, i.e., the smallest genre-coherent portions of text, which are inserted into the database and annotated with tags (pieces of metadata). The ontology of tags consists of over 600 hierarchically arranged items pertaining

10 Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 16–25. Evans – Green, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 156–160.
11 I adhere to the graphical convention established by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (*Metaphors*).
12 Fauconnier, *Mappings*, 1–33.
13 *Elyonim veTachtonim*, https://elyonimvetachtonim.project.uj.edu.pl/ (access 18.02.2023).
14 Rydberg-Cox, *Digital Libraries*, 15.

to both the formal features (e.g., language, literary genre, or attribution) and contents (e.g., class and type of a SE, sort of interactions that unfold between a SE and a human, or a field of expertise of a given SE) of the studied accounts. The inventory plays two functions: a thematic concordance resulting from a careful close reading of all the units contained therein and a repository of data and metadata allowing for the quantitative analysis in the search for general regularities.

The adoption of the EvT system allows me to address the problems stemming from the specificity of the BT: this is a massive and internally diversified work containing a variety of traditions involving law (halakhah), biblical interpretations (midrash), and stories (aggadah). These were produced in Palestine and Sasanian Empire throughout the first centuries of the Common Era by three groups of sages: Tannaim, Amoraim, and Stammaim.[15] As a result, the BT does not offer a coherent system of teachings and should be considered a pool of dispersed religious, moral, and juridical opinions of specific cliches and individuals.[16] The EvT system enables us to see through this diversity with the help of the distant reading involving the recognition of the associative contexts of given terms, calculations of the popularity of specific ideas, and correlations of metadata.[17]

The special case of this problem is the understanding of the SE. It is possible to recognize the features shared by the Talmudic figures**,** such as ministering angels, evil spirits, and the specters of deceased persons. In fact, some of them appear to function as larger groups – yet, the BT does not address this subject explicitly. Hence, to approach the accounts featuring these entities, it is indispensable to introduce the etic concepts grasping the ideas that have not been formulated in the emic terminology of the BT. The EvT system addresses these issues by conceptualizing the SEs and their classes, which is easily applicable to the rabbinic way of thinking. Accordingly, a SE is a literary anthropomorphic agent possessing some counterintuitive features. The latter are understood as violating humans' innate cognitive expectations concerning phenomena belonging to specific categories. For instance, humans are material beings that cannot pass through other objects, and ghosts of the deceased violate this expectation.[18] The SEs studied within the EvT project are divided into four classes: angels, demons, ghosts, and monsters, which are conceptualized based on the prototypical model of classification: angels are helpful, follow the divine orders, and live in the heavens; demons are malevolent towards humans, inhabit their close vicinities, and act independently; ghosts are dead humans who appear as if equipped

15 Halivni, *The Formation*, 3–9. For a broader context, see Gafni, "Rethinking Talmudic History," 355–375.

16 Samely, *Forms of Rabbinic Literature*, 2–22, 137–144.

17 Moretti, *Distant Reading*, 65–70.

18 Such understanding is inspired by the cognitive science of religion. Barrett – Burdett – Porter, "Counterintuitiveness in Folktales," 271–287. Although the term "supernatural" is not devoid of its own problems, it remains a convenient etic category and in this regard I follow the argumentation presented by Ilkka Pyysiäinen (*Supernatural Agents*, vii–ix).

with some additional powers; monsters are large theriomorphic entities living on the fringes of civilization. The specimens belonging to each class differ in terms of their representativeness, and the class of angels exemplifies this well. The very name "angel" comes from the Latin *angelus*, which in turn is a Latinized form of the Greek αγγελος used in Septuagint to render the מלאך found in the Hebrew Bible, which signifies a "messenger," both human and superhuman. With time these terms became used exclusively for the SEs, and later on, they started to denote a category of beings that included other celestial figures known from the Hebrew Bible, such as בני אלהים (e.g., Deut 32:8–9 following the Qumran manuscripts 4QDt^{q} and 4QDt^{j}; Job 1:6), שרפים (Isa 6:1–7), כרובים (Ezek 10:1–22), קדושים (e.g., Ps 29:7; 89:1–3, 6–19), or עירין (Dan 4:14), to name just a few.[19] The EvT system acknowledges various entities in the category of angels, both the prototypical (e.g., the angel of Yahweh or Metatron) and marginal ones (e.g., Dubiel or Ridya).

3. Data Analysis: Angelized Rabbis

Thanks to the arrangement of the Talmudic inventory of SEs,[20] it is possible to locate all the passages speaking about the similarities between angels and sages and – based on the quantitative analysis – to describe the specificity of this association in the macroscale. Two topical tags are crucial: the #simile tag is used to annotate the units in which humans are compared to SEs (the conceptual metaphor HUMAN IS A SE), while the #jurist tag indicates the units in which SEs betray knowledge of the matters pertaining to law, exegesis, cult, and theology (the conceptual metaphor SE IS A SAGE).[21]

Table 1. Number of units featuring SEs belonging to specific classes and annotated with the respective tag. The first row presents the total number of units featuring each class of entities

	angels	demons	ghosts	monster
in total	496	203	93	97
#simile	35	9	4	3
#jurist	43	8	1	2

Source: Own work.

19 E.g., Bamberger, "Angels and Angelology," 150–152.

20 All the calculations were performed using version 008 *Chemah* of the Talmudic inventory (https://elyonimvetachtonim.project.uj.edu.pl/en_GB/databases/babylonian-talmud [access 18.02.2023]).

21 I need to stress once more that the annotation process was not automatic and that the tags were deployed as a result of careful close reading of each and every unit. In other words, what I present here is not a vocabulary co-occurrence network but a human-created thematic concordance. I thank one of the anonymous reviewers for pointing out the need for this explication.

There is an apparent discrepancy in frequency, with angels being the most popular Talmudic SEs (Tab. 1). In addition to this, they are most often presented as the point of comparison to people and as proficient in halakhic matters, even though the #simile and #jurist belong to the less popular tags.

Table 2. Number of units featuring angels and annotated with the respective topical tags pertaining to the formal features

	language		attribution					actor			
	Hebrew	Aramaic	unattributed	Babylonian	Palestinian	Tannaitic	Amoraic	Babylonian	Palestinian	Tannai tic	Amoraic
#simile	13	5	3	8	8	8	12	0	11	9	2
#jurist	33	8	12	9	27	14	23	2	12	11	5

Source: Own work.

The formal profile of the units involving the angels is diversified (Tab. 2). Although there is a clear preference for the Hebrew language, these traditions originate from various contexts: both Palestinian and Babylonian regions and both Tannaitic and Amoraic circles. Interestingly, in the cases with rabbinic actors, these are the Palestinian Tannaim who appear most frequently.

Table 3. Number of units featuring specific types of literary characters compared to angels. The sum of the units (36) is not equal to the sum in Tab. 2 (35) because one unit (bQidd 72a) contains two comparisons

sage	biblical figure	other people	"son of Belial"	other cases
18	4	6	3	5

Source: Own work.

Further scrutiny of the traditions about the angels and annotated with the #simile tag reveals several groups of humans compared to angels (Tab. 3): sages or rabbinized[22] non-sages, rabbinized biblical figures, and non-rabbinic folk. Apart from these three collectives, there is also a group of instances about the "sons of Belial" and the category of "other." Let me now analyze each of them in more detail.

There are eighteen units featuring sages (Tab. 2). Almost all are the Palestinian Tannaim, and nine of these units concern intellectual proficiency, which conforms to the tradition about the angelic origins of the early rabbis in *bShabb* 112b.

22 By rabbinization, I understand the process in which the sages portrayed non-rabbis as if the latter were rabbis capable of Torah studies, halakhic speculations, and theological investigations. Naiweld, "The Rabbinization," 339–357.

The unit in *bHag* 15b starts with a reference to Rabbi Meir, who was a student of Elisha ben Avuyah (the infamous Acher of *bHag* 15a–b), and then proceeds to the elaboration on the requirements for being a good teacher based on the interpretation of Mal 2:7. Accordingly, just like the biblical priest is the messenger of Yahweh, so should be a sage from whom his pupils can learn the Torah. The analogous tone is retained in *bHag* 15b and *bBBat* 8a, which emphasize the merits of studying. The fifth unit comes in *bPes* 33a and concerns the halakhic details of the status of the Passover bread. One of the rulings supplied by the sages lacks a clear explanation but is accepted anyway, and the text labels this decision with the biblical phrase "the decree of the watchers and the decision of the word of the holy ones"[23] (Aram. בגזירת עירין פתגמא ובמאמר קדישין שאילתא, Dan 4:14) thus indirectly comparing the sages to angels. Two units in *bNed* 20b juxtapose sages' and ministering angels' knowledge of prenatal life and conclude that both groups are "outstanding" (Aram. דמצייני).[24] In two units, the humans are compared to Satan, classified in the EvT system as an angel based on his presentation in the BT and the contextual literature of the era. The first such unit in *bTamid* 32a belongs to a more extended passage featuring Alexander III of Macedon engaged in a dispute with the elders of Negev. Endowed with halakhic expertise, Alexander asks numerous questions concerning the nature of God, thus challenging rabbis' theological stance. Finally, he demands the answer why the sages oppose him, to which he hears: "Satan is victorious" (Aram. סטנא נצח). The comparison of Alexander with Satan is apparent, and even though this is not a typical act of appreciation, the sages acknowledge the king's intellectual mastery. A somewhat similar tone is retained in the second unit featuring Satan in *bYebam* 16a. It is interwoven in a longer passage revolving around the halakhic problem of a rival wife of a daughter's husband. Rabbi Yehoshua consults Dosa ben Harkinas, himself a follower of the school of Hillel, and learns that the latter has a sibling who belongs to the opposing school of Shammai. Dosa describes him in a series of rhyming expressions as Yonatan (Heb. יונתן), who is his younger brother (Heb. אח קטן) and the first-born of Satan (Heb. בכור שטן). From the subsequent part praising his halakhic skills as well as from Rashi's commentary *ad loc*., it is clear that comparison to Satan is the form of approval of Yonatan's rabbinic aptitude.

In two instances, the sages are likened to angels due to their visual appearance. According to a unit in *bShabb* 25b, Yehudah bar Ilai used to wear a fringed linen garment on the sabbath, making him resemble the angel of Yahweh. The second unit in *bQidd* 72a contains a series of similes of various groups: Iranian priests are like destroying angels, Ishmaelites are like toilet goat-demons (Heb. שעירים של בית הכסא) while the Babylonian sages are like the ministering angels. The text does not

23 All the biblical quotations come from the English Standard Version Bible.

24 The gist of the text suggests that this should be read as referring to their intellectual expertise, but according to Rashi's commentary, this means that both groups were wrapped in fringes (Heb. בציצית עטופים).

reveal the dimension of this comparison, but the preceding fragment dealing with the image of a stereotypical bear-like Persian suggests we should read it accordingly. This interpretation is bolstered by Rashi, who explains that, unlike the Ishmaelites who dress black and resemble the demons (Heb. שדים), the Babylonian sages, just like ministering angels, wrap themselves in elegant white robes.

Four units emphasize the sages' distinguished position as God's chosen ones, and according to *bSanh* 92b–93a, the rabbis are even more important than the ministering angels. This claim is supported by the biblical account of three righteous men thrown into Nebuchadnezzar's furnace and saved by an angel (Dan 3:25). Accordingly, the king sees the rabbinized Judeans before he notices the one "similar to the son of God" (Aram. דמה לבר אלהין). However, as the three remaining units show, the special status of the sages comes with a price. A longer piece in *bHag* 5a reiterates the biblical passage: "Behold, God puts no trust in his holy ones" (Job 15:15), and one of the units refers it to Rabbi Alexandri's student who perished at a young age, thus corroborating the validity of the biblical quotation. In turn, a tradition transmitted in two variants in *bYebam* 121b and *bBQam* 50a recounts the case of Rabbi Nehunya, the well-digger's son who dies of thirst despite his father's occupation. The text explains that this is because God is particular with the righteous and supports this claim with a verse: "a God greatly to be feared in the council of the holy ones, and awesome above all who are around him" (Ps 89:8). These three units indirectly describe the sages as the "holy ones" (Heb. קדושים) and although this term can be used in various contexts, the way it is employed in the biblical quotations suggest we treat it as some celestial SEs belonging to the class of angels.

In almost all the cases, the sages are compared to regular angels denoted by terms such as מלאכים or מלאכי השרת. In three units (*bBer* 17b, *bTaan* 24b–25a, and *bHul* 86a), the "echo" (Heb. בת קול, literally "daughter of a voice," the emissary transmitting divine speech[25]) declares Rabbi Chanina to be the son of God. The latter expression is treated as referring to a SE belonging to the class of angels in the EvT system based on two biblical motifs: the king as a divine representative on earth (e.g., David in 2 Sam 7:4–16/1 Chr 17:7–14 or Solomon in 1 Chr 22:7–10) and a depute belonging to God's court (e.g., Job 1:6; 2:1; Ps 29:1).[26]

This picture should be supplemented by four units featuring rabbinized biblical figures: Moses, David, and Solomon. Hence, *bYoma* 4a–b recounts the giving of the Torah and explains that Moses had to wait for the revelation until he emptied his bowels and thus became pure like ministering angels; *bShabb* 56a–b retells the fragment from 2 Sam 19 and has Mephibosheth compare David to the angel of

25 Noam, "Why Did the Heavenly Voice Speak Aramaic?," 157–168.

26 This case should be seen against the background of the tradition according to which other humans are also sons of God: *bSanh* 98b speaks about the heavenly and earthy families, while *bAbodZar* 5a acknowledges the godly status of humanity before the fall and accuses Israelites of opportunism when they accept Torah solely to be granted life eternal.

God (Heb. מלאך אלהים), while in the tradition transmitted in *bShabb* 14b–15a and *bErub* 21b, Solomon utters a halakhic statement and is recognized by בת קול as the son of God.[27]

The remaining comparisons concern non-rabbis. In three units, the BT resorts to the biblical quotations (Deut 13:14; Judg 19:22) containing the phrase "sons of Belial" (Heb. בני בליעל) used in reference to vile people. Although the word בליעל appears to mean "worthlessness" or "wickedness" in Biblical Hebrew and although the BT adopts this abstract meaning, it is recognized as an angel in the EvT system based on the contextual literature: the Dead Sea Scrolls deploy it as the name for the dark angelic war master (e.g., 1QS 1:16–2:8; CD 4:12–15); the NT juxtaposes Βελιαρ[28] with Christ (2 Cor 6:14–15), while the apocrypha provide his more detailed description (e.g., *TLev* 18:4; 19:1).[29] Finally, a unit in bAbodZar 20b discourages from staring at women, even if one is "full of eyes" (Heb. מלא עינים) just like the angel of death capable of looking in all directions at once.

Taken together, these passages show that the rabbis focused on intellectual (especially halakhic) proficiency in their comparisons and simultaneously highlighted their distinguished position. This association is all the more suggestive given that hardly any other human figure is compared to an angel – and if it is, like Alexander the Great, then such a comparison is made based on the rabbinic proficiencies of a given individual.

4. Data Analysis: Rabbinized Angels

Analogically to the angelic facets mapped upon the rabbis and the biblical figures, so did the sages rabbinize the angels featured in the BT. All the units annotated with the #jurist tag (Tab. 2) can be further divided into three main groups depending on what specific type of proficiency is involved (Tab. 4).

Table 4. Number of units in which angels display particular competencies

halakhah	teaching	cult	miscellaneous
26	8	5	4

Source: Own work.

27 To these four instances, it should be added that in another four units (*bYoma* 75b, *bSanh* 98b, and twice in *bAbodZar* 5a), the whole nation of Israel is compared to angels.

28 This appears to be a purposely distorted form of "Belial," conveying the idea of lightlessness (Heb. בלי עור).

29 Sperling, "Belial," 169–171.

The first group includes twenty-six cases in which the angels occupy themselves with halakhah. Fourteen of these (*bBer* 51b–52a; *bErub* 6b–7a, 13b; *bPes* 114a; *bYebam* 14a; *bSotah* 10b, 48b; *bBMesia* 59b, 74a; *bSanh* 94a; *bMak* 23b; *bHul* 44a, 87a; *bKer* 5b) feature בת קול who serves mostly as the loudspeaker to express God's opinion on halakhic matters. The other twelve are more diversified. Hence, in *bArak* 10b, the ministering angels discuss the cultic nuances of the Day of Atonement with God, *bMenah* 41a has Rabbi Kattina debate with an angel on the proper execution of the precept of fringes, while in *bAbodZar* 20b, the messenger of death shares the details of his craft on the proper ritual slaughter. According to a unit in *bSanh* 38b, God consults his decisions with the ministering angels or heavenly family (Heb. פמליא של מעלה), while a unit in *bSanh* 44b attributes Gabriel with general halakhic expertise. A unit in *bBBat* 75a relates a semantic-linguistic discussion between Gabriel and Michael, who try and elucidate the meaning of the term כדכד known from the Isaian prophecy (Isa 54:12). Three units feature Satan the opposer: an elaborate Talmudic retelling of the *Book of Job* contains two units (*bBBat* 15b, 16a) in which he formulates accusations against the protagonist, while a unit in *bYoma* 67b addresses the problem of the commandments which lack the rational justification and labels them as the "the matters to which Satan opposes" (Heb. דברים שהשטן משיב עליהן). Not only are the angels fluent in the halakhic matters, but they also mirror human imperfections in this regard and, as such, are equally prone to error in argumentation and logic. This is reflected in *bMak* 12a, the text focuses on an eschatological passage in Isaiah 63 and interprets it as God annihilating the angelic prince (Heb. שר) of Rome. The latter will try to hide in one of the cities of refuge, and the text explains that this is due to his inaccurate knowledge of biblical law. Finally, some units are annotated with both #simile and #jurist. Hence in *bTamid* 32a, both Alexander and Satan are portrayed as halakhically competent; in *bPes* 33a, both the rabbis and Watchers (Aram. עירין) issue valid decrees, while *bBBat* 75a hesitates whether the semantic discussion unfolds between the angels or rabbis.

The second group contains eight units in which the angels are entangled in the discourse of teaching and inspiration. A unit in *bHag* 15b resorts to a verse from Mal 2:7 and presents a sage as a priest who is like the angel of Yahweh teaching Torah. In *bNed* 20a, the ministering angels educate Rabbi Yohanan ben Dehavai on eugenics by drawing the connections between the specific circumstances of conception and the features of the newborn. A more extended passage in *bErub* 64b recounts the journeys of Rabban Gamaliel, and according to the text, the sage learns three halakhic traditions from the holy spirit (Heb. ברוח הקדוש), who is recognized as an angel in the EvT system. Two units (*bMeg* 3a–b and *bSanh* 44b) retell the biblical encounter of Joshua with the angelic prince of the army of Yahweh, who rebukes him for neglecting evening prayers and Torah studies. According to a unit in *bNaz* 4b, the Nazirite vow of Samson was made by an angel. A unit in *bQidd* 81a–b contains a memorable account of a certain Pelimo who boasts his righteousness but is

humiliated in confrontation with Satan. The passage ends with an ironic scene in which Satan teaches Pelimo the apotropaic means of repelling him with the verse "the Lord rebuke you, O Satan!" (Zech 3:2). Finally, a unit in *bMenah* 44a contains an anecdote about a certain pious man who, driven by his desires, travels overseas to meet a famous courtesan. However, as soon as he is about to engage in intercourse, his fringes transform into four quasi-angelic witnesses (Heb. עדים) who prevent him from sinning.[30]

The third group contains five units where the angels betray their knowledge of the cult and ritual. Two (*bZebah* 62a and *bMenah* 110a) reiterate the biblical tradition about the building of the second Jerusalem Temple, and accordingly, it is Michael the great prince (Heb. שר גדול) who manifests in a vision as the priest attending to the altar. Similar is the case of *bMenah* 29a, in which Gabriel teaches Moses the design of the candelabrum (Heb. מנורה). In *bKer* 5b, the בת קול explains to Aaron the halakhic status of the drops of sacred oil on his beard. Another unit comes in a passage in *bAbodZar* 3b, which presents God's daily schedule. According to one opinion, in the evenings, the deity listens to the hymns sung by the angelic living creatures (Heb. חיות), resembling the Isaian שרפים, who thus appear as proficient priests.

Finally, the fourth group contains four units transmitting various less apparent accounts. Two (*bMeil* 14b and *bQidd* 54a) reiterate the traditions according to which the Torah was not given to the ministering angels as if somewhat downplaying their proficiencies, while two others (*bSotah* 14a and *bSanh* 94a) refer to hypostasized attributes of God (Heb. מדות, recognized as angels in the EvT system) specializing in juridical matters.

Conclusions: Social and Mystical Elite

The gamut of the quantitative data I furnished above provides insight into the specificity and uniqueness of the relationships between rabbis and angels. First, no other class of SEs is used so often as the point of comparison for humans, and no other class is so often attributed with halakhic competencies. Second, the only humans who are likened to angels so frequently are the rabbis – non-rabbis can be like angels only if they manifest strictly rabbinic features. Third, the main dimension of comparison is intellect, but if any other attributes are mentioned, this is a graceful visual appearance and the distinguished position of God's favorite. Fourth, the #jurist is the most popular tag pertaining to the angelic proficiencies, and the only other tag

30 Although this passage does not deploy explicit terminology, the עדים are recognized as angels in the inventory based *inter alia* on the tradition in *bMenah* 43b, according to which the angel of Yahweh protects those who are careful about the tefillin.

similar in frequency is #military which speaks about the SEs manifesting their martial prowess. However, the units annotated with the latter contain nearly exclusively the scriptural retellings as if suggesting that the angelic war masters acted only in biblical times. Fifth, the sages are compared to the most generic types of angels which populate the whole BT, while the formal features of these traditions suggest that they originate from among various collectives of rabbis, which allows us to conclude that the metaphors ANGELS ARE SAGES and SAGES ARE ANGELS persisted throughout the subsequent generations. Together, these data prove an inherent and deeply rooted tradition of associating rabbis and angels.

My observations conform to the theses posited twenty years ago by Jonah Chanan Steinberg, who analyzed Jewish literature of Late Antiquity and argued that the sages strived for the elevation of Israel by portraying the distinguished figures from the past and present as angels.[31] His proposal, however, was criticized *inter alia* by Mika Ahuvia, who stated that the notion of angelization belonged to the rabbinic past and that the sages of later periods were more interested in imitating the deity rather than the divine messengers.[32] I wish to offer that both interpretations are valid because both represent the sages' elitist sentiment shown in the tendency to attribute God and angels with rabbinic proficiencies. My proposal is based on David Weiss Halivni's paradigm explaining the social background of the production of the BT. Consequently, if we follow his theses, we could say that the Stammaim, the final redactors of the corpus, played a decisive role in selecting and arranging the teachings they had received from the earlier scholars, and hence the BT *in toto* reflects chiefly their own outlook. This means that the apparent net of connections between sages and angels should be seen as a part of their agenda. In turn, numerous other scholars argue that one of the crucial components of the Stammaim's ideology was the sense of elitism. This sentiment of superiority consists of several premises. First, it is the assumption that from among various forms of religious expression, these are the Torah studies which are the pinnacle of piety (e.g., *bTaan* 21a) – and this is what puts the sages above the gentiles (Heb. גוים) and simple post-Judean folk (Heb. עם הארץ).[33] Second, the most advanced mode of these scholarly inquiries is the dialectics (Heb. פלפול), the ability to engage in the dynamic give and take on the halakhic and exegetical matters – and this puts the Babylonian sages above the Palestinian ones who focus on the memorization of traditions.[34] Third, the crucial element of the Stammaim culture is yeshivah: an exclusively male, corporate-like,

31 Steinberg, *Angelic Israel*, 244–406.

32 Ahuvia, *Israel among the Angels*, 46–49, 56–58.

33 Wimpfheimer, *The Talmud*, 175–176.

34 Jacobs, *Structure and Form*, 5, 19, 28–29. It is also worth noting that the Stammaim occasionally attributed the Palestinian sages with animosity towards the Babylonians. For instance, in *bMen* 100a, they explain that the Mishnaic (*mMen* 11:7) designation "the Babylonians" (Heb. הבבליים) refers not to the priests who returned from the Babylonian exile but to the Alexandrians. However, because the Palestinians hated

and highly competitive academic institution with a strict hierarchy based on piety and intellectual mastery – and hence the rabbis strive for constant self-development and surpassing their compatriots.[35] Fourth, unlike their Palestinian colleagues, the Babylonian sages are highly influenced by the rigid social stratification permeating the Sassanian Empire – and hence they constitute an insulated and highbrow sphere.[36] Fifth, the rabbis accentuate the matters of purity of lineage expressed in a set of restrictions concerning intermingling with other social strata marked with different levels of cleanliness (e.g., *bQidd* 71b, *bKetub* 28b) and with the gentiles (e.g., *bQidd* 69b) – and hence they do not mix with those of tainted descent.[37] Sixth, they portray their studies as conflicting with carnal desires personified as the evil inclination (Heb. יצר הרע), said to be particularly hostile toward scholars (e.g., *bQidd* 81a), and they tend to imagine women as sexual distractors who divert their energy from the Torah studies (e.g., *bQidd* 29b, *bErub* 54b) – and hence they are above those who fail to self-restrain.[38]

It requires little stretch of the imagination to see all these features as highly evocative of the portrayal of angels in the BT as well as in the intertestamental variants of the MFA: whatever the moral quality of their deeds, they are knowledgeable, distinguished, strictly hierarchized, separatistic, exposed to carnal desires, and forbidden to mingle with those, who are not of their kind. Such self-presentation of the Stammaim, taken together with the strong association with the heavenly messengers, invites interpreting our passage from *bShabb* 112b as a reworked motif of the angelic progeny found in the MFA. Accordingly, the expression "sons of angels" (Heb. בני מלאכים) used in reference to the earlier scholars (Heb. ראשונים) should be read literally: the angels do not beget vile demons or monsters – it is God who creates them[39] – but the distinguished rabbis who inherit their intelligence, virtue, and glamour, and become divine representatives and spiritual leaders among the peoples. Although Rava bar Zimuna's remark expresses the belief that such scholars no longer existed, the majority opinion entertained implicitly in the BT *in toto* appears to state otherwise: sages are like angels, and angels are like sages.

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the Babylonians (Heb. ומתוך ששונאין את בבליים), they used their appellation as an invective. I would like to thank one of the anonymous reviewers for directing me to this source.

35 Samely, *Forms of Rabbinic Literature*, 101.

36 Kalmin, *The Sage*, 1–12. See also Boyarin, *Border Lines*, 66, 154.

37 Rubenstein, *The Culture*, 80–88. Wimpfheimer, *The Talmud*, 179.

38 Kiel, *Sexuality*, 35–41. See also Boyarin, "Reading Androcentrism," 29–53.

39 Kosior, "The Affair of Uzza and Azael," 304–307.

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The Bibliography of Józef Tadeusz Milik (1922–2006)

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To commemorate the centennial of the birth of Józef Tadeusz Milik, an outstanding scholar, palaeographer, epigraphist, qumranologist and numismatist, Center for the Study of Second Temple Judaism of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin – in the person of Prof. Henryk Drawnel – has prepared a diplomatic edition of Milik's unfinished book on the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs.[1] Moreover, on this occasion, the Center has prepared a list of all Milik's publications, covering the years 1945–2022. This comprehensive bibliography has supplemented, corrected and specified the bibliographic data from the previous lists.[2]

The present bibliography is divided into five parts. The first part includes monographs and collective works authored by J.T. Milik and his contributions to various studies. The second one contains articles, chapters or entries in collective works;

1 J.T. Milik (†), *Livres des Patriarches. Édition des textes, traduction et commentaire*. I. *Testament de Lévi* (ed. H. Drawnel; EBib 95; Leuven – Paris – Bristol, CT: Peeters 2022).

2 C. Burchard, *Bibliographie zu den Handschriften vom Toten Meer 1* (BZAW 76; Berlin: Töpelmann 1959) 46–47, 99; C. Burchard, *Bibliographie zu den Handschriften vom Toten Meer 2* (BZAW 89; Berlin: Topelmann 1965) 141–144, 279; L. W. Stefaniak, "Z polskich badań nad tekstami i doktryną qumrańską [see 4 § 'Bibliografia prac J. T. Milika 1945–1970']," *Współczesna biblistyka polska 1945–1970* (eds. J. Łach – M. Wolniewicz; Warszawa: ATK 1972) 452–465; Z.J. Kapera, "Polska bibliografia rękopisów znad Morza Martwego," *Euhemer* 12/2 (1968) 129–140; Z.J. Kapera, "Selected Polish Subject Bibliography of the Dead Sea Discoveries," *FO* 23 (1985–1986) 269–338; Z.J. Kapera, "Wybrana polska bibliografia rękopisów znad Morza Martwego," *Fil* 391 (1989) 262–271; Z.J. Kapera, "Polska bibliografia rękopisów znad Morza Martwego za lata 1989–1991," *Fil* 410 (1992) 388–394; Z.J. Kapera, "Wybrana polska bibliografia qumranologiczna," *Jezus, Qumran i Watykan* (O. Betz – R. Riesner; BZTNT 2; Kraków: Enigma Press 1994) 207–215 (2 ed. 1996) 222–234; Z.J. Kapera, „Polska bibliografia rękopisów znad Morza Martwego za lata 1991–1994," *Fil* 429–430 (1995) 129–142; F. García Martínez, "Bibliographie qumrânienne de Józef Tadeusz Milik," *RevQ* 17/1–4 (1996) 11–20; "Józef Tadeusz Milik, 50 lat pracy naukowej (bibliografia)," *Akta Towarzystwa Historyczno-Literackiego w Paryżu* [Actes de la Societe Historique et Litteraire Polonaise] (ed. M.P. Prokop; Paris: Biblioteka Polska w Paryżu 1996) III, 237–252; É. Puech, "In memoriam Józef Tadeusz Milik," *RevQ* 22/3 (2006) 338–339; Z.J. Kapera, „Polska bibliografia qumranologiczna," J.T. Milik, *Dziesięć lat odkryć na Pustyni Judzkiej* (BZTNT 6; Kraków: Enigma Press 1999) 184; Z.J. Kapera, "Brief Review of Publications on J. T. Milik in Poland and Abroad," *QC* 13/2–4 (2006) 107–110; Z.J. Kapera, "Bibliografia dotycząca Milika," *Jerozolimskie lata Champolliona zwojów. Józef Tadeusz Milik w Ziemi Świętej* (BZTNT 14; Kraków – Mogilany: Enigma Press 2012) 109–112; P. Ostański, *Bibliografia biblistyki polskiej 1945–1999* (SB 1; Poznań: Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza. Wydział Teologiczny. Redakcja Wydawnictw 2002) I/2, 181–220.

the third one contains his articles (both scientific and popular science) published in various periodicals or newspapers, while the fourth one includes Milik's reviews. The last part of the bibliography is a supplement, which includes publications concerning the person and scientific activity of this eminent figure.

List of Abbreviations

ADAJ	*Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
AMA	Ad Multos Annos
ArŻ	*Archeologia Żywa*
BA	The Biblical Archaeologist
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique
BibAn	*The Biblical Annals*
Bib	*Biblica*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BEK	*Bulletin d'études karaïtes*
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BIA	*Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology*
BMB	*Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*
BP	Biblos-Press
BTS	*Bible et terre sainte*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZTNT	Biblioteka Zwojów. Tło Nowego Testamentu
CdE	*Chronique d'Égypte*
CP	*Collegium Polonorum*
CRAIBL	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
CS	*Cahiers Sioniens*
CT	*Collectanea Theologica*
DiJ	*Dziś i Jutro*
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DPZG	*Duszpasterz Polski Zagranicą*
EA	Epigraphie & archéologie
EBib	Etudes Bibliques
EDA	Etudes et documents. Archéologie
Fil	*Filomata*
FO	*Folia Orientalia*
GKatP	*Głos Katolicki* (Paryż)
HAR	*Hebrew Annual Review*

HTR	*The Harvard Theological Review*
JBL	*The Journal of Biblical Literature*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JP	*Język Polski*
LASBF	*Liber Annuus Studii Biblici Franciscani*
LG	*Linea Gotica*
MdB	*Le Monde de la Bible*
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*
NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology*
NFil	*Nowy Filomata*
NMES	Near and Middle East Series
OL	*L'Orient Littéraire*
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PFr	*Plaisir de France*
PJBR	*The Polish Journal of Biblical Research*
POR	Pubblicazioni del"Istituto per "Oriente
QC	*The Qumran Chronicle*
QM	Qumranica Mogilanensia
RB	*Revue biblique*
RBL	*Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân*
RivB	*Rivista biblica*
RN	*Revue Numismatique*
RSNPAN	*Roczniki. Stacja Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Nauk*
SB	Series Bibliographica
SBFCMa	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Maior
SBO	*Scripta Biblica et Orientalia*
SiT	Studies in Theology
SłP	*Słowo Powszechne*
SM	*Sodalis Marianus*
SOrB	Sintesi dell'Oriente e della Bibbia
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StJ	*Studia Judaica*
TD	*Theology Digest*
TPow	*Tygodnik Powszechny*
VD	*Verbum Domini*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WF	Wege der Forschung
WiadL	*Wiadomości* (Londyn)
WNA	*Wiadomości. Na Antenie*

WUB	*Welt und Umwelt der Bibel*
ZiP	*Za i Przeciw*
ZVSM	*Zondagse Vriend Sport Magazine*
ZŚ	*Ziemia Święta*
ŻycieL	*Życie. Katolicki tygodnik religijno-kulturalny* (London)

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Andrzej Draguła, *Syn marnotrawny. Biografia ocalenia* (Biblioteka „Więzi" 388; Warszawa: Towarzystwo „Więź" 2022). Ss. 273. 39,20 PLN. ISBN: 978-83-66769-47-2

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Ksiądz prof. Andrzej Draguła postanowił bliżej przyjrzeć się ważnej ewangelicznej przypowieści o ojcu i dwóch synach, patrząc na nią niejako oczami innych twórców[1]. Jest to już drugi tekst z Ewangelii według św. Łukasza, który przykuł uwagę tego autora. Wcześniej, z zastosowaniem metody *Wirkungsgeschichte*, zwanej też *reception history* lub *histoire de la réception*, opracował perykopę o uczniach idących do Emaus[2]. Podobnie jak w poprzedniej pozycji na potrzeby analizy treści egzegetyczno-teologicznych przywołuje bogatą panoramę komentarzy, homilii, dzieł literackich, muzycznych, malarskich i rzeźbiarskich. Autor powołuje się na wiedzę wielu biblistów, i to zarówno tych dawnych (Henry Alford, Albert Barnes, Juan Maldonado, Eutymiusz Zygaben, Michael B. Trapp, Richard C. Trench), jak i współczesnych (Kenneth L. Bailey, Samuel O. Abogunrin, François Bovon, John D.M. Derrett, Silvano Fausti, Michel Gourgues, Joachim Jeremias, John MacArthur, Franciszek Mickiewicz, Alessandro Pronzato, Edward Szymanek, Janusz Tum, Frances Young), nie stroniąc od źródeł klasycznych (Arystoteles, Herodot, Plutarch), żydowskich (Filon Aleksandryjski, Talmud) i wczesnochrześcijańskich (Augustyn, Ambroży, Grzegorz Wielki, Grzegorz z Nyssy, Hieronim, Jan Chryzostom, Orygenes).

1 Katolicki teolog wpisuje się tym samym w stale obecne zainteresowanie tym tekstem licznych myślicieli i twórców. W zeszłym roku ukazały się bowiem dwie bardzo ciekawe pozycje poświęcone tekstowi Łukasza Ewangelisty. W pierwszej analiza treści przypowieści dokonuje się w niezwykłym czterogłosie teologa systematycznego, biblisty, ojca Kościoła i psychiatry dziecięcego; zob. C. Lichtert (red.), *La parabole du fils prodigue. Lectures plurielles* (Paris: L'Harmattan 2022). Druga została napisana w duchu egzegezy dialogicznej: F.W. Niehl, *Der Verlorene Sohn sucht ein Zuhause. Praxis und Theorie der dialogischen Exegese* (Berlin: LIT 2022). Autor z pewnością nie mógł wprowadzić ich do swojej książki ze względu na datę ich wydania, czego nie można powiedzieć o innych interesujących pozycjach: M. Bochet, *Allers et retours de l'enfant prodigue. L'enfant retourné. Variations littéraires et artistiques sur une figure biblique* (Paris: Champion 2009); E. Di Rocco *et al.*, *Il romanzo della misericordia. La parabola del figliol prodigo in letteratura* (Roma: Edizioni Studium S.r.l. 2020; wyd. 1; 2013).

2 Szerzej na temat tej pozycji zobacz recenzję Adama Kubisia, rec. Ks. Andrzej Draguła, „Emaus. Tajemnice dnia ósmego (Biblioteka „Więzi" 310; Warszawa: Towarzystwo „Więź", 2015). Ss. 211", *Verbum Vitae* 28 (2015) 461–473. DOI: https://doi.org/10.31743/vv.1642.

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Mimo wstępnych zastrzeżeń, że nie będąc biblistą, nie będzie prowadził systematycznej analizy tekstu, Draguła regularnie odwołuje się do znaczeń kluczowych terminów w języku oryginalnym, wybierając niekiedy ich zaskakujące odcienie. I tak *biōs* staje się „krwawicą", *synagō* kojarzy się z obróceniem „wszystkiego w pieniądze", *chōran makran* z krainą grzechu, a *apodēmeō* oznacza „opuścić lud". *Zōn asōtōs* to nie tylko życie rozrzutne, ale „zaprzeczenie ocalenia" (s. 68). Wreszcie greckie *anistēmi* (Łk 15,18) przywodzi na myśl motyw zmartwychwstania, a forma *imperfectum* czasownika *katephilesēn* wyraża (słusznie!) nie jeden, lecz nieprzerwany ciąg pocałunków. Oryginalne terminy greckie bywają niekiedy zestawiane ze swoimi łacińskimi odpowiednikami, a w razie potrzeby autor odwołuje się do etymologii wielu współczesnych języków.

Monografia Draguły składa się z dwunastu rozdziałów, uzupełnionych obfitą bibliografią i indeksem osób. Obok motywów obecnych w Łukaszowej przypowieści (prośba syna, milczenie, dalekie strony, głód, powrót, bieg ojca, uczta i starszy brat), profesor teologii systematycznej wplata też rozważania o bohaterach i motywach, na których temat ewangelista milczy (matka, nazajutrz). Ostatni, podsumowujący rozdział skupia się na tematyce ocalenia w szerszej perspektywie teologicznej.

Czytelnik książki Draguły już na samym początku zostaje uderzony dwoma motywami przywiązanymi do przypowieści na zasadzie ich obecności z nieobecności. Najpierw dedykacja dzieła dla matki obejmuje obserwację na temat nieobecności matki synów z przypowieści, a początek prologu zaczyna się od domniemanego wprowadzenia do przypowieści, wzorowanego na motywach obecnych w Łk 13,18.20, którego brakuje w Łukaszowym oryginale perykopy. Dalsza część prologu jest sprawnym omówieniem najbliższego kontekstu z finalnym zaproszeniem czytelnika do uważnego słuchania przypowieści. Apel autora wzmacniają opinie wielkich postaci Zachodu (Charles Dickens, Adolf Jülicher) i Wschodu (Grzegorz Palamas, Grzegorz z Nyssy – ich myśli wraz z refleksjami innych ojców Kościoła przewijać się będą przez niemal wszystkie karty książki).

Wzmianka o dwóch synach z przypowieści skłania autora do poszukiwań paralelnych przykładów par braci, którzy występują w starotestamentowych opowiadaniach. Przywoływane przykłady pozwoliły mu ustalić, że w bardzo wielu przypadkach te historie są opowiadane z perspektywy młodszego brata. Brak imion bohaterów rozumie jako redakcyjny zabieg ewangelisty na rzecz uniwersalizacji postaci i jednocześnie odnotowuje późniejsze próby ich nazwania w dziełach kultury powstających na kanwie biblijnej przypowieści (kantata Claude'a Debussy'ego; por. Pierre Gaveaux, Amilcare Ponchielli, Hugo Alfvén). Dokonując przeglądu istniejących utworów i dzieł, wymienia zarówno takie, których kompozytorzy zachowali konwencję przypowieści (André Gide, Darius Milhaud, Samuel Arnold, Thomas Hull), jak i tych, co zaludniali przypowieść nowymi postaciami, jak siostry, bracia, kurtyzany itd.

Draguła nie rozstrzyga problemu historyczności bohaterów, uznaje jednak za prawdopodobne istnienie ich historycznego pierwowzoru. Deklaruje, że jego celem

nie jest dopisywanie do przypowieści nowych, domniemanych treści ani też rekonstrukcja wydarzeń z przeszłości (s. 17). Jego uwaga kieruje się przede wszystkim ku ukrytym w słowach sensom, odkrytym przez licznych przedstawicieli kultury poprzednich pokoleń, które warte są usystematyzowania. Wybór treści jest świadomie subiektywny i podporządkowany celowi odsłonięcia „biografii ocalenia" (s. 21), polegającym na postawieniu pytania o powód nawrócenia młodszego syna (głód?). Autor widzi ten proces jako rzeczywistość paralelną do „dziejów grzechu".

W ramach *status quaestionis* prezentuje trzy główne dotychczasowe interpretacje: (1) historiozbawczą; (2) pedagogiczno-moralną i (3) alegoryczną. W tej ostatniej Chrystus bywał widziany jako ojciec (Bailey, Ambroży) lub też jako młodszy syn (Amy-Jill Levine). W końcowej części prologu powraca jednak do swojej idei „mechanizmu ocalenia" od zła (s. 22), która jego zdaniem dotyczy zarówno młodszego, jak i starszego syna.

Rozdział drugi dotyczy sceny prośby młodszego syna, by ojciec przekazał mu przypadającą na niego część majątku (*bios*). Draguła konstatuje szczupłość wiedzy odbiorcy na temat braci, po czym przechodzi do szeregu spekulacji ich dotyczących, posiłkując się wizerunkiem Bartolomé'a Estebana Murilla i treścią trzynastowiecznego dramatu z Francji, *Courtois d'Arras*. Tło stosunków finansowych wyjaśnia odwołaniami do Starego Testamentu i literatury rabinackiej. Następnie dyskutuje wykorzystaną przez Łukasza terminologię oraz kontekst prawny roszczeń młodszego syna, które interpretowano skrajnie rozbieżnie. Pozostałą część rozdziału zajmuje refleksja na temat sytuacji rodzinnej i ekonomicznej domostwa po odejściu młodszego syna, przy czym nie jest łatwo odnaleźć w niej osobisty pogląd autora. Wygląda jednak na to, że opowiada się on za łagodniejszą interpretacją, która wyklucza widzenie prośby syna jako morderczego ataku na życie ojca.

Kolejny rozdział poświęcony został pytaniu o powody milczenia ojca, jako że przypowieść nie zawiera żadnej jego wypowiedzi po żądaniu syna, a jedynie informację, że ojciec to żądanie spełnił (Łk 15,12). Przytaczani bibliści budowali swoje zrozumienie na podstawie argumentacji *ex silentio*. Nic więc dziwnego, że ich opinie różnią się znacząco. Brak wypowiedzi interpretowany jest jako zgoda na inicjatywę syna, uznanie jego prawa do wolności, jak i wyraz ojcowskiej miłości, ale także jako oznaka dysfunkcyjności całej rodziny[3]. Draguła nie ogranicza się jednak tylko do ich spekulacji, ale zauważa, że powodem pominięcia reakcji ojca w przypowieści mogła być narracyjna strategia jej twórcy, który postanowił skupić uwagę swoich odbiorców na młodszym synu, przynajmniej do sceny jego powrotu z dalekiego kraju (s. 43). Obok milczenia ojca przedmiotem refleksji autora jest również milczenie starszego syna i charakterystyka motywacji młodszego do odejścia z domu.

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3 Draguła przytacza również rekonstrukcję domniemanej rozmowy ojca i syna napisaną przez Williama Plomera (*The Prodigal Son. Third Parable for Church Performance* [London: Faber Music 1968] 8–12) jako libretto do opery Benjamina Brittena.

Rozdział czwarty jest omówieniem pobytu marnotrawnego syna w „dalekich stronach" wraz z wszystkimi kluczowymi frazami Łukasza. I tak fraza *met' ou pollas hēmeras* (15,13) jest okazją do analiz na temat podziału majątku i charakteru samego syna, a także ewentualnego historycznego i psychologicznego tła migracji młodzieży z domostw Judei. W dalszej części rozdziału pojawia się refleksja na temat środowiska miejskiego jako zagrożenia dla moralnego życia, a także wachlarz określeń młodszego syna w tłumaczeniach narodowych, w polskiej tradycji utrwalonej jako „syn marnotrawny". W interpretacji wielu twórców jest on wędrowcą podobnym do Odyseusza, chrześcijańskim apostatą lub zagubionym młodzieńcem, który poznał spalający rodzaj miłości (s. 80).

Głód jako główny powód nawrócenia syna jest przedmiotem rozważań w piątym rozdziale. Wychodząc od obrazu Paula Rubensa, Draguła rozważa wszystkie ważniejsze frazy z tej sceny. Analizuje naturę, rozmiary i przyczyny niedostatku żywności oraz powody uciążliwości tej sytuacji dla poszukującego przygód młodzieńca. Próbuje także określić stan bohatera, który ostatecznie popchnął go do decyzji powrotu do domu. Scena jest równolegle rozważana na dwóch płaszczyznach: egzegetyczno-teologicznej i duchowej. W tym drugim przypadku autor z upodobaniem cytuje ojców ze Wschodu, by ostatecznie zakończyć rozdział analizą malarskich dzieł Émile'a Louisa Salomé oraz Pierre'a Puvisa de Chavannes'a.

Motyw powrotu w naturalny sposób kontynuuje komentarz autora na temat przypowieści w rozdziale szóstym. Przy okazji szczegółowo rozważany jest motyw nawrócenia, który podobnie jak wiele innych punktów opowiadania, interpretowany jest w bardzo różnorodny sposób. Dla jednych autorów prezentowanych przez Dragułę jest on widziany jako pozytywne „przyjście do siebie". Inni podejrzewają młodego wagabundę o niskie pobudki, interesowność lub po prostu chęć uniknięcia cierpienia, które nie mają żadnego związku z autentyczną duchową przemianą. W połowie rozdziału zielonogórski kapłan powraca do motywu głodu, co pokazuje, że nie traktuje on tytułów poszczególnych rozdziałów zbyt zobowiązująco. Powtórzeń i nawiązań do poszczególnych motywów rozważanych już wcześniej jest zresztą więcej. Głód jest podjęty w jego wymiarze fizycznym i duchowym, a autor szuka inspiracji na jego temat w osobistym doświadczeniu, opisach literatury (Kurt Hamsun), jak i rzeźbiarskiej twórczości Auguste'a Rodina. Sięga także po tradycje hebrajskie, które widzą w głodzie „element Bożej pedagogii", oraz po poglądy Grzegorza Palamasa.

Dopiero dalsza część rozdziału powraca na zapowiedziane jego tytułem tory. Dwie podstawowe motywacje (ratowania życia i nawrócenia) są prowadzone równolegle z odwołaniami do licznych komentarzy biblijnych, których autorzy opowiadają się po stronie jednej bądź drugiej opinii lub też usiłują niuansować swoją ocenę sytuacji. Draguła zauważa także ważną logikę wewnętrznych przemyśleń wygłodzonego młodzieńca, które jednoznacznie ukazują jego winę w odniesieniu do Boga i rodzonego ojca, a jednocześnie sytuują go poza własną rodziną, ponieważ

nie jest godny nazywać się synem. Zachowanie tego statusu traktuje jako karę, na którą zasłużył. Rozdział zamyka jednak zaskakująca analiza obrazu Jacka Malczewskiego, który daleko odszedł od biblijnej wymowy powrotu, uzupełniona rozważaniami o Ulissesie. Dla autora jest to okazja do zwrócenia uwagi na pozytywny aspekt opuszczenia domu– niebywały bagaż doświadczeń, czego tekst zdaje się nie uwzględniać.

Rozdział siódmy przenosi uwagę czytelnika na postać ojca biegnącego naprzeciw syna. Autor książki rozpoczyna go jednak od zapożyczenia atmosfery domowego ogniska z Księgi Tobiasza, w której rodzice wyczekują powrotu swojego potomka. Kontekst jest oczywiście zupełnie inny, ale zielonogórskiego teologa interesuje przede wszystkim motyw rodzicielskich emocji. Kolejne paragrafy przygotowują komentarz do działań ojca z przypowieści poprzez kontrastowe zarysowanie zwyczajów w żydowskich rodzinach wobec krnąbrnych potomków (*kezezah*). Postępowanie Łukaszowego ojca nie ma jednak nic wspólnego z pragnieniem upokorzenia syna czy choćby udzielenia mu wychowawczej lekcji. Jest za to przemożna energia, „poruszenie, i to nie tylko serca, ale przede wszystkim rąk i nóg" (s. 141). Działanie to dokonuje się bez oglądania się na jego ewentualny negatywny odbiór ze strony obserwatorów.

Autor, tak jak i w poprzednich rozdziałach, konfrontuje czytelnika z alternatywnymi interpretacjami sceny. W jednej z nich surowy ojciec przyjmuje syna dopiero po uprzednim jego upokorzeniu (balet Siergieja Prokofiewa z choreografią George'a Balanchine'a). W innej władca przyjmuje syna pomimo jego wewnętrznego zagubienia i przełamuje jego lęk za pomocą listu, zachęcając go do powrotu (midrasze: *Rabbah* i *Pesikta Rabbati*). Wielcy reprezentanci malarstwa europejskiego odmalowali scenę, akcentując przede wszystkim ukorzenie syna (Rembrandt, Murillo, Guercino), ale wielu współczesnych komentatorów podkreśla raczej gest przygarnięcia syna przez ojca (Gide, Mickiewicz).

Tytuł rozdziału ósmego, „Uczta", w konfrontacji z jego treścią musi wywołać zdziwienie odbiorcy. Autor książki poświęcił bowiem uczcie zaledwie jeden z jego trzynastu akapitów. Refleksja rozpoczyna się nawiązaniem do momentu spotkania ojca i syna, a następnie szczegółowo omówione zostają pełne skruchy wyznanie syna i wyrażające miłość i radość rozporządzenia ojca. Natomiast motywem końcowym rozdziału jest zagubienie się i odnalezienie. Tym razem dla skomentowania sceny autor książki sięgnął między innymi po dzieło amerykańskiego fotografika Duane'a Michalsa, choć w swojej sekwencji fotografii potraktował on motyw z przypowieści dosyć swobodnie[4]. Ostatnie akapity powracają myślą do motywów omówionych w rozdziale siódmym.

Dwa z trzech ostatnich rozdziałów poświęcone są motywom nieobecnym w przypowieści. W pierwszej kolejności autor usiłuje odpowiedzieć na pytanie, dlaczego

4 D. Michals, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, 1982, https://artmuseum.princeton.edu/collections/objects/17579.

zabrakło w niej osoby matki. Przytacza tę najbardziej oczywistą opinię o redakcyjnej decyzji ewangelisty, ale nie zadowala się tym rozwiązaniem, lecz rozpoczyna poszukiwanie matczynych aspektów w dziełach związanych z opowiadaniem. Obok najbardziej znanego motywu matczynej ręki na obrazie Rembrandta ponownie wraca do narracji z Księgi Tobiasza, zatrzymując się dłużej przy kantacie Debussy'ego do libretta Édouarda Guinanda. Tę ostatnią uznał zresztą za obraz „najbardziej przejmujący", chociaż zauważył jej rolę ograniczoną zaledwie do sceny powrotu. Szczegółowo omawia też libretto do opery Pierre'a Gaveaux, w której miłosierną funkcję zamiast ojca pełni matka. Szczególny charakter ma natomiast akapit dziewiąty, w którym Draguła najpierw omawia powojenną mariologiczną adaptację przypowieści napisaną przez abpa Antoniego Władysława Szlagowskiego (1864–1956), a następnie przytacza jej krytyczną ocenę autorstwa bpa Romana Pindla (s. 194–196).

Rozszerzeniem przypowieści są też refleksje na temat wydarzeń mających miejsce po uczcie w kolejnym dniu. W większości przypadków są to mniej lub bardzie udane próby zamknięcia Łukaszowego opowiadania i udzielenia odpowiedzi na pytanie, czym ostatecznie skończyła się uczta i czy starszy syn posłuchał ojca. Dzieła literackie przytoczone przez autora ponownie prezentują cały wachlarz interpretacji. Starszy syn, kierując się potrzebą ładu, wchodzi wprawdzie do domu, ale o pełnym nawróceniu nie ma mowy. Z kolei młodszy chciałby naśladować starszego (Gide). Grzegorz Palamas jest przekonany o pełnym nawróceniu przynajmniej tego młodszego, a z kolei ks. Janusz Pasierb snuje poetyckie rozważania o drugim powrocie młodszego syna. Ubogaceniem tego wątku jest jeszcze postać trzeciego syna, „późnorodnego".

Między tymi dwoma rozdziałami zmieścił się rozdział dziesiąty, poświęcony starszemu bratu, ale i w nim część materiału wykracza poza tekst biblijny. Czemu nikt go nie powiadomił i nie zaprosił na ucztę? Dlaczego Łukasz przemilczał reakcję starszego syna na prośbę podziału majątku? Podobny charakter ma propozycja interpretacji starszego brata (*presbyteros*) w perspektywie kapłańskiej (Michał Legan). Natomiast związki intertekstualne Kpł 16,21–22 z motywem koźlęcia w przypowieści zauważył już Grzegorz Palamas. Draguła zamyka swoje rozważania tematyką miłosierdzia Bożego, posiłkując się wymową witraży z katedry Notre-Dame w Chartres, zaznaczając przy tym, że i autor witraży bogato uzupełnił treść przypowieści o wątki wyjęte z średniowiecznego dramatu opartego na jej motywach.

Przez wszystkie te rozdziały Draguła zdaje się niejako chować za opiniami i interpretacjami innych, rzadko tylko wspominając swoje własne zdanie na ich temat. I tak według autora motywacja odejścia z domu młodszego syna mogła być pozytywna, a nie hedonistyczna. Mogła wynikać z chęci zmierzenia się z obcym światem i zdobycia doświadczenia (s. 66)[5]. Czytelnik dowiaduje się również o sympatii autora

5 Autor ma świadomość, że jego interpretacja jest raczej odosobniona.

do „topograficzno-teologicznej" interpretacji Michała Legana[6] o ojcu wystającym stale na progu domu (s. 137).

Jednym z najbardziej akcentowanych motywów, w którym autor książki jednoznacznie odsłania swoją opinię, jest przekonanie o pierwszeństwie łaski przed ludzkim wysiłkiem (s. 146–148). Według Draguły myśl o uprzednim wyrażeniu skruchy wobec Bożego miłosierdzia jest błędnym stereotypem i domaga się korekty, nawet jeśli zostało wygłoszone przez ojców Kościoła (Grzegorz z Nyssy, Ambroży). Zresztą inni ojcowie, w zgodzie z opinią teologa z Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, akcentują uprzedzający charakter Bożej miłości (Zygaben, Augustyn, Bazyli Wielki?). Dalszy ciąg argumentacji zdaje się jednak ukazywać relację Bóg – człowiek w perspektywie wzajemności, oczywiście z zachowaniem wszystkich proporcji. Jest to raczej rodzaj miłosnego tańca, w którym Bóg pozostaje pierwszy, ale który nie może się odbywać bez wyraźnego udziału człowieka. Draguła skłania się raczej ku czułości Ojca (s. 161). W tym samym duchu koryguje polskiego biblistę Franciszka Mickiewicza, akcentując aktywne poszukiwanie syna przez ojca na wzór dwóch wcześniejszych przypowieści z Łk 15.

Ostatni rozdział, „Biografia ocalenia", jest formą podsumowania i ma bardzo osobisty charakter, bowiem autor, w przeciwieństwie do poprzednich rozdziałów, jasno wyraża swoją własną opinię na temat poszczególnych motywów przypowieści. W charakterystyczny dla siebie sposób poszukuje wymowy oryginalnej i nieoczywistej, tytułując Łk 15 za Abougunrinem: „Jezus broni Ewangelii"[7]. Zdradza również swoje początkowe motywacje, dla których zdecydował się zająć tym tekstem Łukasza, i dzieli się z czytelnikiem zaskoczeniem wywołanym stosunkowo ubogą refleksją ojców Kościoła na temat starszego brata. Otwarcie przeciwstawia się opinii poprzedników, że młodszy syn wraca do ojca z niskich, cynicznych pobudek, ale krytykuje również zbyt idealistyczne wizje jego nawrócenia. Zajmuje go niepomiernie dyskusja, kto jest pierwszy w tym dialogu miłosierdzia ze sprawiedliwością, łaski Bożej z odwróceniem się człowieka od grzechu. Zagłębia się w wewnętrzne motywacje powracającego syna i usiłuje odsłonić świat emocji i niepewności, które nim targają. Ostatecznie jednak powraca do zdecydowanej obrony Bożej miłości, która góruje nad koniecznością okazania skruchy, deklarując z przekonaniem za Timothym Kellerem: „To nie skrucha wywołuje ojcowską miłość, ale raczej odwrotnie"[8]. Obydwaj bracia jawią mu się jako postacie w dużej mierze podobne przez swoją nieumiejętność dostrzeżenia miłości ojca i przekonanie o konieczności przyjęcia postawy służącego.

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6 M. Legan, *Epicentrum Ewangelii. Mała książeczka o wielkiej miłości* (Kraków: Inicjatywa Ewangelizacyjna „Wejdźmy na Szczyt" 2018) 58–59.

7 S.O. Abougunrin, *Ewangelia według św. Łukasza* (Międzynarodowy Komentarz do Pisma Świętego. Komentarz Katolicki i Ekumeniczny na XXI Wiek; Warszawa: Verbinum 2000) 1279. Autor komentarza odnosi się najprawdopodobniej do krytyki faryzeuszy i skrybów w Łk 15,2.

8 T. Keller, *Bóg marnotrawny. Powrót do istoty wiary chrześcijańskiej* (Starogard Gdański: Friendly Books 2013) 79.

Ich strategie postępowania są różne, ale fałszywa diagnoza ta sama (s. 246). Wyraźna różnica ujawnia się w duchowej przemianie młodszego, podczas gdy w starszym musi się ona dopiero dokonać.

Dla autora książki jest oczywiste, że Jezusowa przypowieść jest metaforą Bożego miłosierdzia. Stąd pewne zdziwienie musi budzić wątek krytycznej oceny postawy ojca z przypowieści. Draguła zdaje się zapraszać czytelnika, by i tę postać odczytywał „w procesie", a powody odejścia młodszego syna z domu zobaczył też w postawie samego ojca (s. 254). Czy twórcy przypowieści rzeczywiście można przypisać intencję ukazania potrzeby nawrócenia ojca? Na szczęście autor nie poświęca temu wątkowi zbyt wiele czasu i zamyka swoją refleksję zbiorową metaforą eklezjalną, czyniąc Kościół za Alessandro Pronzato wspólnotą grzeszników, pełną „starszych synów, którzy obrzydzają religię […] sprowadzają do zgryźliwej i ciasnej moralistyki"[9]. Dla równowagi wspomina też krytycznie o młodszych braciach, którzy przekonani o własnej nieomylności, pozostają z dala od wspólnoty wiary.

Całość rozważań uzupełnia bogata, chociaż niewyczerpująca bibliografia, na którą składa się ponad sto polskich i zagranicznych pozycji (dokładnie 133). Wśród tych ostatnich wyraźnie przeważają opracowania francuskie i anglosaskie. Natomiast daje się zauważyć nieobecność literatury niemieckiej i hiszpańskiej, co w kontekście zastosowanej metody byłoby z pewnością wartościowym ubogaceniem i uzupełnieniem. Każda kultura ma bowiem swoją specyfikę i wnosi coś wyjątkowego do interpretacji tekstu.

Książka ks. prof. Andrzeja Draguły jest z pewnością świeżym powiewem w dyskusji nad interpretacją ważnej przypowieści z Ewangelii według św. Łukasza. Zaproponowana refleksja jest bardzo bogatym studium zarówno powszechnie znanych wątków tekstu, jak i prezentacją zupełnie zaskakujących interpretacji i uzupełnień. Autorski sposób prowadzenia rozważań obejmuje szeroką panoramę tekstów literackich i dzieł sztuki i to – co należy podkreślić – zarówno tych obcych, jak i wyrosłych na gruncie kultury polskiej. Autor, nie będąc biblistą nie kieruje się – jak sam podkreślił – ścisłymi kryteriami egzegetyczno-teologicznymi w doborze źródeł czy poszczególnych tematów. Jego spotkanie z kulturowym dziedzictwem Zachodu i Wschodu jest rodzajem teologicznej przygody w odkrywaniu nieoczywistych sensów ukrytych w przypowieści. Przygody, do której czytelnik zostaje zaproszony poprzez lekturę książki, ale i obcowanie ze sztuką. Stąd lektura w pewnym sensie w pełni owocna jest możliwa dopiero przy dostępie do zasobów internetowych, ponieważ tylko wtedy możliwe jest skorzystanie z zaproponowanych przez autora odsyłaczy do konkretnych dzieł sztuki. Jest to swoisty znak czasu.

9 A. Pronzato, *Niewygodne Ewangelie* (tł. A. Gryczyńska; Poznań: W drodze 1990) 192–193.

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Sławomir Zatwardnicki, *Biblia „po katolicku", czyli dlaczego nie sola Scriptura?* (Pszenica i Kąkol; Warszawa – Poznań: W drodze 2023). Ss. 144. ISBN: 978-83-7906-640-7

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Opublikowana niedawno kolejna książka *Biblia „po katolicku", czyli dlaczego nie sola Scriptura?* Sławomira Zatwardnickiego, adiunkta Papieskiego Wydziału Teologicznego we Wrocławiu, nie przykuwa specjalnej uwagi, zważywszy na jej niewielkie rozmiary i podobnie liczbę 144 stron, jednak w pełni zasługuje na zainteresowanie i choćby krótkie omówienie. Jest tak zarówno ze względu na dominikańską serię Pszenica i Kąkol, w której książka się ukazała, jak i teologiczne treści, które autor przedstawia w przystępnej formie. Publikacja składa się z dwóch objętościowo nierównych części, co jest zrozumiałe, gdyż pierwsza część to krótki wstęp dedykowany serii Pszenica i Kąkol (s. 7–12), druga zaś to właściwa publikacja (s. 13–152), która rozpoczyna się bezpośrednio rozdziałem pierwszym. Brak niezbędnego wstępu, który zwykle wprowadza czytelnika w zawartość i układ publikacji, należy uznać za znaczący błąd. Odpowiednio do struktury książki recenzja – z konieczności – składa się również z dwóch nierównych części.

We wstępie zatytułowanym „Laboratorium mutacji wiary" Radosław Broniek OP przybliża czytelnikom dominikańską serię (s. 7–12). Jak można się dowiedzieć z informacji zamieszczonych wcześniej w internecie, Pszenica i Kąkol to „seria książek dotyczących powiązań pomiędzy teologią, duchowością a praktyką życia chrześcijańskiego", główną zaś intencją Redakcji i kolejnych autorów jest przedstawienie refleksji na temat tego, „co jest ewangeliczną pszenicą, a co zasiewem Złego, kąkolem". Natomiast ubogacające i rodzące dużą nadzieję jest słowo wstępne Brońka, w którym definiuje podstawowy cel przyświecający kolejnym publikacjom w serii Pszenica i Kąkol. Jest nim mówienie o prawdzie, „o prawdzie danej doktryny czy ścieżki duchowej w postmodernistycznym świecie" (świecie postprawdy), a przede wszystkim o „Prawdzie, którą jest Chrystus" (s. 7–8). Recenzent doprecyzowałby w tym miejscu chętnie: „o prawdzie danej doktryny *religijnej*". Autor wstępu podkreślił dwa wymiary chrześcijańskiej wiary w nieustannie zmieniającym się świecie: zewnętrzny, odnoszący się do świata (*ad extra*), i wewnętrzny, obejmujący treści wiary i życie wiarą (*ad intra*). Oba wymiary dotykają dzisiaj człowieka wierzącego, który szuka pomocy i podpowiedzi w sytuacjach słabości, zwątpienia i kryzysu wiary. W końcowej części

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wstępu Broniek naświetlił powody powstania serii i przyjmowane w niej założenia, które następnie zwięźle wymienia: ortodoksja, rzetelność naukowa, przystępność i zwięzłość. Założenia te mają na celu klarowny wykład doktryny Kościoła katolickiego, czerpiący z bogactwa Biblii, Tradycji i dokumentów Magisterium Ecclesiae (s. 11).

W tym miejscu można jedynie dziękować Brońkowi za krótką, ale udaną analizę zmian zachodzących w społeczności i także w świadomości osób wierzących. Jednak biblista, ale przede wszystkim teolog może odczuć pewien niedosyt, bowiem zabrakło w tej analizie kilku chociażby zdań na temat dwóch fundamentalnych składowych nauczania Kościoła, jakimi są wiara (*fides*) i rozum (*ratio*) i ich wzajemny związek. Kwestia ta była bliska i ważna dla papieża Jana Pawła II i podobnie dla Josepha Ratzingera, wpierw pełniącego funkcję prefekta Kongregacji Nauki Wiary, a później papieża Benedykta XVI. Zwłaszcza ważna, wprost bezdyskusyjna jest tutaj doniosłość rozumu w konfrontacji z bezkrytycznym, psychologizującym, wręcz magicznym światem wielu religijnych iluzji.

Drugi istotny brak zauważony w tym wstępie przenosi do właściwej recenzji, bowiem ani jednym zdaniem nie został w nim przedstawiony Zatwardnicki i jego książka. Podobnie nie oddano głosu autorowi w formie prologu, wprowadzenia lub słowa wstępnego. Bez tego koniecznego przygotowania potencjalny czytelnik skonfrontowany zostaje od razu z pierwszym rozdziałem książki i jej trudnym tematem. Jednakże recenzent miał nieco szczęścia, gdyż zwyczajowo rozpoczyna lekturę publikacji naukowych od ich końca: spisu treści, wykazu bibliografii i podsumowania, dlatego od razu odnotował pewną niezwykłość w końcowym zestawieniu bibliograficznym, którą Zatwardnicki słusznie wyróżnił tytułem „Wyjaśnienie i rekomendacja" (s. 140–146). Zapoznanie się z tam zamieszczonymi informacjami niezmiernie ułatwia lekturę książki.

Na publikację zatytułowaną *Biblia „po katolicku", czyli dlaczego nie sola Scriptura?* składają się, poza wspomnianym wyżej dominikańskim wstępem, cztery rozdziały przynoszące sukcesywnie naświetlenie kwestii, dlaczego w ujęciu katolickim nie wystarcza lektura i studium samego tylko Pisma Świętego (*sola Scriptura*), ale na uwadze należy mieć także żywą Tradycję Kościoła i liturgiczny wymiar interpretacji Słowa (s. 13–139). Do wykładu dołączona jest następnie Bibliografia, w której, o czym już wspomniano, autor wyszczególnił dwie odrębne części: „Wyjaśnienie i rekomendacja" (s. 140–146) i właściwy „Spis wykorzystanej literatury" (s. 146–152). Następnie zwięzły spis treści dopełnia całości (s. 153). Zatem ten biblijno-teologiczny wykład, będący w zamyśle twórców serii publikacją popularnonaukową, nie ma stosownego wstępu i podobnie zakończenia lub podsumowania.

Rozdział pierwszy, noszący tytuł „Biblia *po protestancku*" (s. 13–50), przynosi wpierw wystarczająco obszerne przedstawienie dyskutowanej protestanckiej zasady *sola Scriptura* („samo tylko Pismo")[1], jej genezy i różnego rozumienia w kręgach

1 Łacińską sentencję *sola Scriptura* Zatwardnicki tłumaczy za pomocą zwrotu „tylko Pismo Święte", ewentualnie „tylko przez Pismo" (s. 13).

protestanckich. Korzystając z licznych publikacji niekatolickich, głównie protestanckich, Zatwardnicki objaśnia wyjątkowe miejsce Pisma Świętego w Kościołach protestanckich, nazywając Pismo swego rodzaju „inkwizytorem", gdyż zdaniem teologów protestanckich spełnia ono funkcję krytyczną wobec katolickiej interpretacji Pisma i katolickich praktyk religijnych nieopartych na orędziu biblijnym. W konsekwencji reformatorzy odrzucili nie tylko błędne, ich zdaniem, nauczanie Kościoła i także wierzenia i praktyki kościelne, ale odeszli również od Tradycji, tego nieodzownego elementu doktryny katolickiej, zastępując go – jak się niedługo później okaże – tradycją protestancką (np. luterańską, inaczej: „osobistą tradycją" Lutra). Ten element protestanckiej doktryny autor publikacji nazwał nie bez powodu „tradycją wyznania" (s. 28), bowiem Kościoły protestanckie odwoływały się właśnie „do wyznań wiary, a nie do samej Biblii" (s. 31). Co zrozumiałe, w pierwszym rozdziale Zatwardnicki omawia również pozostałe wyznaczniki teologii protestanckiej, jak *sola gratia*, *sola fide*, *solus Christus*, które nierozerwalnie się łączą z prawidłowym rozumieniem zasady *sola Scriptura*. Tutaj znalazło się również miejsce na krytyczną prezentację fundamentalizmu biblijnego dominującego w Stanach Zjednoczonych. Zarysowany w rozdziale pierwszym obraz protestanckiej teologii jest bogaty, pełen treści i zróżnicowania w szczegółach, dzięki czemu katolicki czytelnik otrzymuje interesujący ogląd często mu nieznanych Kościołów reformowanych.

Od razu należy wskazać w tym miejscu na pewną niekonsekwencję autora książki. Bowiem wbrew temu, co deklaruje w wyjaśnieniach do rozdziału pierwszego (s. 140), gdzie pisze o rezygnacji „z sięgania do bezpośrednich wypowiedzi ojców reformacji" na rzecz opinii autorów omawiających reformację, by nie być posądzonym o stronniczość, to jednak w rzeczywistości, zresztą słusznie, przedstawia i analizuje w tymże pierwszym rozdziale również teologiczne opinie czołowych twórców reformacji. Jako pewien brak można uznać także całkowitą nieobecność publikacji polskich teologów protestanckich[2].

W drugim i następnie w trzecim rozdziale można znaleźć krytykę wcześniej omówionej zasady *sola Scriptura*. W tym przypadku Zatwardnicki oparł się na własnych przemyśleniach, inspirowanych jednak – o czym pisze otwarcie – teologiczną myślą Josepha Ratzingera oraz licznymi debatami dostępnymi w internecie (YouTube). Tytuł rozdziału drugiego trafnie oddaje jego zawartość: „Pismo przeczy zasadzie *tylko Pismo*" (s. 51–79). Już pierwsze słowa informujące o treści tego rozdziału oddają sedno dyskutowanego w nim problemu i uzasadnionej krytyki reguły *sola Scriptura*: „Jeśli ktoś twierdzi, że wszystkie doktryny i reguły życia chrześcijańskiego powinno się czerpać jedynie z Pisma Świętego, wolno, a nawet trzeba oczekiwać, że będzie mógł uzasadnić swój pogląd w oparciu o samą tylko Biblię" (s. 51). Identyczną opinię formułuje w sposób radykalny na stronie następnej: „Biblia musiałaby wprost, *explicite*, wyrażać postulat *sola Scriptura*" (s. 52). Tak jednak nie jest.

2 Zob. M. Jelinek, „Problem autorytetu biblijnego w teologii ewangelickiej. Luter, Kalwin i ortodoksja", *Teologia. Kultura. Społeczeństwo* 4/3 (2018) 112–124.

To stwierdzenie wrocławski teolog uzasadnia właśnie w drugim rozdziale, sięgając po ciekawą, choć czasami dość zawiłą argumentację logiczną, biblijną i teologiczną, a często także po prostu zdroworozsądkową. Autor pozwala „przemówić" samej Biblii, a jej głos jest wystarczający, by nie tylko podważyć zasadę *sola Scriptura*, ale wykazać, iż również ta reguła jest w istocie elementem tradycji interpretacyjnej Pisma Świętego – *sola Scriptura* jest „ludzką tradycją" (s. 57 i dalej). W rozdziale tym czytelnik znajdzie nadto ciekawą interpretację tekstu o natchnieniu biblijnym (2 Tm 3,16–17) i mały wykład natchnienia biblijnego, na które należy koniecznie spojrzeć w perspektywie wiary w Jezusa Chrystusa i społeczności wierzących, bowiem to Kościół jest właściwym miejscem powstania i interpretacji świętych Pism. Zewnętrznym znakiem i definitywnym wyrazem tego procesu są pisma Nowego Testamentu, będące przekroczeniem zasady *sola Scriptura*. Jezus Chrystus sam stał się „Tradycją", gdy „odczytał Stary Testament[3] inaczej, niż czynili to krytykowani przez Rabbiego faryzeusze" (s. 74).

Rozdział trzeci, „Pismo Święte nie tłumaczy się samo" (s. 79–102), jest kontynuacją krytyki zasady *sola Scriptura*, zapoczątkowaną w poprzednim rozdziale. Jednak Zatwardnicki robi tutaj duży krok do przodu, stwierdzając, iż nie tylko „Pismo przeczy zasadzie *tylko Pismo*", ale samo zdaje się mówić coś wręcz przeciwnego. Na prawdziwość swej antytezy autor przywołuje i komentuje wybrane teksty Nowego Testamentu oraz dodaje liczne argumenty natury teologicznej i zdroworozsądkowej, dowodzące konieczności „zewnętrznej" interpretacji Biblii. Ciekawym argumentem jest chociażby mnogość dotychczasowych interpretacji tekstów biblijnych uwarunkowanych historycznie i kulturowo, a nadto będących często subiektywną opinią komentatora tekstu (s. 89 i 93: „hipermarket religijny"). Niezwykle cenne są także przywołane w trzecim rozdziale mało znane opinie nowożytnych ludzi nauki i kultury (John Henry Newman, Gilbert Keith Chesterton, Brevard Childs).

Zwieńczeniem dotychczasowych wywodów Zatwardnickiego jest rozdział czwarty: „Biblia *po katolicku*" (s. 104–139). Jak sam tytuł wskazuje, ostatni rozdział książki przynosi pozytywny wykład katolickiej nauki na temat miejsca Pisma Świętego w całości doktryny katolickiej. Początkiem i podstawą jest Objawienie, którego miejscem jest Kościół jako społeczność wierzących, a rezultatem narodziny Pisma Świętego i Tradycji. Na początku było Objawienie, „jedno źródło", w którym mają początek wymienione „dwa strumienie" (s. 108–113). Refleksja nad stosunkiem Pisma Świętego do Tradycji, do Urzędu Nauczycielskiego Kościoła i do świętej liturgii zamyka całość wykładu. W tej części książki autor sięgnął do teologicznej myśli Josepha Ratzingera, dokumentów Kościoła, w tym *Katechizmu Kościoła Katolickiego*, oraz własnych prac, publikowanych wielokrotnie i powszechnie dostępnych (patrz spis literatury).

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3 Poprawniej należałoby mówić o „Biblii żydowskiej" lub „żydowskich pismach świętych", gdyż „Stary Testament" w ujęciu chrześcijańskim jest rzeczywistością późniejszą.

Przystępnie napisana książka Sławomira Zatwardnickiego zasługuje na uznanie. Kilka słów krytycznych na temat jej strony formalnej (układ, wstęp, zakończenie) zostało sformułowanych na początku[4]. W tym miejscu należy pochwalić przystępny język publikacji, gdyż trudny generalnie materiał teologiczny autor podał umiejętnie i nawet z niejaką elokwencją. Ciekawe, choć moim zdaniem zbyt liczne i czasem nietrafne, są dołączone do argumentacji teologicznej obrazy i przykłady wzięte z codziennego życia, jakby „przypowieści” mające ułatwić rozumienie kwestii teologicznych. Natomiast prezentujący stronę katolicką recenzent nie ma potrzeby wdawania się w merytoryczną dyskusję na temat słusznej skądinąd krytyki zasady *sola Scriptura*. Taką krytykę podejmie być może strona protestancka.

4 Dla kompletności obrazu odnotujmy błąd zauważony na s. 145, gdzie winno być „w rozdziale 4” (a nie trzecim).