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PAWEŁ MAREK MUCHA

What was the Origin of Number 153?

A short article suggesting the new interpretation of the meaning of number 153 in Jn 21 : 11[1] was published in "Ruch Biblijny and Liturgiczny." Previous suggestions as to the origin of this number were not satisfactory.[2] An answer can easily be found when we notice a certain analogy between Jn 21 : 2 and Lk 1 : 43. In Luke the full title of Mary as the Mother of the Lord consists of five words. John enumerates five disciples by their first names. John talks about two disciples whose names he does not mention, in Luke the numerical value of the two key words of that title equals exactly 153, which is the same as the number of fish caught in Jn 21 : 11.

John's pattern 5 + 2

Jn 21 : 2	Lk 1 : 43
Simon Peter; Thomas called Didymus; Nathanael from Cana in Galilee; Zebedee's sons (**five** disciples called by their names)	ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου μου (**five** words)
no names (**two** other disciples)	μήτηρ κυρίου (**two** words)
153 fish	the numerical value of the two key words equals exactly **153***

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[1] Cf. P. M. Mucha, *Mother of the Lord and the 153 large fish in John 21 : 11*, "Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny" 62 (2009) no. 4, p. 297–301.

[2] C. Marucci, *Il significato del numero 153 in Gv 21, 11*, "Rivista Biblica" 52 (2004) no. 4, p. 403–440.

* Calculated as simple gematria (linear calculation of the numerical values), i.e. $\alpha = 1$, $\beta = 2$, $\gamma = 3$, $\delta = 4$, $\varepsilon = 5$, $\zeta = 6$, $\eta = 7$, $\theta = 8$, $\iota = 9$, $\kappa = 10$, $\lambda = 11$, $\mu = 12$, $\nu = 13$, $\xi = 14$, $o = 15$, $\pi = 16$, $\rho = 17$, $\sigma = 18$, $\tau = 19$, $\upsilon = 20$, $\varphi = 21$, $\chi = 22$, $\psi = 23$, $\omega = 24$; therefore: μήτηρ κυρίου $= 12 + 7 + 19 + 7 + 17 + 10 + 20 + 17 + 9 + 15 + 20 = 153$.

M.-J. Lagrange confirms this way of interpreting the pattern. He claims that the original text mentioned only five disciples by their names, and the two whose names were not included were mentioned in a marginal gloss, which, with time, was incorporated into the proper text.[3] The mention of the two disciples with no names makes the appropriate interpretation of the name of Mary as the Mother of the Lord much easier from her five-word title. The lack of this piece of information could make understanding number 153 much more challenging, that is probably why the gloss was put in the text and later included in it.

The editor of the Gospel of John, mentioning the names of five disciples, at the same time suggested how to interpret number 153 properly based on Mary's title. He specifies the names of three disciples (Simon Peter, Thomas called Didymus, Nathanael from Cana in Galilee) and mentions the other two not specifying what their names are, but making their identification easy by putting additional information in the text (Zebedee's sons, so we can figure out that he has Jacob and John in mind). The afore – mentioned pattern $(3 + 2)$ lets us read number 153 as the numerical value of a Greek expression meaning "the Mother of the Lord": three unimportant words from the title ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου μου need to be ignored, and two need to be focused on.

John's pattern $3 + 2$

Jn 21 : 2	Lk 1 : 43
Simon Peter; Thomas called Didymus; Nathanael from Cana in Galilee **(three** disciples whose names are mentioned)	ἡ … τοῦ … μου **(three** words)

[3] M.-J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon Saint Jean*, Paris 1948, p. 523.

Zebedee's sons (**two** disciples whose names are not mentioned, but who can be identified as Jacob and John)	μήτηρ κυρίου (**two** words)
153 fish	the numerical value of these two words equals exactly **153**

John provides us with two keys emphasising the title of Mary as the Mother of the Lord: the primary pattern 3 + 2 (three disciples whose names are mentioned and two whose names are not mentioned, but who can still be identified) and the secondary pattern 5 + 2 (five disciples whose names are mentioned and two others, whose names are not mentioned and who cannot be identified, as a result of the incorporation of the marginal gloss into the proper text, the aim of which was probably to help interpret number 153 in the right way).

1. The use of John's patterns in the New Testament

Jn 21:11 is the only part of the New Testament where number 153 appears and the only part of the Bible where the numerical value of the two key words of the Greek expression "the Mother of the Lord" equals 153. However, it can be observed that in a few other fragments in the New Testament John's patterns emphasising the title of Mary as the Mother of the Lord were known and applied.

1.1. Feeding the multitude

Let us focus on the pericope of the First Feeding Miracle. Only Luke and John place one pericope of feeding the multitude (see Lk 9:12–17; Jn 6:1–15) in their gospels. Matthew and Mark mention two pericopes (see Mt 14:13–21; Mt 15:32–39; Mk 6:34–44;

Mk 8 : 1–9).[4] John reports that five barley loaves and two fish were used to feed a multitude (see Jn 6 : 9) and Luke repeats twice that it is in fact five barley loaves and two fish that were used (see Lk 9 : 13. 16). It is possible that these descriptions are the result of the application of the secondary pattern 5 + 2, which allows for the appropriate interpretation of number 153 as the numerical value of the two key words of the five-word title of Mary as the Mother of the Lord (ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου μου), since feeding the multitude was not the Eucharist itself, but a type and promise of it,[5] and it is the Gospel of Luke that shows some connection between the Mother of Jesus and the Eucharist.[6] What is more, the author in Lk 9 : 16 reports five actions of Jesus ("taking […], looking up to heaven, he said the blessing over them, broke them, and gave them"), four of which ("he took the bread, said the blessing, broke it, and gave it") were repeated in the description of the Last Supper (Lk 22 : 19).[7]

The secondary pattern 5 + 2 (five fish and two loaves), applied in the pericope of the First Feeding Miracle, might be a result of the author's

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[4] Cf. A. M. Farrer, *Loaves and Thousands*, "Journal of Theological Studies" 4 (1953), p. 1–14; H. Schürmann, *Die Gestalt der urchristlichen Eucharistiefeier*, "Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift" 6 (1955), p. 107–131; G. Ziener, *Das Brotwunder im Markusevangelium*, "Biblische Zeitschrift" 4 (1960), 282–285; A. Shaw, *The Marcan Feeding Narratives*, "Church Quarterly Review" 162 (1961), p. 268–278; J. Knackstedt, *Die beiden Brotvermehrungen im Evangelium*, "New Testament Studies" 10 (1963–1964), p. 309–335; G. Friedrich, *Die beiden Erzählungen von der Speisung in Mark 6, 31–44; 8, 1–9*, "Theologische Zeitschrift" 20 (1964), p. 10–22; A. G. Hebert, *History in the Feeding of the Five Thousand*, "Studia Evangelica" 2 (1964), p. 65–72; A. Heising, *Die Botschaft der Brotvermehrung*, Stuttgart 1966; E. Lipiński, *La multiplication des pains*, "Revue Ecclesiastique de Liège" 5 (1967), p. 298–307.

[5] J. Klinkowski, *Cudowne rozmnożenie chleba zapowiedzią Eucharystii i wspólnoty Kościoła (J 6, 1–15)*, [in:] *Eucharystia życiem Kościoła i świata. Refleksja teologiczna w środowisku legnickim*, pod red. B. Drożdża, Legnica 2007, p. 11–25 (Biblioteka Diecezji Legnickiej, 25).

[6] G. Crocetti, *La Madre di Gesù e l'Eucaristia nella prospettiva lucana (Lc 1–2; At 1, 14; 2, 42–47)*, "Rivista Biblica" 48 (2000) no. 4, p. 401–434.

[7] S. Stasiak, *Symbolika chleba w Ewangelii według św. Łukasza*, [in:] *Eucharystia życiem Kościoła i świata. Refleksja teologiczna w środowisku legnickim*, op. cit., p. 29–35.

intentional composition and not any kind of coincidence. It seems to be Luke's conscious choice, especially that he used numbers "five" and "two," in this particular order, in a different place, when he was referring to selling five sparrows for two small coins (cf. Lk 12:6). From among numerous possibilities Luke chose to use a comparison based on numbers "five" and "two" in this order. This key (the secondary John's pattern 5 + 2), making the interpretation of the title of Mary the Mother of the Lord much easier, might have been the reason why the two disciples without names were added in Jn 21:2, as this kind of clue seems obvious to an attentive reader of the Gospel.

1.2. Five-time use of the phrase "the child and his mother"

It is worth mentioning that the second chapter of the Gospel of Matthew uses the phrase "the child and his mother" five times. According to some, this expression is a kind of formula that was used in Christological catechesis. Matthew presented it in his Infancy Narrative.[8]

However, if we take a closer look, we can notice incredible similarities to the full title of Mary as the Mother of the Lord (see Mt 2:11–15, 19–21):

> v. 11: the child with Mary his mother
> v. 13: the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream and said, "Rise, take the child and his mother"
> v. 14: the child and his mother
> v. 20: the angel of the Lord appeared in a dream to Joseph in Egypt, and said, "Rise, take the child and his mother"
> v. 21: the child and his mother

Matthew surprises us with such composition of chapter two. The phrase "the child and his mother" is used five times, which is the same number as the amount of words in the full title of Mary as the Mother of the Lord (ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου μου). What is more, the second and the fourth time

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[8] Cf. *Ewangelia według św. Mateusza. Wstęp – przekład z oryginału – komentarz*, oprac. J. Homerski, Poznań 2004, p. 97.

he uses the expression "the child and his mother," he informs us about the intervention of the angel of the Lord, who decides about the fate of the child and his mother. We can see a clear analogy to the Greek title of Mary as the Mother of the Lord – intervention of the angel Gabriel (Lk 1 : 26–38) and Mary's consent to the virginal conception[9] results in her becoming the Mother of the Lord, and that is why the second and the fourth words in her full title ἡ **μήτηρ** τοῦ **κυρίου** μου become the two most important ones. As a result of angel Gabriel's Annunciation, Mary became a true Mother of the Lord (Mother of God).[10] In the same way as angel Gabriel influences the life of Mary, which results in her becoming the Mother of the Lord, the angel of the Lord in the Gospel influences the lives of the child and his mother.

This is a result of conscious and intentional decisions concerning the composition of the Gospel of Matthew and it cannot be considered a co-incidence. Matthew emphasises the work of the angel when he uses the phrase "the child and his mother" for the second and the fourth time, and it is the numerical value of the second and the fourth word in the full title of Mary as the Mother of the Lord (ἡ **μήτηρ** τοῦ **κυρίου** μου) that equals 153 and means "the **Mother** of the **Lord**." The honour of Mary being the Mother of the Lord is the result of angel Gabriel's Annunciation, and that is what Matthew emphasises in his Infancy Narrative.

1.3. Five woman in the genealogy of Jesus

In the Matthean genealogy of Jesus, which is significantly different from the one reported by Luke,[11] five women were listed (Tamar, Rahab,

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[9] On the subject of the virginal conception cf. W. Chrostowski, *Dziewicze poczęcie Jezusa Chrystusa*, "W Drodze" 17 (1989) no. 5, p. 13–20; S. Haręzga, *Dziewictwo Maryi w Nowym Testamencie*, "Salvatoris Mater" 4 (2002) no. 1, p. 11–26.

[10] On the subject of Divine Motherhood of Mary cf. L. Balter, *Boże macierzyństwo Maryi*, "Communio" 20 (2000) no. 6, p. 39–81.

[11] A. Kowalczyk, *Genealogie Jezusa w Ewangeliach*, "Studia Gdańskie" 10 (1995), p. 113–121.

Ruth, Bathsheba, Mary).[12] Their appearance in this place and its significance is currently subject to analysis. These five women are perceived both as a group forming the genealogy of the Messiah, a part of which is Jesus himself with his virgin birth, and a justification of the opening of Israel to the Gentiles through placing (adding) these precedents from the history of Israel.[13]

Biblical authors rarely mention women in genealogy (the Bible mentions only one genealogy of a woman: Jdt 8 : 1–3). What is even more striking is the omission of Sarah and Anna, who were perceived as exemplary women in Israel, and inclusion of a prostitute from Jericho (Rahab: Josh 2 : 1–21) and David's adulterous wife (Bathsheba: 2 Sam:11) in the genealogy.[14]

In the genealogy of Jesus five women are mentioned, which is the same as the number of words in the full title of Mary as the Mother of the Lord (ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου μου). Three first women are listed in accordance with the following formula: ἐκ τῆς + mother's name, and the other two, however, are presented differently: the fourth one is mentioned in a similar way to the first three, but instead of the name of her mother (Bathsheba) Uriah's [ex-wife] is mentioned, and with the fifth one the name of Mary appeared, but the above-mentioned formula was not applied.

> ἐκ τῆς Θαμάρ (Mt 1 : 3)
> ἐκ τῆς Ῥαχάβ (Mt 1 : 5)
> ἐκ τῆς Ῥούθ (Mt 1 : 5)

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[12] Cf. H. Stegemann, *"Die des Uria." Zur Bedeutung der Frauennamen in der Genealogie von Matthäus, 1, 1–17*, [in:] *Tradition und Glaube. Festgabe für K. G. Kuhn*, hrsg. von G. Jeremias, Göttingen 1972, p. 246–276; H. C. Waetjen, *The Genealogy as the Key to the Gospel According to Matthew*, "Journal of Biblical Literature" 95 (1976), p. 205–230.

[13] P.-B. Smit, *Something about Mary? Remarks about the Five Women in the Matthean Genealogy*, "New Testament Studies" 56 (2010), p. 191–207.

[14] M. Bednarz, *Znaczenie rodowodu Jezusa w Ewangelii Mateusza*, "Tarnowskie Studia Teologiczne" 6 (1977), p. 129–132.

ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Οὐρίου (Mt 1:6b)

τὸν Ἰωσὴφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς (Mt 1:16)

Mentioning the first three women with the use of a particular formula (ἐκ τῆς + mother's name) and the other two in a way not following the accepted rule, preserves John's primary pattern (3 + 2) of interpreting number 153 as the numerical value of the Greek expression "the Mother of the Lord" (in the Gospel of John three disciples mentioned by their names, the names of two others not mentioned, but they can easily be identified). Matthean genealogy of Jesus shows familiarity with the title of Mary as the Mother of the Lord and its appropriate interpretation emphasising her dignity as the Mother of God. Matthean genealogy stresses humanity of Jesus (human provenance from Mary) and at the same time the dignity of Mary as the Mother of the Lord, which stems from the fact of becoming the Mother of Jesus (John's primary pattern 3 + 2 emphasises this truth).

1.4. The composition of the Gospel according to Matthew

The Gospel according to Matthew is a narrative of deliberate composition and content. It can be easily noticed when we compare the structure of this work to parallel texts of other Synoptics, and when we notice references to the Old Testament characteristic in their form. The carefully created structure of this Gospel was of great interest to many, as it led to the conclusion that the structure itself presents the keynote of the Evangelist.[15]

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[15] *Ewangelia według św. Mateusza. Wstęp – przekład z oryginału – komentarz*, op. cit., p. 37.

Different interpretations were presented,[16] among which the one presented by B. W. Bacon[17] is the most often accepted and applied.[18] He was the first one to make a hypothesis that the Gospel according to Matthew consists of five main parts, since it was composed on the basis of the Pentateuch (the five books of Moses).[19] The basis of this claim is the formula, which appears five times in the narrative: καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς (Mt 7:28; 11:1; 13:53; 19:1 and 26:1) and the traditional, dated back to the second century, division of the Gospel of Matthew into five parts.

It is worth mentioning that if we take into consideration the Prologue of the Gospel (Mt 1–2) and its Epilogue (Mt 26–28), an analogy with John's pattern (5 + 2) can be observed: five main parts of the Gospel and two lateral ones (Prologue and Epilogue). With this interpretation, however, we might encounter some difficulties. The secondary pattern of John is a very late one, as it comes from the copyists, so it was not present in the original text of the Gospel according to John. The editor of the Gospel of Matthew would have to know about the gloss, previously incorporated into the main text, concerning the two disciples without names, which would mean very late dating of the Gospel of Matthew (the second half of the 2nd century). However, this issue can easily be accounted for, as

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[16] Cf. ibidem, p. 38–43; A. Kowalczyk, *Wpływ typologii oraz tekstów Starego Testamentu na redakcję Ewangelii Mateusza*, Pelplin 2004, p. 179–195.

[17] Cf. B. W. Bacon, *Studies in Matthew*, New York 1930, p. 80–82.

[18] Cf. G. D. Kilpatrick, *The Origins of the Gospel According to St. Matthew*, Oxford 1950², p. 107–108. 135–136; K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament*, Philadelphia 1968, p. 21–22. 24–27; L. Vaganay, *Le probleme synoptique*, Paris 1969, p. 57; D. J. Selby, *Introduction to the New Testament*, New York 1971, p. 110–113; *Ewangelia według św. Mateusza. Wstęp. Przekład z oryginału. Komentarz*, op. cit., p. 41; J. Kudasiewicz, *Ewangelie synoptyczne dzisiaj*, Warszawa 1986, p. 204–205. Supporters of this approach are also M.-J. Lagrange, P. Benoit, L. Randellini, L. Algisi, A. Wikenhauser, L. Deiss, J. L. McKenzie, H. C. Kee; P. Bonnard, P. Gächter.

[19] Cf. B. W. Bacon, *The "Five Books" of Matthew against the Jews*, "The Expositor" 8 (1919) 15, p. 56–66; B. W. Bacon, *Jesus and the Law*, "Journal of Biblical Literature" 47 (1928), p. 203–231.

John's secondary pattern (5 + 2) is used in the pericope about feeding the multitude, which is not only present in Luke (Lk 9:2–17) and John (Jn 6:1–15), but also in Mark (Mk 6:34–44) and even in Matthew (Mt 14:13–21). The problem is therefore solved, as he editor of the Gospel was, in fact, familiar with John's pattern mentioned above (5 + 2).

The issue can also be explained within the structure of the Gospel of Matthew. A sentence which appears twice in the narrative attracts the readers' attention: ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς (Mt 4:17 and 16:21). For some, this particular sentence was a reason to divide the Gospel of Matthew into two main parts.[20] It needs to be noticed that this formula tears the previous division of the Gospel of Matthew (five parts) into two parts, which strikes with the precise analogy to the primary John's pattern (3 + 2):

> ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς (Mt 4:17)
>   καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς (Mt 7:28)
>   καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς (Mt 11:1)
>   καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς (Mt 13:53)
> ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς (Mt 16:21)
>   καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς (Mt 19:1)
>   καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς (Mt 26:1)

The 3 + 2 pattern can clearly be seen here,[21] and it is the same pattern which was used in the genealogy of Jesus (Mt 1:1–17). This pattern emphasises the dignity of Mary as the Mother of the Lord in the structure of the Gospel according to Matthew. It does not seem to be coincidental, as Matthew shows a predilection to particular numbers and ordering content according to specific numerical criteria, which is either an intentional procedure applied

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[20] J. C. Hawkins was the first one to notice this formula – cf. J. C. Hawkins, *Horae synopticae. Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem*, Oxford 1909², p. 168. The theory of the literary structure based on this formula was created by: E. Lohmeyer, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus*, Göttingen 1958², p. 1. 64. 264; N. B. Stonehouse, *The Witness of Matthew and Mark to Christ*, London 1944, p. 129–151.

[21] We can also notice John's secondary pattern 5 + 2 here: καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς used five times and ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς twice.

by the author or a reflection of oral traditions used by him in the narrative. Sometimes numbers convey symbolic meaning, in other cases they are elements of the composition of the text facilitating memorising its content.[22]

In the whole narrative of the Gospel of Matthew we can encounter ordering the content or its division in accordance with particular numerical criteria. In the Miracle Chapters of Matthew's narrative (Mt 8:1 – 9:34) the composition of the text is surprising: 3 miracles + 2 responses of Jesus + 3 miracles + 2 controversies + 3 miracles.[23] As far as the division of this section is concerned, the opinions of researchers vary,[24] however, in the light of the given arguments, this particular division seems more likely than any other. Not only is the 3+2 pattern preserved (according to which the main structure of the Gospel of Matthew is divided), but also a direct analogy to the full title of Mary as the Mother of the Lord (which the 3+2 pattern refers to) is shown:

3 miracles + **2 responses of Jesus** + 3 miracles + **2 controversies** + 3 miracles
ἡ **μήτηρ** τοῦ **κυρίου** μου

Matthew not only emphasises the dignity of Mary as the Mother of the Lord, but also shows that it arouses controversies and needs to be defended. A careful conclusion can be drawn, that the Gospel according to Matthew is Christological, but its composition is Mariological and based

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[22] Cf. J. Kudasiewicz, *Ewangelie synoptyczne dzisiaj*, op. cit., p. 193.

[23] Cf. ibidem, p. 194. In the last part we should not talk about three miracles, rather about three descriptions of the miracles, as the last description gives the account of two different miracles, which, as a result, amount to ten (a symbolic number) in this particular section. That is why Walter Grundmann's classification seems more appropriate: 3 Wunder + 2 Berufungsberichte + 3 weitere Wunder + 2 Streitgespräche + 3 weitere Wundererzählungen – cf. W. Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, Berlin 1968, p. 246.

[24] Cf. W. G. Thompson, *Reflections on the Composition of Mt 8:1–9:34*, "Catholic Biblical Quarterly" 33 (1971), p. 365–388; C. Burger, *Jesu Taten nach Matthäus 8 und 9*, "Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche" 70 (1973), 272–287; J. D. Kingsbury, *Observations on the "Miracle Chapters" of Matthew 8–9*, "Catholic Biblical Quarterly" 40 (1978), p. 559–573; H. Żukowski, *Spojrzenie na rozdziały cudów w Mt 8–9*, "Studia Teologiczne. Białystok–Drohiczyn–Łomża" 12 (1994), p. 97–106.

on the primary John's pattern 3 + 2, stressing the dignity of Mary as the Mother of Lord. The Miracle Chapters (Mt 8 : 1–9 : 34) are through and through Mariological as well.

1.5. The composition of the Gospel according to John in the light of the description of the meal (Jn 21 : 9–13)

The literary composition of the Gospel according to John proves to be difficult to analyse.[25] The Gospel has two endings: Jn 20 : 30–31 and Jn 21 : 24–25. This fact indicates that the original version of the text finished with Jn 20 : 31. Chapter 21 was somehow added, not disturbing the structure of the narrative. Disregarding the complicated issue of who the author of this chapter and the whole Gospel was,[26] we need to acknowledge that it was added to the original version very early, as it was certified by all witnesses of the text.

The main structure of the Gospel of Matthew seems to have Mariological character (primary John's pattern 3 + 2 to emphasise the dignity of Mary as the Mother of the Lord). Since Matthew used this particular editorial idea, we cannot exclude that John, whom Jesus entrusted with taking care of His Mother, deliberately composed the Gospel giving it the Mariological character that it seems to have.

John emphasises the dignity of Mary as the Mother of the Lord twice, when the term "Woman" (γύναι) is used with reference to her (Jn 2 : 4 and 19 : 26).[27] Her special role in the plan of salvation is presented by

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[25] Cf. S. Mędala, *Problem struktury literackiej czwartej Ewangelii*, "Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny" 46 (1993) no. 1, p. 11–17; K. Ziaja, *Problem struktury Ewangelii św. Jana we współczesnej egzegezie*, "Scriptura Sacra" 8–9 (2004–2005), p. 211–224.

[26] Cf. J. Bolewski, *Problem autorstwa czwartej Ewangelii*, "Collectanea Theologica" 48 (1978) 3, p. 79–86; J. Kügler, *Der Jünger, der Jesus liebte. Literarische, theologische und historische Untersuchungen zu einer Schlüsselgestalt johaneischer Theologie und Geschichte. Mit einem Exkurs über die Brotrede*, Stuttgart 1988; A. Paciorek, *Jeszcze o autorstwie IV Ewangelii*, "Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne" 47 (2000) z. 1, p. 129–152.

[27] More on the titles "Mother of Jesus" and "Woman" in the Gospel according to John cf. A. Nalewaj, *"Matka Jezusa" i "Niewiasta" jako tytuły Maryji w czwartej Ewangelii*, "Ruch

the inspired author even before the end of Messiah's work[28]: during the Wedding in Cana (Jn 2:1–11)[29] and also in the pericope about the testament from the cross (Jn 19:25–27).[30] In his editorial choice we can discern the analogy to the full title of Mary as the Mother of the Lord:

Jn 1:1–1:51: Introduction – **ἡ**

Jn 2:1–11: Wedding in Cana ["Woman" (Jn 2:4)] – **μήτηρ**

Jn 2:12–19:24: Jesus the true Son of God – **τοῦ**

Jn 19:25–27: Testament from the cross ["Woman" (Jn 19:26)] – **κυρίου**

Jn 19:28–20:31: Conclusion – **μου**

The division of the Gospel according to John into five parts may refer to the five words in the full title of Mary (ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου μου). The Gospel of John, in its original version (finishing with Jn 20:31), was composed along the lines of the full title of Mary as the Mother of the Lord. It is easier to understand the inclusion of two Mariological peri-

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Biblijny i Liturgiczny" 63 (2010) no. 1, p. 13–30.

[28] Cf. M. Czajkowski, *Maria u progu i kresu dzieła Mesjasza (J 2, 1–11 i 19, 25–27)*, [in:] *Egzegeza Ewangelii św. Jana*, pod red. F. Gryglewicza, Lublin 1976, p. 101–112.

[29] Cf. L. Stachowiak, *Maryja w Kanie Galilejskiej [J 2, 1–11]*, [in:] *U boku Syna. Studia z mariologii biblijnej. Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Kp. Prof. Dra Feliksa Gryglewicza z okazji 50-lecia jego kapłaństwa*, red. J. Szlaga, Lublin 1984, p. 85–94; F. Gryglewicz, *Pierwszy cud Jezusa (J 2, 1–11)*, "Częstochowskie Studia Teologiczne" 15–16 (1987–1988), p. 7–18; K. Meissner, *Miejsce Maryi w dziele odkupienia. Prorocka zawartość cudu w Kanie Galilejskiej (J 2, 1–11)*, "W drodze" 20 (1992) no. 5, p. 24–32.

[30] Cf. W. Smereka, *Ecce Mater Tua [J 19, 25–27]*, "Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny" 9 (1956) no. 4–6, p. 244–261; T. Langkammer, *Znaczenie mariologiczne tekstu ewangelii św. Jana 19, 25–27*, "Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne" 9 (1962) 3, p. 99–113; H. Langkammer, *Maryja pod krzyżem [J 19, 25–27]*, [in:] *U boku Syna. Studia z mariologii biblijnej. Księga Pamiątkowa ku czci Kp. Prof. Dra Feliksa Gryglewicza z okazji 50-lecia Jego kapłaństwa*, red. J. Szlaga, Lublin 1984, p. 109–114; F. Gryglewicz, *Testament Jezusa (J 19, 25–27)*, [in:] *Męka Jezusa Chrystusa*, red. F. Gryglewicz, Lublin 1986, p. 183–189; J. Kudasiewicz, *Testament Jezusa (J 19, 25–27). Nowe trendy interpretacyjne*, "Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne" 37 (1990) z. 1, p. 49–61.

copes (Wedding in Cana [J 2 : 1–11] and the Testament from the cross
[Jn 19 : 25–27]), in which Mary, the "Woman" (γύναι), is mentioned. Both
Mariological pericopes where put in the text in a way which allows us to
assume they constitute part two and part four of the Gospel, indicating
the importance of the second and the fourth word in the full title of Mary,
emphasising her dignity as the Mother of the Lord.

This way of interpretation seems to be quite rational. Chapter 21, added
to the Gospel according to John, contains a pericope about the appear-
ance of the Resurrected Christ at the Sea of Tiberias (Jn 21 : 1–14).[31] In
this pericope we can distinguish the description of the meal (Jn 21 : 9–13),
which in a way is a variation on feeding the multitude (cf. Jn 6 : 1–15).[32]
Some pay special attention to the Eucharistic character of this meal, as
it consists of bread and fish – similarly to Jn 6 : 9. This combination of
bread and fish may have a symbolic or sacramental meaning, which would
confirm the Eucharistic character of the meal.[33]

In the pericope about feeding the multitude, Luke uses a Greek word
ἰχθύς with reference to fish (Lk 9 : 13. 16), John uses the word ἰχθύς in Jn
21 : 11 in direct connection with number 153, whereas in the pericope
about feeding the multitude uses the word ὀψάριον (Jn 6 : 9).[34] The word
ὀψάριον was also used in the description of the meal (Jn 21 : 9–13), in
which number 153 appears. Using the term ὀψάριον three times in the
text and twice the term ἄρτος (bread) is consistent with the primary John's
pattern 3 + 2, which is the pattern originally used in Jn 21 : 2 (before the

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[31] Cf. S. Mędala, *Funkcja i treść opowiadania o trzecim objawieniu się Jezusa uczni-
om po zmartwychwstaniu (J 21, 1–14)*, [in:] *Duch i Oblubienica mówią: "Przyjdź." Księga
Pamiątkowa dla Ojca Profesora Augustyna Jankowskiego OSB w 85 rocznicę urodzin*,
zebr. i oprac. W. Chrostowski, Warszawa 2001, p. 247–274; R. Wróbel, *Chrystofania nad
Jeziorem Tyberiadzkim (J 21, 1–14). Problemy interpretacyjne i znaczenie*, "Ruch Biblijny
i Liturgiczny" 3 (2007), p. 185–208.

[32] Cf. R. E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John*, New York 1970, vol. 2, p. 1083.

[33] Cf. C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John. An Introduction with Commentary
and Notes on the Greek Text. Second Edition*, Philadelphia 1978, p. 581–582.

[34] Cf. R. Popowski, *Wielki słownik grecko-polski Nowego Testamentu*, Warszawa 1994,
p. 302.

marginal gloss about the two disciples without names was incorporated into the proper text[35]). The order of appearance of these two terms surprises:

> Jn 21 : 9: "fish [...] and bread"
> Jn 21 : 10: "fish" [plural]
> Jn 21 : 13: "bread [...] and fish"

> fish + **bread** + fish + **bread** + fish
> ἡ   **μήτηρ** τοῦ   **κυρίου** μου

On the basis of the above – mentioned analogy we can notice that the words "the Mother of the Lord" (μήτηρ κυρίου) correspond with the word "bread," which may suggest that John, in the same way as Luke, connected the Mother of the Lord with the Eucharist. The application of the 3 + 2 pattern emphasises this reference even more.[36] The use of the plural form of the word fish τῶν ὀψαρίων in the central place may suggest the previously mentioned division of the Gospel according to John.

Since John uses the patterns for the full title of Mary as the Mother of the Lord emphasising her Divine Motherhood, he might have divided

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[35] Cf. M.-J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon Saint Jean*, op. cit., p. 523.

[36] A special way of using the terms ἰχθύς (fish caught), ὀψάριον (fish to be eaten) and ἄρτος (bread) can be noticed. In Jn 21 (being the chapter added to the original ending of the Gospel according to John) we can see a double 3 + 2 pattern: the word ἰχθύς used three times (Jn 21:6. 8. 11) and the word ἄρτος used twice (Jn 21:9. 13) as well as the word ὀψάριον used three times (Jn 21:9. 10. 13) and the word ἄρτος used twice (Jn 21:9. 13). The word ἰχθύς appears only in the parts of the Gospel mentioned before, there is no other fragment in which they are used. The word ὀψάριον, apart from the three fragments indicated above, appears twice more in the main structure of the Gospel of John (Jn 6:9. 11), which altogether amounts to five, giving an impression of the application of the 3 + 2 pattern. Therefore, it is not surprising, that the word ἰχθύς is used exactly five times in Matthew: Mt 7:10; 14:17. 19; 15:36; 17:27 – cf. W. F. Moulton and A. S. Geden [ed.], *A Concordance to the Greek Testament According to the Texts of Westcott and Hort, Tischendorf and the English Revisers*, *Fourth Edition Revised by H. K. Moulton*, Edinburgh 1963 (reprinted 1970), pp. 504 and 744.

the whole narrative in accordance with this title. The use of plural τῶν ὀψαρίων in the central place seems to correspond with the central part (the third out of five) of the Gospel according to John (Jn 2:12–19:24), which contains a huge amount of material proving that Jesus is a Messiah, the true Son of God.[37] From this point of view the main division of the Gospel of John into five parts along the lines of the title of Mary as the Mother of the Lord seems justified. The Gospel according to John is Christological,[38] however, its main structure is Mariological. The editor of Chapter 21, containing the so-called description of the meal (Jn 21:9–13), is obviously familiar with the full title of Mary as the Mother of the Lord as well as with John's pattern 3 + 2 emphasising her dignity as the Mother of the Lord, and this is the pattern originally applied in Jn 21:2.

2. The origin of John's patterns

In several parts of the New Testament both John and Matthew prove familiarity with the full title of Mary as the Mother of the Lord (ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου μου) presented by Luke (Lk 1:43) and its appropriate inter-pretation (with the use of John's patterns), emphasising dignity of Mary as the Mother of God. Especially Matthew, in some pericopes, mainly the ones connected with Mary and presenting her relation with Jesus (the genealogy of Jesus, the Infancy Narrative), with no hesitation applies the primary John's pattern (3 + 2), with the use of which he emphasises the Divine Motherhood of Mary.

It needs to be mentioned that in most places Mary is simply referred to as "mother of Jesus" or "His mother."[39] Many of them are parts of

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[37] Cf. the so-called first ending of the Gospel according to John (cf. Jn 20:31: "But these are written that you may (come to) believe that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God, and that through this belief you may have life in his name").

[38] On the subject of the Christology in the Gospel according to John cf. S. Mędala, *Chrystologia Ewangelii św. Jana*, Kraków 1993.

[39] Cf. J. Kozyra, *Matka Boża w pierwotnej tradycji apostolskiej Nowego Testamentu*, [in:] *Matka Boża w ludzie Bożym*, red. J. Górecki, Katowice 2005, p. 47–63; J. Kudasiewicz,

pericopes, which might have been written at the pre-canonical stage as independent texts (cf. Mk 6:1–6 par.; Mk 3:31–35 par.).[40] In the earlier layers of the Gospel Mary is indeed referred to as "mother of Jesus" or "His mother." It was at the later stage (of the editing of the Gospel) that familiarity with Luke's title of Mary as the Mother of the Lord was revealed and her dignity as the Mother of God emphasised. This process started taking place in the times of the apostles and concerned the editors of the Gospel according to John and the Gospel according to Matthew, although we can assume that it was Luke who initiated it (the use of the secondary John's pattern 5 + 2 in Lk 9:13. 16 and Lk 12:6).

A similar process can be noticed with reference to Jesus, especially his resurrection. We can distinguish two stages of the perception of the resurrection of Jesus. In the earliest texts the resurrection of Jesus was perceived as a sole act of God the Father.[41] Regardless of the terms used to refer to the resurrection,[42] it was described in the passive voice of the verb as "Jesus was resurrected by God" and in active voice as "God resurrected Jesus." These two ways express an old, common way of presenting the truth of resurrection with the use of stereotypical expressions and statements of faith. From the grammatical point of view the passive voice of the verb "was resurrected" can bear the meaning of "raised from the dead" and in this sense appears a few times in the New Testament (e.g. Mk 4:27; 6:14. 16; 12:25–26; Lk 7:14). It was not until much later

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Matka Jezusa według Ewangelii Marka, [in:] *Deus meus et omnia. Księga Pamiątkowa ku czci o. prof. Hugolina Langkammera OFM w 50. rocznicę święceń kapłańskich*, red. M. S. Wróbel, Lublin 2005, p. 207–217; M. Rosik, *Postać Matki Jezusa w Ewangelii Mateusza*, "Salvatoris Mater" 10 (2008) no. 4, p. 42–60.

[40] Cf. J. Majewski, *Mariologia Ewangelii Marka w świetle współczesnej biblistyki [Mk 3, 20–35]*, Salvatoris Mater" 1 (1999) no. 2, p. 235–267.

[41] J. Kremer, *Das älteste Zeugnis von der Auferstehung Christi. Eine bibeltheologische Studie zur Aussage und Bedeutung von 1 Kor 15, 1–11*, Stuttgart 1966, p. 39–53.

[42] More about the terms referring to resurrection and their interpretation cf. J. Łach, *Problem interpretacji pojęć określających zmartwychwstanie*, "Communio" 26 (1985) no. 2, p. 43–50.

that raising from the dead, which was originally seen as the act of God, was perceived as resurrection, the act of Christ himself.[43]

Regardless of the voice of the verb used (passive or active), Jesus' raising from the dead was perceived in the light of the Old Testament. It stressed the "active" role of God the Father and the "passive" role of Jesus as the obedient Son waiting for his Father to intervene (cf. Acts 2:25–28; Ps 16 [15]:8–11). With time Resurrection of Jesus was seen as an autonomous act, executed with his own power. In the earliest layers of the New Testament this incredible act, which gave hope for the resurrection of the dead, was presented in an undoubtedly different way from later accounts of this event.

We can assume that both processes of the theological perception of Jesus and His Mother took place parallelly, as there is no evidence against this way of interpretation. However, a question of what the source of this phenomenon was arises. How is it possible that in the times of the Apostles Mary was referred to as the Mother of the Lord (the Mother of God)? What happened that Mary was no longer perceived as "mother of Jesus" or "his mother" and became "the Mother of the Lord" (Mother of God)?[44] How is it possible that the first Christians called Mary "the Mother of the Lord" (Mother of God),[45] not only with the approval of the Apostles (there is no mention of them forbidding to use this title with reference to Mary), but, as it seems, following the example of the Apostle, who seems to have initiated it (the Gospel of Luke written according to St. Paul's indications, the Gospel of John [or his protege's], the Gospel of Matthew). And how was it possible for them to view the Resurrection of Jesus as the act of his own doing, which should have been interpreted in agreement with the common formulas of the Old Testament?

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[43] J. Kremer, *Das älteste Zeugnis von der Auferstehung Christi…*, op. cit., p. 42–43.

[44] Cf. W. Misztal, *Wiara w pośrednictwo Maryi oraz Jej kult a duchowość pierwszych chrześcijan*, "Salvatoris Mater" 4 (2002) no. 3, p. 232–251.

[45] Cf. W. M. Stabryła, *"Matka Pana" (Łk 1, 43) w świetle krytyki historyczno-literackiej. Czy św. Łukasz wyznaje Boże macierzyństwo Maryi?*, "Salvatoris Mater" 10 (2008) no. 4, p. 23–41.

Some claim that the Apostles, influenced by the tragic and traumatising experience of Jesus' passion, grew to attribute divinity to him,[46] the further consequence of which, following the example of the Greek and Roman religion, was attributing divinity to his mother, Mary.[47] It is a serious but an unsubstantiated allegation.[48] As from the very beginning Christians were extremely reasonable and down to earth, and since the descent of the Holy Spirit they were under his special care and felt his assistance on everyday basis (cf. Acts 10 : 1–11 : 18; 16 : 6–10; Jn 14 : 26; Acts 18 : 9–10; 22 : 14; 22 : 17–21; 23 : 11). It seems ridiculous to claim that the Apostles made such an enormous mistake or that they were misled to this extent and began to proclaim the Gospel embellishing it on purpose.

In their times an event important to Christians must have taken place and must have forced them to revise the theological thought. And such kind of event did take place in the times of the Apostles. It was obviously the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, which was dogmatically defined by Pope Pius XII in 1950. The Apostolic Constitution "Munificentissimus Deus" teaches that having completed the course of her earthly life, Mary was assumed body and soul into heavenly glory. This historical fact was expressed in the contemporary theological language.[49]

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[46] Cf. K. Adam, *Das Problem der Entmythologisierung und die Auferstehung des Christus*, "Theologische Quartalschrift" 132 (1952), p. 385–410; R. Bultmann, *Neues Testament und Mythologie*, [in:] *Kerygma und Mythos* I, Hamburg-Bergstedt 1960[4], p. 15–48; H. W. Bartsch, *Das Auferstehungszeugnis, sein historisches und theologisches Problem*, Hamburg-Bergstedt 1965; W. Marxsen, *Die Auferstehung Jesu als historisches und als theologisches Problem*, Gütersloh 1965[2]; L. W. Hurtado, *How on Earth did Jesus become a God? Historical questions about earliest devotion to Jesus*, Grand Rapids-Edinburgh 2005; L. W. Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ. Devotion to Jesus in earliest Christianity*, Grand Rapids 2003.

[47] The cult of Mary is rooted in the Holy Scripture – cf. Z. Janiec, *Kult Maryi w Piśmie Świętym, Mszy Świętej i Liturgii Godzin*, "Anamnesis" 9 (2003) no. 1, p. 88–94.

[48] Cf. J. Guillet, *Jezus w wierze pierwszych uczniów*, tłum. M. Krzeptowska, Kraków 2000; T. Jelonek, *Od Jezusa z Nazaretu do Chrystusa z Chalcedonu*, [in:] *Inkulturacja Biblii*, pod red. T. Jelonka, Kraków 2007, p. 27–66.

[49] Cf. N. G. Ramirez, *Chwalebne Wniebowzięcie Maryi*, tłum. L. Balter, "Communio" 20 (2000) no. 6, p. 109–125.

The dogma only mentions the bodily taking up of the Virgin Mary into heaven, it does not determine when it happened. Therefore, there is no definitive conclusion as to whether the assumption took place at the end of her earthly life or after her physical death. Many theologians, on the basis of convincing arguments, tend to believe that the assumption took place after Mary's death.[50] These arguments seem reasonable: Mary faithfully followed her Son in everything, so experiencing death was no exception.[51] It was after her death that Mary's body and soul were assumed. It is not of crucial importance where the Assumption took place, although Jerusalem seems to be a more probable place than Ephesus.[52]

The right perception of this most important event in the times of the Apostles lets us fully understand its consequences for the theology of the time. After her death Mary was probably buried in accordance with the custom of those days,[53] however, her body, instead of decomposing, disappeared and her grave was left empty, just like in the case of Jesus. For the Apostles and their disciples this event must have come as a surprise. The body of Mary, just like the body of Christ, after being put in the grave

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[50] Cf. W. M. Stabryła, *"Assumpta est Maria in caelum." Wniebowzięcie w śmierci?*, "Salvatoris Mater" 8 (2006) no. 1–2, p. 81–101.

[51] Cf. S. Włodarczyk, *Zwiastowanie – Kalwaria szczególnym doświadczeniem wiary Maryi*, "Częstochowskie Studia Teologiczne" 17–18 (1989–1990), p. 43–47; S. De Fiores, *Droga Maryi od służby Panu do korony chwały*, "Salvatoris Mater" 6 (2004) no. 3, p. 44–60.

[52] Cf. F. Gryglewicz, *Jerozolimska tradycja Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny*, "Homo Dei" 20 (1951), p. 40–45; P. Stach, *Miejsce Zaśnięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny*, "Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny" 4 (1951) no. 1–2, p. 59–82; S. Włodarczyk, *Tradycja jerozolimska grobu Najświętszej Maryi Panny w świetle tekstów Pisma św. i Tradycji*, "Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny" 33 (1980) no. 6, p. 331–337; A. Strus, *Legenda, tradycja i historia o zaśnięciu i wniebowzięciu NMP*, "Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny" 37 (1984) no. 2, p. 127–139; E. Jastrzębowska, *Kult maryjny w Efezie*, "Meander" 50 (1995) no. 9–10, p. 469–481.

[53] More on the subject of burial traditions of that time cf. J. Chmiel, *Pogrzeb Jezusa w świetle zwyczajów żydowskich*, "Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny" 37 (1984) no. 2, p. 119–127, H. Muszyński, S. Mędala, *Archeologia Palestyny w zarysie*, Pelplin 1984; I. Wilson, *Całun Turyński*, Kraków 1985; J. Kucharski, *Spocząć ze swymi przodkami*, Lublin 1998; B. R. McCane, *Roll Back the Stone. Death and Burial in the World of Jesus*, Harrisburg-London-New York 2003.

simply "evaporated." From the perspective of the witnesses contemporary with these two events, the two were basically the same as far as their form was concerned: two identical resurrections of the bodies put in their graves.

This event provoked a change in the theological perception of Mary and her Son, and, most importantly, of resurrection itself. Christians from those times, despite the lack of terminology and theological notions, without any doubts were able to see the difference between Mary, "just" human, and her Son, who not only is a true human incarnate from the Virgin Mary, but also true God from true God. With this crucial difference of natures, both the body of Christ and the body of Mary were resurrected in an identical way.

There is a slight differentiation of the theological perception of the two resurrections. Until then the resurrection of Jesus was seen as an act of God the Father, resurrecting his Son, obedient till the very end of His earthly life. The Assumption of Mary resulted in the change of understanding of these two facts: she was resurrected by God, He resurrected himself with his own power, as He is true God.

The same thing happened to the body of Mary and to the body of Christ, however, the two events were not the same due to the difference of natures of the two: Jesus resurrected His body with his own power and with his own power ascended into heaven; the body of Mary was resurrected by God and it was God who took her up to heaven with her body and soul (that is where the name Assumption comes from). It happened because of her special dignity: at the moment of Annunciation Mary became the Mother of the Lord (the Mother of God), which was crowned with her Assumption, which proved her full participation in the acts of her Son, including the adoration of her body.[54] Not only was she the Mother of the Messiah, but also the Mother of the Lord – including the resurrection of her body from the dead. Her body was granted the grace of adoration before parousia (the second coming of Christ), and indicated a tight connection between Mary and the Lord, who was her Son, which is why her dignity as the Mother of the Lord was recognised and emphasised.

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[54] Cf. S. Haręzga, *Podstawy wniebowzięcia Maryi w Nowym Testamencie*, "Salvatoris Mater" 2 (2000) no. 4, p. 22–40.

A question concerning the lack of any direct mention of the Assumption of Mary in the New Testament arises. It is obvious though that the Gospel was the story of Jesus Christ and His Salvific Grace.[55] Mary appears in the text only in the context of the life and works of Jesus.[56] It was Jesus who was the substance of the Gospel.[57] However, it seems that the lack of any account of this event was rooted even deeper. Jesus was the announced Messiah to deliver redemption from sin.[58] The whole of the Old Testament led to Jesus, His Passion, Death and Resurrection (cf. Acts 2:22–36; 3:12–26; 17:2–3; 18:28; 26:22–23; 28:23; Lk 24:25–27; Rom 10:4). Although he was the fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecies, he was also "a sign that will be contradicted" (cf. Lk 2:34). Since the resurrection of Jesus, supported by logical arguments in the light of the Old Testament, met with so much disbelief from the opponents (cf. Acts 19:8–9; 28:22), it was even more important to be careful talking about the resurrection of Mary, whose rising from the dead could not have been supported by the books of the Old Testament,[59] as there is no mention of the resurrection of the Mother of the Messiah in any fragment of the text.[60] That is why this

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[55] Cf. M. Rosik, *Jezus i jego misja. W kręgu orędzia Ewangelii synoptycznych*, Kielce 2003.

[56] Cf. M. Oleś, *Milczenie Ewangelii o Matce Bożej*, "Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny" 15 (1962) no. 1, p. 44–49; Anton Adam, *Maryja w dziele Chrystusa*, "Salvatoris Mater" 3 (2001) no. 3, p. 149–152.

[57] The Ascension of Jesus and his exhortation to go into the whole world and proclam the gospel in a way sums up his earthly works and opens up his activity through the Holy Spirit in the Church. The Assumption takes place long after the Great Commission of Christianity, which means it is not directly connected to the gospel of Jesus.

[58] Cf. A. S. Jasiński, *Maryja o oczekiwanie mesjańskie w Starym Testamencie*, "Salvatoris Mater" 5 (2003) no. 4, p. 11–28.

[59] Cf. K. Marklowski, *Wniebowzięcie Najświętszej Marii Panny w świetle Pisma św.*, "Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny" 3 (1950) no. 1–2, p. 154–157; A. Tronina, *Assumpta. Typologia Arki Przymierza*, "Salvatoris Mater" 2 (2000) no. 4, p. 11–21.

[60] Cf. E. Haratym, *Najświętsza Maryja Panna w Starym Testamencie*, "Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny" 4 (1951), p. 13–42; J. Homerski, *Maryja Matka Chrystusa w świetle tekstów Starego Testamentu*, "Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne" 35 (1988) no. 1, p. 27–37; S. Strzelecki, *Teksty "maryjne" w księgach Starego Testamentu*, "Wiadomości Kościelne

great event was given account of indirectly. It was theologically compiled (emphasised) by the Apostles and their disciples (the Gospel according to Matthew, Luke and John) mostly for the believers, which was a way of avoiding confrontation with those unfamiliar with the Christian faith.[61]

The Assumption of Mary is a critical moment. It verifies the theological perception of Mary and her Son, and, most importantly, the perception of His resurrection. Until the Assumption of Mary, it was enough to see the resurrection of Jesus in the context of the Old Testament as a sole act of God the Father, who resurrects His Son. Mary was perceived as the Mother of Jesus, His Mother (Mother of the Messiah). The Assumption compelled a change in the perception of the resurrection of Jesus (there was a transition between "was resurrected" and "raised from the dead" [himself]) and Mary as a person. The resurrection of Mary was objectively presented as "she was resurrected," which means she was assumed body [and soul] into heavenly glory. The adoration of her body through the Assumption became the basis and the beginning of emphasising her title of the Mother of the Lord – God bestowed grace on her body, the same grace held by the body of Christ, her Son, which is why she fully deserves to be given the title of "the Mother of the Lord" (which means "the Mother of the One who raised from the dead").

The evidence of these two stages of the theological perception of Jesus and Mary, especially in the context of resurrection, is clearly visible in the New Testament. This specific duality of the account of the resurrection of Jesus and later emphasising the dignity of Mary as the Mother of the Lord resulted from the most important event in history after the resurrection of Christ – the Assumption of Mary. Luke's title ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου μου became a means of expressing this truth through emphasis-

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Archidiecezji Białostockiej" 6 (25) 1997 no. 1 (104), p. 89–94; I. de la Potterie, *Zapowiedź Maryi w Starym Testamencie*, tłum. L. Balter, "Communio" 20 (2000) no. 6, p. 3–20. The resurrection of the Mother of the Messiah is not mentioned in the Old Testament literally. About biblical senses, cf. S. Szymik, *Sensy biblijne. Podział, charakterystyka. Kontrowersje*, "Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne" 47 (2000) z. 1, p. 5–25.

[61] This careful approach is quite comprehensible when we take into account the attitude of non-Catholics to the Assumption of Mary.

ing her dignity as the Mother of the Lord with the use of John's patterns (primary 3 + 2 and secondary 5 + 2), which is particularly visible in the writing of Matthew. Number 153 in Jn 21 : 11 is a numerical value of two key words of this title distinguished by the patterns. It is no coincidence, but the effect of special appreciation of the dignity of Mary as the Mother of the Lord, the origin of which is her Assumption.

Poznań   *PAWEŁ MAREK MUCHA*

Keywords

Summary

What was the Origin of Number 153?

The number 153 in John 21 : 11 is the numerical value of two key words of the Greek title "the Mother of the Lord." This interpretation is based on serious arguments, above all on the analogy between Luke 1 : 43 and John 21 : 2. There are two key clues, or patterns, in John 21 : 2 which help to encrypt the Marian dignity as "the Mother of the Lord": the primary pattern 3 + 2 and the secondary pattern 5 + 2. These patterns were very well known and they were used in the main structure of Matthew, composition of the Miracle Chapters (Mt 8 : 1–9 : 34), the Matthean genealogy, Feeding the Multitude and John 21 : 9–13. In Matthew and John there are indirect analogies to the Greek title "the Mother of the Lord," too. There is no doubt that at the beginning of Christianity Mary was merely called the "Mother of Jesus" or "His Mother." It was much later in the apostolic times that the title "the Mother of the Lord" was emphasised. The view on Jesus' resurrection was changed as well. In the early creedal formula the resurrection of Jesus was seen as the act of God who resurrected Jesus. Not until the Assumption of Mary was it perceived as an act of Jesus himself, who raised from the dead. The Assumption of Mary explains the change

of the theological view on Mary and the resurrection of Jesus. Her body was raised from the dead, just like the body of Jesus, Her Son, the Lord, so She really is the Mother of the Lord. John's patterns emphasise the dignity of Mary as "the Mother of the Lord" in the Gospels and they prove that Matthew, Luke and John knew about the Assumption of Mary.

Streszczenie

Co było źródłem liczby 153?

Liczba 153 w J 21, 11 jest wartością numeryczną dwóch słów kluczowych w greckim tytule „Matka Pana". Ta interpretacja jest oparta na poważnych argumentach, przede wszystkim na analogii pomiędzy Łk 1, 43 a J 21, 11. W J 21, 11 są dwa klucze wskazówki, które pomagają odczytać godność Maryi jako „Matki Pana": pierwotny schemat 3 + 2 oraz wtórny schemat 5 + 2. Te klucze wskazówki były bardzo dobrze znane i zostały użyte w głównej strukturze Ewangelii Mateusza; układzie tzw. sekcji cudów (Mt 8, 1–9, 34); Mateuszowej genealogii; cudzie rozmnożenia pięciu chlebów i dwóch ryb, a także w J 21, 9–13. U Mateusza i Jana są także bezpośrednie analogie do greckiego tytułu „Matka Pana". Nie ma żadnej wątpliwości, że u początków chrześcijaństwa Maryja była nazywana tylko „Matką Jezusa" lub „Jego Matką". Dopiero w późniejszych czasach apostolskich podkreślano tytuł „Matka Pana". Podobnie zmieniło się spojrzenie na zmartwychwstanie Jezusa. We wczesnych wyznaniach wiary zmartwychwstanie Jezusa było pomyślane jako czyn Boga, który wskrzesił Jezusa z martwych. Dopiero później zmartwychwstanie było uważane jako akt samego Jezusa, który samoistnie powstał z martwych. Wniebowzięcie Maryi było źródłem tego dziwnego fenomenu i całkowicie wyjaśnia zmianę teologicznego spojrzenia na Maryję i zmartwychwstanie Jezusa. Jej ciało zostało wskrzeszone z martwych, po prostu tak jak ciało Jezusa, Jej Syna, Pana, a więc była rzeczywiście Matką Pana. Janowe klucze wskazówki podkreślają godność Maryi jako „Matki Pana" w Ewangeliach i dowodzą, że Mateusz, Łukasz i Jan znali fakt Wniebowzięcia Maryi.

Słowa kluczowe

Liczba 153, Matka Pana, struktura Ewangelii Mateusza, Mateuszowa genealogia, Mateuszowa Ewangelia Dzieciństwa, sekcja cudów w Mt 8, 1–9, 34, cud rozmnożenia pięciu chlebów i dwóch ryb, kompozycja Ewangelii Jana, J 21, 9–13, zmartwychwstanie, Wniebowzięcie Maryi

REV. WIESŁAW ALICKI

Ποταμοφόρητος (Rev 12:15) – from Etymology to Theologoumenon

1. Discrepancies in the translation of ποταμοφόρητος

In the translation of Rev 12:15 in the New American Bible we can read the following words: "The serpent, however, spewed a torrent of water out of his mouth after the woman to sweep her away with the current." The original Greek version is as follows: καὶ ἔβαλεν ὁ ὄφις ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ὀπίσω τῆς γυναικὸς ὕδωρ ὡς ποταμόν, ἵνα αὐτὴν ποταμοφόρητον ποιήσῃ.[1]

G. Schneider suggests the correction of the meaning of the word ποταμοφόρητος towards a considerable simplification: "in order to drown her."[2] Since the comments concerning this fragment of the text are not detailed, the effort we are making in this paper to analyse it seems reasonable.

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[1] There are no significant differences shown by the critical apparatus, except for slight changes, e.g. ταυτην instead of αυτην or ποιησει instead of ποιηση; cf. *Novum Testamentum Graece. Editio octava critica maior*, rec. C. Tischendorf, vol. 2, Lipsiae 1872, ad loc. Regardless of the passage of time, Tischendorf's edition is still the most detailed one.

[2] "um sie *vom Strom forttreiben* zu lassen, d.h. sie zu ertränken;" G. Schneider, *ποταμοφόρητος*, [in:] *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, vol. 1–3, hrsg. H. Balz, G. Schneider, Stuttgart-Berlin-Köln 1992², vol. 3, p. 338. K. H. Rengstorf's proposal is marked in italics, with no details of interpretation included; cf. K. H. Rengstorf,

Is it really "drowning, making someone drown" that the author had in mind? The author of the Revelation uses the word which is rare not only in the biblical literature, but also in the Greek language and literature as well. Since the author of the Revelation was not proficient in Greek, one would expect that the term used to refer to making someone drown should be a bit more common and the grammar structure applied should be less complex, like in the case of the description of the intention to devour the child (Rev 12:4: ἵνα ὅταν τέκῃ τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς καταφάγῃ). The complex structure of ἵνα αὐτὴν ποταμοφόρητον ποιήσῃ is slightly similar to ἠρημωμένην ποιήσουσιν αὐτὴν καὶ γυμνήν in Rev 17:16 and the similarity between the two can be explained by the author's willingness to draw the reader's attention to the intended parallel of the two women. However, it still does not explain the use of the extremely rare word and does not help much when we try to determine its significance.

2. The method of finding the meanings of words

In order to be able to determine the meaning of an unknown word, a few actions have to be taken. Firstly, the meaning of the word needs to be analysed in parallel texts, with all similarities and differences between the texts, authors, genres and the context of the time when the text was written taken into consideration. Etymology can be a source of useful clues, however, it brings a considerable risk of drawing premature conclusions – so it cannot be a determining factor of the interpretation. "In language everything boils down to differences but also to groupings. The mechanism of language, which consists of the interplay of successive terms, resembles the operation of a machine in which the parts have a reciprocating function even though they are arranged in a single dimension."[3]

As far as the Bible is concerned, especially the Old Testament, *Septuagint* can be of great help if we reach for the comparison between the Masoretic

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ποταμός, ποταμοφόρητος, Ἰορδάνης, [in:] *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, vol. 1–10, hrsg. G. Kittel, G. Friedrich, Stuttgart-Berlin-Köln 1990[2], vol. 6, p. 608.

[3] F. de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, transl. W. Baskin, New York 1959, p. 128.

Text and *Septuagint*, keeping in mind that the source text for the translation of *Septuagint* was different from the Masoretic Text. While reading the New Testament, verification of the uses of given words in *Septuagint* or Aramaic or Hebrew equivalents is one of the most effective ways of understanding the intentions of the inspired authors.

Other ancient translations, such as *Vetus Latina*, *Vulgate* and *Peshitta* have also got their own place in this process. If we look at them from the perspective of the two thousand years, they often prove to be created not much later than the original text. Although they have their limitations, they are the evidence of the times of a different level of proficiency in biblical languages.

The situation becomes more complicated when we analyse words that appear only once, the so-called *hapax legomena*. We naturally turn to etymology, especially when the unknown word is built from known components. Ancient translations, however, being the testimonies of people closer to the origin of biblical texts in terms of time and cultural background, will bear more significance. The harmony of a given meaning with the immediate context of the word, which gives sense to the composition, will still be of more importance.[4]

Interesting conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of *Sitz im Leben* of an unknown word. In the case of ποταμός in Rev 12 : 15 one should ask about the archetype of the image of river and try to determine its connotations with the term ποταμοφόρητος.

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[4] Cf. B. Kedar, *Biblische Semantik. Eine Einführung*, Stuttgart 1981, p. 104f.; F. de Saussure, *Course…*, op. cit., p. 127.

3. Attempts to determine the meaning of ποταμοφόρητος

3.1. Hapax legomenon

Rev 12 : 15 is the only fragment of the Bible in which the word ποταμοφόρητος is used.[5]

3.2. Etymology

The adjective ποταμοφόρητος constitutes *compositum* built according to general rules on the basis of the noun ποταμός and the verb φορέω, where the first part describes the tool and the second one the type of activity.[6]

3.2.1. ποταμός

Ποταμός to describe "flowing water, river, stream" according to some is cognate with the verb πίπτω – "fall,"[7] according to others with πετάννυμι – "spread,"[8] and still others claim it is cognate with πέτομαι – "rush, hurry."[9] Initially it is connected with fierceness, abruptness and rush.

Diachronic approach to the meaning of ποταμός may help us see a broader picture, since ποταμοφόρητος was documented considerably late, therefore, it is possible that it was established late, when the word

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[5] Ποταμοφόρητος is by no means the only *hapax legomenon* in the Revelation. Among the peculiarities of this book's vocabulary we can find 6 neologisms, 8 *hap. leg.* of the whole Bible and 108 *hap. leg.* of the New Testament out of 913 terms used in the Revelation; cf. A. Jankowski, *Apokalipsa* św. *Jana. Wstęp – przekład z oryginału – komentarz*, Poznań 1959, p. 85 (Pismo Święte Nowego Testamentu, 12). The calculations in particular commentaries may vary slightly, depending on the accepted or rejected versions of the text.

[6] Cf. J. H. Moulton, W. F. Howard, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 2, Edinburgh 1990, p. 271.

[7] E.g. H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 2, Heidelberg 1970, s.v.

[8] E.g. J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax,* vol. 2, Basel 1928[2], p. 30f.

[9] E.g. K. H. Rengstorf, *ποταμός…*, op. cit., p. 596.

ποταμός was being used, without putting so much emphasis on the most dangerous effects of its dynamism.

In Ancient Greek ποταμός is a dangerous element that can cost a man his life, whilst in the metaphorical sense it can describe a violent character of a person.[10] In papyrus writing it is used as a synonym of the Nile, its arms or canals.[11] Biblical literature uses this term with reference to rivers like the Nile, the Euphrates or the Jordan, and extremely rarely when mentioning seasonal rivers – *wadi*. In the metaphorical sense the word is used to describe God's peace, blessing, grace, divine fulness. The Revelation mentions ποταμός together with the name only with reference to the Euphrates.[12] Without its proper name ποταμὸς ὕδατος ζωῆς[13] is mentioned, a parallel, as it is later revealed, of the devil's ποταμός from Chapter 12.

3.2.2. φορέω

Φορέω is a verb well known in Ancient Greek. It derives from φέρω, "bear," "bring," and was used to describe the duration of the activity (*durativum*) or its intensity (*intensivum*).[14] The adjective φορητός which comes from the verb φορέω literally can be translated as "borne" or "the one that can be borne"; used metaphorically it means the same as "bearable, tolerable"[15] ·

3.2.2.1. Compounds of φορέω and φορητός with nouns

Compounds formed with a noun and the verb φορέω or the verbal adjective φορητός are common in Greek literature, from Homer to different poets, orators, philosophers, historians, doctors and even astrologers.[16] In

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[10] Cf. ibidem.

[11] J. H. Moulton, G. Milligan, *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, Peabody 1997, s.v.

[12] Rev 9 : 14; 16 : 12.

[13] Rev 22 : 1.

[14] Cf. A. Vaniček, *Griechisch-lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig 1877, vol. 2, p. 598.

[15] Cf. H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, op. cit., s.v. φέρω 11.

[16] This large group includes the following terms: ἀ-δορυ-φόρητος, ον ("having no bodyguard"), ἁμαξο-φόρητος, ον ("ridden in a cart"), ἀ-ψηφο-φόρητος, ον ("the one who hasn't voted yet"), δασμο-φορέω ("give tribute"), διφρο-φορέω ("carry in a sedan chair"),

this group we can also find words the first part of which refers to elements or stars:

ἀερο-φόρητος, ον – "carried by the wind, the air"
ἀνεμο-φόρητος, ον – "carried by the wind"
ἀστρο-φόρητος, ον – "carried by the stars"
αὐρο-φόρητος, ον – "carried by the wind"
ὑγρο-φόρητος, ον – "carried on water"

3.2.2.2. Compounds of φέρω and φορέω with prepositions,
used together with ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῶν ποταμῶν

We can obtain some interesting material for analysis when we compare the verb φέρω and compounds of φέρω and φορέω with prepositions, used together with the expression ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῶν ποταμῶν in the writings between the 5th century BC and the 5th century AD.[17] What we encounter are the synonyms referring to situations when city dwellers, their possessions, slime, gold, etc. are carried on the waves.[18] In their descriptions of people's encounters with natural elements, the authors never mention death as their result.

The above mentioned examples show that the component -φόρητος of the adjective in question, for the contemporary of the author of the Revelation should not indicate any direct threat to life, however, combined with the name of an element, could be associated with some kind of danger or difficulty.

δορυ-φορέω ("watch over sb," lit. "carry a spear"), θεο-φόρητος, ον ("inspired by deity"), κηρεσσι-φόρητος, ον ("brought by Keres-Erinyes, female death-spirits"), μοιρη-φόρητος, ον ("brought by Moirai, fate"); μισθο-φορέω ("serve in exchange for pay"); ναυσι-φόρητος, ον ("travelling by ship"); χρυσο-φορέω ("wear gold clothes or jewellery").

[17] Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Posidonius, Appian, Clement of Alexandria, Libanius, Proclus.

[18] The group includes the following expressions: κατα-φέρομαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, κατα-φορεόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν, παρα-φερόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, συγ-κατα-φερόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν, φέρομαι ὑπὸ τ. π.

3.3. The use of ποταμοφόρητος in extra-biblical literature

In extra-biblical writings the adjective ποταμοφόρητος was documented only several times. Over the centuries, however, up till the beginning of the 20th century, only two pieces of writing in which it appeared were known: the Book of Revelation and the Lexicon of Hesychius of Alexandria from the turn of the 5th and the 6th century.[19]

3.3.1. Lexicon of Hesychius of Alexandria

With the use of ἀπέπνιξε and ποταμοφόρητον ἐποίησεν Hesychius explains the aorist ἀπόερσε, which usually appears in third person singular and is known from a few fragments of *Iliad*.[20] The context of *Iliad* allows for the translation of ἀπόερσε as "wash away, carry"[21] on the waves – always in the context of a deadly threat. However, the word ἀποπνίγω meant "choke" (or metaphorically "torment"), pointing towards the result of an action, rather than its course.

The order of words preserved by Hesychius is significant: ἀπόερσε· ἀπέπνιξε. τουτέστι ποταμοφόρητον ἐποίησεν. It shows that, most probably, in the times of Hesychius the term ποταμοφόρητος was recognised so widely that it allowed to explain the meaning of other terms, and that, regardless of its etymology, the emphasis was put not on the type of danger but on its result.

Another characteristic fact is that the term in question was documented only in Alexandrian writings. What needs to be kept in mind is the fact that the Lexicon of Hesychius presents the reality separated from the Revelation by about half a millennium.

If the lexicon of Hesychius was the only point of reference for ποταμοφόρητος in Rev 12:15, as was the case 120 years ago, it would

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[19] *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. 1: A–Δ, rec. K. Latte, Hauniae 1953, s.v.

[20] E.g. *Ilias*, VI, 348; XXI, 283. 329.

[21] In *Iliad* in Book VI, 348 the subject is κῦμα ("wave") in the context of the previously used κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης; in Book XXI, 283 – ἔναυλος ("torrent") parallel to ἐν μεγάλῳ ποταμῷ from the previous verse; in XXI, 329 – μέγας ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης ("dark-crested wave").

serve as justification for a simplified translation of G. Schneider. Yet, on the turn of the 19th and the 20th century our knowledge about the Greek language of the pre-Christian and the early-Christian periods was broadened due to the discovery of the Egyptian papyri.

3.3.2. Papyri

The oldest known text containing the adjective ποταμοφόρητος is an official farmland registry from Memphis, Egypt, or its vicinity, probably dated back to 110 BC.[22] In this document the word ποταμοφόρητος appears five times[23] and is used as a technical term referring to a piece of land that cannot be cultivated due to excessive irrigation. Being an antonym of the adjective ἄβροχος, "waterless," it is at the same time a synonym of κατεξύσμενος,[24] which, according to the publisher, could also be used with reference to damages caused by the waters of the Nile.[25]

The same meaning of the word ποταμοφόρητος can be found in the lease agreement from Hermopolis from 78 AD.[26] The agreement mentions excessive flooding of the Nile, drought (the term ἄβροχος is also used here) and sand inundation as circumstances resulting in lowering of the lease fee.

Ποταμοφόρητος is used four times in the land survey found in Ûmm El Baragât (ancient Tebtunis) dated back to the 2nd century AD,[27] and once in a similar survey from the village of Theadelfia,[28] also from the 2nd

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[22] W. Schubart, E. Kühn (bearb.), *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Griechische Urkunden*, vol. 6: *Papyri und Ostraka der Ptolemäerzeit*, Berlin 1922 (reprint Milano 1972), p. 18ff. (BGU VI. 1216).

[23] BGU VI. 1216[98. 110. 170. 183. 187].

[24] It comes from the verb καταξύω ("tear off," "scrape," "polish").

[25] Ibidem, verse 194 footnote.

[26] B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, *The Amherst Papyri. Part II. Classical Fragments and Documents of the Ptolemaic Roman and Byzantine Periods*, London 1901, p. 105 (PAmh II. 85[16]).

[27] *The Tebtunis Papyri. Part II*, eds. B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, E. J. Goodspeed, London 1907, p. 330 (PTebt II. 610).

[28] J. de M. Johnson, V. Martin, A. S. Hunt, *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, vol. 2: *Documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (Nos. 62–456)*, Manchester 1915, p. 410 (PRyl II. 378[2]).

century AD. It is probably mentioned once[29] in 262 AD in the sentence of the prefect from Hermopolis, where the lack of income from the use of the land is mentioned.[30]

A noteworthy text in which the term ποταμοφόρητος was used is the so-called *Great Paris Magical Papyrus*, also of Egyptian origin, dated back to the beginning of the 4th century AD.[31] In the spell that was supposed to coerce inspiration for the medium, Osiris is called Ἑσιες καὶ ποταμοφόρητος.[32] Osiris was the god of the fertile flooding of the Nile. Ἑσιες is the Greek equivalent of the demotic *ḥsy*, a noble title attributed also to those who attained apotheosis by drowning in the ile and, as a result, were eaten by a crocodile.[33] As early as the 5th century BC, Herodotus' writings mention the tradition of treating with enormous respect the ones whose lives were ended in this way, and emphasise the obligation of burying them in the temple of the god of the Nile – Hapi.[34] This tradition was preserved up till the Ptolemaic period and the title appeared in spells for four centuries AD.[35] Unfortunately, ποταμοφόρητος, which seems to be the translation of Ἑσιες,[36] is used in magical texts only once, although it contains a reference to the myth of the dramatic death of Osiris and sinking his body divided into pieces in a locked chest in the waters of the Nile, which carried it out to the sea.

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[29] The letters, illegible due to the crudeness of the scribe, can be read in different ways.

[30] F. Preisigke, *Griechische Papyrus der kaiserlichen Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1912 (reprint Lexington 2011), p. 25 (PStrass I. 5[10]).

[31] K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, hrsg. A. Henrichs, vol. 1, Stuttgart 1973², p. 64 (Pap. Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 574).

[32] Ibidem, p. 102, v. 876.

[33] Cf. F. Ll. Griffiths, *Herodotus II. 90. Apotheosis by drowning*, "Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde" 46 (1909–1910), p. 132–134, 132.

[34] Herodotus, *Historiae,* II, 90.

[35] Cf. F. Ll. Griffiths, *Herodotus*, op. cit., p. 132.

[36] In other papyri cited by Griffiths the title *ḥsy* is expressed with the adjective ὑποβρύχιος "being under water, immersed;" ibidem, p. 133.

3.3.3. Meaning range of ποταμοφόρητος in non-Christian literature

A few conclusions can be drawn from the aforementioned observations. The use of the adjective ποταμοφόρητος can be confirmed – apart from the lexicon of Hesychius – only in Egyptian papyri.

Both in the case of the lexicon of Hesychius and in the case of papyri the place where the word was used is distinctive – Alexandria and Egypt in general and, at least as far as papyri are concerned, the word's reference to the Nile.

In the times nearer the composition of the Revelation it is a technical term, used about farmland that cannot be cultivated due to excessive flooding of the Nile. It is also used once with reference to Osiris and his body being carried on the waves of the Nile.

3.4. Ποταμοφόρητος in early Christian translations and commentaries

The role of Ancient Bible translations while searching for the meaning of hapax legomenon is unquestionable. It is obvious, especially when we take into account translations created relatively near in time to the original Greek text and from the cultural background in which knowledge of Greek was common among educated people.

The comparison of the Church Fathers' commentaries to Rev 12 : 15, even if the authors quote this verse or its translation but do not attempt to interpret the term ποταμοφόρητος, is a source of solid data and is of great value when trying to determine the meaning of this *hapax legomenon*. The commentators treated the attack on the woman described in verse 12 and 15n in an integral manner, and, as we will see, they chose to interpret it in their own ways, rather than to elaborate on particular details of this symbol. The lack of direct references to ποταμοφόρητος does not mean the word was overlooked or misunderstood, especially that the way of interpreting the symbol as a whole proves taking into account one of the two meanings of ποταμοφόρητος we are familiar with.

3.4.1. Latin tradition

Although some of the translations quoted below were preserved as integral parts of commentaries, they will be analysed separately for greater clarity of interpretation.

3.4.1.1. Translations of the Revelation

In Latin the Revelation was preserved in the translations of *Vetus Latina*[37] and Vulgate.

One of the characteristics of *Vetus Latina* were numerous discrepancies between its different versions that it is composed of, so numerous in fact that it was difficult to find two codices consistent with each other.[38] Although we do not know the authors of these translations, they are valuable evidence of the interpretation of the original text of the Bible, which probably originated in the north of Africa. *Vetus Latina* influenced the presentation of the Greek text itself between the 2nd and the 3rd century AD.[39]

VETUS LATINA, TYPE I

Codex Gigas,[40] created in the early 13 th century in the Benedictine monastery of Bohemia (modern Czech Republic), is one of the three

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[37] Cf. critical edition: *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*, vol. 26.2: *Apokalypsis Johannis*, hrsg. von R. Gryson: *6. Lfg. Apc 9, 19–13, 1*, Freiburg 2002.

[38] *Tot sunt (exemplaria) paene quot codices*; Hieronymus, *Epistula ad Damasum*, [in:] *Nouum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Latine secundum editionem Sancti Hieronymi*, rec. I. Wordsworth, H. I. White, pars I, fasc. I, Oxonii 1889, p. 2, fn. 2.

[39] Cf. H. J. Vogels, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Apokalypse-Übersetzung*, Düsseldorf 1920 (reprint Lexington 2011), p. 19.

[40] *Codex Gigas* (English: Giant Book), is the largest medieval manuscript in the world (92×51×22 cm or 36.2×19.7×8.6 in.). Shrouded in a vivid legend ("the Devil's Bible"). Kept in the National Library in Stockholm, it is fully available in the form of digital photographs or online: http://www.kb.se/codex-gigas/eng/Browse-the-Manuscript (20 Jan 2012). *Vetus Latina* is represented in this text only by the translations of Acts and Rev, the former being much earlier. The text of the Revelation has been published twice: J. Belsheim, *Die Apostelgeschichte und die Offenbarung Johannis in einer alten lateinischen Uebersetzung aus dem "Gigas librorum" auf der königlichen Bibliothek zu Stockholm*, [...]

medieval codices that contain, among others, a few books of the Holy
Scripture in the translation of *Vetus Latina*, proving the resilience of
this version, despite Hieronymus' efforts.[41] The body of the translation
of the Revelation preserved in the codex is qualified as type I – it is the
revision of the African text, most popular among European authors of
the late 4th century.[42]

In the codex the fragment Rev 12 : 15 appears as: "ut eam faceret ictu
fluminis trahi ad se." The translation paradoxically preserves both mean-
ings of the word ποταμοφόρητος. *Ictus fluminis* stands for "rapidity of
the river, surge of the water" and this meaning is confirmed in Hesychius'
text, in which the word ἀποπνίγω emphasised the possibility of a deadly
consequence of the encounter with this element of nature. What is inter-
esting is the fact that the translator of the text decided to add the adverbial
ad se, which does not appear in the original text, in order to indicate that
the river was not supposed to drown the woman, only deprive her of her
freedom – abduct her and bring to the Dragon.

VETUS LATINA, TYPE S

Another version of *Vetus Latina* was reconstructed on the basis of the
reconstructed commentary of the Donatist writer Ticonius († c. 390).[43]
This particular author had a huge influence on the interpretation of the
Revelation in the west, from the times of Augustine till late Middle Ages,[44]

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nebst einer Vergleichung der übrigen *neutestamentlichen Bücher in derselben Handschrift
mit der Vulgata und mit anderen Handschriften*, Christiania 1879, p. 63–90; H. J. Vogels,
Untersuchungen…, op. cit., p. 165–175.

[41] Cf. B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament. Their Origin, Transmission
and Limitations*, Oxford 1977 (reprint 2001), p. 330.

[42] *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*, vol. 26.2: *Apokalypsis Johannis*,
hrsg. von R. Gryson: *2. Lfg. Einleitung (Fortsetzung und Schluss). Apc 1, 1–2, 7*, Freiburg
2000, p. 89f.

[43] The individual fragments of the reconstructed texts can be found in: H. J. Vogels,
Untersuchungen…, op. cit., 179–208.

[44] The issue was elaborated on by K. B. Steinhauser in his doctoral thesis, *The Apocalypse
Commentary of Tyconius. A History of Its Reception and Influence*, Frankfurt-New York

which can be explained by the availability of the text that he used. It was one of the African reviews, contemporary with *Codex Gigas*. The translation of Rev 12 : 15 was only preserved in the commentary from the late 8th century, written by Beatus of Liébana († 798) from the north of Spain.

The fragment of the verse in question (Rev 12 : 15) is as follows: "ut eam a flumine auferret."[45] *Auferre* means "lift sth, carry away, destroy." Here it refers to being carried away by the water current, which could end in death.[46]

VETUS LATINA, TYPE C

A translation different from the one in *Codex Gigas* can be found in the commentary of Primasius of Hadrumetum (6th century). The main source text that his commentary was based on, was the aforementioned commentary of Ticonius, however, the Latin text of the Revelation that he used is not the same as the one referred to by Ticonius.[47] It was known by the African authors in the 4th and 5th centuries.

The fragment from Rev 12 : 15 is used in the form of: "ut eam perderet." The verb *perdere* has a strong meaning here – "lose, destroy, kill." There is no indication that the unknown translator of the text had access to the Greek text with a different adjective than ποταμοφόρητος.

1987 (European University Studies, 301); cf. P. Frederiksen, *Tyconius and Augustine on the Apocalypse*, [in:] *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. K. Emmerson, B. McGinn, Ithaca 1992, p. 20–37.

[45] In the edition of H. J. Vogels, *Untersuchungen…*, p. 192 the word *afferret* is used instead. However, it is a typographical error (the exchange of one letter changes the meaning of the word significantly: *afferre* means "bring, deliver, approach").

[46] Cf. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. G. W. Glare, Oxford 1996², s.v.

[47] The text, reconstructed on the basis of Primasius' commentary, was published twice: J. Haussleiter, *Die lateinische Apokalypse der alten afrikanischen Kirche,* [in:] *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur*, hrsg. J. Haussleiter, T. Zahn, part 4, Erlangen-Leipzig 1891, p. 80–175 and H. J. Vogels, *Untersuchungen…*, op. cit., 153–164. For the commentary as well as the text cf. *Primasius episcopus Hadrumetinus. Commentarius in Apocalypsim*, cura et studio A. W. Adams, Turnholti 1985 (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 92).

VULGATE (TYPE V)

The attempts to determine whether Hieronymus had access to some particular version of *Vetus Latina* while correcting the Latin translation of the Bible were not satisfactory enough.[48] We can assume that, as far as the Revelation is concerned, he reached for the type I text. When compared with the text of Hieronymus, there are many similarities that cannot be coincidental.[49]

There is no certainty as to what Greek text Hieronymus used as a basis for correcting the translation of the Revelation[50] (although M.-J. Lagrange supported the theory of the great uncial codices[51]), however, in the context of the analysis of Rev 12:15, the problem proves to be insignificant, as the differences between Greek lessons concern word order only.

In the Latin version, later called Vulgate, in Rev 12:15 the following expression is used: "ut eam faceret trahi a flumine."[52]

This sentence shows resemblance to *Codex Gigas*: both verbs are context specific and do not occur in any other place in any other version of the text. The meaning is slightly toned down if compared with type I – it seems to have been reduced to the etymology of the word ποταμοφόρητος.

We can observe a kind of caution on the side of Hieronymus: known for the consistency in his translations and the understanding that in the Bible even the word order may convey a mystery,[53] his interpretation did not go as far as the ones of the translators of versions C and S. However,

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[48] Cf. B. M. Metzger, *The Early Versions*…, op. cit., p. 352n.

[49] Cf. *Vetus Latina… 2. Lfg.*…, op. cit., p. 90.

[50] Cf. H. J. Vogels, *Untersuchungen*…, op. cit., p. 19.

[51] Cf. M.-J. Lagrange, *Introduction à l'étude du Nouveau Testament. Deuxième partie. Critique textuelle*, vol. 2: *La critique rationelle*, Paris 1935², p. 615.

[52] *Nouum Testamentum Latine Secundum Editionem Sancti Hieronymi*, rec. J. Wordsworth, H. I. White, H. F. D. Sparks, A. W. Adams, pars III, Oxonii 1954, p. 508.

[53] … *libera uoce profiteor me in interpretatione Graecorum absque scripturis sacris, ubi et uerborum ordo mysterium est, non uerbum pro uerbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu*, Hieronymus, *Epistula LVII ad Pammachium de optimo genere interpretandi*, 5, [in:] *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, part 1: *Epistulae I–LXX*, rec. I. Hilberg, Vindobonae-Lipsiae 1910, p. 508 (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 54).

his translation is not literal, both due to its grammar structure[54] and the choice of vocabulary. The Latin equivalents *ferre* and *auferre* have a far closer meaning to the adjective ποταμοφόρητος than *trahere* that was actually used. Since no Revelation commentary of Hieronymus was preserved, and there is no explanation as to his reasons to correct the translation in this way, there are many speculations concerning this fact.

Assuming that Hieronymus used the fragment of Rev 12 : 15 we know from the *Codex Gigas*, he removed the *ictus fluminis*, if he was familiar with the word ποταμοφόρητος in its more gentle sense, e.g. with reference to the inundation of the Nile. *Trahere*[55] appears to have a slightly less frightening meaning than *auferre*, although it emphasises the use of force more than *ferre* does. It is possible that this use of force when sending the river after the woman was the reason for using the word *trahere.* The expression *ad se* could have been removed due to the fact that it did not occur in the original text, but it is less probable that his decision was caused by the fact that *trahere* comprises the idea of a backward movement (in the sense of *drawing back*), as it is not always the case.

3.4.1.2. Patristic commentaries[56]

In this section we will analyse the commentaries of the Church Fathers from the first six centuries: Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, Victorinus of Pettau, Ticonius, Caesarius of Arles, Primasius and Cassiodorus. Only about 150 years after the commentary of Cassiodorus, about 730 AD, the commentary of Bede the Venerable appeared, thirty years later – Ambrose's and in the late 8th century – the one of Beatus of Liébana. The last three followed their predecessors and did not make any discoveries concern-

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[54] A similar structure in Rev 17 : 16: ἠρημωμένην ποιήσουσιν αὐτήν is expressed by Hieronymus with the use of *desolatam facient illam*, in accordance with type I.

[55] Cf. *Oxford Latin Dictionary…*, op. cit., s.v.

[56] Cf. Latin patristic commentaries: R. Gryson, *Les commentaires patristiques latins de l'Apocalypse*, "Revue théologique de Louvain" 28 (1997) 305–337. 484–502. Other older detailed works include: J. Haussleiter, *Die lateinische Apokalypse…*, op. cit., p. 1–224 and H. J. Vogels, *Untersuchungen…*, op. cit.

ing Rev 12:15.[57] The fact that Greek commentaries were outnumbered by the Latin ones can be accounted for by a greater popularity of the Revelation in the west.[58]

pseudo-cyprian, bishop of carthage

The alleged letter of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, *To Novatian,* is a polemical text, a pamphlet, the author of which is unknown,[59] dated back to 253–257 AD. The author of the letter addresses bishop Novatian known for his rigorous attitude towards the Christians who had lapsed and wished to return, using, among others, the quote from Rev 12:15. "Tu hodie retractas an debeant lapsorum curari uulnera, qui nudati a diabolo ceciderunt, uiolentia aquae quam suo ore (opere K) serpens emisit post mulierem?"[60]

Vulnera lapsorum, the sin of denying Christ, which the 'fallen ones' committed faced with persecution, together with *nudati*, most probably referring to being deprived of the baptism robe, are the results of the battle with the Church during the reign of Decius. With these expressions the author presents the image of the attack of the element of water, and does not refer to ποταμοφόρητος directly. *Violentia aquae* is similar to *ictus fluminis* from the type I text.

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[57] For the diagram referring to the source texts used in commentaries cf. R. Gryson, *Les commentaires...*, op. cit., p. 306. A little less precise and slightly different approach presented in E. A. Matter, *The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis*, [in:] *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, op. cit., p. 42.

[58] H. J. Vogels, *Untersuchungen…*, op. cit., p. 19.

[59] The authorship of the text was a subject of intense discussions between 19th and 20th century: among the alleged authors of the text there were: Cornelius, Sixtus II and an unknown bishop from around Rome or from Africa, having similar views as Cyprian. However, none of the proposals was accepted and the problem has remained unsolved. Discussion summary in: G. F. Diercks, *Some Critical Notes on Novatian's De Bono Pudicitiae and the Anonymous Ad Novatianum*, "Vigiliae Christianae" 25 (1971), p. 121, fn. 2.

[60] *Novatiani Opera, quae supersunt, nunc primum in unum colecta ad fidem codicum qui adhuc extant necnon adhibitis editionibus veteribus*, ed. G. F. Diercks, Turnholti 1972, p. 148 (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 4).

VICTORINUS OF PETTAU († 304)

Victorinus, the first ecclesiastical writer who used Latin, and the first commentator of the Revelation whose commentary was fully preserved. According to Hieronymus *he was more proficient in the Greek language than he was in Latin.*[61] Unfortunately, he does not pay special attention to the adjective ποταμοφόρητος. However, he explains the meaning of the water disgorged from the devil's throat in the following way: "Aqua autem quam misit de ore suo serpens: iussu suo exercitum sequi eum significat."[62]

In Victorinus' edition there is a slightly problematic personal pronoun – *eum* (masculine) and the publisher presupposes *serpentem uel diabolum. Sequor* here has a neutral meaning of "follow someone." This text should be translated as having the sense of 'the snake ordered the *exercitus* to follow him'.

In his review of this commentary Hieronymus changed the gender of the pronoun to feminine. Similarly, in later reviews the word *sequor* was changed into the less ambiguous *persequor*, "chase, persecute." As a result of these modifications the sentence took on a different sense: *exercitus* was ordered by the snake to persecute the woman.

Nevertheless, all these changes do not alter the context itself. Regardless of the modifications, according to Victorinus the woman in this fragment represents the Catholic Church and the aim of the opponent is persecuting it.

Victorinus' *exercitus* must be understood as organised forces. In military terminology the expression was used with reference to infantry and marines, but not cavalry or auxiliary units.[63] Victorinus does not point to any particular institution hostile towards the Church, although a few sentences before he mentions: "septem capita: septem reges Romanos, ex quibus et Antichristus."[64] Later reviews, instead of *exercitum,* used *populum qui persequantur* (-*atur*, -*ebatur*).

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[61] Hieronymus, *De viris illustribus liber ad Dextrum*, LXXIV, 719f.

[62] *Victorini episcopi Petavionensis Opera*, Vindobonae-Lipsiae 1916 (reprint New York-London 1965), p. 112f. (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 49)

[63] *Oxford Latin Dictionary*…, op. cit., s.v.

[64] I. Haussleiter (rec.), *Victorini…,* op. cit., p. 110.

Later reviews of the commentary of Victorinus used the Latin text of Rev 12:15 almost identical to type S: "ut eam eo flumine auferret."[65]

TICONIUS († C. 390)

Ticonius' commentary on Rev 12:15 was preserved in the *Tyconii Afri Fragmenta Commentarii in Apocalypsim.*[66] In Rev 11–14 Ticonius distinguishes ten *capitula*, every one of which in some way characterises the whole history of the Church.[67] The river, being the devil's torrent of water, and its activity towards the woman, is included in the seventh *capitulum*.

This commentary also lacks any direct reference to ποταμοφόρητος. "Septimum (-mus cod) est ubi serpens misit post mulierem ex ore suo aquam ut flumen."[68] *Mulier* is understood in the ecclesial sense,[69] and the hostile activity of the river is understood as directed at the Church.

CAESARIUS OF ARLES († C. 542)

Explanatio in Apocalypsin is a collection of eighteen[70] texts usually referred to as sermons, although they bear more resemblance to sermon notes and, most probably, were never delivered.[71] The commentary on Rev 12:15 appears in *Sermon X.*

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[65] Ibidem, p. 113.

[66] 44 pages, the first time published *in folio* at the end of 19th century: *Tyconii Afri Fragmenta Commentarii in Apocalypsim,* ed. A. Amelli, Monte Cassino 1897, p 261–331 (Spicilegium Casinense, III.1); critical edition: F. Lo Bue, *The Turin Fragments of Tyconius' Commentary on Revelation*, Cambridge 1963 (reprint Lexington 2011).

[67] …*quae capitula non ut se actus ecclesiastici per tempora sequuntur ordinata sunt, sed unumquodque capitulum totius temporis significat praecedentia et futura;* F. Lo Bue, *The Turin Fragments*…, op. cit., p. 186.

[68] Ibidem, p. 187.

[69] Ibidem, p. 188.

[70] Or nineteen (e.g. J.-P. Migne, R. Gryson) – depending on the division of *Sermon XVI.*

[71] The popularity of *Explanatio* in the Middle Ages was caused by the attributed authorship of Augustine of Hippo. In J.-P. Migne's *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina,* the commentary is an additional text among Augustine's works (Parisiis 1864, vol. 35, 1417–1452).

Similarly to the previously mentioned texts, this one also lacks explanation of the adjective ποταμοφόρητος. However, a significant context appears: "Et misit serpens ex ore suo post mulierem aquam velut flumen, id est violentiam persecutorum. […] Aqua de ore draconis emissa (aquam d.o.d. emissam C*AR*) exercitum persequentium eam significat."[72] This short fragment bears many similarities to previous commentaries. *Mulier* stands for *ipsa Ecclesia catholica*.[73] We saw the interpretation of the river as *violentia* in Cyprian's text, *exercitus* in Victorinus', and *persecutores* and *persequentes* can be associated with late Victorinus' reviews.

PRIMASIUS OF HADRUMETUM († BEFORE 567)

More than one hundred years ago the importance of Primasius' commentary for the reconstruction of one of the versions of *Vetus Latina,* as well as for the critical review of the Greek text of the Revelation,[74] was emphasised. Nowadays, the incredible influence the text, strongly based on the writings of Victorinus and Ticonius, had on the later exegetical tradition[75] is stressed.

This commentary does not give any explanation of the adjective ποταμοφόρητος either, however, the context precisely indicates the level of confrontation between the woman and her opponent. "Et misit ille serpens ex ore suo post mulierem aquam in modum fluminis, ut eam perderet (~p. eam M). Impetum persecutorum aqua significat. Hinc psalmus: Cum insurgerent homines in nos, forsitan vivos absorbuissent

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[72] G. Morin, *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis opera omnia nunc primum in unum collecta*, vol. 2, Maretioli 1942, p. 244 (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 104). English translation: *Saint Caesarius of Arles Sermons Volume II (81–186)*, transl. M. M. Mueller, ed. R. J. Defarrari, Washington 1964 (The Fathers of the Church, 47).

[73] G. Morin, *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis opera…*, op. cit., p. 244.

[74] Cf. J. Haussleiter, *Leben und Werke des Bischofs Primasius von Hadrumetum. Eine Untersuchung*, Erlangen 1887, p. 3.

[75] Cf. e.g. E. A. Matter, *The Apocalypse…*, op. cit., p. 42–44; W. C. Weinrich, *Revelation*, Downers Grove 2005, p. XXX (Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture – NT, 12).

nos. Cum irasceretur animus eorum super nos, forsitan velut aqua deglutissent nos. Torrentem pertransivit anima nostra, etc."[76]

Primasius explains the Revelation image with the use of a parallel image from Psalm 124, in which the element of water poses a threat to life. The earlier commentary on chapter 12 specifies that it is a threat to eternal life by denying the revealed truth – *damnationis aeternae supplicium.*[77] *Insidiator diabolus* tries to kill *novum hominem,*[78] leading him astray to: *mutabilia, haereticorum falsae sententiae, (serpentis) errores, omnis malorum commixtio* and *idolorum cultura*, to which he is provoked by *inextricabilis inimicitia* i *acris versutia.*[79] Obviously *mulier amicta sole* represents *Ecclesia Christo induta.*[80]

Among lexical similarities to earlier commentaries the two most common can be distinguished: *persecutores* (cf. late Victorinus' reviews) and *impetus* (cf. *violentia* in the writings of Cyprian and Caesarius), emphasising the fierceness of the water.

CASSIODORUS († 580)

The commentary on the Revelation is a part of the preserved manuscript *Complexiones*, which were written in the last years of his almost one hundred-year-long life. The conciseness that he promises in the title of his collection of texts (*Complexiones*) is unfortunately reflected in its content. In Rev 12 : 15, although he does not analyse the adjective ποταμοφόρητος itself, he offers a generous interpretation. He uses the text of *Vetus Latina* type C, probably referring to Primasius' commentary as

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[76] Primasius Hadrumetinus, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, ed. A. W. Adams, Turnholti 1985, p. 188 (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 92).

[77] Ibidem, p. 179f.

[78] Ibidem, p. 181.

[79] Ibidem, p. 179–188.

[80] Ibidem, p. 179. E. A. Matter is wrong attributing the mariological interpretation of Rev 12 : 1ff. to Primasius; *The Apocalypse…*, op. cit., p. 44.

well.[81] "Fit iterum commemoratio matris et Domini Christi; quod diabolus credens se matrem laedere ex ore suo uastissimum flumen emisit, qui eam putabatur absorbere; sed illa in tutissimum locum recepta uenena diabolicae fraudis euasit. Illos tamen inueterator malorum persequi non desinit, qui dominicis iussionibus oboedientes esse noscuntur."[82] The *Mother* is mentioned by Cassiodorus twice more a few sentences before,[83] however, it is difficult to determine if it is Mary that he has in mind, or rather the Church – the second sentence of the two quoted above makes the ecclesial interpretation more probable.[84] The graphic terms *laedere* and *absorbere* mean "harm" and "absorb" respectively, which in the end is synonymous with death; *vastus* in the superlative form describes real power; *venena diabolicae fraudis* and *interventor malorum* point to calculation, tricks and lies as the methods of the opponent. In the summary the author does not get into details, although he suggests that the fact the faithful are persecuted by the *inventor of evil* is a natural phenomenon.

Persequi is repeated in this commentary as well, and we have already come across it in the writings of Victorinus, Caesarius and Primasius. *Absorbere* was used in Ps 124 (123) : 4, which was earlier mentioned by Primasius.

3.4.2. Greek commentaries

OECUMENIUS (EARLY 6th CENTURY)

The commentary of Oecumenius, a rethor of aristocratic origin, is the first Greek commentary on the Apocalypse, most probably created between 508

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[81] H. J. Vogels, *Untersuchungen…*, op. cit., p. 114.

[82] M. Aurelius Cassiodorus, *Complexiones* XVII 10, [in:] R. Gryson, *Variorum auctorum commentaria minora in Apocalypsin Johannis*, Turnhout 2003, p. 122 (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 107).

[83] *De matre uero atque Domino Iesu Christo* oraz *matrem uero ipsius*, XVI 5. 8, [in:] R. Gryson, *Variorum auctorum commentaria…,* op. cit., p. 121.

[84] Cassiodorus mentions the name of Ticonius, in whose commentary we can read: "Et genuit, inquit, mulier masculum. Id est ecclesia Christum, qui, cum Deus esset, homo nasci dignatus est" (F. Lo Bue, *The Turin Fragments…*, op. cit., p. 188). So even the expression *mater ipsius*, when placed in the immediate context of Christ, can refer to the Church.

and 518,[85] and discovered in 1901.[86] Similarly to Victorinus and Ticonius in the Latin tradition, Oecumenius had a huge impact on his successors in the Greek tradition – Andreas of Caesarea and Arethas of Caesarea.[87]

Explaining Rev 12:15, Oecumenius quotes this verse in the form we know from today's critical writings: ποταμὸν τὸν πειρασμὸν ἡ θεία ἀλληγορεῖ γραφή, πῇ μὲν λέγουσα διὰ τοῦ Ἰωνᾶ ἀπέρριψάς με εἰς βάθη καρδίας θαλάσσης, καὶ ποταμοὶ ἐκύκλωσάν με, πῇ δὲ διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου κατέβη, φησίν, ἡ βροχή, παρῆσαν οἱ ποταμοί, ἦλθον οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ οὐ κατέβαλον τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν τεθεμελιωμένην ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ. ποταμὸν οὖν λέγει τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει τοῦ Κυρίου πειρασμόν, ἵνα διὰ τούτου, φησίν, ἀποπνίξῃ τὴν παρθένον. καὶ ἀληθῶς, τό γε ἧκον εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀλγηδόνος ὑπερβολήν, ἴσχυσε πληρῶσαι τὴν πρόθεσιν ὁ δράκων· τί γὰρ λέγει πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ Συμεὼν καὶ σοῦ δὲ αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν διελεύσεται ῥομφαία, ὅπως ἂν ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν ἐκ πολλῶν καρδιῶν διαλογισμοί;[88] (The Scripture refers to the test with the word 'flood', on the one hand using Jonah's words: "For you cast me into the deep, into the heart of the sea, and the flood enveloped me," on the other hand – the words of the Lord, who said: "The rain fell, the floods came, and the winds blew and buffeted the house. But it did not collapse; it had been set solidly on rock." The Passion of the Lord is called 'the flood', happening so that through this flood the Virgin could be killed. And in fact through this flood and His suffering, the Dragon could fulfill his intention. Since she was told by Simeon that: "you yourself a sword will pierce so that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed"). Oecumenius understands "the woman" as the Mother of Jesus, and "the flooding river" as her experience of witnessing her Son's death on the cross. The quotes from Jon 2:4 and Mt 7:25

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[85] Cf. J. C. Lamoreaux, *The Provenance of Ecumenius' Commentary on the Apocalypse*, "Vigiliae Christianae" 52 (1998) 88–108, p. 101. 106.

[86] Two critical editions of this commentary have been published: H. C. Hoskier, *The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse*, Ann Arbor 1928 and M. de Groote, *Oecumenii commentarius in Apocalipsin*, Leuven 1999.

[87] For a detailed description of the relationships among these authors, cf. M. de Groote, *Oecumenii commentarius…*, op. cit., p. 337–342.

[88] M. de Groote, *Oecumenii commentarius...*, op. cit., p. 182.

are used to confirm this way of interpretation. Referring to the aim of this experience with the use of the verb ἀποπνίγω gives an impression as if it was taken directly from the lexicon of Hesychius. Oecumenius and Hesychius were probably contemporaries, therefore, the observation that they both use ποταμοφόρητον ποιέω and ἀποπνίγω[89] seems even more valuable.

ANDREAS OF CAESAREA († 614)

The work of Andreas, a Greek theological writer and bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, was created between 563–614. It shows how well-read its author was and how great his familiarity with the texts of the Church Fathers from the east was. Unfortunately, it is not very well known and, although it is an important text for the understanding of the Greek commentaries on the Apocalypse, rarely is it analysed.[90]

This commentator also quotes the Rev 12 : 15 fragment in the form that we know it[91]: Φευγούσης, φησί, τῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἰς τόπους ἀβάτους [καὶ ἀνύδρους] τὴν τοῦ πλάνου ἔφοδον, ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, δηλαδὴ ἐκ προστάγματος [αὐτοῦ], ὀπίσω αὐτῆς [βάλλει] ὕδωρ ποταμηδόν, τουτέστιν ἀθέων ἀνδρῶν ἢ πονηρῶν δαιμόνων ἢ ποικίλων πειρασμῶν πλῆθος, κατ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐξελεύσεται, ὅπως αὐτὴν δουλώσηται[92] (After the Church has fled to inaccessible [and waterless] places due to the attack of the deceiver, from [its] mouth, which means at its command, a torrent of water [is spewed], that is the unfaithful or evil spirits or the abundance of tempta-

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[89] It is possible that Oecumenius was familiar with the work of Hesychius, however, this fact cannot be proved, so the analogy between the two texts might be coincidental, proving only the broad education of the authors.

[90] Cf. J. Hernández Jr., *The Relevance of Andrew of Caesarea for New Testament Textual Criticism*, "Journal of Biblical Literature" 130 (2011), p. 185–188.

[91] There is an insignificant difference of one letter only: instead of αὐτήν Andreas uses ταύτην.

[92] J. Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes,* 1. Teil: *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisarea. Text,* München 1955, p. 134 (Münchener Theologische Studien, 1. Ergänzungsband). Earlier available edition of the commentary: *Andreae Caesariensis commentarius in Apocalypsin,* PG 106, 215–486.

tions, which will contradict it, in order to hold it captive). Despite many similarities between the work of Andreas and the work of Oecumenius, in this particular interpretation of Rev 12 : 15 he shows his independent views. "The woman" represents the Church and its persecutors can be men, evil spirits, as well as unidentified temptations, or, as far as institutions and societies are concerned, events that serve as tests and difficult experiences. The aim of the attack is also specified – depriving the Church of its freedom. The author does not determine the type of captivity he has in mind, although enumerating the attackers suggests enslavement to sin.

3.4.3. Syriac and Coptic translations

Among the Syriac and Coptic translations, apart from *Vetus Latina* and Vulgate, we can find the translations of the New Testament from the source text.[93] They were contemporary with some of the commentaries mentioned before. The Syriac versions translate ποταμοφόρητος reaching for its etymology, whilst the Coptic version (the Sahidic dialect) reflects the idea of destruction and ruin.[94]

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[93] Later translations, e.g. Armenian, Georgian, Ethiopic, were not taken into account. Cf. K. Aland, B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament. An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, transl. E. F. Rhodes, Grand Rapids 1989[2], p. 204.

[94] The oldest Syriac translation of the Revelation is a part of the so-called Philoxenian version, finished in 507 or 508 AD. Up till then the proof of familiarity with the Revelation can be found in the works of Ephrem the Syrian († 373), however, it is still unclear in what language was the text he used. The edition of J. Gwynn, *The Apocalypse of St. John in a Syriac Version hitherto unknown*…, Dublin 1897 (reprint Piscataway 2005) is still irreplaceable. The aim of the translator – bishop Policarp – was to come up with a translation that could be used for dogmatic purposes. As the result of the reconstruction of the Greek basis of this translation, J. Gwynn got a text which is consistent with contemporary critical editions as far as Rev 12 : 15 is concerned. As a translation of ποταμοφόρητος Policarp used the participle of the verb ܫܩܠ ("carry," "lift"); cf. part I p. 25 and part II p. 15. Harclensis is a correction of Policarp's translation, completed by bishop Thomas of Harkel in 616, which has some features of a critical edition, although it is mostly based on poor Greek texts from the Byzantine family of manuscripts. Correcting the translation, Thomas keeps

3.4.4. Conclusions

The preserved Latin translations show huge discrepancies in the understanding of the adjective ποταμοφόρητος. Hieronymus, whose rules of biblical translation we know on the basis of his own declarations and their consistent application, sticks to the most literal translation: "ut eam faceret trahi a flumine," which is closer to *Vetus Latina* type I rather than any other version.

The Syriac versions opt for the original meaning of ποταμοφόρητος, the Coptic translation chooses the late interpretation of this adjective, reflecting the idea of destruction.

Unfortunately, none of the above – mentioned authors of commentaries elaborates on the meaning of ποταμοφόρητος *expressis verbis*.

According to *Vetus Latina* type I translation, Hieronymus' corrections (Vulgate) and the commentaries that we analysed, the water torrent attacking the woman was supposed to kill her.

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the verb ܫܩܠ ("carry," "lift") originally used by Polycarp. Cf. A. Vööbus, *The Apocalypse in the Harklean version. A facsimile edition of MS. Mardin Orth. 35, fol. 143r-159v,* with an introduction by Arthur Vööbus, Louvain 1978, p. 21* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 400. Subsidia, 56). In Coptic translations the text of the Revelation was preserved in two of the seven known dialects: Bohairic and Sahidic. The available manuscripts contain the text probably created in the 4th or 5th century AD. The Bohairic dialect of the Coptic translation omits the part of the sentence in which ποταμοφόρητος is originally used in Rev 12 : 15; cf. G. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect, otherwise called Memphitic and Bohairic*…, vol. 4: *The Catholic Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles. The Apocalypse*, Oxford 1905, p. 520. Within a hundred years since the first edition of this translation was published, many unknown manuscripts containing complete books of the New Testament were uncovered – other critical editions of the translation of the Revelation may lead to important discoveries; cf. K. Aland, B. Aland, *The Text*…, op. cit., p. 201. The Sahidic text of the Revelation was reconstructed on the basis of more than thirty fragments corresponding with the Greek text of the Alexandrian type. Some of them kept the translation of Rev 12 : 15, in which the verb ϭⲟⲧ was used ("lose," "destroy"). The editor loosely translates this part as: *that he should cause her to be drowned*; G. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, otherwise called Sahidic and Thebaic*…, vol. 7: *The Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse*, Oxford 1924, p. 400.

In the tradition of Latin commentaries the ecclesiastic interpretation was usually attributed to the symbol of the woman.

According to Ticonius and Cassiodorus experiencing hostility from the powers of evil is a typical occurrence for the Church.

Oecumenius understands the woman as the Mother of Jesus, however, the experience symbolised by the water torrent is a moral experience and its intended result – destruction – is most probably the crisis of faith.

Although Primasius and Cassiodorus describe the effects of the attacking water with words referring to destruction, when they specify the methods typical of the opponent – calculation, lies, deception – they point to the attempt of perverting the Church. Andreas of Caesarea clearly states that it is the enslavement to sin that it refers to.

3.5. Ποταμός and ποταμοφόρητος in Rev 12:15 and the Nile in classical literature and the Old Testament

In contemporary commentaries on the Apocalypse different directions of the search for the archetype of the river in Rev 12:15 can be noticed. Some look for it in the Mesopotamian Mythology, especially that according to its beliefs the cosmic serpent, which is thought to be the archetype of the one in Rev 12:15, is a symbol of evil and darkness.[95] Others claim that the source of the image of the torrent is much less complicated: elephants use their trunks to spit out huge amounts of water, and since in the Hellenistic period they were commonly used in the army, their behaviour might have been the archetype of the torrent in question.[96]

In the papyri that have been preserved the term ποταμοφόρητος refers to the River Nile. Hesychius, who put this word in his lexicon (although without any direct reference to the Nile), came from Alexandria, the Egyptian city by the River Nile. Since these are merely indications or traces of evidence that draw our attention to the Apocalyptic river, the torrent spewing from the devil's mouth, similar to what the Nile

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[95] Cf. W. J. Harrington, *Revelation*, Collegeville 1993, p. 135 (Sacra Pagina, 16)

[96] Cf. J. M. Ford, *Revelation. Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, Garden City 1980, p. 192 (Anchor Bible, 38).

represented and how it was perceived at the beginning of the Christian Era, we will try to compare different texts describing these similarities – firstly in the geographical sense, then the ones mentioning the Nile in the context of religion.

Paradoxically, that is the preparation we need before reaching for the parallels of Rev 12 : 15 in the Old Testament.

3.5.1. The River Nile in geographical descriptions

In the view of ancient authors (Herodotus, Seneca, Pomponius Mela, Pliny the Elder) the Nile is the river that *nature has raised up* (...) *before the eyes of the world* (Seneca, IV II 1).[97] The subject of this comparison with Rev 12 : 15 is not the relation to actual facts, e.g. what we could learn about the Nile from the geographical or hydrological point of view, but what was known (and often criticised as incorrect) about the River Nile at the beginning of the Common Era.

Analogia non est genealogia – the similarity of data is not a proof of correlation, however, it describes the life context of both the author of the Revelation and the translator of the version later called *Vetus Latina* type I, which is enough reason to draw our attention to it.

The similarities between the river in Rev 12 : 15 and the Nile:

The fragments presented in 3.5.1.1 present the view widespread in the ancient times that the inundations of the Nile were caused by the strong winds blowing from the Mediterranean and pulling its waves back.

Another comparison – point 3.5.1.2 – is generally insignificant for the topic in question. Ancient authors inform about the fact that the waters of the Nile flew into the sands of the desert, making it an underground river.

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[97] Seneca, *Quaestiones naturales,* IV 2, 1; English translation: *Physical Science in the Time of Nero being a Translation of the Quaestiones Naturales of Seneca,* by J. Clarke, with Notes on the Treatise by A. Geikie, London 1910, p. 167.

3.5.1.1. "ut eam faceret ictu fluminis trahi ad se"
(Rev 12 : 15 VL type I)
A fragment from one of the translations of *Vetus Latina* and not the Greek text itself is used in the heading, in order to show its similarity to ancient descriptions.

HERODOTUS († C. 425 BC)
"One pretends that the Etesian winds cause the rise of the river by preventing the Nile-water from running off into the sea."[98]

POMPONIUS MELA († C. 45 AD)
"The Nile increases [...] because the Etesian winds, which blow throughout that period, either drive in clouds that move from north to south as rain directly above the river's starting points, or **block the advancing water with an adverse wind and forestall the course of the descending water**, or choke the river's mouths with the sand they drive onto the shore right along with the waves."[99]

SENECA THE YOUNGER († 65 AD)
"If one may believe Thales, the Etesian winds hinder the descent of the Nile and check its course by driving the sea against its mouths. **It is thus beaten back, and returns upon itself**. Its rise is not the result of increase: it simply stops through being prevented from discharging, and presently, wherever it can, it bursts out into forbidden ground."[100]

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[98] Herodotus, *Historiae*, II, 20; English translation: *The Histories*, by Herodotus, transl. by G. Rawlinson, London 1997.

[99] Pomponius Mela, *De situ orbis*, I, 9, 53; English translation: *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World,* by F. E. Romer, Michigan 1998, p. 50.

[100] Seneca, *Quaestiones naturales,* IV, 2, 21; English translation: *Physical Science…*, op. cit., p. 174.

"Its waters are driven back by the Etesian winds, which are blowing at this season of the year from an opposite direction, and that **the sea which lies below is driven into the mouths of the river**."[101]

3.5.1.2. [16] καὶ ἐβοήθησεν ἡ γῆ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ ἤνοιξεν ἡ γῆ τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς καὶ κατέπιεν τὸν ποταμὸν ὃν ἔβαλεν ὁ δράκων ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ.

"As it is, the river wanders through great deserts, spreads out into marshes, among many scattered tribes, before it is for the first time after its wandering, mazy course gathered into one near Philae. […] Next in its course are the **sandy deserts**."[102]

 "Pouring forth from this lake, the river disdains to flow through arid and sandy deserts, and **for a distance of several days' journey conceals itself**; after which it bursts forth at another lake of greater magnitude in the country of the Massæsyli, a people of Mauritania Cæsariensis, and thence casts a glance around, as it were, upon the communities of men in its vicinity, giving proofs of its identity in the same peculiarities of the animals which it produces. **It then buries itself once again in the sands of the desert, and remains concealed for a distance of twenty days' journey**, till it has reached the confines of Æthiopia. Here, when it has once more become sensible of the presence of man, it again emerges, at the same source, in all probability, to which writers have given the name of Niger, or Black."[103]

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[101] Plinius Maior, *Historia naturalis*, V, 10, 55; English translation: Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History,* J. Bostock, H.T. Riley, Somerville, MA 2006.

[102] Seneca, *Quaestiones naturales*, IV, 2, 3; English translation: *Physical Science*…, op. cit., p. 168.

[103] Plinius Maior, *Historia naturalis*, V, 10, 51; English translation: Pliny the Elder, *The Natural*…, op. cit.

3.5.2. The Nile in the mythology and religious writings

In the religious beliefs of the Egyptians, Pharaoh as the embodiment of Osiris was responsible for, among many other natural phenomena, inundations of the Nile.[104] The Nile itself as a place of religious cult is mentioned by Seneca the Younger in *Quaestiones naturales.* The myth of Osiris was minutely described by Plutarch in *Isis and Osiris.*[105] In early Christian times the myth was very popular and the cult of Isis and Osiris gained more and more followers even in Rome, until it was officially accepted by Caligula and Domitian.[106]

SENECA THE YOUNGER († 65 AD)

"The first rise of the Nile is observed near the island Philae which I have just mentioned. A short distance from it the river is divided by a rock in the centre, which the Greeks call the Inaccessible. **No foot approaches it save that of the priestly ministers**. Those cliffs first feel the increase of the river. Then a long distance below that two crags project, called by the natives the veins of the Nile. A great quantity of water is shed out by them, but yet insufficient to flood the land of Egypt. **When the date of the sacred festival comes round, the priests throw into these fountains a public offering, while the magistrates offer gifts of gold.**"[107]

PLUTARCH († C. 125 AD)

"These man are like the Greeks who say that Cronus is but a figurative name for Chronus (Time), Hera for Air, and that the birth of Hephaestus symbolises the change of Air into Fire. And thus among the Egyptians such men say that **Osiris is the Nile** consorting with the Earth, which is Isis, and that the sea is Typhon into which the Nile discharges its waters and is

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[104] H. Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion: An Interpretation*, New York 1948, p. 103.

[105] Plutarchus Chaeronensis, *De Iside et Osiride*, [in:] idem, *Moralia,* 351C–384, ed. G. N. Bernardakis, vol. II, Lipsiae 1889, p. 471–557.

[106] *Neues Testament und Antike Kultur*, vol. 3: *Weltauffassung, Kult, Ethos*, hrsg. von J. Zangenberg, Neukirchen-Vluyn 2005, p. 24f.

[107] Seneca, *Quaestiones naturales,* IV 2, 7–8; English translation: *Physical Science*…, op. cit., p. 169–170.

lost to view and dissipated, save for that part which the earth takes up and absorbs and thereby becomes fertilized. There is also a religious lament sung over Cronus. The lament is for him that is born in the regions on the left, and suffers dissolution in the region on the right; for the Egyptians believe that the eastern regions are the face of the world, the northern the right, and the southern the left. The Nile, therefore, which runs from the south and is swallowed up by the sea in the north, is naturally said to have its birth on the left and its dissolution on the right. For this reason the priests religiously keep themselves aloof from the sea, and call salt the 'spume of Typhon'; and one of the things forbidden them is to set salt upon the table."[108]

3.5.3. The devil's torrent in Rev 12:15 and Ezek 29:3. 9

R. H. Charles indicated the lack of "any real parallels in the Old Testament or in Judaism" to the spewing torrent in Rev 12:15. He mentioned Hos 5:10; Ps 32:6; 124, 4; Isa 93: 2 and the march of the Israelites through the Red Sea, all of them representing either God as putting forth His wrath or the stream of ungodliness overwhelming the righteous, however, he claims they "have no bearing" on Rev 12:15.[109] The image of Dragon, on the other hand, is rich in parallels. Among other places, Ezek 29:3[110] is presented as one of the fragments where the image is used.

Ezek 29:3, when compared to Rev 12:15, is conspicuous after the parallels from classical literature have been analysed.

In Ezek 29:3 Pharaoh is the Dragon (TM: תַּנִּים; LXX: δράκων; usually translated as "Crocodile") crouching amids the Niles[111] saying: "The Niles are mine; it is I who made them!" A detail is brought to our attention

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[108] Plutarchus Chaeronensis, *De Iside…* (*Moralia,* 363 D–F), op. cit., p. 503; cf. *Neuer Wettstein. Texte zum Neuen Testament aus Griechentum und Hellenismus*, vol. 2: *Texte zur Briefliteratur und zur Johannesapokalypse*, hrsg. von G. Strecker, U. Schnelle, unter Mitarbeit von G. Seelig, Berlin-New York 1996, p. 1556.

[109] R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, vol. I, Edinburgh 1920, p. 331.

[110] Ibidem, p. 317f., 331.

[111] Cf. M. Greenberg, *Ezechiel 21–37*, Freiburg-Basel-Wien 2005, p. 279n (Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament).

– the monster (Dragon) attributes creating the rivers to himself. Usurping an attribute of God is the reason why God acts against the Pharaoh. It is explained more clearly in Ezek 29:9 with a structure: because (יַעַן) you said: "The Niles are mine; it is I who made them."

Pharaoh puts himself in the opposition to God by attributing the power of creation and the glory that it is followed by to himself.

The meaning of this parallel when perceived through Egyptian beliefs, which identify Pharaoh with Osiris – the one responsible for the inundations of the Nile, becomes clearer. It also seems highly probable that the Nile was the archetype of the spewing torrent in Rev 12.

On the other hand, we cannot be certain that the author of the Revelation reached for Ezek 29:3. 9 while writing Rev 12:15. If, however, the Nile was the archetype of the river in chapter 12, then, although the Pharaoh does not appear in this scene *expressis verbis*, the correspondence of the two images seems to be intentional rather than coincidental.

When we compare the fragment of Rev 12:15 to Rev 22:1, once again[112] we can notice the devil's sacrilegious attempts to usurpate some of God's attributes – *diabolus est simia Dei* (Tertulian?).[113]

The attempts of the devil to be like God serve as a reminder that Satan and all his works aim at matching God and are motivated by this desire.

3.5.4. The meaning of the parallels

In the descriptions of the Nile in classical literature we encounter similarities to the Apocalyptic image of the river. The mysterious help that the woman is given from the earth has its reflection in reality. Some parts of this river that 'nature has raised up' disappeared in the sands

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[112] Other examples are: the Dragon and two beasts in chapters 12 and 13; *seven heads of the Dragon* as the reverse of the Seven Spirits of God in 12:3; the parody of the trimph of Christ in the enthronement of the second beast in 12:3nn (cf. A. Jankowski, *Apokalipsa…*, op. cit., p. 207, 214n), as well as parallel women in chapters 12 and 17n.

[113] An attempt of making a comparison between these two fragments is confirmed by the use of εκ του στοματος instead of εκ του θρονου in Rev 22:1 in some medieval manuscripts of the Revelation, e.g. 1611 and 2329, as well as the comment put on the margin of the translation by Thomas of Harkel.

of the desert changing it into the underground river. These facts make the conclusion that the Nile was the archetype of the river in Rev 12 : 15 highly probable. If the assumption is true, the whole scene can be easily imagined by an educated reader of that time.

The translation of the Revelation in *Vetus Latina* type I concerning Rev 12 : 15 seems to be quite literal as well. Although the translation containing *trahi ad se* is a form of interpretation, it is clearly down to earth and can be justified. In one of the popular versions explaining the reasons for the floodings of the Nile, strong winds were considered to be responsible, stopping the river current or even turning it back. The translator might have been familiar with this explanation either because of his knowledge of numerous geographical writings, or because of the common beliefs of people concerning that fact. If he had known the meaning of the adjective ποταμοφόρητος from everyday life, he associated it with the abundance of hydrological phenomena connected with the Nile.

On the other hand, the correlation of the Nile with pagan cults mentioned by secular authors and depicted in Ezek 29 : 3. 9, can be seen as a factor that influenced the author of the Revelation and became the archetype of the image of Dragon spewing the torrent in Rev 12.

4. Ποταμοφόρητος – drowning or abduction?

To sum up the extensive research aiming at answering the question raised in the introduction of this paper, we need to decide if the word ποταμοφόρητος used in 12 : 15 expresses the idea of "drowning, killing" the woman, or rather "abduction" and "imprisonment"?

The analysis of the origin of the adjective ποταμοφόρητος, its oldest certified uses, translations and patristic commentaries, as well as the analysis of the probable reasons for its use in the Revelation, suggest that it is the second sense that the author had in mind. The aim that the Apocalyptic opponent of the woman has is to subordinate her, which can be better understood when perceived from the perspective of faith and truth.

Kraków   KS. WIESŁAW ALICKI

Summary

Ποταμοφόρητος (Rev 12 : 15)
– from Etymology to Theologoumenon

The paper presents a study on translations of a Greek word ποταμοφόρητος occurring in Rev 12 : 15. The Greek hapax legomenon ποταμοφόρητος is used in Rev 12 : 15. The part of the sentence containing ποταμοφόρητος is translated as: *to sweep her away with the current*. G. Schneider suggests a correction of the meaning of the word, concentrating on the conjectural purpose of being taken by water (drowning). In order to analyse this issue we begin with the study of etymology of the ποταμοφόρητος. It comes from the noun ποταμός and the adjective φορητός, which is a derivative of φορέω. *Composita* (compounds) formed with φορητός did not refer to any idea of a mortal threat. Till the turn of 19th century ποταμοφόρητος, apart from the Bible, was only certified in the Hesychius' Lexicon (5th or 6th century). The Egyptian papyri, uncovered and analysed on the turn of the 19th and the 20th century, in which the ποταμοφόρητος is related to the overflows of the Nile, let us doubt Schneider's proposal, however, still do not solve the problem. The next stage of the research consisted of the analysis of the classical and antique translations of Rev (VL, Vg, Syriac and Coptic translations), as well as Latin and Greek patristic commentaries, which support one of the aforementioned interpretations. The commentators understood the river carrying the Woman as the image of Church persecution and a desire to place the Church under the command of evil forces. One of the versions of the translation of Vetus Latina (type I) suggests that the archetype of the water torrent in Rev was the Nile. In the light of classical explanations as to the reasons of the river's floodings, as well as the parallel in Ezek 29 : 3. 6 we can assume that it was the Nile that served as the archetype of the spewing torrent for the author of the Revelation.

Keywords

Streszczenie

Ποταμοφόρητος (Ap 12, 15) – od etymologii do teologumenu

Grecki przymiotnik ποταμοφόρητος występuje w Piśmie Świętym tylko raz – w Ap 12, 15. Polski przekład Biblii Tysiąclecia zdanie celowe, w którym ποταμοφόρητος występuje, oddaje jako: „żeby ją rzeka poniosła". G. Schneider, autor hasła ποταμοφόρητος w *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, proponuje korektę znaczenia tego słowa, koncentrując się na domniemanym celu porwania przez wodę, czyli spowodowaniu zatonięcia. Aby rozstrzygnąć zaistniały problem, podejmujemy w pierwszej kolejności studium etymologii terminu ποταμοφόρητος (pochodzi od rzeczownika ποταμός – „rzeka" i utworzonego od czasownika φορέω przymiotnika φορητός – „niesiony, dający się unieść") oraz przegląd kompositów z przymiotnikiem φορητός (nie zawierały one idei śmiertelnego zagrożenia). Do przełomu XIX i XX wieku ποταμοφόρητος był poświadczony poza Biblią tylko w pochodzącym z przełomu V i VI wieku leksykonie Hezychiusza, który mógłby stanowić uzasadnienie propozycji G. Schneidera. Odkryte i opracowane na przełomie XIX i XX wieku papirusy egipskie, w których ποταμοφόρητος jest odnoszone do wylewów Nilu, pozwalają tę propozycję poddać w wątpliwość, lecz problemu nie rozstrzygają. Następne pole poszukiwań stanowią starożytne przekłady Apokalipsy (VL, Wg, syryjskie i koptyjskie), dostarczające poparcia to jednej, to drugiej możliwości, oraz łacińskie i greckie komentarze patrystyczne, w których uzasadnienie znajduje dotychczasowy polski przekład. Komentatorzy rzekę mającą porwać Niewiastę rozumieją jako obraz prześladowań Kościoła i chęć ich prowodyra, by Kościół sobie podporządkować. Jedna z wersji przekładu VL (typ I) zwraca poszukiwania w kierunku pierwowzoru, jakim była prawdopodobnie rzeka Nil. W świetle starożytnych opinii na temat przyczyn wylewów Nilu (wiatr od strony Morza Śródziemnego miał powodować, iż Nil zaczynał płynąć w górę swego biegu) oraz czytelnej wówczas paraleli Ez 29, 3. 6 można przypuszczać, że to właśnie ta rzeka była modelem dla autora Apokalipsy. Dane te na tle starożytnych przekładów i komentarzy pozwalają na potwierdzenie słuszności dotychczasowego polskiego tłumaczenia słowa ποταμοφόρητος.

Słowa kluczowe

Apokalipsa, Objawienie, Vetus Latina, Wulgata, Biblia Tysiąclecia, potamoforetos, hapax legomenon, etymologia, composita, komparatystyka, miejsce paralelne, Nil, rzeka, Ojcowie Kościoła, papirus, przekład, teologumen, eklezjologia, teologia biblijna

SPRAWOZDANIA · REPORTS

REV. KAZIMIERZ PANUŚ

Annual Report
of the President of the Polish Theological Society
for 2012

The previous general meeting of the Polish Theological Society was held on 27 February 2012. The report for 2011 was presented and a vote of acceptance for the Board was conducted.

In the second part of the meeting HE abp. dr. Zygmunt Zimowski, the President of the Pontifical Council for Health Pastoral Care, was awarded the Medal of the Polish Theological Society. An official eulogy was given by HE abp. Wacław Depo, Metropolitan of Częstochowa. The celebration finished with a lecture of HM rev. prof. Henryk Skorowski SDB, the rector of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw, entitled *Christian versus Liberal Values. Concord or Discrepancy?*

2012 was the second year of the activity of the Board, elected on 23 February 2011 to three-year term. Managing body composition:

B o a r d

President: rev. prof. Kazimierz Panuś
Vice-President: rev. dr. habil. Roman Kuligowski (Associate Professor, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University)
Secretary: rev. Kazimierz Moskała, MA
Treasurer: rev. Andrzej Mojżeszko, PhD
Librarian: rev. dr. habil. Jan Bednarczyk
Publishing Committee Director: Sebastian Wojnowski, MA

Controlling Committee

President: rev. prof. Tomasz Jelonek
Members: rev. Sylwester Jędrzejewski SDB, PhD; rev. Artur Kardaś
    CR, PhD

Fellow Members Arbitration Panel

President: rev. prof. Jacek Urban
Members: fr. prof. Tomasz Dąbek OSB, rev. dr. habil. Stanisław Hałas
    SCJ (Associate Professor, Pontifical University of John Paul II)

At the end of 2012 the Polish Theological Society had 890 members. In the reporting period 35 new members were accepted, including 21 members of the newly created department in Toruń. According to data collected, since the last general meeting the following people passed away: rev. Kazimierz Suder, fr. Letus Szpucha OFMBern, PhD, rev. Czesław Michalunio SJ, PhD, rev. prof. Stanisław Bielecki from Kielce, rev. Zdzisław Majcher (PhD in Canon Law) and rev. Stanisław Zygarowicz, PhD – both from the Przemyśl diocese.

Following the statutory regulations, in the reporting year the Board held four meetings: on 25 April 2012, on 25 September 2012, on 27 November 2012, on 26 February 2013.

During the first meeting a lecture of dr. habil. Tomasz Węcławowicz (Associate Professor, UPJPII), entitled *Paratheological Interpretation of Art* was presented. In the next part of the meeting the report of the President from the opening of two new field departments in Szczecin (8 December 2011) and in Toruń (20 January 2012) was presented to the Board. The efforts aiming at broadening the Society's activity to other dioceses were discussed and the need of involving Seminary alumni was pointed out. The Board approved expert co-operation with the organiser of the International Exhibition of Church Construction, Church Fittings and Furnishings and Religious Art SacroExpo in Kielce.

The second Board meeting started with the lecture of rev. prof. Tomasz Jelonek concerning *The Bible in the World of Myths*. Next, rev. Paweł Borto's report on the co-operation with SacroExpo was presented. Board members participated in the opening of the 13th International Exhibition

of Church Construction, Church Fittings and Furnishings and Religious Art SacroExpo on 18 June 2012. During the trade fair opening members of the Society gave lectures on different aspects of religious art.

The Publishing Committee Director Sebastian Wojnowski informed the Board about the quarterly journal "Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny" evaluation results, which received 8 out of 10 points in the evaluation conducted by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, thus becoming the highest ranked theological journal in Kraków, and the UNUM Press received a grant of 80,000 PLN in the INDEX PLUS 2012 contest for the project entitled *Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny – Developing the International Character of the Journal*. This was achieved due to the involvement of rev. Stanisław Wronka, PhD, the editor-in-chief and the Director of the Publishing Committee.

The third Board meeting began with the rev. dr. habil. Roman Sieroń's lecture concerning *Christian Education as the Antidote for the Educational Crisis of the Post-Modern Era – thoughts based on re-reading of the 'Gravissimum Educationis' Declaration on the 50th Anniversary of the Second Vatican Council*. Attempts to choose a new design of the membership certificate of the Polish Theological Society were made. A date and order of the general meeting were agreed upon.

The fourth statutory Board meeting was held on the day of the general meeting. It was devoted to the patronage of the Society over a new quarterly journal "Religious and Sacred Poetry, an International Quarterly of Religion, Culture and Education" prepared by Marek Mariusz Tytko, PhD (Jagiellonian University). The international scientific council of the quarterly consists of professors from 11 countries, including two Society members: s. dr. habil. Adelajda Sielepin (Associate Professor, UPJPII), and rev. dr. habil. Roman Bogacz. The design of the membership certificate of the Polish Theological Society, prepared by prof. Tomasz Węcławowicz, was approved. The financing of the application to the Ministry of Science and Higher Education concerning Science Popularisation, the website content and the scientific conferences organised by the Society were also discussed.

Society's Work

The Sindonological Section, 15 specialised sections, 14 field departments and the Publishing Committee running the UNUM Press work within the Polish Theological Society.

The Sindonological Section of the Polish Theological Society is moderated by rev. dr. habil. Jerzy Chmiel. The Section is in contact with sindonologists abroad and provides information about the Shroud of Turin both for the press and the interested scientists.

Specialised Sections

B i b l i c a l   S e c t i o n . The Director of the Section is rev. dr. habil. Roman Bogacz. In the reporting year the Section held three meetings. The symposium entitled *The Role of rev. prof. Tomasz Jelonek in the Formation of the Biblical Environment*, which was held on 21 March, was of particular importance. Its aim was the celebration of the 75th birthday of rev. prof. Tomasz Jelonek. Seven papers were presented: rev. prof. Waldemar Chrostowski showed the importance of rev. Jelonek for Biblistics in Poland; rev. prof. Anton Tyrol presented the contribution of rev. Jelonek and the Krakow community in the development of Biblistics in Slovakia; rev. Oleg Salomon and rev. Jacek Uliasz showed the development of Biblistics in Ukraine and the commitment of our biblicists, especially rev. Jelonek, in different activities, such as lectures in Lviv and Horodok, co-organisation of international conferences, assistance in training speakers and lecturers and the joint participation in the biblically-archaeological scientific camp in the Holy Land. In the second part of the session Tomasz Jelonek's contribution to interdisciplinary work was recognised, among others, on the links between Biblistics and Mathematics, as well as Biblistics and Natural Science. Tomasz Jelonek also stands out as the founder of the Laymen Theology College at the Faculty of Theology of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow, which inspired many to engage in deeper theological and biblical reflection.

M o r a l   T h e o l o g y   S e c t i o n , run by rev. Bogusław Mielec, PhD. In the reporting year the Section, in co-operation with other bodies (e.g. The

Department of the Theology of Life of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow, Pastoral Care of Businessmen and Employers *Talent*), organised two conferences: 17 May 2012 – *Moral Responsibility of Business People* and 18 October – *The Calling of a Business Leader*. Material from both conferences was published by the UNUM Press.

Homiletic Section. The Director of the Section is rev. prof. Kazimierz Panuś. In the reporting year the Homilectic Section devoted a lot of attention to rev. Piotr Skarga SJ. Due to his 400th death anniversary, this great preacher, writer and polemicist was announced by the Parliament of the Republic of Poland one of the patrons of 2012. Due to that fact, on 26 January 2012, during the 21st symposium for retreat preachers, priests and priestly confessors held by the Episcopal Commission on Clergy in Jasna Góra, the Section Director presented a lecture on *Piotr Skarga – a Model Priest*. The second presentation devoted to the great preacher took place during 29th Week of Christian Culture in Trzcianka. On 23 April 2013 the Director of the Homiletic Section lectured on *Piotr Skarga as the Master of Ars Oratoria*. The Homiletic Section Director participated in the celebration of the 70th birthday anniversary of rev. prof. Władysław Głowa, a member of the Polish Theological Society. During this conference, which was held at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (KUL) on 10 October 2012, the Section Director presented a paper entitled: *"Manifests through us the odor of the Knowledge of him" (2 Cor 2 : 14). On Important Issues Concerning the Proclamation of the Word of God*.

Sociologically-Pastoral Section. This Section, run by rev. Stefan Dobrzanowski, PhD, consists of 22 scientists in the field of sociology, Catholic social science and pastoral theology, working mainly in Krakow, Warszawa and Lublin. In the reporting year the Section organised two sessions. The first one, held on 14 October, concerned mainly organisational issues connected with the session devoted to the growth of aggressive atheism among politicians and religious indifference among the youth. The second meeting took place on 23 November in the Order of Carmelites in Krakow. Two lectures were presented during this meeting. Prof. Franciszek Adamski elaborated on: *The Growth of Atheism in Contemporary Democracy as a Challenge for the Church in Poland*, and Paweł Chmura, PhD, discussed the problem of *The Image of the Church*

in the Eyes of the Youth in the Post-Industrial Environment of Pabianice. Both issues turned out to be extremely up-to-date and resulted in long and interesting discussions. They revealed a rapid process of secularisation of the Polish society, the decreasing influence of the Church and family values on the young generation of Poles and the lack of respect for the rules and teachings of the Church and John Paul II among politicians declaring to be Catholics.

S e c t i o n   o f   S p i r i t u a l i t y . The Director of the Section is rev. prof. Wojciech Misztal. The Section continued working on the academic research program concerning *The Spirituality of Polish Orders: Message and Communication*. The works of the Section resulted in organising two symposiums: *Fr. Hieronim Kajsiewicz CR (1812–1873): Care about Spirituality – Care about the Well-Being of the Society* (Krakow, 28 February 2012) and *"She was given a great charism by the Holy Spirit" (John Paul II). St. Urszula Ledóchowska and the Congregation of the Ursulines of the Agonizing Heart of Jesus* (Łódź, 19 May 2012). Material from the conferences was published. The representatives of the Polish academic circles, both laymen and clergy, participated in the realisation of these projects, due to the integration of the academic world and better understanding of the potential of both the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow and the Polish Theological Society.

P e d a g o g i c a l l y - C a t e c h e t i c a l   S e c t i o n . The Director of the Section is rev. prof. Janusz Mastalski. In the reporting year the Section actively participated in the organisation of two conferences: *How to Build the Authority of a Teacher* (Krakow, March 2012) and *Awareness of Raising* (May 2012). The Section also organised a panel meeting during which the discipline problems in contemporary schools were discussed.

D o g m a t i c   S e c t i o n . The Director of the Section is rev. dr. habil. Jan Żelazny (Associate Professor, UPJPII). In the reporting year the Section admitted new members from different academic institutions in Poland. The members of the Section organise regular monthly meetings concerning research on Christian antiquity.

M i s s i o l o g i c a l   S e c t i o n . The Section works in co-operation with the Polish Association of Missiologists and the Papal Missionary Works of the Diocese of Katowice, under the supervision of rev. Grzegorz

Wita, PhD. Monthly meetings were held by the Section as part of Open Missiological Seminars, during which different current practical and theoretical issues concerning evangelisation were touched on. All meetings began with the celebration of the Eucharist for the intentions of realising the Church mission. The Section continued working on the project *The Young are the Church's Future* in co – operation with the Missionary Works in Katowice. The aim of the project is providing support for educational centres in the Near East, Eastern Europe, Africa and South America. Their efforts resulted in organising (for the third time) a two-week retreat for the Moldovan youth from around Kishinev, Moldova. The retreat was conducted by the students of the Department of Theology of the University of Silesia. In the spirit of solidarity with the Christians from the Holy Land, a project entitled *Rosary Mission Bridge* was organised. The project enhanced understanding of the universality of the Church and the sense of responsibility for her. In the first quarter of 2012 a Missionary Competition was held. It concerned the life and works of Pauline-Marie Jaricot, the founder of the Association of the Living Rosary and the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. The competition was addressed to primary school students (artistic works) and grammar school students (literary works) and resulted in 470 works from 65 schools and institutions. The majority of works was sent from the diocese of Katowice, but also from around Gliwice, Opole, Zielona Góra and Gorzów. The effort made resulted in greater involvement in the activity of the Papal Missionary Works, as well as the creation of the Living Rosary roses. On 21 April the Missionary Congress of the Katowice Archdiocese was organised in Mikołów, with more than 500 participants. Different lectures and missiological discussions for different age groups were held. On 16 June the 10th Missionary Rally of the Papal Missionary Works of the Katowice Archdiocese (Bielsko-Biała–Szczyrk–Brenna) was organised with the co-operation of the Section members. The rally had more than 200 participants, with its main theme being the situation of the Church in Moldova. From 10 to 12 September in Wigry, a Missiological Conference organised by the Polish Association of Missiologists was held. The members of the Missiological Section took part in the conference and were again elected to the Board of the Association. On 10 October

2012 the first pilgrimage of the rosary circles in the history of the arch-
diocese was organised. During the pilgrimage rev. Grzegorz Wita, PhD,
presented a speech on *The Brilliant Simplicity of the Works of Pauline-
Marie Jaricot as the Inspiration for the Contemporary Church*. On 30
November 2012 the Section Director participated in the International
Conference on *Missiology and New Evangelisation in Contemporary Europe*
(Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University), where he presented his lecture
on *Association of Polish Missiologists as a Platform of Communication
and Integration of the Scientific Research*. On 25 November the Second
Synod of the Katowice Archdiocese was opened, and rev. Grzegorz Wita
was nominated the President of the Evangelisation Committee. Some
Section members participated in the meetings of missionary and mis-
siological circles; some books and articles connected with the work of
Section members were published.

Canon Law Section. Directed by fr. Andrzej Kukła CSsR, PhD.
In the reporting year the members of the Section participated in a few
important symposiums, e.g.: the Polish Scientific Conference *Church
Advocate – who is that?* (John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin KUL,
18 April), the 6th International Conference on Media Ethics *Values in the
Media – the Value of the Media* (Pontifical University of John Paul II in
Krakow, 31 May–1 June), International Scientific Conference of Canonists
Parish in the Canon Law and in the Polish Law (Gdańsk, 10–11 September),
the 12th Conference on the *Role of the Catholic Church in the Process of
European Integration* (Krakow, 14–15 September). One Secion meeting
connected with the presentation of the lecture of fr. dr. habil. Marek Saj
CSsR, the lecturer of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, was held.

Liturgical Section. The Section is run by rev. Stanisław Mieszczak
SCJ, PhD. In the reporting year the members of the Section worked for
the sake of the liturgical service formation. The meetings of the Section
members were a response to current pastoral problems and helped pre-
pare for the visitation of the painting of Merciful Jesus in the parishes of
the Krakow archdiocese. The Liturgical Section holds meetings of Liturgy
lecturers and priests, especially the ones most involved in the process of
liturgy renewal, giving them opportunities for discussions and the ex-
change of experiences.

Sacred Art Section. The Section is run by dr. habil. Tomasz Węcławowicz (Associate Professor, UPJPII). In the reporting year the Section's activity focused on scientific and popular science presentations concerning the historical content of religious architecture. On 25 April the Director of the Section presented a lecture during the Board meeting. Another important presentation of the Section's Director was a lecture on *Iconographic Tradition in Christian Art* given on 18 June in Kielce during the Conference associated with the International Exhibition of Church Construction, Church Fittings and Furnishings and Religious Art Sacro Expo. From 6 to 7 December the Sacred Art Section in co-operation with the Institute of the History of Art and Culture of the Pontifical University of John Paul II organised the 2nd International Scientific Conference entitled *Between the Medieval Symbol and the Modern Allegory.* Section members, dr. habil. Andrzej Włodarek (Associate Professor, UPJPII) and dr. habil. Tomasz Węcławowicz (Associate Professor, UPJPII), chose the guests invited from abroad, got and kept in touch with them and acted as translators during the discussion itself. Moreover, the Director of the Section prepared a graphic design of the Society's membership diploma.

Philosophical Section. The Director of the Section is rev. dr. habil. Henryk Majkrzak SCJ. In the reporting year three meetings accompanied by discussions were organised: on 2 March about *Healthy Philosophy for Christian Europe* based on the article of bp. prof. Ignacy Dec; on 23 March about the *Sense of Dealing with Philosophy* (based on the article of fr. prof. Mieczysław Krąpiec) and on 30 April about the interpretation, meaning and up-to-date aspects of Seneca's Dialogue *Of Peace of Mind* (*De tranquilitatae animi*). The Director of the Philosophical Section had a book published (*The Doctor of Doctors. Saint Thomas Aquinas*, Kęty 2012, 272 pp.). The Section accepted two new members from Olsztyn and Lublin.

Fundamental Theology Section. The Section is run by rev. Damian Wąsek, PhD. In the reporting year the Section hosted or co-hosted many events of scientific character, with special emphasis put on the ecumenical and apologetic context. Their most important achievements of this year are: *Ecumenism – a Threat or the Consequence of Faith?* – a scientific session organised by rev. prof. Łukasz Kamykowski;

The Kingdom of God and the Church – a symposium organised by prof. Andrzej Napiórkowski OSPPE; lectures: *Piste per proseguire la ricerca alla luce di Gesù Abbandonato in Chiara Lubich* (Loppiano, Sophia, Instituto Universitario) and *Ecclesiology of John Paul II in Chosen Wednesday Catecheses* (Rome, The Centre for Documentation and Research of the Pontificate of John Paul II) given by rev. prof. Łukasz Kamykowski and *Theology and Other Sciences* given by the Section's Director rev. Damian Wąsek, PhD, at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań during the conference entitled *On the Rules of Current Theology*. The afore-mentioned events were preceded by the meetings and consultations of the Section members. The discussions on main issues of fundamental theology were held. A number of books and scientific articles were published by the members of the Section.

H i s t o r i c a l   S e c t i o n . The Section is directed by rev. prof. Józef Marecki. The Section did not hand in the annual report for 2012.

Field Departments

K a t o w i c e   D e p a r t m e n t . The works of the Department, which currently has 19 members, are directed by rev. dr. habil. Andrzej Nowicki. In the reporting year two meetings were held. The first one, held on 3 April in the Archdiocese Museum in Katowice, was attended by the members of the Department, as well as media and culture representatives. During the meeting a lecture entitled *The Heart as a Credible Criterion of Salvation* was given by rev. dr. habil. Andrzej Nowicki. The second meeting of the Katowice Department took place on 26 October during the conference concerning card. August Hlond, the patron of 2013. During the conference the paper on *The Social Issue in the Pastoral Care Program of Card. August Hlond* was presented by rev. prof. Jan Górecki.

C z ę s t o c h o w a   D e p a r t m e n t . The Department is run by rev. Jerzy Bielecki, PhD. In the reporting year two Department Board meetings were held. A symposium organised on 1 December on the 50th Anniversary of the Second Vatican Council was an important event. The following papers were presented: *The Church and the Man's Calling in the "Gaudium et spes" Constitution* (abp. Zygmunt Zimowski, PhD), *The Revelation and*

the Obedience in Faith in the Light of the "Dei Verbum" Constitution (rev. dr. habil. Janusz Królikowski), *Marian Dimension of the Church in the "Lumen Gentium" Constitution* (rev. Teofil Siudy, PhD), *Post-Conciliar Reform of the Eucharistic Liturgy in Accordance with the "Sacrosanctum Concilium" Constitution* (fr. Piotr Polek OSPPE, PhD), *Co-Responsibility of the Church for the Education of the Young Generation as a Message of the "Gravissimum Educationis" Declaration* (rev. Jerzy Bielecki, PhD) and *Decree "Inter mirifica" – the Conciliar Impulse for the Evangelisation through the Media of Social Communication* (abp. Wacław Depo, PhD). Material from the symposium will be published in March 2013 in the 40th issue of "Częstochowskie Studia Teologiczne." The symposium was broadcast by the internet TV of the "Niedziela" weekly, and later saved on CDs.

P r z e m y ś l   D e p a r t m e n t . The Department is directed by rev. dr. habil. Wacław Siwak. In the reporting year three meetings were held; during each meeting a paper was presented: on 16 February *Biblical Sources of the Rosary Misteries: Annunciation and Visitation* by rev. Wacława Siwak, PhD; on 7 June *The Development of the Monastic Theology after the Council of Chalcedon* by rev. Arkadiusz Jasiewicz, PhD, accompanied by the presentation of the book Święty Jan Klimak, Drabina raju [St. John Climacus. The Ladder of Divine Ascent] (Kęty 2011), the introduction to which was written by the speaker himself, and on 29 November *Peace and Truth in the (Post) Modernist, Globalised World* by rev. Norbert Podhorecki, PhD.

K a l w a r i a   Z e b r z y d o w s k a   D e p a r t m e n t . Run by fr. dr. habil. Romuald Kośla OFM. In the reporting year the Kalwaria Zebrzydowska Department organised two meetings. On 23 March a scientific session entitled *The Issues Concerning the Second Edition of "Preparation to Studies in Church Archives"* was held in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, the following papers were presented: *Genesis of Monography* (rev. prof. Anzelm Weiss), *The Portrait of the First Edition Author* (fr. Aleksander K. Sitnik OFM, PhD), *Scientific Achievements of Hieronim E. Wyczawski OFM* (fr. dr. habil. Wiesław Murawiec OFM), *Organisation of the Church in Poland after 1992* (rev. Tomasz Moskal, PhD), *Polish Church Archives after 1989* (rev. dr. habil. Mieczysław Różański), *Monastic Archives in Poland. Changes between 1990 and 2011* (fr. prof. Roland Prejs OFMCap). The second Department meeting took place on 8 November during the academic

year 2012/2013 inauguration in the Bernardine Theological College in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska. During the celebration a lecture on *Christian Family Upbringing According to rev. Piotr Poręba* was given by fr. Roman Banasik OFMConv, PhD.

Tuchów Department. Run by fr. Janusz Urban CSsR, PhD. In the reporting year the Tuchów Department co-organised a pastoral symposium entitled *New Evangelisation – the Spring of the Church* (25–27 January), during which rev. dr. habil. Andrzej Witko (Associate Professor, UPJPII) presented the message and the foundations of the cult of Divine Mercy as well as the figures of St. Faustina and John Paul II as witnesses of Divine Mercy; rev. prof. Andrzej Zwoliński discussed current pastoral challenges in the light of social Church teaching and its significance for the new evangelisation, and bp. dr. habil. Grzegorz Ryś presented the new evangelisation as shown in the pre-conciliar document concerning new evangelisation *Lineamenta* and indicated the tasks the Church in Poland is facing. From 24 to 29 September the *Days of the Redemptorist Formation* were celebrated, and from 6 to 8 November homiletic workshops in Tuchów took place. The workshops were organised by fr. Antoni Karaś, PhD, the lecturer of the Redemptorist Theological College in Tuchów, and its main theme was connected with the Year of Faith. Their aim was preparing sermon outlines that could be used in the forthcoming year of apostolic work. Three meetings were held, during which plans for the semester were discussed.

Kielce Department. Run by rev. Paweł Borto, PhD. In the reporting year the Department organised regular, monthly meetings, during which the Members exchanged experiences and information on different scientific conferences and cultural events. During the meeting in February rev. Paweł Borto presented a report on the works concerning the edition of *The New Herder's Biblical Lexicon*, in the promotion of which card. Gianfranco Ravassi participated during the 1st Biblical Congress (29 October 2011). During the meeting in April rev. Zbigniew Trzaskowski outlined the program of co-operation of the theologians in Kielce with the Faculty of Humanities of the Jan Kochanowski University. The meeting in May was devoted to the preparation of the *Sacrum in Culture* Conference, which took place on 18 June 2012, opening the 13th Sacro-Expo Trade Fair

in Kielce. During the conference papers were presented by the following people: dr. habil. Tomasz Węcławowicz (*The Iconographic Tradition in Christian Art)*, dr. habil. Tadeusz Boruta, and Krystyna Stawecka, PhD, curator, historian, museologist and the Director of the Museum of Icons in Supraśl. During the October meeting the Department Director presented a publication entitled *Christian Witness Today,* edited by himself and rev. Daniel Swend as part of the Theologia Radomiensia series (vol. 2, Radom 2012). The work contains conference material under the same title, from a conference which took place in 2010 in Kielce and Radom. The content of studies presented in the book was the subject of a heated discussion among the participants.

S a n d o m i e r z   D e p a r t m e n t . The Department is run by rev. dr. habil. Roman Bogusław Sieroń (Associate Professor, KUL). There are 27 people in the Department, working with the Wincenty Kadłubek Theological Institute in Sandomierz. In the reporting year many forms of activity were initiated by the Department members. Six international conferences were organised or co – organised: *Around Christian East* (Sandomierz, 21 April), *The Value of Christian Upbringing* (Stalowa Wola, 23 April), *Cultural Changes in the Changing Society* (Stalowa Wola, 22–23 May), *Suffering, Dying and Death – Looking for Value and Meaning* (Stalowa Wola, 19 June), *Family Care* (12 May) and *The Christian-Jewish Relations in History, Art and Memory. The European Context of the Sandomierz Cathedral Works of Art* (11 January 2013). With the co-operation of the Department two national conferences were organised as well: *Man in the Teachings of Blessed John Paul II* (Stalowa Wola, 13 October) and a student conference *The Formation of Catholic Intelligence in the 21st Century* (Stalowa Wola, 23 May). During the meeting of the Department members on 12 December a lecture on *Contemporary Moral Dilemmas in the Year of Faith* was given by rev. Waldemar Olech, PhD, vice-headmaster of the Theological College in Sandomierz and member of the Polish Theological Society.

The members of the Sandomierz Department participated in 27 national and international scientific conferences, giving lectures or chairing sessions. The intensive publishing activity of the Department members resulted in 24 books and articles, mostly printed by a year's issue of "Studia

Leopoliensia," "Przegląd Biblijny," "Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej," and the quarterly "Społeczeństwo i Rodzina. Stalowowolskie Studia Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II," which received 7 out of 10 points in a recent evaluation of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education for each of the presented articles.

T a r n ó w   D e p a r t m e n t . Rev. dr. habil. Janusz Królikowski (Associate Professor, UPJPII) is the Director of the Department. In the reporting year the Tarnów Department continued working on the research concerning the history of the Diocese of Tarnów, inspired by the 225 Anniversary of its creation. The works resulted in another volume of studies devoted to the history of the Tarnów Diocese, this time concerning the people who participated in its creation. It is entitled *The History of the Diocese of Tarnów*, vol. 3: *People of the Church*. It comprises of 27 articles, mainly written by the Society members, but also by the researchers of Church history from outside Tarnów. As a fourth volume of this series, *The Chronicle of the Seminary from 1934 to 1939*, has been prepared for printing .

Apart from the publishing works, in November 2012 a scientific conference devoted to anti-clericalism was organised in Mielec. The conference was inspired by the 100th Anniversary of the Pastoral Letter of bp. Leon Wałęga concerning this important Church, social and cultural issue. Five papers were presented. The conference material is being prepared for printing.

R z e s z ó w   D e p a r t m e n t . The Department Director is rev. dr. habil. Andrzej Garbarz, Associate Professor of the University of Rzeszów. In the reporting year the Department members initiated different projects promoting the development of theological thought as well as made efforts to counteract the processes of dechristianisation and social secularisation. Among their initiatives there were regular formative and organisational meetings and various scientific conferences organised by the Department: *Women in the Contemporary World* (Rzeszów, 13 March), *Towards Better Understanding of the Holy Scripture* (Myczkowce, 12 May), *On the Polish-Slovakian-Ukrainian Border. Religions – Beliefs – Rites* (Myczkowce, 13 October), *The Bible – the Book of Faith* (Kolbuszowa, 16 November), *Witnesses of Faith of the Catholic Church in the Contemporary World* (Michałówka, 1 December), *Contemporary Faces of Manipulation*

(Rzeszów, 13 December) and one exhibition entitled *The Prison Years of Primate Stefan Wyszyński 1953–1956* (Rzeszów, 20 June).

B i e l s k o - B i a ł a   D e p a r t m e n t . Run by rev. prof. Tadeusz Borutka. The Department has 47 members. In the reporting year three meetings took place at the premises of St. John Cantius Theological Institute in Bielsko-Biała: on 10 January 2012 – Christmas meeting for the members of the Department and the academic world of Podbeskidzie, with participation of bp. Tadeusz Rakoczy; on 15 May – a lecture on *Stanisław Hozjusz Theory of Reformation* given by rev. Robert Samsel, PhD, St. John Cantius Theological Institute in Bielsko – Biała; on 4 December 2012 – a lecture on *From Hell to the Hope of Salvation. The Development of the Issue of Salvation of Non-Baptised Children's Death in the Catholic Theology and Its Existential Importance* given by Marta Ficoń, PhD, St. John Cantius Theological Institute in Bielsko – Biała. All lectures were followed by discussions.

R a d o m   D e p a r t m e n t . Run by rev. Dariusz Zbigniew Skrok, PhD. In the reporting year the Department, currently consisting of 61 members, co-organised two scientific conferences: *Saint Giles and the Mystery of Life* (10 November) in the St. Giles parish in Sucha k. Pionek and *Catechesis in the Service of Faith – the Year of Faith* (27 October) in Radom with the papers on: *The Second Vatican Council as the Answer to the Signs of Time* (rev. dr. habil. Marek Jagodziński, Associate Professor of the Card. Stefan Wyszyński University), *The Catechism of the Catholic Church as the Origin of the Content of Faith* (ks. dr Marek Dziewiecki), *Christian Calling as the Experience of Faith* (rev. Jarosław Wojtkun, PhD), *Faith in Dialogue with Culture* (rev. Piotr Turzyński, PhD), *The Needs and Possibilities of Faith Justification in Christian Life* (rev. Daniel Swend, PhD), *Witnesses of Faith in the Catechetical Message* (rev. dr. habil. Adam Maj, Associate Professor of KUL), *Sharing Faith in Contemporary Church Practice* (rev. dr. habil. Wiesław Przygoda, Associate Professor of KUL) and *Upbringing in Faith as the Main Task of Catechesis* (rev. dr. habil. Stanisław Łabendowicz, Associate Professor, Card. Stefan Wyszyński University).

S o s n o w i e c   D e p a r t m e n t . The Department, which currently has 36 members, is run by rev. prof. Jan Orzeszyna. In the reporting year four meetings were held: two days of meditation, one board meeting and one academic meeting to discuss the defended doctoral thesis.

The days of meditation were connected with the celebration of the liturgical year. On the first lent day of meditation (24 March 2012) a penitential service, examination of conscience and confession were offered. Rev. Marek Studenski, PhD, gave a lecture entitled *The Art of Upbringing*.

On the second advent day of meditation (1 December 2012) a conference of rev. Piotr Madeja, father divine of the Theological College of the Diocese of Sosnowiec, entitled *The Meeting of the Catechist with God as the Basis of New Evangelisation* took place, together with the concelebrated mass presided by rev. Marek Sendal, the Dean of Nowy Sącz Deanery (the sermon was delivered by rev. Andrzej Stasiak, the Dean of the Dąbrowa Górnicza Deanery).

On 5 June 2012 the members of the Sosnowiec Department participated in the academic meeting concerning the doctoral thesis of rev. Michał Borda entitled *The Biblical Concept of Calling in the Post-Grammar School Catechesis and its Reception by Students (based on research among last year students of secondary schools in the Diocese of Sosnowiec)*. The paper touches on current problems concerning the understanding of the biblical concept of calling in the post-grammar school catechesis among the last year students of secondary schools. On the basis of different literary works, collected research data and the author's observations conclusions were reached and catechetical postulates formulated. The aim of the thesis was an attempt to come up with practical ideas to enhance the effectiveness of education in post-grammar school catechesis.

On 21 September 2012 a board meeting of the Sosnowiec Department took place. Due to the celebration of the Year of Faith in the parishes of the Diocese of Sosnowiec on one Sunday of the month before every mass catecheses for adults concerning fundamental Church issues will be read. The Sosnowiec Department of the Polish Theological Society prepared a short catechesis on the so-called registered partnership and its ethical and moral evaluation. It opposed the promoting campaign for the recognition of same gender registered partnership. The Board sent Christmas and Easter wishes to all the members of the Department.

S z c z e c i n   D e p a r t m e n t . It was created on 8 December 2011 and works at the Faculty of Theology of the Szczecin University. In the first year of its activity the Department organised four scientific

symposiums. On 30 May, in co-operation with the Faculty of Church History and the Faculty of Pastoral Theology, a regional conference on the *825th Anniversary of St. James' Church Consecration – the cathedral of the Archdiocese of Szczecin and Kamień (1187–2012)* was held. The employees of the National Archives in Szczecin participated in the conference. From 18 to 19 June, in co-operation with the Faculty of Catechetics of the Theological Department of the University of Szczecin, the Szczecin Department organised two-day debates on: *Religion Teacher – Catechist in the Contemporary Polish Reality* (1st session: *Theological Context: catechist – witness of faith, educator and religion teacher*; 2nd session: *Educational and Catechetical Context: educational teacher requirements; models of catechist positioning in Church regulations* and 3rd session: *Sociologically-Cultural Context: post-modernist tendencies; the changes in students' and teachers' mentality under the influence of the media*). Abp. prof. Andrzej Dzięga, metropolitan of Szczecin and Kamień, as well as bp. Marek Mendyk, the President of the Polish Episcopate Committee for Catholic Education, were among the conference participants. On 17 November in the seminary a scientific conference as a part of the Year of Faith entitled *The Past and Present of the Second Vatican Council* took place. Six papers were presented and information on the Polish Theological Society was provided. One of the 87 participants of the conference was bp. Edward Dajczak, the ordinary officer of Koszalin and Kołobrzeg. The papers will be printed in "Colloquia Theologica Ottoniana" 2 (2012). On 30 November, on the 60th Anniversary of the cardinal nomination of Primate Stefan Wyszyński, with the participation of the National Archives in Szczecin and the Faculty of Church History of the Theological Department, a scientific symposium was organised on *Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński – Memory and Gratitude of Western Pomerania*. The following papers were presented: rev. prof. Zygmunt Zieliński (John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin KUL): *Card. S. Wyszyński in the Expanse of the Universal Church and in Poland*, rev. dr. habil. Grzegorz Wejman, Associate Professor of the Śląsk University: *Card. S. Wyszyński in the Process of Church Organisation in Western Pomerania*, prof. K. Kozłowski (University of Szczecin): *The Role of Card. Wyszyński in the Process of Polonisation*

in the Areas by the Baltic Sea and the Oder, Tadeusz Krawczak, PhD, (Archiwum Akt Nowych [the Archive of New Records] in Warsaw): *Social and Religious Activity of Card. Wyszyński in the Collections of Archiwum Akt Nowych* and rev. Grzegorz Chojnacki, PhD, (University of Szczecin): *Primate Stefan Wyszyński and the Youth.* The scientific session was preceded by the jubilee celebration of rev. prof. Andrzej Offmański. The following people participated in the celebrations: the Metropolitan of Szczecin and Kamień abp. Andrzej Dzięga, rectors of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University rev. prof. S. Dziekoński and the University of Szczecin prof. Edward Włodarczyk, the dean of the Faculty of Theology of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań rev. prof. Jan Szpet, the Faculty of Theology of the University of Szczecin rev. prof. Henryk Wejman; the dean of the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Szczecin dr. habil. Barbara Kromolicka; the dean of the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics of the University of Szczecin prof. Piotr Krasoń, as well as many Associate Professors of the University of Szczecin, rev. prof. Kazimierz Panuś, the President of the Polish Theological Society and rev. prof. Zbigniew Marek, the President of the Polish Catechists Association.

The D e p a r t m e n t i n T o r u ń is the newest of all Field Departments. It was created on 20 January 2012. It is run by rev. dr. habil. Dariusz Zagórski, Associate Professor of the Mikołaj Kopernik University in Toruń. The Toruń Department of the Polish Theological Society co-organised two events: on 21 March a symposium on the 20th Anniversary of the creation of the Diocese of Toruń, during which the following papers were presented: *The Diocese of Toruń and its Continuation of the Great Heritage* (prof. Wiesław Sieradzan), *Caritas Ministry in the Diocese of Toruń* (rev. Daniel Adamowicz, MA), *Movements and Associations of the Laity in the Diocese of Toruń* (dr. habil. Waldemar Rozynkowski, Associate Professor of the Mikołaj Kopernik University) and *Charisms and the Apostolate of Orders in the Diocese of Toruń* (s. Elżbieta Sozańska, PhD); and from 18 to 20 October the scientific conference on *The Fundaments of Medieval Europe.* The symposium material on the 20th Anniversary of the creation of the Diocese of Toruń has already been published.

Final Remarks

One of the most important achievements of the Board of the Polish Theological Society is the co-operation with the International Exhibition of Church Construction, Church Fittings and Furnishings and Religious Art SACROEXPO. It allows the Society members to inspire and participate in the creation of the contemporary religious art. Another significant achievement is receiving funds from the INDEX PLUS 2012 competition, which made the project entitled *Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny – Developing the International Character of the Journal* possible. Thanks to establishing two new Field Departments in Szczecin and Toruń in the last few years, the Polish Theological Society managed to spread its activity to all parts of Poland. We hope that current negotiations will result in creating more field departments.

The Departments in Kielce, Sandomierz and Sosnowiec, as well as Krakow's Biblical, Fundamental Theology, Sacred Art and Missiological Sections should receive special recognition for all their accomplishments. It is also worth mentioning that in the reporting year 35 new Society members were accepted.

The Polish Theological Society is a public Polish association. We wish to thank card. Stanisław Dziwisz as well as the bishops present at the General Meeting and the Polish Episcopal Conference for the care of the Church authorities for the development of the Society. The Board would also like to thank all active members of the Society, who, despite various difficulties, spare no effort to continue the works of the Society, making the Polish community more sensitive to theological thought.

RECENZJE · REVIEWS

KRZYSZTOF MIELCAREK

Nowy Testament a religie, red. Ireneusz Ledwoń OFM, Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin 2009, 583 pp.

The book is the second volume of the collective study on the biblical origins of the theology of religion[1]. The work consists of twenty-two articles, which either discuss particular pericopes of the New Testament or present observations on its fundamental theological dimensions. This innovative project is a step ahead in the process of shaping the research field in this area of theology. Its breadth leads to a conclusion that the work has a chance of becoming an important source text both for theologians trying to determine the position of Christianity among other religions and the readers wanting to understand the attitudes to these religions presented in the New Testament. The material is ordered in accordance with the following key: "religious and historical context – revelation – salvation – Jesus Christ – Church mission – universalism of salvation in eschatologic times".

The study begins with an article which points to new challenges facing Christianity, especially the widespread view on the equality of all religions. Inalienable claim of Jesus Christ himself and the definitive Revelation and Salvation realised by Him are not necessarily connected with the salvific exclusivism, since in the Bible we can find proof that God's salvific works had various forms, sometimes differing from the main stream approach.

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[1] Cf. *Stary Testament a religie*, red. I. S. Ledwoń, Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin 2009 (Biblioteka Teologii Religii).

Rev. A. Zawadzki analyses the terminology of the New Testament concerning Gentiles, and then presents three reasons why the mission of evangelisation was directed at this particular group: the logic of God's plan of salvation (Acts 13 : 13–52), knowledge (1 Cor 8 : 1–13) and truth of the Gospel (Gal 2 : 2–5. 14). The last criterion is the truth of the Gospel, which is the revelation of God in Jesus Christ, God's faithfulness and Jesus Christ himself.

In his article Ł. Toboła touches on the religious and philosophical context of early Christianity. The author presents the religious image of Palestine in the Roman period, the intellectual circles of ancient Palestine and the overall characteristics of the religious and philosophical context of early Christianity. The article forms a valuable ancient historical background for the rising Christianity.

Rev. J. Kręcidło discusses the problem of the inculturation of Christianity in the Roman – Hellenistic world in the biblical period. The dynamic growth of Christianity had its origins in Judaism, and then turned to broadly understood Roman-Hellenistic culture. The ideals of the New Testament as well as the organisation of the community and teaching in the context of philosophical schools and cultural and social dimensions of Christianity sum up the author's analysis. Despite the obvious correlation between Christianity and the Roman-Hellenistic world, the Old Testament and Judaism in the 1st century AD should always be the fundamental reference points.

A. Kuśmirek focused on the status of a foreigner in the Roman-Hellenistic world. According to the writer, Hellenistic Judaism was torn between complete rejection of foreigners and accepting them as fellow citizens (diaspora). Although Judaism in the times of Christ accepted proselytes more easily, it was Christianity that brought the new quality of openness, in which a "foreigner" is a friend (Lk 17 : 18), and ultimately represents Jesus himself (Mt 25 : 35. 43).

In his article, rev. M. Wróbel draws the readers' attention to the great linguistic variety of terminology referring to revelation, salvation and faith. As far as the revelation is concerned the terminology is connected with different stages of its fulfilment: in the person of Jesus, in his disciples and in eternal times. Salvation is mostly associated with the Greek word

sodzo, which can be used with reference to both physical rescue, as well as the spiritual gift of the renewed bond with God, in both cases related to Christ. The notions of faith are associated with the way in which man should answer to God through his trust and personal bond.

Under a short and a slightly enigmatic title *Jesus and the Gentiles,* E. Zając elaborates on the subject of the salvation of the Gentiles in the light of the promises given to God's chosen people. The author compares the attitude to the Gentiles in the Old Testament with the attitude of Jesus and his disciples to non-Jews. The account of the situation in the New Testament is not uniform (the Gospel of Matthew in comparison with other Synoptic Gospels), however, the universal hope of salvation is deeply rooted in the teachings of Christ himself.

Rev. A. Paciorek analyses Rom 1–2 in terms of getting to know God and the internal law of God showing the positive aspects of the non-Jewish world. First he focuses on the interpretation of Rom 1 : 19: "for what can be known about God is evident to them", next he moves on to Rom 2 : 15, which talks about the demands of the law which are written in the hearts of the Gentiles. According to the author, the way in which the Apostle proves his point shows that the Greek idea of the natural law was his inspiration, although with the influence of the appropriate biblical context.

Rev. J. Stefański touches on similar issues. Starting with the analysis of Vaticanum II, he presents the issue of the Gentiles getting to know God through the world created in *Corpus Paulinum*, the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. Then he goes on to talk about conscience and natural law. A broader view is presented by the reference to the love of your neighbour (Rom 13 : 8–10).

Baptism as a necessary means of salvation was presented in the article of rev. S. Ormanty. In the four-part study he analyses the context of Mk 16 : 11–16 and the key expressions showing the unbelief of the post-Paschal community, discussing possible interpretations of the analysed fragment and its theological message. Unfortunately, the excessive number of analysed issues, as well as lack of order and cohesion in the last part of the text, make this article the weakest link of the book.

Rev. Z. Pawłowski reached for the exegesis and theology of Mt 25 : 31–46 as the subject of his presentation. Narrative analysis of three episodes (the

last judgement, the dialogue of the king with his subjects, the works of mercy) shows a wide range of borrowings from and allusions to earlier biblical scenes. The author explains key notions and expressions, taking their narrative functions into account. In his opinion, the last judgement scene is an appeal for mercy towards every man in need, which will result in the the gift of salvation in eternity.

Rev. H. Witczyk devoted his article to the analysis of the biblical fragment: "The true light, which enlightens everyone, was coming into the world" (Jn 1:9). The text consists of six parts in which the author presents Jn 1:9 in a wide range of the prologue's interpretations. The patterns of the prologue's interpretation were presented, with emphasis put on the possibility of salvation. The study finishes with the presentation of the meaning of v. 9 in the context of the prologue, the Gospel and a number of Old Testament traditions.

Taking into account the Letters of the Apostle (Rom) and the so-called Deutero-Pauline Letters (Eph, Col), rev. J. Wilk presented the concept of an "old man" as being under the influence of sin (Adam), who, with no salvific intervention of God, would have been condemned. Its positive alternative is a "new man", who is the image of mankind initiated thanks to the salvific work of Jesus Christ, the fullness of which is yet to come in eternity.

B. Urbanek compares two Pauline concepts on the basis of 1 Tim 2:4–6. God's plan for the whole mankind is presented as having a strong connection with the unique role of Christ. After the historical and critical analysis of the fragment and its thorough exegesis, the author concludes that there is a strong link between the salvific mediation of Christ and universalism.

The paradigmatic character of Paul's speech at the Aeropagus (Acts 17:22–31) was presented by rev. W. Rakocy. Emphasising the structural strength of the text, the author reveals the missionary strategy of the speech, which aims at befriending the listeners in order to appeal for conversion and call them to accept the Resurrected Christ. It is accompanied by the critical view on the cult practices among the Gentiles.

The Acts of the Apostles and the salvific universalism in the pericope of centurion Cornelius (Acts 10:1–11.18) were studied by rev. S. Haręzga.

As a theologian, Luke focused on the dichotomy of history: announcement-fulfilment, which is also visible in the description of the meeting of Peter and Cornelius. Both turn out to be tools in the works of God's Providence reaching out to every man.

The understanding of universalism presented in Isa 45 : 23, which is directly referred to in Pauline Letters (Rom 14 : 11; Phil 2 : 10–11), was the topic of the work by rev. W. Pikor. The universalist manifest from Isa 45 : 14–25 is a perfect match with similar prophetic texts, at the same time being the best means of presentation of the Deutero-Isaiah theology. The analysis of the texts shows that Paul's interpretation is purely Christological and concerns the faithful themselves.

Rev. J. Bocian focuses on the interpretation of two synoptic pericopes (Mt 10 : 5 and Lk 2 : 32) in the light of the Great Commission of Christianity from the Gospel according to Matthew (28 : 19). Restricting the mission to Jews only (Mt 10) is in contrast with the universalist command of the Resurrected Christ (Mt 28). Having analysed the texts, the author concludes that there are two versions of the Great Commission of Christ: Mk and Mt include the distinction between different ethnic groups, whilst Lk and Acts gradually broaden the circle of addressees of the Good News.

Rev. W. Linke discussed the eschatological dimension of the expression "nations" in the New Testament. Early Christianity, similarly to Judaism, treats salvation as a privilege for the faithful only. The New Testament contains very few texts which present a slightly broader perceptions of the ultimate decisions. Among them we can find the last judgement scene from Mt 25 : 32 and the invitation for the nations to participate in the cult in 1 Pet 2 : 12.

The issue of hostility of the Gentiles towards Christ's followers based on 1 Pet is presented in the article of rev. Z. Niemirski. After the general presentation of the Letter and the missionary significance of the phrase about good works (1 Pet 2 : 12) the author elaborates on the meaning of vv. 13–15, focusing on their social dimension.

Rev. J. Nawrot discusses eschatological issues in his study on false messiahs, prophets and the Antichrist. Together with the descriptions of the negative New Testament characters, the author presents the Antichrist in other religions. The second part of the study has a patristically-dogmatic

character and presents the Antichrist in three possible dimensions: as a man through whom the devil is acting, the devil himself or the opponent of God in a collective sense.

In the last article of the collection Ł. Toboła reached for the study of sects (texts from *hairesis*). Analysing the Acts of the Apostles and some fragments of the Revelation the author concludes that Christianity was one of the streams of Judaism, and the only text which directly mentions the unorthodox group within Christianity is Rev 2 : 6. 14–15, 19–20 about the Nicolaitans.

The summary of the most important theses of the articles forming the collective work edited by prof. S. Ledwoń clearly shows that the book entitled *The New Testament and Religions* is a valuable academic compendium concerning the biblical background of the theology of religion in the context of the New Testament. The book will definitely be appreciated by specialists in the field and other readers as well.

Lublin   *KRZYSZTOF MIELCAREK*