

# RUCH BIBLIJNY i LITURGICZNY

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THE BIBLICAL AND LITURGICAL MOVEMENT

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## ARTYKUŁY · ARTICLES

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- ANNA MARIA WAJDA  
The Biblical World of Animals ..... 293
- MAREK SZCZERBIŃSKI  
Thunderstorm Electricity as the Probable Origin of the Pentecost Kerygma ..... 317
- STANISŁAW MIESZCZAK SCJ  
Post-Conciliar Changes in Liturgy ..... 331
- WALDEMAR PAŁĘCKI MSF  
The Worship of Swedish Saints in Poland after the Council of Trent ..... 351

---

## RECENZJE · REVIEWS

---

- TOMASZ MARIA DĄBEK OSB  
Anna Bąk, *Perswazyjna funkcja cytatów przywołanych z Księgi Izajasza w 1 Kor 1, 18–3, 4*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Papieskiego Jana Pawła II w Krakowie, Kraków 2010, 324 pp. .... 373
- ANNA IVANČÁKOVÁ  
Peter Caban, *Dejiny kresťanskej liturgie v staroveku*, Vydavateľstvo Paulínky, Praha 2012, 135 pp. .... 377
- REV. KAZIMIERZ PANUŚ  
Roman Mazurkiewicz, *Deesis. Idea wstawiennictwa Bogarodzicy i św. Jana Chrzcziciela w kulturze średniowiecznej*, Kraków 2012, 346 pp. .... 381



## ARTYKUŁY · ARTICLES

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ANNA MARIA WAJDA

## **The Biblical World of Animals**

In the Holy Scripture one can come across a number of texts referring to animals and mentioning them. Because of that, while reading the Bible, we are often tempted to confront descriptions included in it with contemporary natural sciences. We often wonder whether the animals mentioned in different Books of the Sacred Scripture should be perceived in a realistic way, or rather as a kind of allegory to present a particular situation or to teach us a lesson about something.

How should biblical descriptions including references to the animal world be interpreted? Firstly, one must remember that the principal aim of the Bible is to deliver the Revelation of God. It is the Book written and read with the theological aim in mind, therefore, it would be unreasonable to expect the references to animals that one can find in it to have a merely zoological character. That is why it is crucial to analyse the biblical mentions of animals in the context of literature and theology, far beyond the initial zoological interpretation.

It is noteworthy that the Bible, presenting the story of God's interventions with the human fate, laterally provides us with one of the first written records of animal species and descriptions of their behaviour and appearance. Common references to the animal world show that the authors of the Bible were careful nature observers, able to use their knowledge of fauna to picture and present numerous lessons and useful advice. On the other hand, the zoological analysis of the fragments of the Bible in which references to animals appear lets us determine the variety of species in the biblical areas in the times when both the Old and the New Testament were being written.

# 1. The Origins of the Abundance of the Biblical Fauna

Analysing the wide variety of animal species mentioned in the Bible and the reasons why the inspired authors chose these particular representatives of the animal world, one must consider a number of factors that influenced this process. Their character is both geographical and historically-cultural. The first aspect one must take into consideration is the fact that the biblical stage of the history of salvation was not only the land of Israel, but also other areas and countries, since during some periods Israelites resided in Egypt (cf. Gen 45:9–10) and the Tigris-Euphrates basin (cf. Ps 137:1), where they had a chance to become familiar with the animals living there. What is more, even in the ancient times exotic animals were bred and traded,<sup>1</sup> an example of which we can find in the description of king Solomon's fleet: "[the] king had a fleet of Tarshish ships at sea with Hiram's fleet. Once every three years the fleet of Tarshish ships would come with a cargo of gold, silver, ivory, apes, and monkeys" (1 Kings 10:22).

Using the contemporary geographical names, we can place the events described in the Bible on the territory spreading from Iran in the east to Libya in the west, from Armenia in the north to Sudan in the south. Analysing the different species of the biblical fauna we must look at the eastern part of the Mediterranean Basin, which is often referred to as the Fertile Crescent<sup>2</sup> or the Cultural Semicircle.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Słownik tła Biblii*, red. nauk. wyd. oryg. J. I. Packer, M. C. Tenney, red. nauk. wyd. pol. W. Chrostowski, Warszawa 2007, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> The name "Fertile Crescent" was introduced in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by J. H. Breasted as referring to the ancient Near East. It is used with reference to the region containing the moist and fertile land stretching from the Persian Gulf (Kuwait, Iran, Iraq, Syria, south-east Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel) to Egypt in the west – cf. S. Jankowski, *Geografia biblijna*, Warszawa 2007, p. 16, 22; *Atlas biblijny*, Warszawa 1990, p. 13–14; W. Chrostowski, „Ziemia miodem i mlekiem płynąca.” *Medytacja nad geografiją historyczną Palestyny*, „Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny” 44 (1991) no. 4–6, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> A much newer expression used to describe the area of Levant, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Greece. The name comes from the supposition that we owe the invention of the alphabet and money to this region – cf. S. Jankowski, *Geografia biblijna*, op. cit., p. 16, 28.

However, the majority of biblical events take place in the territory between Africa and Asia, between the Mediterranean coast and the Arabian Desert. The popular name of this area is the Holy Land.<sup>4</sup> It is a part of the western side of the Fertile Crescent, the southern part of the Levant, to be more exact, it is therefore a part of today's Syria, Lebanon and Israel.

Natural borders of the Holy Land can easily be determined – from the west it is the Mediterranean coast, and in the north the Mountains of Lebanon along the Nahr el-Litani stream (Leontes), Beqaa Valley (el-Bika) and the Anti-Lebanon Mountains with Mount Hermon. In the east the natural border is formed by the River Jordan flowing from the slope of Mount Hermon to the Sea of Galilee, in the end reaching the Dead Sea. On the extension of the River Jordan and the Dead Sea the border of the Holy land is formed by the Gulf of Aqaba, separating the Sinai Peninsula from the Arabian Peninsula. From the south-west the Holy land is enclosed by the Negev Desert, which then changes into the Sinai Desert. The geographical border between Negev and Sinai is formed by the line between the Gulf of Aqaba and the mouth of the el-Arisz stream, flowing into the Mediterranean. The area of the Holy Land determined in this way covers about 25 thousand km<sup>2</sup>, and the territory of the contemporary Israel is inscribed in it.<sup>5</sup>

Due to its location, the Holy Land is the area where the paths of people and animals from three continents – Europe, Asia and Africa – cross. Because of that, over the last few thousand of years, a unique animal world was formed, specific for areas of varied influences, where the diversification of species is big. That is why it is necessary to reach for the zoological knowledge while trying to determine and recreate the natural background of a number of biblical pericopes, as mutually conditioning co-existence of different plant and animal species is characteristic for all living creatures.

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<sup>4</sup> The land of Israel seen from the religious perspective is the Holy Land for Judaism and Christianity – cf. W. Chrostowski, *Ziemia Izraela w ekonomii zbawienia i świadomości żydowskiej*, „Ateneum Kapłańskie” 114 (1990) z. 1, p. 63–76.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. S. Jankowski, *Geografia biblijna*, op. cit., p. 44–46; W. Chrostowski, „*Ziemia miodem i mlekiem płynąca*,” op. cit., p. 131–132.

The research on the biblical fauna is facilitated by the determination of the so-called zoological zones. In the territory of Israel four such zones can be determined: the Mediterranean zone, the Irano-Turanian zone, Saharo-Arabian zone and the tropical enclaves in the Dead Sea and the Arabah Valley areas. The Mediterranean zone comprises the Hermon Mountain, the Golan Heights, Galilee, the Akko Plain, Mount Carmel, the Jezreel Valley, western and mid Samaria, the Sharon Plain and Shfela, the Judean Mountains and the northern and middle part of the Judean Lowland. The Irano-Turanian zone forms a narrow strip of land stretching from the south of the Golan Heights, through eastern Samaria, to the central part of the Judean Desert, where it widens towards the west, encompassing northern extremities of the Judean Mountains and Shfela and a large part of the Northern Negev, where it narrows down and stretches to the south through the hills of the central part of Negev.<sup>6</sup> Asian influences are characteristic for this biogeographical zone, since it constitutes a kind of extension of the steppe strip of the Central Asia plateau, which is why it is inhabited by wolves (*Canis lupus*), foxes (*Vulpes vulpes*) and European hares (*Lepus europaeus*).<sup>7</sup> The Saharo-Arabian zone comprises the Jordan Valley, the eastern part of the Judean Desert, the Dead Sea coast, Arabah, the Paran Plateau and the Eilat Mountains, Negev and the south-western part of the Shfela lowlands.<sup>8</sup> Wadis, being deep dry riverbeds with steep banks formed by water, are common in this area. As far as fauna and flora are concerned, they are the near-Eastern counterparts of the north-African oueds. Among the animals living in this area we can encounter the Nubian ibex (*Capra ibex nubiana*) and the rock hyrax (*Procapra capensis*).<sup>9</sup> By the River Jordan and the Dead Sea there are oases of the tropical Sudan zone, the subtropical character of which confirms the presence of the African flora and fauna. The plant world is

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. W. W. Ferguson, *The Mammals of Israel*, Jerusalem-New York 2002, p. 22–23.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. A. B. David, A. Fossi, S. Nick, A. Issar, P. J. Dubois, *Przyroda*, [in:] *Ziemia Święta*, red. wyd. pol. J. Hess, Bielsko-Biała 1996, p. 20–21.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. W. W. Ferguson, *The Mammals of Israel*, op. cit., p. 22–23.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. A. B. David, A. Fossi, S. Nick, A. Issar, P. J. Dubois, *Przyroda*, op. cit., p. 17–19, 22–23.



most importantly represented by acacias (especially *Acacia nilotica* and *Acacia seyal*), and from the animal world we can come across: the mountain gazelle (*Gazella gazella cora*), the striped hyena (*Hyaena hyaena*), the wildcat (*Felis silvestris*) and the lesser Egyptian jerboa (*Jaculus orientalis*). The occurrence of the aforementioned zoographical zones in Israel conditions a unique specific combination of animals, especially mammals and birds, which is different from every other place in the world. The specific diversity characteristic for this area is thought to be caused by the fact that it is positioned in between three continents and has a great climatic and environmental variety.<sup>10</sup>

## 2. Characteristics of the Biblical Fauna

The term “animals,” commonly used to refer to all living creatures except for plants, does not always have its equivalent in the Bible. Most often it is associated with the Hebrew word חַיָּה *hajjā(h)* meaning ‘a living creature’ (cf. Lev 11:2) and בְּהֵמָה *bēhēmā(h)*, which in the Old Testament is used to refer to all four-legged animals (cf. Gen 6:7), especially domestic ones (Ex 22:9–10). In Septuagint (LXX) and the New Testament a Greek word θηρίον *thērion* is used, four-legged animals, however, are referred to with the word τετράπους *tetrapous* (cf. Acts 10:12; 11:6).<sup>11</sup>

The Old Testament perceives animals mostly as the creatures of God. They belong to Him, and, just like humans, are being taken care of by Him (cf. Ps 36:7). Unlike other religions of the ancient Near East, the Old Testament warns against deifying animals, and even forbids that.<sup>12</sup> Animals were created to praise the Lord (Ps 148:7, 10; Dan 3:79–81). At the same time, God is the only Lord of all animals (Ps 49:10–11), and

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Y. Eshbol, U. Paz, *Birds in the Land of the Bible*, Herzlia [n.d.], p. 3–7; W. W. Ferguson, *The Mammals of Israel*, op. cit., p. 22–23.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. H. I. Avalos, *Zwierzęta*, [in:] *Słownik wiedzy biblijnej*, red. nauk. B. M. Metzger, M. D. Coogan, Warszawa 1999, p. 828.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. M. Lurker, *Słownik obrazów i symboli biblijnych*, tłum. K. Romaniuk, Poznań 1989, p. 280–282.

the man (Adam) was chosen from among all creatures and was allowed to name them (Gen 2:19). The Old Testament contains many instructions concerning the behaviour of people towards animals. They teach that lost animals cannot be left by themselves, and that working animals should not be overburdened (Deut 22:1–4). The obligation to rest on the seventh day applies to animals as well (Ex 23:12). This is the law referred to by Christ, who, explaining the right way of understanding the Shabbat, reminds about the need of taking care of animals that help men, especially the ox and the ass (cf. Lk 13:15; 14:5). In the Bible we can also find descriptions showing the admiration of contemporary men for the animal world. This contemplation of nature not only shows the delight and appreciation of beauty, but, most importantly, brings to mind God the Creator. An example of such way of reality presentation can be found in the Book of Job, in which the title character understands the power of the Creator when he notices the perfection of animals (Job 38–39). Specific animal personalisation is also characteristic for the Bible. As we can read in the Book of Exodus 21:28–32 and a similar fragment of the Book of Leviticus 20:15–16, those animals that committed a crime are subject to punishment.<sup>13</sup>

Some of the animals in the Bible are presented as God's tools of administering justice. Plagues of Egypt can serve as examples, especially mass appearance of frogs (Ex 8:1–5), gnats (Ex 8:16), flies (Ex 8:21) and locusts (Ex 10:4–6). During the walk of Israelites through the desert, saraph serpents were the tool of God's justice (Num 21:6). The she-bears tearing to pieces those jeering at Elisha play the same role in 2 Kings 2:24, as well as boars (Ps 79:14) and foxes that damage the vineyards (Song 2:15).

In the New Testament we can also come across descriptions in which Christ refers to animal lives in order to illustrate his teachings. The following words of Jesus can serve as an example: "Foxes have dens and birds of the sky have nests, but the Son of Man has nowhere to rest his head" (Mt 8:20).

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. S Kobieltus, *Bestiarium chrześcijańskie. Zwierzęta w symbolice i interpretacji. Starożytność i średniowiecze*, Warszawa 2002, p. 14–15.

### 3. Animal Classification Systems in the Sacred Scripture

Classification systems of the animal world in the Bible are not based on scientific data, but are the result of shrewd observations of the environment, and a way of presenting the significance of animals for people and their lives. Because of that, one of the first and well defined ways of fauna classification that we find in the Bible is based on a cult criterion, according to which animals can be divided into two groups – clean and unclean (Lev 11:1–31; Deut 14:3–21).<sup>14</sup>

Clean terrestrial animals are the ones which are cloven-footed and chew the cud, so, using the contemporary zoological terminology, the even-toed ungulates and ruminantia belong to this group. Of the various creatures that live in water one can eat only those that have both fins and scales. Among birds only some seed-eating ones, especially pigeons, are considered to be clean. According to this classification system the group of unclean animals includes: reptiles, rodents, carnivorous birds, scavengers, as well as some domesticated animals, such as pigs, asses, camels and almost all insects.<sup>15</sup>

The lists of animals that we can find in the Book of Leviticus and the Book of Deuteronomy mostly include wild animals, represented by the species indigenous for the biblical land. Some animals bred in Israel at that time are also listed there. This long and detailed list of unclean animals is not any longer than the Egyptian list of taboo animals. The difference between the Jewish and Egyptian lists, however, is visible in the way in which animals were perceived. By the River Nile their status was that of sacred creatures, whilst by the River Jordan their uncleanness was emphasised, and they were separated from what was considered to be sacred. What is more, in Israel the taboo element concerning animals

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. A. Wajda, *Zwierzęta czyste i nieczyste*, [in:] *Wokół Biblii. Biblia w kulturze świata*, pr. zb. pod red. T. Jelonka, Kraków 2008, p. 128–149; E. Barnavi, *A Historical Atlas of the Jewish People. From the Time of the Patriarchs to the Present*, New York 1992.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. H. I. Avalos, *Zwierzęta*, [in:] *Słownik wiedzy biblijnej*, op. cit., p. 828.

was connected with both the problem of their consumption and their impurity, as perceived by Judaism.<sup>16</sup>

Determining the category of sacrificial animals in the Bible is strongly connected with this system of classification. In the Old Testament animal sacrifice was offered with rams, she-goats, bulls, turtle-doves, pigeons, heifers (cf. Gen 15:9–11). In Israel killing and offering an animal made fulfilling the most important obligation of man towards God possible – that being the expression of adoration, gratitude and propitiation. In the religion of Israel only ritually clean animals could be used as offerings, which did not belittle the value of other creatures. An example of that can be the ass, which is an unclean animal, however, its first-born can be redeemed with a sheep. If it is not redeemed, one should break its neck (Ex 13:13; 34:20). It is noteworthy that the tradition of blood animal sacrifice in Israel stopped after the destruction of the temple in 70 A.D., and, according to the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb 10), they were no longer necessary when Jesus Christ Himself became the perfect offering. The function of Christ – the Sacrifice, which became real on the cross, is pointed to by John the Baptist, who presented Jesus as the Lamb of God twice (Jn 1:29.35). Christ is referred to as the Paschal Lamb (cf. Ex 12:1–14) and as the Servant of Yahweh (Isa 53:7). It is important to remember that even the Old Testament prophets emphasised the fact that animal sacrifice cannot be the core element of the worship (cf. Isa 1:11–17; Mic 6:6–8). A similar reference can also be found in the New Testament (cf. Heb 10:1–18).<sup>17</sup>

As far as men are concerned, the Bible divides animals into two groups: the ones that are dangerous and pose a threat to men, and the ones which

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. T. Margul, *Zwierzę w kulcie i micie*, Lublin 1996, p. 194. The Jewish law classification differentiates between kosher animals (meaning fit for consumption) and unclean animals (the consumption of which is prohibited). What is more, the commandment to slaughter animals for consumption according to a process known as 'shechita' – quickly and in the least painful way possible – cf. A. Unterman, *Encyklopedia tradycji i legend żydowskich*, przeł. O. Zienkiewicz, Warszawa 2000, p. 303.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. M. Wolniewicz, *Ojczyzna Jezusa. Kraj, ludzie i dzień powszedni*, Katowice 1989, p. 97–99.

are friendly and useful in everyday life.<sup>18</sup> Domestic animals fall into the second category, especially sheep, goats, cattle, camels, horses, mules and asses. They provided the people breeding them with fresh meat and milk, skin and bones that were materials for producing different objects; they served as means of transport and draught power. In the Bible the number of animals owned was a measure of wealth and social position (cf. Job 1 : 3) and played a crucial role in building and keeping the military force in the Near East – as was the case with breeding and trading horses (cf. 1 Kings 5 : 6; 10 : 28–29).<sup>19</sup>

Among the animals that the Bible considers to be most harmful, we must mention the locust. Its sudden appearance in large numbers, especially in the fields, orchards and vineyards, caused the most fear, since, devouring all green parts of plants they came across, they destroyed the crops completely, posing a real threat of famine (cf. Joel 1 : 4). The saraph serpents were also considered to be extremely dangerous (cf. Num 21 : 1–6).<sup>20</sup>

In the Bible the classification into birds and terrestrial and water animals is clearly distinguishable (cf. Gen 1 : 20–26; Ps 104 : 10–26). The inspired authors used the habitat of particular animal species as the criterion for classification. Wherever animal action is involved, animals in the Bible can be classified as domesticated (bred by humans) and wild, therefore living in their natural habitat (free). According to the scientific terminology, the animals which appear in the Bible can be grouped as belonging to the kingdom of insects, fish, reptiles, amphibians, birds and mammals.

## 4. Domesticated Animals in the Bible

The process of domesticating animals has its origins in the Neolithic Era. The sheep and the goat were the earliest domesticated animal species, the process most probably took place about six thousand years before Christ on the Iranian plateau. The traces of breeding cows in the Near East are

<sup>18</sup> Cf. S. Jankowski, *Geografia biblijna*, op. cit., p. 213.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. H. I. Avalos, *Zwierzęta*, [in:] *Słownik wiedzy biblijnej*, op. cit., p. 828.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 828–829.

dated back to about four thousand years before Christ. Three thousand years B.C. the ass, most probably from the eastern part of Africa (Somalia), was domesticated. It was used for riding and as a draught animal (cf. Gen 22:3; 42:26–27; 1 Sam 25:18) long before the camel was domesticated.<sup>21</sup>

The ass was an indispensable element of life in Israel. It was commonly bred and almost every family kept one. When someone did not own an ass, it could be hired for the price of three denarii a month. In the times of Jesus, and even nowadays, big and strong Muscat donkeys, with light grey or white fur, able to cover a distance of up to 40 kilometres, were and are popular in this area.<sup>22</sup>

The popularity of breeding asses was caused by their basic dietary requirements and resistance to difficult weather conditions. She-asses were used as draught animals, but they were also milked. Even wealthy people travelled with asses as means of transport, and the indication of their wealth and position was owning asses with white hair (Judg 5:10). She-asses were ridden on, as they were more obedient than male asses, although even they were sometimes difficult to control (cf. Num 22:21–30). Rich people, especially merchants, travelled on asses in special saddles, under which patterned saddle-clothes were put. Up till now in the Near East white (grey) asses are more expensive than ordinary ones.<sup>23</sup>

The ass in the Bible is the symbol of humility and persistent service, which was depicted in Zechariah's prophecy 9:9: "See, your king shall come to you; a just savior is he, Meek, and riding on an ass, on a colt, the foal of an ass."<sup>24</sup> The description emphasised peaceful intentions of the king to come, as rulers setting off to war rode on horseback.<sup>25</sup> It is worth

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<sup>21</sup> Cf. S. Jankowski, *Geografia biblijna*, op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. H. Daniel-Rops, *Życie w Palestynie w czasach Chrystusa*, tłum. J. Lasocka, Warszawa 2001, p. 27.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Komentarz*, [in:] *Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu w przekładzie z języków oryginalnych z wstępami i komentarzami*, opracował zespół pod redakcją M. Petera (Stary Testament) i M. Wolniewicza (Nowy Testament), t. 1, Poznań 2003, p. 377.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Słownik tła Biblii*, op. cit., p. 173–174.

<sup>25</sup> All evangelists refer to this prophecy describing Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem, which is supposed to present the right dimension of His mission as a Messiah. He does not

mentioning that in early monarchy period kings often rode on mules (cf. 2 Sam 18:9 and 1 Kings 1:33). At that time they were twice, or even three times more expensive than horses. They had to be imported from other countries, as Israelites did not know how to breed them.<sup>26</sup> What is more, the law forbade breeding mules: “Keep my statutes: do not breed any of your domestic animals with others of a different species; do not sow a field of yours with two different kinds of seed; and do not put on a garment woven with two different kinds of thread” (Lev 19:9), although it did not mention using them.<sup>27</sup>

In Palestine the ass was always the most popular animal. It was ridden on by both men and women (cf. 2 Kings 4:24). When a family was travelling, however, it was a woman and her children that were riding, and a servant or a father who walked next to them (cf. Ex 4:20).<sup>28</sup> This way of travelling was popularised in Christian iconography, in which different painters liked to use this eastern habit of presenting the Holy Family during their flight to Egypt (Mt 2:13–15),<sup>29</sup> although an ass is not mentioned in the Gospel.

Despite the fact that the ass was an extremely useful animal for every Israeli family, after death it was despised and was not even buried. It was

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arrive in Jerusalem as a combative ruler, but as the Prince of Peace mounted on a colt. What is more, this is the only moment in the life of Jesus in which he is described as riding an ass (cf. Mk 11:1–7; Mt 21:2–7; Lk 19:30; Jn 12:14–15) – cf. *Katolicki komentarz biblijny*, red. nauk. wyd. oryg. R. E. Brown, J. A. Fitzmyer, R. E. Murphy, red. wyd. pol. W. Chrostowski, Warszawa 2001; *Międzynarodowy Komentarz do Pisma Świętego. Komentarz katolicki i ekumeniczny na XXI wiek*, red. nauk. wyd. oryg. W. R. Farmer, współred. S. McEvenue, A. J. Levoratti, D. L. Dungan, red. nauk. wyd. pol. W. Chrostowski, współred. T. Mieszkowski, P. Pachciarek, Warszawa 2000, p. 1070; R. C. Fuller, L. Johnston, C. Kearns, *A New Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture*, Nashville-New York 1975, p. 731.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. J. H. Walton, V. H. Marrhews, M. W. Chavalas, *Komentarz historyczno-kulturowy do Biblii hebrajskiej*, op. cit., p. 394, 927.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. F. H. Wight, *Obyczaje krajów biblijnych*, op. cit., p. 232.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 231–232.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. L. Impelluso, *Natura i jej symbole. Rośliny i zwierzęta. Leksykon, historia, sztuka, ikonografia*, tłum. H. Cieśla, Warszawa 2006, p. 261.

thrown away or left in the desert for wild animals to tear into pieces.<sup>30</sup> It explains the circumstances in which Samson found a fresh jawbone of an ass,<sup>31</sup> which in his hands became a dangerous weapon. The Biblical description claims that he killed a thousand men with it (Judg 15:15).

The horse was probably domesticated 2 thousand years before Christ, on the steppe of Elam, or by the Scythians in what is now the contemporary European Russia. It was brought to Palestine and Egypt by the Hyksos (17<sup>th</sup> century B.C.).<sup>32</sup> In biblical times horses were usually used for drawing chariots, since, similarly to Egyptian beliefs,<sup>33</sup> riding in a saddle was considered inappropriate. Owning horses was a symbol of monarch's high social status, which can be seen in Solomon's attempts to maximise the amount of horses and chariots that he owned (cf 1 Kings 10:26, 29). With time, horses became steeds, used for example in courier services (cf. Esth 8:10).<sup>34</sup>

The presence of the camel in direct proximity of men, even four thousand years before Christ, can be confirmed by the archaeological discoveries from Sumer and Egypt. Popularisation of camels in the Near East took place at the end of the second millennium before Christ (in Egypt it happened in the Persian times – 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.).<sup>35</sup> There is no mention of camels (dromedaries) in Old Babylonian documents of sales and purchase from 1950 to 1530 B.C., which leads to the conclusion that camels appeared in the area of the Fertile Crescent in the second half of the second millennium before Christ and that they came from Arabia. During the same period the Bactrian camel (two-humped) was popu-

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<sup>30</sup> Cf. D. Forstner, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej*, op. cit., p. 285.

<sup>31</sup> A jawbone of an ass is not much of a weapon. About 25 cm long, with the weight of no more than 0.5 kg. One might assume that the teeth still attached to it and its slightly bent shape made it a bit more effective – cf. J. H. Walton, V. H. Marrhews, M. W Chavalas, *Komentarz historyczno-kulturowy do Biblii Hebrajskiej*, op. cit., p. 291.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. A. Lasota-Moskalewska, *Zwierzęta udomowione w dziejach ludzkości*, Warszawa 2005, p. 171–177.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. H. Owusu, *Symbole Egiptu*, tłum. M. Dziedzic, Katowice 2002, p. 283.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. J. I. Packer, M. C. Tenney, *Słownik tła Biblii*, op. cit., p. 176.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. S. Jankowski, *Geografia biblijna*, op. cit., p. 88.



larised in Central Asia. So in the times of Abraham (18<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) the camel might have been bred and it might have been considered as a kind of luxury, but it seems improbable that it was used as a mount. As far as the camel is concerned, there are some discrepancies in the Bible. According to some exegists, information on camels in Gen 24:31 and 37:25 is anachronistic. On the other hand, the events described in Judg 6:5 and 7:12 can be treated as proof that the camel was domesticated before the period of kings.<sup>36</sup>

The use of camels as mounts in the Holy Land was popularised about 1.5–1 thousand years before Christ. Before that time, tents and other belongings were transported with the use of mules and asses. The camel, much stronger and with more stamina, made it possible to cover longer distances. The mule or the ass had to drink at least every other day. The camel, however, could survive without water for 17 days. Owning camels, nomads did not have to fear the desert and even remote cities and settlements could sustain regular exchange of goods. With the passage of time and as people learnt to use horses, the mobility of nomads was even greater, as effective defence against the attacks of neighbours was possible and it was possible to fight regular wars.<sup>37</sup>

Cattle, scientifically referred to and most commonly classified collectively as *Bos primigenius*, comprises of the following: the male called a bull, an ox, being a castrated adult male, the female called a cow, and their offspring called a calf.<sup>38</sup> They are bred for their meat, milk, fat, skins, and, until recently, they were also commonly used as working animals. Cattle is a domesticated form of the aurochs, but there is no agreement as to when it happened. The most common theory is that it took place in Asia about 6–7 thousand years ago.<sup>39</sup> The theory is confirmed by the archaeological discoveries from the land of Mesopotamia, where the oldest traces of animal domestication from about 8 thousand years ago were found. It is noteworthy that initially cattle was used for ritual purposes,

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<sup>36</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 89.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. A. Chouraqui, *Życie codzienne ludzi Biblii*, Warszawa 1995, p. 26.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. D. Frostner, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej*, op. cit., p. 251.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. B. Szczepanowicz, A. Mrozek, *Atlas zwierząt biblijnych*, Kraków 2007, p. 69.

then – as working animals. It was much later that people began breeding them for their meat and milk.<sup>40</sup>

In the Bible we also come across cattle classification according to its function. The Hebrew word עֵגֶל *'ēgel* is usually translated as 'calf', and can also more specifically mean young, one-year-old bulls. In Psalm 29:6 a calf like this (עֵגֶל *'ēgēl*) is jumping, in the Book of Jeremiah (50:11) it frisks, and in the Books of Leviticus (9:3) and Micah (6:6) a one-year-old calf – a yearling – is mentioned. The female form עֵגְלָה *'ēglā(h)* in the Bible can refer to a three-year-old heifer (Gen 15:9), a trained heifer (Oz 10, 11), or a ploughing heifer (Judg 14:18).<sup>41</sup>

Although the Law forbade Israelites to castrate bulls (cf. Lev 22:24), the Bible mentions those animals. Oxes, being calmer than bulls, were used for different kinds of field work, which is mentioned both in the Old and the New Testament. St. Paul quotes a fragment from the Book of Deuteronomy 25:4: "You shall not muzzle an ox when it is treading out grain," talking about the right of Gospel proclaimers to expect material support from the faithful (1 Cor 9:9).<sup>42</sup>

It is worth mentioning that oxes are very strong, work effectively and are resistant to bad conditions. They were most often used for hard field works. Oxes are mentioned in biblical descriptions of ploughing animals (cf. 1 Kings 19:19) and animals drawing carriages (cf. 1 Sam 6:2; 1 Chr 13:9).<sup>43</sup>

In the Bible cattle is often presented as a symbol of wealth (Gen 13:2; Ezek 38:12; 1 Chr 5:9). In dreams and in poems fat cows serve as metaphors, bringing to mind an image of wealthy people and nations (Am 4:1; Jer 46:20), whereas thin cows symbolise years of wind-blasted ears (Gen 41:26).<sup>44</sup> In the Bible we can also find a detailed regulation concerning the red heifer offering (Num 19:1–9), at the basis of which, according to Ephraim,<sup>45</sup> there is a concept that a mother has to atone for her child,

<sup>40</sup> Cf. A. Rajski, *Zoologia. Część systematyczna*, t. 2, Warszawa 1988<sup>2</sup>, p. 582.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. W. H. Propp, *Złoty cielec*, [in:] *Słownik wiedzy biblijnej*, op. cit., p. 829.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. D. Frostner, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej*, op. cit., p. 252–254.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. B. Szczepanowicz, A. Mrozek, *Atlas zwierząt biblijnych*, op. cit., p. 69–70.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. L. Ryken, J. C. Wilhoit, T. Longman III, *Słownik symboliki biblijnej*, op. cit., p. 1192.

<sup>45</sup> Brat Efraim, *Jezus Żyd praktykujący*, przeł. J. Fenrychowa, Kraków 1994, p. 92–93.

which is the golden calf – the sin of idolatry (cf. Ex 32). Since only blood can defeat death, threads of crimson wool were thrown into the fire in which the heifer was burnt.

Biblical authors very often reach for images borrowed from observing the behaviour and the pasturage of sheep. These animals were commonly bred in the ancient times in the Near East. They were kept for wool (2 Kings 3:4), which was the essential element of the economy of Israel. Owning large herds of sheep was a sign of wealth (Ezek 27:18) and made paying a tribute possible (2 Chr 17:11). Apart from wool, milk and meat, people also used rams' horns. They were used to build ceremonial instruments (Josh 6:4) or oil containers (1 Sam 16:1).<sup>46</sup> What is more, in ancient Israel sheep were animals most often killed as offerings.<sup>47</sup> Even the story of Abraham and Isaak clearly states that the ram caught by its thorns in the thicket and offered up as a holocaust (Gen 22:13) was the sacrifice made in place of Abraham's son.<sup>48</sup> In the temple two yearling lambs were offered on the altar as the sacrifice established for each day (cf. Ex 29:38–42). An unblemished female lamb could also be presented as sin offering (Lev 4:32). No Paschal feast could take place if a year-old lamb was not slaughtered and eaten (Ex 12). The Bible presents the lamb as a symbol of gentleness, obedience and the need to be taken care of (Isa 40:11; 53:7; 2 Sam 12:1–6).<sup>49</sup>

In the Book of Isaiah (53:7) the lamb is used to depict the humbleness and obedience of the Servant of Iahweh, who dies to atone for the sins of His people: "Though he was harshly treated, he submitted and opened not his mouth; Like a lamb led to the slaughter or a sheep before the shearers, he was silent and opened not his mouth." This text is the announcement of Christ's sacrifice, what is then confirmed in the Acts of the Apostles (8:31–35). It is also referred to by the Evangelists, when

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<sup>46</sup> Cf. L. Ryken, J. C. Wilhoit, T. Longman III, *Słownik symboliki biblijnej*, op. cit., p. 1192.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. N. de Lange, *Wielkie kultury świata. Świat żydowski*, Warszawa 1996, p. 8.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *Księga Rodzaju. Wstęp, przekład z oryginału, komentarz*, oprac. S. Łach, Poznań 1962, p. 395.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. E. Trocmé, *Baranek Boży*, [in:] *Słownik wiedzy biblijnej*, op. cit., p. 53.

they describe Jesus' silence when faced with the Sanhedrin (Mt 26:23) and Pontius Pilate (Jn 19:9).<sup>50</sup>

The image of sheep was also used to present the messianic times (Isa 11:6–7) and the people of Israel (Ps 44:11; 79:13; 80:1). In the New Testament Jesus was called the Lamb of God (Jn 1:29), and He Himself warned his disciples against the wolves in sheep's clothing (Mt 7:15).<sup>51</sup>

In ancient Israel the most popular types of sheep were the ones with fatty tails which weighed between 4 and 8 kilograms. The fatty tail of these animals constitutes the energy reserve for the sheep and is considered to be a valuable piece of meat, which is shown by the following biblical fragment: "Now, from this ram you shall take its fat: its fatty tail, the fat that covers its inner organs" (Ex 29:22; cf. Lev 3:9).<sup>52</sup>

In biblical countries breeding goats is extremely popular. Unlike most white Palestinian and Syrian sheep, the goat has black fur. Their way of life is also completely different. Goats like mountain slopes; sheep, however, prefer plateaus and mountain valleys. Goats' favourite food are tree leaves, sheep prefer grass. Despite hot summer weather, goats can graze in the field all day long, sheep need to hide away from the scorching sun under a tree, in the shade of a rock or in a hut built for them by their shepherd. Goats are also braver, more eager to play, and at the same time more stubborn, therefore, more difficult to control than sheep.<sup>53</sup>

When keeping livestock, especially while grazing large herds, dogs were commonly used in biblical times: "But now they hold me in derision who are younger in years than I; Whose fathers I should have disdained to rank with the dogs of my flock (Job 30:1)." Dogs were used to guide the herds. The shepherd walked first and his dogs drove the animals dragging behind. They barked angrily at every intruder they saw, warning the shepherd of the upcoming dangers.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Cf. *Słownik teologii biblijnej*, red. naczelny X. Léon-Dufour, tłum. i oprac. K. Romaniuk, Poznań 1994, p. 63.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. H. I. Avalos, *Zwierzęta*, [in:] *Słownik wiedzy biblijnej*, op. cit., p. 829.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. F. H. Wight, *Obyczaje krajów biblijnych*, op. cit., p. 129.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. ibidem, p. 145.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. F. H. Wight, *Obyczaje krajów biblijnych*, op. cit., p. 137.

In the Bible there are also numerous mentions of different birds. Pigeons were considered to be clean birds, that is why they could be eaten and given as offerings to the Lord. Pigeons are mentioned in the description of the Presentation of Jesus at the Temple (cf. Lk 2:24). They were the sacrifice most often offered by the poor. The offering of the poor usually consisted of two pigeons, one of which was given for the holocaust, and the other one as sin offering to the Lord (Lev 23:8). One of the best known Old Testament pericopes in which this bird appears is the description of the Deluge in which Noah, sending out a raven and then a dove, is checking if the waters had lessened on earth (cf. Gen 8:6–11). In the Song of Songs the beauty of the beloved is compared to the beauty of a dove (1:15).

God creates birds together with fish on the fifth day with the following words: “Let the water teem with an abundance of living creatures, and on the earth let birds fly beneath the dome of the sky” (Gen 1:20). Among them there are clean and unclean species. The list of unclean birds can be found in the Book of Leviticus (11:13–19): “Of the birds, these you shall loathe and, as loathsome, they shall not be eaten: the eagle, the vulture, the osprey, the kite, the various species of falcons, the various species of crows, the ostrich, the nightjar, the gull, the various species of hawks, the owl, the cormorant, the screech owl, the barn owl, the desert owl, the buzzard, the stork, the various species of herons, the hoopoe, and the bat.” Most birds mentioned here are carnivores and scavengers, which are currently not eaten either. It can be assumed that the reasons for classifying these birds as unclean are mostly sanitary, although we should not forget the religious element, as the majority of them were considered sacred by Israel’s neighbouring countries (especially in Egypt and Mesopotamia).<sup>55</sup>

Another example of a well known pericope in which we can find a reference to a particular kind of bird – quails – is the description of the stay of Israelites in the desert, after they fled from Egypt. Their appearance is interpreted as a gift of God (cf. Ex 16:12–13). It is noteworthy that in the Near East the meat of these birds was thought to be a real delicacy.

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<sup>55</sup> Cf. A. Wajda, *Zwierzęta czyste i nieczyste*, [in:] *Wokół Biblii. Biblia w kulturze świata*, op. cit., p. 139–142.

Jesus also reached for bird images in his teachings: “Look at the birds in the sky; they do not sow or reap, they gather nothing into barns, yet your heavenly Father feeds them” (Mt 6:26); “A sower went out to sow. And as he sowed, some seed fell on the path, and the birds came and ate it up” (Mk 4:4); “Then he said, «What is the kingdom of God like? To what can I compare it? It is like a mustard seed that a person took and planted in the garden. When it was fully grown, it became a large bush and ‘the birds of the sky dwelt in its branches’»” (Lk 13:18–19). These examples clearly show that those who listened to Jesus had to be familiar with those animals, especially with the way they fed and built their nests.

## 5. Theological Significance of Biblical Animals

The fact that animals are mentioned in the Bible can be analysed in two dimensions. On the one hand, biblical descriptions provide the reader with details concerning lives and behaviours of different animals, especially the domesticated ones. On the other hand, animal references made by the inspired authors must be seen as literary tools, used to illustrate the spiritual reality of individuals, as well as whole nations; showing the specific relationships between people, and also between God and men and God and Israel. That is why those references cannot be taken at face value and understood as mere zoological facts; we should look for allegories, metaphors and symbols concealed in them. The presence of numerous animal names in the Bible, often accompanied by descriptions of their characteristics, is caused by the fact that the inspired authors often used the language of imagery to present the revealed truths to their contemporary listeners. Biblical authors, although they had no education in natural science, had a gift of observation. For example, Habakkuk, watching the hind moving swiftly on the rocks of Judea, wrote: “GOD, my Lord, is my strength; he makes my feet swift as those of hinds and enables me to go upon the heights” (Hab 3:19).

Animal references appear from the very first pages of the Bible to the last book of the New Testament, the Revelation. The first mention of animals can be found in the Book of Genesis in the description of the

process of creation: “God made all kinds of wild animals, all kinds of cattle, and all kinds of creeping things of the earth. God saw how good it was” (Gen 1 : 25). For ancient Israelites, living near their pagan neighbours who often turned towards zoomorphic gods, it meant that animals could not be deified. Admiring their strength, agility, appearance, way of life or independence, Israelites tried to see the greatness of God in them, unlike the Egyptians who worshipped them.<sup>56</sup> It cannot have been easy, and that is probably why we come across many warnings against deifying animals and worshipping them in the Old Testament (e.g. Wis 15 : 18–19).<sup>57</sup>

In the New Testament it is Saint Paul who refers to these dangers and temptations in the Epistle to the Romans, in which he emphasises that there is no excuse for those who misunderstand the world ‘talking’ to them about God: “Ever since the creation of the world, his invisible attributes of eternal power and divinity have been able to be understood and perceived in what he has made. As a result, they have no excuse;” (Rom 1 : 20). Failing to recognise the presence and power of God, “while claiming to be wise, they became fools and exchanged the glory of the immortal God for the likeness of an image of mortal man or of birds or of four-legged animals or of snakes” (Rom 1 : 22–23). As a result God’s creation in a way is turned against Him: “They exchanged the truth of God for a lie and revered and worshipped the creature rather than the creator, who is blessed forever. Amen” (Rom 1 : 25).<sup>58</sup>

The animal world in the Bible is abounding, especially in the context of its significance for man. Even the Book of Genesis (1 : 24) talking about land animals first mentions cattle, being domesticated creatures and the closest to man, then “creeping things,” which means the ones that have

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<sup>56</sup> More information on the subject can be found in the article by A. Wajda, *Postacie zwierzęce w panteonie egipskim*, [in:] *Teologia – rośliny i zwierzęta. Biblia w kulturze świata*, pr. zb. pod red. T. Jelonka, Kraków 2008, p. 181–207.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. *Słownik teologii biblijnej*, op. cit., p. 1148.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. W. Chrostowski, *Dobroć wobec zwierząt w świetle Biblii*, [in:] „*Pieśniami dla mnie Twoje przykazania.*” *Księga pamiątkowa dla Księdza Profesora Janusza Frankowskiego w 50. rocznicę święceń kapłańskich i 75. rocznicę urodzin*, red. W. Chrostowski, Warszawa 2003, p. 97.

no legs or very short legs, and, lastly, “wild animals of all kinds,” the least known to man, since they could not be tamed. Adam was given the power to rule and subdue the animal kingdom seen in this way (cf. Gen 2: 19; 9: 1–8), however, he was also made responsible for taking care of it. At the same time it was made clear that the power that men have over animals cannot be lawless, as there are many regulations that need to be followed with regard to them, e.g. the one putting a ban on eating meat with blood (Gen 9: 4), which is the “abode” of life. In this way the Bible emphasises that all life is a gift of God. If anyone enters the delicate dimension of the created world and decides to kill animals, they must be aware of the fact that they are reaching out for something that belongs to God.<sup>59</sup>

Mammals of prey, such as lions, bears, buffaloes, hyaenas and jackals, since they pose a real threat to people’s lives and well-being, were used by the biblical authors as symbols of evil and all the things that should be avoided. Birds of prey, amphibians, insects, rodents, flies, mosquitoes, wasps and locusts were perceived in a similar way, some of them due to their size and strength, others due to their number or behaviour. All of them could become a plague or a tool of God’s punishment (Ex 7: 14–10, 29; Wis 16–19). Small predators and nocturnal birds living in the ruins or in the bushes represented destruction and punishment for idolatry to the Gentiles and the unfaithful Israel (Isa 34: 11; 27: 10–11).

Some relationships between men and animals presented in the Bible show how crucial they are for men to survive. The Bible reminds that we owe food and help to them. They serve people carrying objects, making travelling and field work easier. That is why the Bible points out that animals deserve time to rest (Ex 20: 10; Deut 5: 14–15) and must be rewarded for their work (Deut 25: 4). People should take animal physical condition into consideration, so one should not plough with an ox, which is strong, and an ass, which is obviously weaker, harnessed together (Deut 22: 10); when an animal is overburdened, even if it belongs to your enemy, you should help it out (Ex 23: 4–5; Deut 22: 4), and animals going astray need to be returned to their owners (Ex 23: 4; Deut 22: 1–2). It is noteworthy that the Law allowed to rescue animals even during Shabbat (Mt 12: 11n;

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<sup>59</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 100–104.



Lk 13:15; 14:5), and these are just a few examples from the long list of humanitarian behaviours towards animals described in the Bible.<sup>60</sup>

The Old Testament mentions offering animal sacrifices to the Lord and using them for meat. Different kinds of animal offerings are mentioned in the Book of Leviticus. The blood worship of the Old Testament proves that the lives of animals can be used as substitute offerings for human lives. The first piece of information concerning animal sacrifice appears in the pericope about Cain and Abel, in which the younger brother is presented as the one who brings to the Lord an offering of “the best firstlings of his flock” (Gen 4:4). Jewish tradition paid much attention to the way in which animals were slaughtered, especially if they served as offerings,<sup>61</sup> as blood sacrifice was associated with freeing man from his sins, purification of weaknesses and negligence.<sup>62</sup>

Many biblical descriptions refer to little creatures, for example insects. Some of them, like bees and ants, are especially appreciated in the Bible. The bee was described in the Sacred Scripture with the following words: “Least is the bee among winged things, but she reaps the choicest of all harvests” (Sir 11:3). The biblical description of ants stresses their diligence: “Go to the ant, O sluggard, study her ways and learn wisdom; for though she has no chief, no commander or ruler, she procures her food in the summer, stores up her provisions in the harvest” (Prov 6:6–8).

Early did men in the Near East consider owning numerous herds to be the proof of divine favour. It brought authority and respect among neighbours in the past, and it is still considered to be a sign of wealth and authority. It is similar in the Bible. Abraham enjoyed having such position

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<sup>60</sup> Cf. S. Jankowski, *Geografia biblijna*, op. cit., p. 214–215; W. Empel, *Biblia a zwierzęta*, „Życie Weterynaryjne” 3 (1995), p. 70–71.

<sup>61</sup> *Shechita*, the special, ritual way of slaughtering mammals and birds, gives the instructions that come from Moses and are derived from the oral records of Torah. They indicate who can become a *shochet* (ritual slaughterer), and even what kind of blade (*chalef*) must be used in the process of killing – cf. A. Unterman, *Encyklopedia tradycji i legend żydowskich*, op. cit., p. 266–267.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. W. Chrostowski, *Dobroć wobec zwierząt w świetle Biblii*, [in:] *Pieśniami dla mnie Twoje przykazania*, op. cit., p. 110–111.

(Gen 13:2), as well as Jacob (Gen 30:43), the Israelites leaving Egypt (Ex 12:38; Josh 22:8), and Job (Job 1:3; 42:12). Monarchs tithed the herds owned by people (1 Sam 8:17). Thanks to his wealth in livestock Jacob could support two wives (Gen 30:28–43) and reconcile with his brother (Gen 32:14–16). Herds of sheep, goats or bigger cattle were the tribute paid by vassals to their sovereigns (like Mesha, the king of Moab, who delivered to the king of Israel one hundred thousand lambs, and the wool of one hundred thousand rams in 2 Kings 3:4). During King Solomon's reign the country was a huge cattle trading market between Egypt and Cilicia (1 Kings 10:28f.; Ezek 27:14).<sup>63</sup>

Kraków

ANNA MARIA WAJDA

## Summary

### The Biblical Word of Animals

Numerous references to animals in the Bible show that biblical authors had a broad knowledge of nature. According to the current classification of living organisms and method of research used by modern zoology, it is stated that these observations do not have the characteristics of scientific research. In spite of this, they are the evidence of the clear-sighted observation of animals, which is reflected not only in the knowledge of the appearance of individual species, but also of specific behaviours related to their way of life. It concerns not only domestic animals, raised for the purpose of gaining meat, fur, hide and labour, but also wild representatives of the fauna. Bible references concerning the latter apply to the species perceived as highly dangerous to man and domestic animals, i.e.: lions, wolves, bears, leopards or snakes. Amongst the Bible animals one can distinguish these which aroused admiration because of their appearance, such as gazelle, deer, ibex or dove. At the same time, it is essential to emphasise the fact that this rich animal world is just a vivid background of the biblical story of Salvation and a tool used to translate God's address into human language. For this reason, the knowledge of animal symbolism in the Sacred Scripture makes more accurate understanding of the pericopes possible.

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<sup>63</sup> Cf. S. Jankowski, *Geografia biblijna*, op. cit., p. 90.

## Keywords

Animals, Bible, classification, significance, symbolism

## Streszczenie

### Biblijny świat zwierząt

Liczne wzmianki o zwierzętach na kartach Biblii są potwierdzeniem dobrej znajomości świata przyrody przez autorów natchnionych. W odniesieniu do obowiązującej obecnie klasyfikacji organizmów żywych i metod badawczych, jakimi posługuje się współczesna zoologia, nie mają one charakteru dociekań naukowych. Świadczą natomiast o umiejętności wnikliwej obserwacji zwierząt, czego wyrazem jest nie tylko znajomość wyglądu przedstawicieli poszczególnych gatunków, ale także specyficznych zachowań związanych ze sposobem ich życia. Dotyczy to nie tylko zwierząt udomowionych i hodowanych przez człowieka w celu pozyskania mięsa, mleka, skór oraz siły roboczej, ale i dzikich reprezentantów świata fauny. Biblijne wzmianki o tych ostatnich odnoszą się do gatunków postrzeganych jako szczególnie niebezpieczne dla człowieka i zwierząt domowych, do których zaliczyć należy lwy, wilki, niedźwiedzie, lamparty czy węże. Wśród biblijnych dzikich zwierząt są również takie, które swym wyglądem i zręcznością budziły podziw, czego przykładem są odniesienia do gazeli, jeleni, koziorożców, a nawet gołębi. Równocześnie należy podkreślić, że ten bogaty świat zwierzęcy jest jedynie barwnym tłem dla biblijnej historii zbawienia oraz narzędziem pomocnym w przekładaniu orędzia Boga na język ludzki. Dlatego poznanie znaczenia i symboliki zwierząt pojawiających się na kartach Pisma Świętego pozwala współczesnemu człowiekowi lepiej zrozumieć perykopy biblijne, w których są one przywoływane.

## Słowa kluczowe

Zwierzęta, Biblia, klasyfikacja, znaczenie, symbolika



MAREK SZCZERBIŃSKI

## **Thunderstorm Electricity as the Probable Origin of the Pentecost Kerygma**

“Then there appeared to them tongues as of fire, which parted and came to rest on each one of them” (Acts 2:3).

This is probably the most characteristic image from the Acts of the Apostles: blazing flames over the group of people gathered in the Cenacle. Many great painters found this scene enchanting – Giotto, Maestà, van Dyck, El Greco, Mildorfer, Gallego, Orcagna, Rubens, Nolde, and even the Japanese “primitivist” Watanabe... Although for the author of the Acts the more important fact was what languages were used by the people gathered, different artists reached for this picturesque scene, and much less often, if ever, saw its full glossolalia or xenolalia (this is not the time or place to determine which one it, in fact, is).

I really like looking at El Greco’s painting. Although Madrid Prado seems far away, the Internet can be of some help. Elongated people in the dark, over their heads the blazing “tongues as of fire.” The image is one of the kind. You can never see anything like this in reality. But is that really true? One day a surprising realisation comes to mind... We need to start from the very beginning, though.

## Natural Phenomena in the Bible

Most events from the Old and the New Testaments take place in the bosom of nature. How could that have been different, considering the shape of the ancient world? Therefore, all the texts are full of descriptions of natural phenomena, plants, animals, geological, hydrological, astronomical and meteorological facts... We will divide the natural phenomena in the Bible into four different, although not completely separate and not quite exhaustive, groups. It is a daring task, especially when you are neither a biblicist nor a historian. On the other hand, though, the biblical books were being written for over a thousand years, in so many different epochs, so many various literary forms! They were addressed to so many different people! It needs to be said that the following classification is made *hic et nunc*, only for the needs of this article, only to show the reasoning behind its title.

The first and the most numerous group consists of the so-called “background facts” which are the natural space of events (M. Heidegger, who was then followed by R. Bultmann, claims they build up *Historie* and not *Geschichte*<sup>1</sup>). Every day the Sun rises, sometimes waters rise, trees seasonally shed their leaves and give fruit when the time is right – it has always been this way. The people from the Bible rest in the shade of olive trees and ride asses (although domesticated, it is also an element of nature). Zacchaeus climbed up a sycamore fig tree since he was short and wanted to be able to see Jesus. Nothing seems to derive from this fact – he could have chosen any other tree or an elevated place... But isn't it true that the sycamore tree will turn out to be symbolic in the opinion of some exegete, at the same time ceasing to be the mere “background fact”? That is why the classification does not always seem to be precise.

The second group consists of the elements of nature used as ‘leaven’ for parables, tools of metaphors, allegories, rhetorical figures, mostly visible in the Gospels. The vine, the fig tree, the lost sheep, the mustard seed... They are not mentioned in the text incidentally and the choice

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Dąbrowski, *R. Bultmann i jego krytyka Nowego Testamentu*, „Znak” 20 (1968) no. 5 (167), p. 637.

is always justified. Some of their characteristics are crucial for conveying the message, others can, many a time even have to, be ignored. These objects seem to be closer to the intentional objects as seen by Phenomenology of R. Ingarden, rather than to nature itself. For instance, the lost sheep represents the tendency to lose one's herd, and the sheer anatomy of the animal is unimportant. In some parables the distinction between the important features and those that can be ignored is a difficult task, especially when we analyse human characters.

The third group consists of natural events which, according to biblical authors, especially the Old Testament ones, show God's direct interference in the earthly reality. The Book of Exodus is full of examples of such events: the fact that the sea (the Red Sea?) split in two was seen as help provided for the Chosen People (cf. Ex 14: 16–29), then quail coming up (cf. Ex 16: 13), bread given by God (cf. Ex 16: 14–15), the water flowing from the rock struck by Moses (cf. Ex 17: 6), whereas e.g. the Plagues of Egypt were seen as the punishment for the persecutors (cf. Ex 7–10). Over the centuries the listeners, readers, exegetes considered these events to have been 'miraculous'. But what was the intention of the authors of the Holy Scripture? Did they deliberately make natural phenomena seem to be 'miracles'?

This opinion has been rejected by most biblicists. According to the late rev. prof. J. Kudasiewicz the concept of a miracle, deeply rooted in contemporary mentality, can be traced back to scholastic theology of st. Thomas, who claimed that a miracle is an event that goes beyond the natural order and, therefore, can be made by God only. Biblical authors did not know the immanent laws of the universe but thought that God Himself constantly worked through nature.<sup>2</sup>

According to the contention presented in theological literature, vide e.g. BioLogos,<sup>3</sup> miracles in nature can occur through (1) **place and time** of a usually rare, however, **natural** phenomenon, taking place due to God's working there and then, when it is particularly necessary, as a form

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. Kudasiewicz, H. Witczyk, *Jezus i Ewangelie w ogniu dyskusji*, Kielce 2011, p. 203–223.

<sup>3</sup> BioLogos, <http://biologos.org/questions/biologos-and-miracles> (20/11/2012).

of help, punishment, reward, sign, etc. (providential timing) or (2) an **unnatural character** (e.g. **course**), in other words directly violating physical cause-effect relationships, also having providential character.

Miracles of the first type will not be discussed in this paper. The following analysis looks at things from the perspective of a natural scientist, and the recognition of time and space coincidence of events with their theological sense goes beyond Natural Science. That is why only the “natural” circumstances of biblical events are discussed here and all theological questions and issues, especially the analysis of “personal” encounters of God or angels with people, have been intentionally omitted. However, as far as the character (course) of incredible natural events in the Bible is concerned, persuasive attempts at explaining them in the context of nature can be found in literature, consequently reducing the miracles of the second type to the first one (classification above).<sup>4</sup> A journalist W. Keller, in his book written many years ago,<sup>5</sup> discusses a few cases like this. For example, the biblical “manna” is an edible substance secreted by tamarix, carried by the wind and thickening in the air (G. Ehrenberg’s discovery, 1823), quails “fall from the sky” in large groups for natural causes (overtired by long flights), water spurts out from some sedimentary rocks that had been hit as a result of natural processes (C. S. Jarvis’ conclusion, 1930s), and crossing the “Red Sea” and not getting wet at all has a few different, absolutely natural, explanations.

The Ark of the Covenant, punishing Aaron’s sons and 50 other men, could have had the properties of an electric capacitor. J. L. Jakubowski, a professor in the field of high-voltage electricity, many years ago described<sup>6</sup> his supposition (unfortunately, we do not know if his conclusions were based on his own observations or other sources as well) that the Ark of the Covenant mentioned in the Bible was, most probably, an electrical condenser. He drew a conclusion that the golden sheet on the outside and the golden sheet on the inside could have worked as the ca-

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<sup>4</sup> Miracles of Jesus are a separate issue, not mentioned here.

<sup>5</sup> W. Keller, *Und die Bibel hat doch recht – Forscher beweisen die Wahrheit des Alten Testaments*, Düsseldorf 1955.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. J. L. Jakubowski, *Piorun ujarzmiiony*, Warszawa 1957, p. 11–12.



pacitor's facing surfaces. Wood could have isolated the facing surfaces, if it was thick enough and dry enough, the capacitor could have been charged to high voltage. Currently, the concept has been analysed by a controversial Canadian researcher J. Hutchinson.

Such natural approach to explaining some phenomena described in the Bible was persuasive enough to be included in the *Biblia Tysiąclecia*<sup>7</sup> footnotes. For instance, Ex 14:27 is followed by information on the possibility of a high tide which often comes as a surprise in the Gulf of Suez, with waves reaching the height of up to 3,30 m; Ex 16:13 is followed by information on quail and their migration habits, the author then concludes that they can be hunted easily when they are exhausted by the long flight; the footnote for Ex 16:15 explains that Hebrew for «What is this?» is *man-hu*, which is the folk etymology of the word 'manna' and that it can refer to the liquid given off by the tamarix bush (*Tamarix mannifera*), although with additional miraculous properties.

In the light of the aforementioned fact, the works of W. Keller and his successors do not present the characters participating in biblical events as frauds, nor do they discredit the authors of biblical texts as naive (as was suggested by e.g. Z. Kosidowski<sup>8</sup>), but rather give the descriptions included in the Holy Scripture more credibility.

The fourth group consists of the elements of nature and natural phenomena placed in the descriptions of **direct** encounters of God (or his messengers – angels) with man. Among them we can also put the event that took place on the day of Pentecost. These events appear in both the Old and the New Testament. Their aim is to serve as signs. Their basic characteristic is terror or singularity – it can be an earthquake, a gale, a thunder, fire from the sky (in which we can often recognise a lightning) and also light in general. The author does not feel competent enough to try to determine in which cases they are a natural component of the Event and when they are used for the sake of the kerygma (which means “they were introduced in the text not

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<sup>7</sup> *Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu*, Poznań-Warszawa 1980.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Z. Kosidowski, *Opowieści biblijne*, Warszawa 1996, p. 189–200.

with the historical function in mind, but to present the truth in a more dramatic and more graphic manner”<sup>9</sup>).

It is important to notice that the elements from the fourth group are generally real (occurring in nature) components of the background of the encounters of God with man – such status can even be attributed to the “burning bush” (dictamnus, producing volatile oils which can catch fire readily in hot weather).<sup>10</sup> Just like in the third group, here it is also difficult to find elements which do not follow the natural order (although they sometimes seem to vary slightly from what is considered to be typical, e.g. the movement of the star of Bethlehem in the Gospel according to Matthew). If the Story is complemented with a natural kerygma, it is never “made up” by the author of the description, but rather dislocated from *Historie* into *Geschichte* (the previously mentioned differentiation between the two made by Heidegger, Bultmann) – into the time and place where the sign is needed. In this sense the kerigmatic character can be attributed to, for instance, volcanic eruptions in the description of the Covenant made on Mount Sinai (cf. Ex 19:16–19), as Mount Sinai was not an active volcano in the times of Moses (regardless of the fact how we would like to settle the disputes concerning its location).

The reason for the moderation of biblical authors in fantasising about the events they described was probably their lack of knowledge that would allow them to create visions that might be considered “science fiction” nowadays.<sup>11</sup>

## Nature in the Books of St. Luke

In order to make our deliberations a little bit more specific we will have a look at two Books according to St. Luke – his Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. The analysis of other natural elements of in the texts of St. Luke that fall into the third and the fourth group of the previously

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<sup>9</sup> J. Kudasiewicz, *Cuda Jezusa na nowo odczytane*, „Znak” 51 (1999) no. 6 (529), p. 18.

<sup>10</sup> W. Keller, *Und die Bibel...*, op. cit.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. A. Zgorzelski, *Fantastyka. Utopia. Science fiction*, Warszawa 1980, p. 13.

introduced classification will be used for better understanding of the description of the “tongues as of fire” (Acts 2:3).

In his texts St. Luke restrains himself from describing extraordinary natural phenomena. In his Books we can find the following:

- The expression “on the day when Lot left Sodom, fire and brimstone rained from the sky to destroy them all” (Lk 17:29) is a repetition of the Old Testament fragment (Gen 19:24) describing a volcanic eruption;
- “There will be powerful earthquakes [...] and awesome sights and mighty signs will come from the sky” (Lk 21:11) predicts a seismic activity and then some cosmic phenomena, giving no further description or details;
- “There will be signs in the sun, the moon, and the stars, and on earth nations will be in dismay, perplexed by the roaring of the sea and the waves” (Lk 21:25) announces signs in the sky and storms at sea;
- “He was in such agony and he prayed so fervently that his sweat became like drops of blood falling on the ground” (Lk 22:44) is the description of a rare but natural phenomenon<sup>12</sup> of *Hematidrosis*. It is said to occur when a person is facing extreme pain or highly stressful events, when the capillaries surrounding sweat glands rupture, and blood is oozed into the glands and out the sweat ducts, usually on the whole body surface;
- “As they prayed, the place where they were gathered shook, and they were all filled with the holy Spirit” (Acts 4:32) can be understood as a mention of a seismic activity accompanying ‘the little Pentecost’;

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. <http://medical-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/hematidrosis> (31/10/2012).

- “an angel appeared to him in the desert near Mount Sinai in the flame of a burning bush” (Acts 7:30) is a repetition of the Old Testament fragment (Ex 3:2);
- “On his journey, as he was nearing Damascus, a light from the sky suddenly flashed around him” (Acts 9:3); in this description the light is not defined (except for the fact that it comes from the sky). The same applies to this verse: “On that journey as I drew near to Damascus, about noon a great light from the sky suddenly shone around me” (Acts 22:6);
- “the city of the Ephesians is the guardian of the temple of the great Artemis and of her image that fell from the sky” (Acts 19:35) is a mention of what Ephesians believe in, it is not a description of a cosmic phenomenon.

To sum it up, it is difficult to find “fantasies” concerning the natural world in the Books of Luke. He restrains from defining the kerygma when he could, as we might say, indulge in fantasies...

## A riddle...

Let us finally have a look at Acts 2:3 and its immediate context:

“Then they returned to Jerusalem. [...] When they entered the city they went to the upper room [...] [the upper part of the house] (there was a group of about one hundred and twenty persons in the one place)” (Acts 1:12–13. 15).

“When the time for Pentecost was fulfilled, they were all in one place together. **And suddenly there came from the sky a noise like a strong driving wind, and it filled the entire house in which they were. Then there appeared**

to them tongues as of fire, which parted and came to rest on each one of them” (Acts 2:1–3).

## ... and a search for explanations

The kerygma may be based on common observations of thunderstorm electrostatic discharge, in contemporary Lightning Physics and thunder protection called “streamers,” sometimes referred to as St. Elmo’s fire. Before and during the storm, positive and negative charges in the clouds become separated, raising the value of the electric field. Before a thunder is heard, on top of the elements of the relief (especially the “spiky” ones) longer and shorter tongues of fire, which are the pre-thunder electrical discharges, appear. St. Elmo’s fire can also be placed on the human body (the author personally knows a woman who experienced a discharge on her hand), although it can most easily be noticed in the mountains and at sea – on masts and ropes of boats, for instance.

This phenomenon was known in the Ancient Times as well. It was observed and experienced probably more often than nowadays, as people generally spent more time in the open air. However, the common nature of the “tongues” appearing on ship masts, spears or people was never noticed. Only among sailors they grew to have special significance. They referred to a single “tongue” as Helena (seen as a bad omen), two “tongues,” however, were called by the names of the Dioscuri: Castor and Pollux (a good omen). This fact was mentioned in Homer’s Hymn 33 to the Dioscuri (8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.) and in fragment 34a (Castor and Pollux) of Alcaeus of Mytilene (7<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.).

In Julius Caesar’s *The African Wars*<sup>13</sup> we can find the following description: “But these being soon penetrated by the storm and hail, the soldiers had no resource left, but wandered up and down the camp, covering their heads with their bucklers to shelter them from violence

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<sup>13</sup> Julius Caesar, *The African Wars (Bellum Africum)*, translated by W. A. McDevitte and W. S. Bohn, <http://classics.mit.edu/Caesar/african.html> (04/05/2012).

of the weather. In a short time the whole camp was under water, the fires extinguished, and all their provisions washed away or spoiled. The same night the shafts of the javelins belonging to the fifth legion, of their own accord, took fire.”

For our analysis the important descriptions are the ones in which those “fires” appear on men. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century J. J. Wettstein, a Swiss theologian who did some outstanding work in the field of the New Testament analysis (he was one of the first critics of *textus receptus*), made a comprehensive list of those. In 1752 his works *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editionis Receptae 2. Continens Epistolas Pauli, Acta Apostolorum, Epistolas Canonicas et Apocalypsin*<sup>14</sup> were published, in which hundreds of Greek and Roman manuscripts were used. Commenting on Acts 2:W he quotes, among others, the following verses:

“when a sign arises sudden and marvellous to tell. For, between the hands and before the faces of his sorrowing parents, lo! above Iulus’ head there seemed to stream a light luminous cone, and a flame whose touch hurt not to flicker in his soft hair and play round his brows” (Virgil, *Aeneid*, 2, 680)

“At that time an incident took place as marvellous in the appearance as it proved in the result. It is said that whilst a boy named Servius Tullius was asleep, his head was enveloped in flames, before the eyes of many who were present” (Livius 1, 39)

“And all our histories relate that the head of Servius Tullius while sleeping appeared to be on fire, which was a sign of the extraordinary events which followed” (Cicero, *On Divination*, 1, 53)

“Servius Tullius was the next that assumed the government; nor was the meanness of his extraction any hinderance to his exaltation [...] and a flame,

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<sup>14</sup> *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editionis Receptae 2. Continens Epistolas Pauli, Acta Apostolorum, Epistolas Canonicas et Apocalypsin*, opera et studio J. J. Wetstenii, Amstelaedami 1752.

that had been surrounding his head, had portended that he would be famous” (Florus 1, 6)

“They also occasionally shine round the heads of men in the evening, which is considered as predicting something very important. But there is great uncertainty respecting the cause of all these things, and they are concealed in the majesty of nature” (Pliny, *The Natural History*, 2, 37)

“Her blood-shot eyes blazed – one might think that a pair of comets were flashing – and the ample crest that crowned her helmet rolled waves of flame to the sky.” 16, 119: “When suddenly a ruddy tongue of fire was seen to burn bright on the crown of his head; the harmless flame caught his curling locks and spread over his shaggy brow. His servants came round in haste and strove to quench with cold water the the flames that were creeping round his temples” (Silius Italicus 9, 445).

“And they bore fire on their tresses, and it burnt not” (Euripides, *Bacchae*, 756)

Obviously, Wettstein could not see the “electrical” interpretation of these natural phenomena (nota bene, coincidentally, the year of his work publication, 1752, is the same year in which B. Franklin invented the lightning rod).

St. Luke is thought to have borrowed a lot from Greek literature – the prologue of the Gospel is considered to be similar to the prologue of Pedanius Dioskorides *De Materia Medica* (“Regarding Medical Materials”). Analogies to Xenophon’s *Memorabilia* and borrowings from Euripides’ *Bacchae*, which were even noted down by Wettstein, can also be found: “it is hard for you to kick against the goad” (Acts 26:14), “all the doors flew open, and the chains of all were pulled loose” (Acts 16:26). It is difficult to determine whether these borrowings came directly from the works mentioned. It is possible that they were put in the Books as elements of the common way of thinking or everyday conversations in the contemporary ‘Hellenised’ world.

It needs to be emphasised that Luke’s expression “as of fire” is not an example of a thoughtless use of the word “fire” (which is a kerygmatic

“exclamation mark” in other Books of the Bible); the expression “as of” makes the sign more specific (a philological analysis in the Greek “koine” would be interesting). The specific, subtle nature of this “fire” is depicted in the above-quoted fragments from Virgil (“a flame whose touch hurt not to flicker in his soft hair”), Silius Italicus (“harmless flame”) and Euripides (“burnt not”).

What is more, the expression: “And suddenly there came from the sky a noise like a strong driving wind” – is a description of thunderstorm conditions. The scenery of the “upper room” (“in the upper part of the house”) seems to make the natural character of this phenomenon even more probable.

The association of the “tongues as of fire” on the day of Pentecost with the pre-thunderstorm discharge can be found in literature, but only *à rebours* – Welsh sailors called the storm flames on masts *canwyll yr ysbryd glân* – “the candles of the Holy Spirit.”<sup>15</sup>

Of course, the above analysis is of a hypothetical character and is an invitation to further discussion on the matter.

Kraków

MAREK SZCZERBIŃSKI

## Summary

### Thunderstorm Electricity as the Probable Origin of the Pentecost Kerygma

The author presents and argues for his view that the source of the kerygma of Pentecost (“tongues as of fire”) may be the phenomenon of an electrical storm. Since the author of the text is a scientist, the approach to the subject is natural, not theological. Natural phenomena in the Bible are divided into four groups. “Tongues as of fire” (Acts 2:3) belong to the last group: rare but natural phenomena are dislocated by the authors of the saint books from everyday life into the time and place where the sign is needed. The concept is justified with the descriptions of this phenomenon in ancient literature.

<sup>15</sup> M. Trevelyan, *Folklore and Folk-Stories of Walks*, London 1909.



The borrowing is not necessarily a direct one, but may have reached the Acts as a result of everyday thoughts and conversations in the Hellenic world.

## Keywords

Pentecost, kerygma, thunderstorm electricity

## Streszczenie

### Elektryczność burzowa możliwym źródłem kerygmatu zesłania Ducha Świętego

Autor prezentuje i uzasadnia swój pogląd, że źródłem kerygmatu Zesłania Ducha Świętego („języki jakby z ognia”) mogą być zjawiska elektryczności burzowej. Stosownie do dziedziny naukowej autora, podejście do tematu ma charakter przyrodniczy, a nie teologiczny. Zjawiska przyrody w Biblii zostają podzielone na cztery grupy. „Języki jakby z ognia” (Dz 2, 3) przypadają do ostatniej: rzadkie, lecz naturalne zjawiska przyrody dyslokowane przez autorów ksiąg świętych z codzienności w czas i miejsce, gdzie potrzeba znaku. Domysł jest uzasadniany opisami zjawiska w antycznej literaturze. Zapożyczenia niekoniecznie musiało być bezpośrednie, lecz mogły trafić do Dziejów Apostolskich jako elementy potocznego myślenia i rozmów w ówczesnym zhellenizowanym świecie.

## Słowa kluczowe

Zesłanie Ducha Świętego, kerygmat, elektryczność burzowa



STANISŁAW MIESZCZAK SCJ

## Post-Conciliar Changes in Liturgy

On the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium*<sup>1</sup> many efforts were made to show the deep sense of both the Constitution itself and the reform of the liturgy in the Church that it had provoked. Different opinions are held – some are unconditionally delighted with the achievements of the reform, others evaluate it with a just, and often critical, view of the changes it brought. Still others, uncompromisingly negate everything that has been achieved in the last years in the field of the liturgy of the Catholic Church. All this does not come as a surprise. All the changes that the Second Vatican Council introduced in the liturgy directly touch on our faith and the way we experience it, therefore, they call for an emotional reaction. We must also consider the fact that all judgement is based on the knowledge one has and their deeply rooted opinions on the subject which, many a time, are quite relative, hence so many open controversies arise. At the same time we must remember that the faithful, together with their pastors, are entitled and obliged to care about the right way of celebrating liturgy, as it is proof of faith in the Church and responsibility for the Church.<sup>2</sup> The changes, however, were necessary, especially in liturgy. The

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<sup>1</sup> Second Vatican Council, Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (4 December 1963).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, no. 91–93; Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, Instruction *Redemptionis Sacramentum*, on certain matters to be observed or to be avoided regarding the Most Holy Eucharist (25 March 2004), no. 183–184.

Church made this effort partly pressurised by the changing conditions of social life which influenced her mission. Somewhere in the nature of the Church a deep ability of constant renewal is inscribed, despite the fear that the word 'reform' is so often associated with. The divine element, which enriches human nature and everything associated with it, leads to constant development the aim of which is bringing people of different epochs and cultures to the source of salvation which is Jesus Christ. The human element makes the changes in the pastoral activity of the Church necessary, although it does not change the message of the Gospel, but rather protects it and proclaims it unceasingly.<sup>3</sup> We will, therefore, try to uncover the reasons for the conciliar reform, especially the line of work advocated by the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy.

Even cursory reading of the conciliar documents shows the vast array of issues that the Council had to address, as the voice of the Church had long been expected to be heard in relation to them. There is the question of the liturgy,<sup>4</sup> defining the foundations of the Church,<sup>5</sup> her role in today's world, the problem of her unity,<sup>6</sup> the new perception of the Word of God,<sup>7</sup> the role of bishops,<sup>8</sup> priests,<sup>9</sup> monks<sup>10</sup> and the la-

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Second Vatican Council, Dogmatic Constitution on the Church *Lumen gentium*, no. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Second Vatican Council, Dogmatic Constitution on the Church *Lumen gentium* (21 November 1964).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Second Vatican Council, Decree on Ecumenism *Unitatis redintegratio* (21 November 1964); Decree on the Catholic Churches of the Eastern Rite *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* (21 listopada 1964).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Second Vatican Council, Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum* (18 November 1965).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Second Vatican Council, Decree Concerning the Pastoral Office of Bishops in the Church *Christus Dominus* (28 October 1965).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Second Vatican Council, Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests *Presbyterorum ordinis* (7 December 1965); Decree on Priestly Training *Optatam totius* (28 October 1965).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Second Vatican Council, Decree on the Adaptation and Renewal of Religious Life *Perfectae caritatis* (28 October 1965).

ity<sup>11</sup> in the Church, the media of social communications,<sup>12</sup> the mission activity of the Church<sup>13</sup> and her relation to non-Christian religions.<sup>14</sup> Cardinal Karol Wojtyła arranged all these issues in accordance with the following key: *Ecclesia ad intra – Ecclesia ad extra*, including the renewal rule of “*accomodata renovatio*,” as well as the new aspects of ecumenism.<sup>15</sup>

All these documents originated from ideas that started appearing as early as the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is because of them that the Second Vatican Council was convoked and the reform was initiated. One of the most urgent issues was definitely the liturgy of the Catholic Church, since all the faithful participate in it. Its reform was guided by the rule of constant care for the invariable faith, faithfulness to tradition and promoting active participation of faithful in the works of salvation, present in the celebrated liturgy.<sup>16</sup>

It is worth analysing some of the streams that contributed to the change in perceiving the liturgy of the Church. As we have mentioned before, they were rooted in social and cultural changes, archaeological discoveries and the development of sciences, as well as new spiritual needs of the faithful that arose around that time. The latter, although essentially invariable and concerning the relation to God and salvation, are, however, formed under the influence of particular cultural circumstances, which undoubtedly has an impact on human spirituality.

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. Second Vatican Council, Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity *Apostolicam atuositatem* (18 November 1965).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Second Vatican Council, Decree on the Media of Social Communication *Inter mirifica* (4 December 1963).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Second Vatican Council, Decree *Ad Gentes* on the Mission Activity of the Church (7 December 1965).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Second Vatican Council, Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions *Nostra aetate* (28 October 1965).

<sup>15</sup> Por. K. Wojtyła, *Wstęp ogólny*, [in:] *Sobór Watykański II. Konstytucje, dekry, deklaracje*, red. S. Jaworski, L. Krawczyk, Poznań 1968, p. 9–23.

<sup>16</sup> S. Czerwik, *Wprowadzenie do Konstytucji o liturgii świętej*, [in:] *Sobór Watykański II. Konstytucje, dekry, deklaracje*, op. cit., p. 38–39.

## 1. Interest in the Ancient Times and the Development of Historical Research

One of the characteristics of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was definitely a great interest in the Ancient Times, the development of historical studies and archaeology. Among the reasons for this fact we can mention two important things: the appearance of a large number of ancient works of art in the western world and the establishment of modern Greece as an independent country.

The appearance of the monuments of ancient culture in the west was a result of Napoleon's army's plunder in Egypt, Italy and Greece. The loot collected in this way decorated palaces, as well as private mansions of many former officers. It obviously raised interest of the ancient culture experts and researchers and most probably propelled further, this time scientific, research and boosted the development of archaeology, especially in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Another event that raised interest in the Ancient Times was the fact that Greece gained independence in 1830, with significant support of Western Europe.<sup>17</sup> The role of Germany was of great importance here. The splendour of ancient democracy seemed to be some kind of ideal that many were pursuing, due to the period of great change in different societies tired of revolutions and wars, especially civil ones.

The interest in the ancient times, although directly connected with getting acquainted with pagan culture, naturally led to discovering Christian monuments as well. The traces could not be ignored. On the basis of the documents that were discovered it was possible to re-create the image of life of early Christian communities. The analysis covered easily available

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<sup>17</sup> From the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century Greece was a part of the Byzantine Empire. Between 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century it lost its sovereignty conquered by Turkey. It regained independence after the national uprising (1821–1829/1830) with the help of western empires – cf. *Grecja*, [in:] *Nowa encyklopedia powszechna PWN*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1998, p. 613; Z. Sułowski, *Grecja*, [in:] *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 6, Lublin 1993, col. 64–65.

monuments, the re-discovered catacombs<sup>18</sup> as well as the literary legacy of Church Fathers. This archaeological wealth was gradually popularised among researchers. The image of the Church that this research presented had to be confronted with the current reality, and, as a result, many questions arose. One of them was the question concerning the participation of the faithful in the liturgy of the Church.

One of the most important propagators of patristic literature was the famous French priest Jacque-Paul Migne († 1875). He served in the diocese of Orleans but at some point, as a result of his disobedience, he was forced to leave his parish and went to live in Paris, where his life work started. He published a few collections of theological works,<sup>19</sup> among which the most important were the literary works of Church Fathers,

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<sup>18</sup> Giovanni Battista de Rossi († 1894) is thought to be the discoverer of the early Christian catacombs. Born in Rome, he was an Italian archaeologist, epigraphist and art historian, co-editor of *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, an expert on the Ancient Times in Rome, a creator of Christian archaeology. He discovered and worked on many Christian manuscripts. Among his major works we can find *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, edited with L. Duchesne – see P. M. Baumgarten, *Giovanni Battista de Rossi*, [in:] *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 6, London 1908; B. Iwaszkiewicz-Wronikowska, *Rossi Giovanni Battista de*, [in:] *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 17, Lublin 2012, col. 354n.

<sup>19</sup> E.g. *Scripturae Sacrae Cursus Completus* in 28 volumes published from 1840 to 1845 with a good commentary; *Theologiae Cursus Completus*, also in 28 volumes published from 1840 to 1845; *Démonstrations Evangéliques*, 20 volumes (1842–1852) in which he collected the apologetic works of about one hundred authors from different epochs; *Collection Intégrale et Universelle des Orateurs Sacrés*, two collections (102 volumes, 1844–1866) of the works of the best preachers; *Summa Aurea de Laudibus Beatae Mariae Virginis*, with J. J. Bourassé (13 volumes, 1866–1868); *Encyclopédie Théologique* (171 volumes, 1844–1866); cf. J. P. Kirsch, *Jacques-Paul Migne*, [in:] *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 10, London 1911, online edition (2003) [www.newadvent.org/cathen](http://www.newadvent.org/cathen) (21 December 2013).

to mention only the great and well known *Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus*<sup>20</sup> and *Patrologiae Graecae Cursus Completus*.<sup>21</sup>

The image of Christian worship of the earliest time was an interesting topic for many authors. Among them we can find L. Duchesne, who, in 1899, published his famous work entitled: *Origines du culte chretienne* (Christian worship: its origin and evolution). One of the works of uttermost importance is a wonderful dictionary of archaeology and Christian liturgy. It was prepared by F. Cabrol († 1937) and H. Leclerq: *Dictionnaire d'archeologie chretienne et de liturgie* (DACL). It consists of 28 volumes, published in Paris from 1903. From 1947 its publication was supervised by H. Marrou. Up till now we can say that it is the *status quo* of the knowledge in the field on the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Among the works consisting in collecting, describing, commenting on and publishing ancient codices, we cannot overlook *Analecta hymnica* in which G. M. Dreves and C. Blumes collected the oldest Christian hymns, including the period of the Middle Ages, in 55 volumes. Useful indices were included in the volumes.<sup>22</sup> It is a publication which up till now serves as an important point of reference in hymnological research.

The liturgy coursebooks published in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were and still are important publications. They emphasise the richness of the Church Tradition consisted not only in the rites, but also in the architecture and sacral art. The list of the most famous authors includes F. X. Schmidt († 1871), V. Thalhofer († 1891) and F. Probst († 1899). Among Polish authors we can find the coursebooks of blessed archbishop A. J. Nowowiejski († 1941), rev. J. Michalak († 1941) and rev. A. Nojszewski, which were published a bit later.

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<sup>20</sup> Published in 217 volumes (1844–1855) and 4 volumes of indices (vol. 218–221), published from 1862 to 1864.

<sup>21</sup> First series: 81 volumes (published 1856–1861), contains only Latin translation of the original texts; second series: 166 volumes (published 1857–1866) contains the Greek text as well as its Latin translation, there are no indices here, only the list of authors and their works made by D. Scholarios (of Greek origin) and published in 1879 in Athens.

<sup>22</sup> *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, hrsg. von G. M. Dreves, C. Blume, Leipzig 1886–1922; Frankfurt am Main 1961, Bern 1978.



The greatest historical research was conducted by the Germans. The Benedictine Abbey Maria Laach was an important place where after the First World War source texts (*Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen*) as well as theological studies on liturgy (*Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*) were being worked on with outstanding patience and devotion. In 1939 both magazines were merged and more pastoral research took place. The works were supervised by abbot I. Herwegen and friars K. Mohlberg and O. Casel. Together with professors R. Guardini, Fr. J. Dölger and A. Baumstark they started publishing the magazine entitled *Ecclesia orans*.<sup>23</sup> In the same abbey the works of J. Dölger's school (*Antike und Christentum* 1929–1950) and Th. Klauser's school (*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*) were published as well.

All these events had to result in broadening the knowledge about the Church and her origins and confronting it with the then contemporary liturgy. It raised many questions and the desire to change things appeared. A great interest in the problem of rituality could be noticed. Although the questions mostly arose in research centres, all the ideas were spread among the faithful as well through new forms of ministry that appeared at that time.

## 2. The Development of Interest in the Holy Scripture

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, due to the development of historical and natural science, some biblical data started to seem contradictory with the scientific research. The opponents of the inerrancy of the Bible took particular fragments of the Bible claiming and trying to prove that it contained obvious errors, especially in the fields of astronomy and natural science. As a result of these difficulties and allegations the so-called “biblical issue” came into existence, raised by exegetes and Catholic

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<sup>23</sup> Cf. B. Neunheuser, *Il movimento liturgico: panorama storico e lineamenti teologici*, [in:] *La Liturgia momento nella storia della salvezza*, Genova 1979<sup>2</sup>, p. 22 (Anàmnesis, 1).

theologians. They tried to determine if the Holy Scripture consisted errors concerning astrological and natural phenomena. Many of the problematic issues had been researched and presented in the way inconsistent with the text of the Bible.

How did all these questions arise? Why were the Bible and the scientific research contradicted? Answering these questions was incredibly important, as this particular issue created an apparent conflict between faith and science. This conflict was extremely painful for many believers, as it seemed that it contradicted the facts resulting from faith with the achievements of human reason. Obviously, materialistic ideologies did their best to fuel this conflict, thus building their own authority. However, the great controversy, which was thought to destroy the Church and her theories, found an easy solution. The autonomy of faith and reason was once again emphasised. Both these fields follow different rules, although there are many co-relations between them.

The history of the biblical issue is included in the Church documents concerning the Bible and the rules of its interpretation. One can easily get acquainted with the course of the disputes around this issue, following the opinions of different popes, starting with the Encyclical of Leo XIII *Providentissimus Deus* issued in 1893.<sup>24</sup> This encyclical is the *magna carta in re biblica*, due to its critical role, especially in finding new ways of exegesis and understanding the Bible. In his letter the Pope emphasised an urgent need for researchers in the field of Biblical Studies.

It was the first time Leo XIII had mentioned Biblical Studies as an academic field of research. The Pope's commandment led to establishing in the Catholic Church specialised faculty in Biblical Studies. In 1890 the famous *Ecole Biblique et Archéologique* was founded and later officially approved by Leo XIII. The school focused on biblical research, at the same time taking into consideration all discoveries made in biblical archaeology, which showed the modern approach to research and the curriculum. The

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<sup>24</sup> Cf. H. Lempa, *Kwestia biblijna i encyklika Leona XIII "Providentissimus Deus."* *Komentarz do encykliki*, [in:] *Biblia w dokumentach Kościoła. Wybór tekstów i komentarz*, teksty do druku przygotował R. Pietkiewicz, komentarz oprac. A. Jankowski, H. Lempa, R. Pietkiewicz, Wrocław 1997, p. 7.

school was located in Jerusalem. The headmaster of the *Ecole*, fr. Roland de Vaux OP, supervised an international team of scholars, who systematically analysed the caves by the Dead Sea and devoted themselves to work aiming at deciphering and publishing the texts found in them. The research was then taken over by the scholars from the Hebrew University, however, it must not be forgotten that the research itself was initiated by the scholars from the Catholic *Ecole Biblique*, among whom Józef Tadeusz Milik, a Polish biblical scholar and a Catholic priest, published more texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls than any other original team member.

In 1902 Leo XIII established the Pontifical Biblical Commission, the aim of which was ensuring the development of Biblical Studies. The Commission became an important advisory body of the Church Magisterium on the interpretation of the Sacred Scripture.

The successor of Leo XIII, st. Pius X, in 1909 established the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome which developed widespread educational and scholarly activity. The number of students from all around the world, not only including Catholic priests, but also nuns and lay people, has been stable up till now and amounts to about 300 students. Among the Institute students there are also Orthodox Christians and Jews; some of the lecturers invited are Protestants. During almost one hundred years of activity 6000 students from different countries graduated from *Biblicum* holding the title of *in re Biblica*. Among them there are Europeans, Americans, more than 400 Africans, 400 graduates from South America and more than 600 Asians. Among the graduates of *Biblicum* there are about one hundred students from Poland.<sup>25</sup>

In the context of the development of Biblical Studies it is worth mentioning the influence of the interest in the Bible on the movement of the renewal of Church liturgy. One of the representatives of the aforementioned interest is the Klosterneuburg Monastery. One of its outstanding representatives was Pius Parsch († 1954). The result of his work was bringing liturgy closer to the people. In 1924 he published *Das Jahrbuch des Heiles* (The Church Year of Grace), making the Catholic liturgy, espe-

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. S. Hałas, *Specyfika katolickiego podejścia do Pisma świętego*, [in:] *Księgi święte a słowo Boże*, oprac. L. Kamykowski, Z. J. Kijas, Kraków 2005, p. 41f.

cially the biblical readings, more accessible for the faithful. His work was translated into many European languages. His work as a leading figure in the Liturgical Movement popularised the Bible, which was also the idea behind the magazine *Bibel und Liturgie*<sup>26</sup> that he published.

It needs to be mentioned that the interest in the Bible was also raised due to the mission activity *ad gentes*. Since the activities were organised by both Catholics and Protestants, there was a mutual exchange of experiences. The common Protestant reference to the Bible encouraged Catholics to take similar action. On the side of the faithful the need for the Word of God and Its authentic interpretation was rapidly developing.

### 3. Liturgy and the Pastoral Office

Dom Prosper Guéranger, the abbot and founder of the Solesmes Abbey, noticed a very interesting role of liturgy. On the one hand, he perceived it as communal worship of the Church, revived by the Holy Spirit who prays and intercedes with the “groaning” that words cannot express (cf. Rom 8:26). On the other hand, he saw it as the source of grace of renewal for man and the whole community. The renovated Solesmes Abbey became the centre of the living liturgy, which shed light on the French society, destroyed by the revolution and the civil war. His actions brought moral healing and strongly united the people. Dom Guéranger is credited with developing and propagating research on the Gregorian chant. Solesmes had a great influence on students, seminaries, monasteries, social elites and parishes. From Solesmes the ideas of the Liturgical Movement spread to neighbouring countries. Guéranger’s ideas reached Germany through the foundation of the Beuron Archabbey. The following Abbeys originated from the Beuronese Congregation: Maredsous in Belgium, Maria Laach in Germany, Monte Cesar in Louvain. They had a huge impact on the development of the Liturgical Movement in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. They took over the heritage of Guéranger, at the same time enriching it with new elements.

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. B. Nadolski, *Liturgika*, vol. 1: *Liturgika fundamentalna*, Poznań 1989, p. 56f.

The greatest achievement of the monks in Beuron was the translation of the Roman Missal into German, which was done by Anzelm Schott OSB. The Missal was published in 1884, and was then reprinted in many forms in millions of copies. Nowadays it is also available in the electronic form. The method helped to form many generations of the faithful and soon found followers in other countries. In the post-war period in Poland different Benedictine missals were also available, often with both Latin and Polish versions of the Holy Mass text.<sup>27</sup>

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the *motu proprio* of Pius X “*Inter pastoralis officii sollicitudines*” (22 November 1903) brings the wind of change. Although it directly referred to Sacred Music, it became the thing that the standard Liturgical Movement originated from. In this document the Pope already expressed his wish for reviving the participation of the faithful in liturgy. Holy Mass participation culminates in the Holy Communion. That is why the Pope got involved in propagating the development of the Eucharistic worship and encouraged regular communion. The work of Pius X concerning the Holy Communion included the documents explaining the conditions on receiving everyday Holy Communion (1905), and releasing a decree concerning the admittance of Communion to children (1910).<sup>28</sup> It was also by his order that the norms concerning the Office were published, and the first official editions of *Graduale Romanum* (1907) and *Antiphonale* (1912) appeared.

Lambert Beauduin OSB († 1960) from the Monte Cesar Abbey in Belgium was a faithful follower of the Pope in terms of the main stream of the renewal of liturgy. This minister of the working class (also a member of the Société des Aumoniers du Travail) became a true theologian and pastor, as was the case with many Church Fathers. He tried to bring

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<sup>27</sup> A missal issued by Benedictines from Tyniec, illustrated and with many commentaries, can serve as an example here: *Mszał niedzielny. Msze na niedziele i główne święta roku kościelnego* (Abbaye de S. André – Bruges 1959). More than a hundred years before in Poznań *Listy i Ewangelie na niedziele i święta całego roku* (Berlin 1842) was published (abp Dunin). Obviously, there were more projects of this kind, especially among Benedictines.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Sacred Congregation of the Discipline of the Sacraments on First Communion, Decree *Quam singulari* (7 August 1910).

liturgy closer to the people stuck in the new social reality regulated by the laws of merciless capitalism. He refused to accept liturgy for the sake of liturgy. His vision of the liturgy as the Prayer of the Church and with all its dynamism (*Vitalitas liturgica*) was presented during a special meeting in Malines in 1909. This meeting is thought to have been the beginning of the modern Liturgical Movement, which oriented it towards pastoral activity. It is remembered as *Mechelner Ereignis* – The Event of Mechelner. This particular characteristic of the Movement, namely orientation towards pastoral activity, was reflected in establishing the magazine *Les Questions liturgiques et paroissiales* (from 1911). Since 1970 it has been entitled *Questions liturgiques*. The most important work of Beauduin is *La piété de l'Eglise* (1914) and is one of the classics of that period.<sup>29</sup> Beauduin understands liturgy in a broad sense, including the Liturgy of the Hours. However, he puts most emphasis on the participation in the Holy Mass. He remained faithful to his ideals till the end of his life. His initiative of organising conferences and days of liturgy was taken over by St. Andrew's Abbey in Brugge. Under the spiritual patronage of Beauduin the *Centre de Pastorale Liturgique* was founded in Paris (1943). Its most important publication is the quarterly *La Maison Dieu*. The pastoral character of the liturgy revival also appeared in Flandria and the Netherlands. In Poland it was introduced by archbishop Jałbrzykowski in the Diocese of Vilnius and in Lviv.

Maria Laach Abbey was the centre of the movement for the renewal of liturgy. Abbot I. Herwegen supervised ministry of different groups of intellectuals there. He also began publishing an editorial series *Ecclesia Orans* – and as the first volume of the series the work of R. Guardini entitled “*Vom Geist der Liturgie*” was published (1918). This Abbey was a place of work for the aforementioned theologians, such as Odo Casel (†1948), K. Mohlberg and others. After the First World War particular emphasis was put on the celebration of the Holy Mass here. In 1921 in the crypt of the Maria Laach church the Holy Mass was celebrated “facing the people,” as the “recited Holy Mass” and the “dialogue Mass.” The result of

<sup>29</sup> Polish edition: L. Beauduin, *Modlitwa Kościoła*, Kraków 1987 (Vetera et Nova, 1).

this search was the so-called “Mass for the People” - *Gemeindemesse* and the Mass with chants and prayers in the mother tongue (*Betsingmesse*).

Another thing worth mentioning is the promotion of missal texts for particular Sundays, which made active participation much easier for the faithful. In 1930 alone 25 million different prayer books were spread among the faithful. Apart from the Holy Mass texts, prayer books containing office fragments and other prayers were popularised as well. Their title was very important: *Kirchengebet* – the prayer of the Church. The latter ones in Germany were associated with Ludwik Volker. The fact that in 1939 about 5 million of them were published shows how great the demand for them was.

One of the characteristics of this period is the pastoral activity of theologians involved in scholarly research. Their work obviously took place among the intellectual elites, since they were the ones having the greatest influence on social life and opinion formation in communities. It did not mean being distanced from other groups. However, someone had to accept, understand, and pass on the discoveries of theologians and historians applied to pastoral reality.<sup>30</sup> R. Guardini († 1968) can serve as an example here. His pastoral work encompassed the studying youth (the Quickborn group). Jesuit P. Doncoeur worked with the French youth in a similar way.

## 4. The Renewal of the Liturgical Music

Liturgical music was also one of the many pastoral concerns of the Church at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The expression of this state was the aforementioned *motu proprio* of Pope Pius X *Inter pastoralis sollicitudines* from 22 November 1903. The interest in music on the side of the Church Magisterium was a result of the gradually rising awareness of the importance of music for liturgy. The Pope began his document with the statement that music influences “maintaining and promoting

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<sup>30</sup> Cf. B. Neunheuser. *Il movimento liturgico: panorama storico e lineamenti teologici*, op. cit., p. 22f.

the decorum of the House of God,” the participation of the faithful in the Holy Sacrifice, the adoration of the most august Sacrament of the Lord’s Body and the act of uniting of the faithful in the common prayer. We can therefore say that music facilitates active participation of the faithful in liturgy, which is the foundation of the formation of their Christian spirit. The intervention of the Magisterium was necessary, due to the dangerous influence of lay music on the liturgical music.

We have mentioned the great role of Dom P. Guéranger in rediscovering the Gregorian chant and liturgy. With the development of the Liturgical Movement, the so-called Cecilian Movement developed as well, with an aim of renewing the music in Church liturgy<sup>31</sup> through eliminating from liturgy the music of secular, operatic or simply showy character.<sup>32</sup> The purpose of liturgical music was unifying the faithful in prayer and perceiving the Divine reality. With this goal in mind many important initiatives were taken, especially in Germany, in Munich and in Regensburg. In Italy the initiatives were taken during congresses in Florence (1875), Bologna (1876) and Bergamo (1877). Similar initiatives took place in Austria, Slovenia, Croatia and in Hungary.

Another important event after the *motu proprio* of Pius X was the creation of boy choirs in France initiated by rev. Ferdynand Maillet, whose work resulted in establishing the International Federation *Pueri Cantores* in November 1944. These initiatives, however, originated from the foundation of boy choirs *Petits Chanteurs à la Croix du Bois* in 1907, which sang during liturgical celebrations. In this way, boys’ singing returned as an element of Church liturgy. The second most important event for the development of liturgical music was the foundation of Pontificio Istituto di Musica Sacra in 1911. It made it possible to develop the study on the Gregorian chant, concertina, counterpoint and organ. Lorenzo Perosi († 1956) was enchanted by this fact.

The interest of the Church Magisterium in the liturgical music can be noticed as early as the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when Leo XIII formed the Music

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<sup>31</sup> Cf. R. Tyrała. *Cecylianowski ruch odnowy muzyki kościelnej na ziemiach polskich do 1939 roku*, Kraków 2010, p. 17–53.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 31.



Committee in 1893. One of its members was Card. Giuseppe Sarto, who later became Pope Pius X. Leon XIII issued a decree on the church chant (7 July 1894). After the *motu proprio* of Pius X, the Apostolic Constitution *Divini cultus*, issued in 1928 by Pius XI, was an important document on this matter. It basically repeated the ideas of Pius X.

This epoch is also a period of development of different types of song-books, which encouraged participation in liturgy through singing. A good example of such publication can be the German *Gotteslob*, and in Poland the song-books of Mioduszewski, and later Siedlecki and Surzyński. That is how the need of understanding and active participation in Church liturgy was expressed by the people of God.

## 5. The Vivacity of Christianity

Christianity and the Catholic Church are not only external structures, but, most importantly, the community of the faithful. This community, with an active influence of the Holy Spirit, has its own life and rhythm. It is noteworthy that since the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century different phenomena have been taking place in Church communities, as indications of the search of deeper and better ways of experiencing faith. It is a very broad topic, therefore, I shall only discuss a few issues connected with it.

Within Lutheran communities a movement called Pietism appeared in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. It was a form of renewed piety, a reaction to secular tendencies, which mostly influenced Protestantism. It distanced itself from theology, which was in a constant state of dissension with other Protestants as well as Catholics, and aroused the need for zealous piety. The way to achieve this goal was awakening religious feelings through prayer, Bible reading and charity. Piety and education of the poorest were emphasised. One of the methods of their work was animating small communities called *ecclesiolae*. Unfortunately, with time many of them turned into sects. This trend, which originated in Lutheran communities, later changed and supplemented, altered the face of Protestant communities, at times penetrating into the Catholic Church as well. It indicated the

direction of the search for the new ecclesiology. In a way, J. H. Newman's († 1890) notion of the Church was also influenced by it.<sup>33</sup>

Quietism, a set of Christian beliefs that rose in popularity at that time, is also worth mentioning. It first appeared in the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Spain,<sup>34</sup> moved to France,<sup>35</sup> and from there to other countries. The original idea, however, must have appeared among the Hesychasts in the East. It emphasised the role of the mystical inner peace (Lat. *quietus*), which could be achieved by ridding oneself of his worries and putting all trust in the Grace of God. The actions of man were seen as having very little importance. External forms of worship, pious actions, some prayers as well as asceticism were all rejected. These ideas were condemned as heresy by pope Innocent XI and Innocent XII (17<sup>th</sup> century). However, they remained common among the faithful, often in an unconscious way, and were still present in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>36</sup>

Trying to analyse the factors that influenced the life of the Church in the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries we must not forget about the devotion to the Most Holy Heart of Jesus. Although some of its elements took the forms of intimistic piety, it generally led to involvement in the life of the Church, deepening the Eucharistic piety and restoring social relations. The acts of devotion to the Most Holy Heart of Jesus, both private and public, played an important role. It was a very strong movement which resulted in many phenomena in the Church.

It also needs to be mentioned that on the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Church actuated her mission activity. The issue concerned both the Catholic Church and the Protestant communities. The trend was

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<sup>33</sup> The trend was most widespread in Württemberg and Prussia. One of its founders was a German Christian theologian Philipp Jakob Spener († 1705). His most important work was *Pia Desideria*. His students established a new method of teaching which combined discipline with a modern approach to learning. They established schools for the poor and seminars for teachers – cf. L. Bouyer, *Kościół Boży. Mistyczne Ciało Chrystusa i świątynia Ducha Świętego*, Warszawa 1977, p. 94–98.

<sup>34</sup> Rev. Miguel Molinos († 1696).

<sup>35</sup> Its main propagator was bishop Cambrai François Fénelon († 1715).

<sup>36</sup> A. Marcol, *Kwietyzm*, [in:] *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 10, Lublin 2004, col. 308–310.

less visible in the Orthodox Church. The great wave of mission activity in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was strongly connected with European missionaries. The world became Europeanized to some extent. As a result, in Africa, Asia and Latin America opposition to the western world arose. People from these continents became more aware of their own cultures; social elites were created. New church communities were formed, each having its own characteristics. The Church had to take that into account. But, what seems interesting, mission activity confronted Catholic and Protestant missionaries. Their experiences were then shared, they penetrated the structures of the Church and helped develop, among other things, great interest in the Bible as well as ecumenical relations.<sup>37</sup>

## Conclusions

The Second Vatican Council and its Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy were extremely important events for the Church history. They did not, however, happen unexpectedly. Both events were a result of the process which started in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The interest in the lives of first Christian communities helped to see our today's experience of *Mysterium Christi* in a new way. The new perception of the Word of God made it necessary for the people to give It a new meaning in the Christian life, and also in the Church liturgy. Different social changes also influenced the community of the faithful. Their importance was recognised and their responsibility for the life of the Church was pointed out. The development of various kinds of piety showed the importance of the new way of understanding the notion of responsibility for the Church. This in turn called for active participation of the faithful in the celebration of liturgy, which had mostly been the priest's domain till then. Active participation was also seen in the change of attitudes to liturgical music. Developing ecumenical contacts became important

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<sup>37</sup> Cf. D. Olszewski, *Misje*, [in:] A. Zuberbier, *Słownik teologiczny*, Katowice 1985, vol. 1, col. 315f.

for the faithful at that time. They also influenced the way in which the Church and her liturgy were seen.

The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* must be seen as an important step in the process of Church restoration, which, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, initiated the process itself. The restoration was crucial to make facing the challenges of the contemporary world possible, and still be able to draw the wisdom from the Gospel.

Kraków

STANISŁAW MIESZCZAK SCJ

## Summary

### Post-conciliar Changes in Liturgy

The fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of the conciliar Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy has raised a lot of interest in this document and the changes in the liturgy of the Catholic Church. The work of reform, however, was not only the result of conciliar tendencies. It was a response to the challenges that the Church had been facing since the mid-nineteenth century. In the field of liturgy many changes took place. The development of historical science, the renewal of the interest in the Bible, the rediscovery of the impact of well-celebrated liturgies on social life, new liturgical ministry, the renewal of music – all these helped to change the face of the Catholic Church liturgy. In addition to that, the mission works *ad gentes* developed and this resulted in more open ecumenical dialogue and various forms of piety which, in turn, contributed to the search for a more authentic religiosity. The reform was a pressing need and *Sacrosanctum Concilium* did not, in fact, initiate the changes, but directed them in accordance with the requirements of the Church.

## Keywords

The Second Vatican Council, Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, the reform of the liturgy, Christian archaeology, liturgical music, Cecilian Movement, Guéranger Proper, Liturgical Renewal Movement, liturgical ministry, Missals

## Streszczenie

### Szeroki kontekst posoborowych zmian w liturgii

Pięćdziesiąta rocznica ogłoszenia soborowej Konstytucji o liturgii świętej *Sacrosanctum Concilium* rozbudziła wiele zainteresowania tym dokumentem i zmianami w liturgii Kościoła katolickiego. Dzieło reformy nie było jednak owocem jedynie tendencji soborowych. Było odpowiedzią na wyzwania, jakie stanęły przed Kościołem już od połowy XIX wieku. W dziedzinie liturgii miał miejsce rozwój nauk historycznych, odnowienie zainteresowania Biblią, ponowne odkrycie wpływu dobrze celebrowanej liturgii na życie społeczne, nowe duszpasterstwo liturgiczne, odnowa muzyki, zarówno w parafiach, jak i w celebracjach pontyfikalnych. Oprócz tego rozwijały się misje *ad gentes* i w konsekwencji dialog ekumeniczny, różne formy pobożności, co sprzyjało poszukiwaniom bardziej autentycznej religijności. Nie można zapomnieć także wydarzeń politycznych i prądów myślowych z tamtych lat. Reforma była palącą potrzebą, a *Sacrosanctum Concilium* nie tyle dała początek zmianom, ile raczej ukierunkowała je zgodnie z wymaganiami Kościoła.

## Słowa kluczowe

Sobór Watykański II, Konstytucja o liturgii świętej *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, reforma liturgii, archeologia chrześcijańska, muzyka liturgiczna, ruch cecyliański, Proper Guéranger, ruch odnowy liturgicznej, duszpasterstwo liturgiczne, mszaliki



WALDEMAR PAŁĘCKI MSF

## The Worship of Swedish Saints in Poland after the Council of Trent

From the very beginning of Christianity saints have had an important place in liturgy. The earliest preserved liturgical books, such as lectionaries and sacramentaries, contain memorials of many saints who gave their lives for Christ or led lives that bore witness to the Gospel, therefore becoming a part of the Lord's paschal mystery. The memorials played an important role in the liturgical year, since Sundays were often given the name of the saint who had been honoured on that day.<sup>1</sup> At first the cult had local character and concentrated around the grave of the saint. Many saints were venerated as patrons, protectors, mediators; villages and communities were entrusted to them. In the 4<sup>th</sup> century the increase of importance of the cult of saints can be noticed. In many cases it became common practice. The development of the cult was influenced by many factors, such as migrations, creation of local, regional calendars and martyrologies, cult of relics and the popularisation of biographical literature, the most representative of which were the lives of saints.<sup>2</sup> Although in the history of the Church there has been some abuse associated with this cult, it still is of great importance for the life of the Church, which was confirmed by the Second Vatican Council which stated that “by celebrating the passage

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. W. Boguniowski, *Rozwój historyczny ksiąg liturgii rzymskiej do Soboru Trydenckiego i ich recepcja w Polsce*, Kraków 2001, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. B. Nadolski, *Liturgika*, vol. 2, Poznań 1991, p. 160–162.

of these saints from earth to heaven the Church proclaims the paschal mystery achieved in the saints who have suffered and been glorified with Christ; she proposes them to the faithful as examples drawing all to the Father through Christ, and through their merits she pleads for God's favor" (Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, 104).

After the Council of Trent the cult of saints was given a new impulse in liturgy. As a result of liturgical books unification, the mentions of many saints venerated in local churches and orders were omitted. What is more, the liturgical texts, earlier based on unconfirmed testimonies, were compiled in a way that represented the historical truth. This task was given to Belgian Jesuits (The Bollandists) at the beginning of the 17th century.<sup>3</sup> Trying to preserve the cult of local saints in particular provinces and orders, appendices to the breviary and the missal were prepared. The custom of venerating Swedish saints in Poland, its origin and the particular saints who were put in the liturgical calendar is an interesting issue for analysis.

## 1. Proprium Poloniae and the Preservation of the Local Cult of Saints

From the very beginning of the existence of the cult of saints, together with the celebrations from the general calendar, all places had particular days assigned for the celebration of their patron saints. These catalogues were supplemented by celebrations connected with the relics of saints enshrined in particular churches. These liturgical memorials

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<sup>3</sup> The name comes from J. Bolland SI (1596–1665), a historian and hagiographer from Antwerp, who initiated publishing the *Acta sanctorum*. The main task of the Association was publishing critical editions of texts accompanied by scholarly commentaries. Currently the Bollandist Association is located in Brussels – cf. M. Daniluk, *Bollandyści, Societas Bollandiana*, [in:] *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 2, Lublin 1976, col. 766–767.



referred to particular places (*locus*) understood in a broad sense, as they also referred to a nation (*natio*), church province (*provincia*), or diocese (*diocesis*). They could also concern the bishopric (*civitas*), another city in the diocese (*oppidum*) or parish (*pagus, parochia*).<sup>4</sup> Common memorials constituted a separate group and adding them to local traditions was approved by the Holy See. They were compiled and issued as *Missae propriae* and *Officia propria pro aliquibus locis*. After the Council of Trent the number of missal and breviary forms changed. The greatest number of forms, both to venerate the mysteries of salvation and particular saints, could be found in liturgical books from the late 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The relevance of some of them was questioned before the First Vatican Council (1869–1870). As a result of the reforms introduced by Benedict XIV (1740–1758) and Pius X (1903–1914) they were partly reduced, and in the edition of the Roman Missal from 1920 they got reduced significantly.<sup>5</sup> The appendices containing liturgical texts of particular provinces and churches were called *propia*.

Propium Poloniae, an appendix to liturgical books, was prepared after the publication of the Roman Breviary in 1568 and the Roman Missal in 1570. These books contained the breviary offices and mass forms for the veneration of the saints who had been venerated in Poland for many centuries. Before the reform of the Council of Trent the memorials were put in missals and breviaries in use in particular dioceses. After the resolutions of the Council of Trent had been adopted in 1577 by the Episcopate of Poland, the liturgical books for Polish dioceses had to be issued. Revising and preparing new offices and mass forms required a lot of time.<sup>6</sup> The preparation of the breviary offices became the responsibility of Stanisław Sokołowski (1537–1593), a priest, preacher and professor of the Academy of Cracow. The first

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. A. Nowowiejski, *Wykład Liturgji Kościoła Katolickiego*, vol. 4, Płock 1916, p. 357–358.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. B. Nadolski, *Liturgika*, vol. 4, Poznań 1992, p. 66.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. W. Schenk, *Służba Boża*, [in:] *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, ed. B. Kumor, Z. Obertyński, vol. 1, part 2, Poznań-Warszawa 1974, p. 363–364.

offices composed by him referred to Saint Stanislaus and Saint Florian and were ready in 1589. He did not, however, live to see them printed, although the appendix was ready before his death.<sup>7</sup> The first edition was printed in the Andrzej Piotrkowczyk printing house in 1596 in Cracow, under the title *Officia propria dioecesium poloniae*.<sup>8</sup> The appendix to the Roman Missal was prepared by Kasper of Kleczów. *Missae propriae Patronorum et festorum regni Poloniae* were printed in the same printing house in 1605.<sup>9</sup>

According to the first editions of *Proprium Poloniae* the memorials covered the following saints: Barbara (4 December), Eusebius (16 December), Telesphorus (5 January), Bridget (1 February), Dorothy (6 February), Romuald (7 March), Casimir (4 March), transfer of St. Wenceslaus' relics (5 March), Cyril and Methodius (10 March), Francisca de Paula de Jesus (2 April), Adalbert (23 April), Peter Martyr (26 April), Sigismond (2 May), Florian (4 May), Stanislaus (8 May), saints Neri, Achilles, Domicilia and Pancras (12 May), Ephrem the Syrian (3 June), Antony of Padua (13 June), Margaret (13 July), Cristina (24 July), Hyacinth (16 July), Benigna (19 July), Sabina (29 July), Nicholas of Tolentino (10 September), Dalmatia (10 September), Januarius and Companions (19 September), Thyrsus (24 September), transfer of St. Stanislaus' relics (27 September), Wenceslaus (28 September), Placid and Companions, the Martyrs (5 October), Gereon and Companions,

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Sokołowski Stanisław, [in:] *Encyklopedia kościelna*, ed. M. Nowodworski, A. Zaremba, S. Biskupski, vol. 26, Warszawa-Płock-Włocławek 1903, p. 134–143; A. Nowowiejski, *Wykład Liturgji Kościoła Katolickiego*, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 381.

<sup>8</sup> *Officia propria Patronorum Regni Poloniae, per R. Stanislavm Socolovivm, serenissimi olim Stephani Poloniae Regis Theologum, Canonicum Cracouiensem, ex mandato Synodi Petricouiensis conscripta, Auctore Illustrissimi Cardinalis Georgii Radzivilii Episcopi Cracouiensis edita*, Antverpiae 1676; cf. K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 23, Kraków 1909, p. 272.

<sup>9</sup> *Missae propriae Patronorum et festorum regni Poloniae, Ad normam Missalis Romani accomodatae*, Cracoviae 1605; K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, vol. 22, Kraków 1907, p. 424–425; P. Szczaniecki, *Msza po staremu się odprawia*, Kraków 2009, p. 97–98.

the Martyrs (10 October), Jadwiga the Widow (15 October), transfer of St. Adalbert's relics (20 October), Ursula and Companions (21 October), Benedict, John, Mathew Isaak and Krystyn, First Polish Martyrs (12 November), Elisabeth of Hungary (19 November), Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (21 December). The list of saints evolved when new ones were added to the record, for instance when Stanislaus Kostka was canonised in 1726.<sup>10</sup> Appendices containing offices and mass forms were also printed for monastic communities in Poland, such as propia of Polish Benedictines and Camaldoleses.<sup>11</sup> In later editions common supplements for the Austrian Empire, Russia and Silesia were put. An example is an appendix to the Roman Missal from 1863 entitled *Missae patronorum et festorum propriorum Regni Poloniae et Sueciae, item Russiae, Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae, et Ducatus Silesiae*.<sup>12</sup> Although during the First Vatican Council fr. Ricca from the Order of Minims postulated eliminating local celebrations from liturgical calendars, the project was rejected for fear of depleting the great diversity characteristic for the Church.<sup>13</sup>

## 2. Polish-Swedish Union during the Vasa reign and the *Proprium Sueciae*

The preservation of the cult of saints venerated in Sweden after the Council of Trent was partly influenced by the events connected with Sweden converting to the Augsburg Confession and the personal union during the Vasa reign between the Polish-Lithuanian

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. Z. Wit, *Patronał polski*, [in:] *Memoriale Domini. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Księdzu Profesorowi Jerzemu Stefańskiemu w 70 rocznicę urodzin*, ed. M. Olczyk, W. Radecki, Gniezno 2010, p. 652–653.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. W. Pałęcki, *Służba Boża kamedulów polskich. Tradycje życia liturgicznego w świetle potrydenckiej liturgii rzymskiej (1605–1963)*, Lublin 2012, p. 81–82.

<sup>12</sup> Ratisbonae 1963.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. A. Nowowiejski, *Wykład Liturgji Kościoła Katolickiego*, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 357.

Commonwealth and the Kingdom of Sweden from 1592 to 1599. After the death of king John III of Sweden on 27 November 1592, his oldest son Sigismund III Vasa († 1632) became heir to the throne of Sweden. Sigismund at that time was already the King of Poland. His uncle, Duke Charles of Södermanland († 1611) had no children of his own, therefore, accepted the fact that his nephew took the throne. Having received permission of the Polish Parliament, Sigismund left the Commonwealth and went to Sweden to secure the Swedish crown. Since most of the Swedish population had converted to Lutheranism, during the synod summoned to Uppsala by Duke Charles in 1593 the Augsburg Confession was supported, the new Catholic liturgy was rejected, and an anti-Catholic confession of faith was drawn up, thus rejecting the missal introduced by King John III in 1576 which made the reformed liturgy similar to the Catholic one.<sup>14</sup> King Sigismund III Vasa was a well educated, practising Catholic. Paolo Mucante († 1617) – the secretary of the then legate in Poland Cardinal Enrico Gaetan († 1599) – mentioned that the King prayed every day, said the rosary and the hours of the Virgin, every day listened to the read Holy Mass, later sung Holy Mass with a sermon, he kept Lent, participated in the Corpus Christi processions on foot, and on Good Fridays visited the graves of the Lord.<sup>15</sup>

King Sigismund III Vasa, in an attempt to keep the Swedish crown, on 19 February 1594 signed an agreement which guaranteed religious freedom to the Protestants. Only then was he crowned to be the King of Sweden by a Protestant archbishop Abraham Angermannus († 1607). Unfortunately, soon after that he had to leave Sweden and gave regency to Charles of Södermanland and his senators. His uncle used the dislike that the lower nobility had towards the King who renegeed on his earlier promises and opened Catholic schools and gave prominent posts to Catholics (e.g. the Mayor of Stockholm). Charles of Södermanland, pursuing his own political agenda, in 1595 openly

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. Y. M. Werner, *Schweden. I. Kirchengeschichte*, [in:] *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Freiburg-Basel-Wien 2000<sup>3</sup>, vol. IX, col. 331.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. S. Ochmann-Staniszevska, *Dynastia Wazów w Polsce*, Warszawa 2007, p. 119.

disobeyed the King by calling the Estates (Riksdag) to session, which turned into the anti-Polish confederation of the lower nobility. The attempt to end the conflict failed and on 24 July 1599 Sigismund was officially dethroned by the Riksdag. There was a proposal for the prince Władysław († 1648) to take over the Swedish throne, however, on the condition that he would arrive in Sweden within six months in order to receive Protestant upbringing. Due to the lack of reaction on the Polish side, in 1600 the Estates made a decision to deprive the Vasas of the right to the Swedish crown, which they refused to accept. John II Casimir of Poland († 1672) was forced to renounce his claim to the Swedish throne in Oliwa in 1660, although he was allowed to use the title of the King of Sweden till the end of his life.<sup>16</sup>

King Sigismund III Vasa never came to terms with the loss of the Swedish throne and never relinquished his desire to regain it. He asked for help both in the Commonwealth and abroad. It is possible that these personal experiences resulted in unifying the cult of the saints venerated in both countries before reformation. In response to reformation, religious fights, constant battles against the cult of saints and destroying their relics, King Sigismund III Vasa asked the Holy See for permission to include the Swedish saints in the Proprium Poloniae. Having received the approval of the Sacred Congregation of Rites in 1616, dioceses could put these saints in their own calendars.<sup>17</sup> The information found on the title page indicates that these offices come from an old Swedish breviary.<sup>18</sup> In the 17<sup>th</sup> century mass forms and breviaries were first printed as separate books. They were later included in the Proprium Poloniae and were entitled either *Officia* or *Missae propriae Poloniae et Sueciae*. The author of the collection

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 83–86.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Z. Wit, *Patronat polski*, op. cit., p. 652.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Officia propria SS. Patronorum Regni Sueciae, Ex vetustis Breuarijs eiusdem Regni deprompta: Ad instantiam Serenissimi Sigismundi III Svveciae & Poloniae Regis, a Sac. Rituum Congregatione, auctoritate Apostolica, recognita & approbata, atque omnibus tam in dicto Sueciae quam etiam Poloniae Regno habitantibus concessa, vt libere & licite, translatis vel omissis alijs Officijs*, Antverpiae 1678.

of offices and forms is, however, unknown. In common editions they were ordered in accordance with the liturgical calendar and did not change over the centuries.<sup>19</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> century some dioceses resigned from mentioning the Swedish saints, an example of which has been Warmia since 1869. The last edition containing texts to venerate those saints is from 1901, and the next one, issued in 1914 by rev. J. Michalak († 1941), omits them completely.<sup>20</sup>

### 3. Scandinavian Saints According to *Proprium Sveciae*

The appendix of breviary offices and missal forms *Proprium Sveciae* remained unchanged over the centuries and contained memorials of the great saints of Scandinavia. In accordance with the monthly order the celebrations were to venerate the following: the preservation of the Kingdom with the intercession of St. Eric (6 January), Henry, the Bishop of Finland (19 January), transfer of St. Eric's relics (24 January), Ansgar (Oscar), the Bishop and Follower (4 February), Siegfried, the Bishop and Follower (25 February), Catherine of Sweden (23 March), Eric, the King and Martyr (18 May), the preservation of the Kingdom from the Holy Trinity form (21 May), Eskil, the Bishop and Martyr (12 June), memorial of all patron saints of the Kingdom of Sweden (the Sunday after the octave of St. Peter and St. Paul the Apostles), David (15 July), Botvid, the Martyr (28 July), Olaf, the King and Martyr (29 July), Helena, the Widow and Martyr (31 July), commemoration of Catherine of Sweden (2 August), Relics of the church in Uppsala

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<sup>19</sup> Cf. A. Nowowiejski, *Patronał polski i szwedzki*, [in:] *Encyklopedia kościelna*, op. cit., vol. 18, p. 375–377; Z. Wit, *Patronał polski*, op. cit., p. 654.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. A. Nowowiejski, *Wykład Liturgji Kościoła Katolickiego*, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 381.

(first Sunday after the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle), transfer of St. Eskil's relics (6 October) and Bridget (7 October).<sup>21</sup>

Proprium Sueciae starts with a memorial of St. Eric Jedvardsson († 1161), related to royal families of Denmark, Norway and Sweden. He was born about 1120 near Lake Melar. In 1155 he reigned the part of Sweden called Vestergötland. According to folk tales, he participated in the process of evangelisation of Finland, accompanying St. Henry. Legends say that he built many churches. He died a martyr in Old Uppsala, which at that time was the centre of pagan cults, while participating in the Holy Mass. This event was mentioned in the post-conciliar Roman Martyrology.<sup>22</sup> According to medieval calendars his liturgical feast was on 18 May. Another feast to venerate him was 24 January, when the transfer of his relics was celebrated. Most probably, the relics were placed in the Uppsala Cathedral in 1220, and his grave became a popular pilgrimage destination in the Middle Ages. His cult was propagated by the Brigittines.<sup>23</sup> The third day when the intercession of St. Eric was expected was 6 January, when the Mass for the preservation of the Kingdom was celebrated. Up till the reformation times he was considered an exemplary ruler.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Officia propria SS. Patronorum Regni Sueciae, Ex vetustis Breuarijs eiusdem Regni deprompta: Ad instantiam Serenissimi Sigismundi III Svueciae & Poloniae Regis, a Sac. Rituum Congregatione, auctoritate Apostolica, recognita & approbata, atque omnibus tam in dicto Sueciae quam etiam Poloniae Regno habitantibus concessa, vt libere & licite, translatis vel omissis alijs Officijs, Antverpiae 1678, p. 4.*

<sup>22</sup> "Upsalae in Suecia, sancti Eri regis Noni, martyris, qui in regno suo ad populum sapienter regendum et mulierum iura tuenda incubuit et in Finniam sanctum Henricum episcopum misit, ut Christi fidem propagaret, tandem, dum Missae celebrationi adstabat, oppugnatus sub gladiis inimicorum cecidit" (*Martyrologium Romanum Ex decreto sacrosancti oecumenici concilii Vaticani II Instauratum auctoritate Ioannis Pauli pp. II promulgatum, editio altera, Typis Vaticanis MMIV, p. 291*).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Księga imion i świętych*, oprac. H. Fros, F. Sowa, vol. 2, Kraków 1997, col. 190.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. H. Lesman, J. Swastek, *Eryk IX*, [in:] *Encyclopedia katolicka*, op. cit., vol. 4, col. 1102; T. Nyberg, *Erich IX*, [in:] *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, op. cit., vol. 3, col. 766.

One of the great missionaries of Scandinavia was St. Henry († about 1157), who originally came from England. He came to Sweden about 1153 and together with St. Eric went to Finland. When Eric returned to Sweden, St. Henry stayed there to build the structures of the Church. However, soon after that, on 19 January about 1160, he died a martyr, killed by a peasant whom he had punished for murder.<sup>25</sup> In the current Roman Martyrology his memorial is put on the 20 January, and the elogium states that he was murdered.<sup>26</sup> He was buried in Nousiajnien and between 1290 and 1300 his body was moved to Abo (Turku), where his relics were kept until 1720. They were taken by the Russians. The relics from Uppsala were removed during reformation times. His cult was widespread across Scandinavia, not only in Finland.<sup>27</sup>

After the Second Vatican Council in the reformed common calendar the memorial of St. Ansgar († 865) was put on 3 February. In the Roman Martyrology it was pointed out that as the papal legate of Gregory IV (827–844) he was responsible for the process of evangelisation of northern Europe (Denmark and Sweden) and established the Holy Church of Christ there.<sup>28</sup> St. Ansgar was born about 801 in north-western France. He was schooled in the Benedictine Abbey in Corvey, and later joined the Benedictine Order. When Harald Klak († about 852), the prince of Denmark, asked the emperor to be baptised,

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<sup>25</sup> According to Roman Martyrology the right date is 1157 – cf. *Martyrologium Romanum*, op. cit., p. 755.

<sup>26</sup> “In Finnia, sancti Henrici, episcopi et martyris, qui, in Anglia natus, Upsaliensem Ecclesiam suscepit regendam omni studio in Finnos evangelizandos incumbens; crudeliter tandem ab homicida trucidatus est, quem iuxta ecclesiasticam disciplinam corrigere conatus erat” (*Martyrologium Romanum*, op. cit., p. 108).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Księga imion i świętych*, op. cit., vol. 3, col. 29; J. Swastek, *Henryk z Uppsali*, [in:] *Encyclopedia katolicka*, op. cit., vol. 6, col. 690.

<sup>28</sup> “Sancti Ansgarii, episcopi Hamburgensis ac postea in simul Bremensis in Saxonia, qui, primum monachus Corbeiensis, a Gregorio papa Quarto legatus deputatus est totius Septemtrionis, in Dania et Suecia gentium multitudini Evangelium nuntiavit et Christi Ecclesiam instituit, multas difficultates forti animo superans, donec Bremae laboribus defessus quievit” (*Martyrologium Romanum*, op. cit., p. 131).



St. Ansgar accompanied him to proclaim the Gospel in those areas. After eighteen months he returned to the court of Louis the Pious († 840), who sent him to Sweden in 830 to accomplish the same goals. Soon St. Ansgar became the bishop of Hamburg and a papal legate for northern countries. After the death of the bishop of Bremen, he was appointed his successor by the emperor, which met with disapproval of both the bishop of Cologne and the Pope. Between 852 and 853 he led to the conversion of the semi-legendary Swedish king named Olaf († after 854) and attempted to organise Church structures there. He died on 2 or 3 February 865.<sup>29</sup>

Born outside Scandinavia, St. Sigfrid († about 1045) was a Benedictine monk and bishop in Sweden. He originally came from England. He arrived in Norway invited by king Olof I Skötkonung († about 1021/1022), the first Christian ruler, where he evangelised the areas of today's Sweden in the early 11<sup>th</sup> century. Around 1030 he came to Bremen. Not much is known about his life, but the centre of his cult became the city of Växjö in Sweden where his relics were enshrined.<sup>30</sup> The first office to honour this saint is mentioned as early as 1206, and since 1474 he has been venerated as one of the main patron saints of Sweden.<sup>31</sup> Initially his feast day in *Proprium Sveciae* was 25 February, later it was changed to 15 February. The latter is also the date under which the memorial of this saint is put in the current Roman Martyrology, with a comment on his zealous evangelisation works and information on the fact that he was the one who baptised king Olof.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Księga imion i świętych*, op. cit., vol. 4, col. 461–462; P. Johaneck, *Ansgar*, [in:] *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, op. cit., vol. 1, col. 715–716; P. Kielar, *Ansgar*, [in:] *Encyclopedia katolicka*, op. cit., vol. 1, col. 640–641.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *Księga imion i świętych*, op. cit., vol. 6, col. 269.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. T. Nyberg, *Siegfrid v. Schweden*, [in:] *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, op. cit., vol. 9, col. 569.

<sup>32</sup> “Vexsiae in Suecia, sancti Sigfridi, episcopi, qui, ex Anglia oriundus, gentes huius regionis summa cum sedulitate evangelizavit et regem ipsum Olavum in Christo baptizavit” (*Martyrologium Romanum*, op. cit., p. 151).

Catherine of Sweden († 1381) was born around 1330. She was a daughter of St. Bridget of Sweden. She was schooled in the Cistercian Order in Riseberg. When she was about twelve or thirteen she married Lord Eggert van Kyren, a very religious young nobleman, whom she persuaded to take a vow of absolute chastity and both lived in a state of virginity. When St. Catherine was in Rome in 1350, her mother predicted the death of her husband. Consequently, Catherine decided to stay with her mother and together went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. After the death of her mother Catherine followed in her footsteps. She became the first abbess of the Monastery in Vadstena. While advocating for the canonisation of her mother, she came to Rome where Pope Gregory XI (1370–1378) initiated the process, and Pope Urban VI (1378–1389) approved it. Exhausted and sick, Catherine died in Vadstena in 1381. In 1484 the Holy See approved her cult, and the day for her veneration fell on 23 March.<sup>33</sup> Additional commemoration to honour her was celebrated on 2 August. Currently her feast day is on 24 March.<sup>34</sup> When the Monastery in Vadstena was closed in 1595, the relics of St. Catherine were buried in an unknown place. King Sigismund III Vasa was given St. Catherine's ring from the last abbess of this Monastery.<sup>35</sup>

Little is known about St. Eskil († about 1080), the Bishop and Martyr. He was a monk of Anglo-Saxon origin who came to Sweden in order to do mission work. He was stoned about 1080 during a pagan riot.<sup>36</sup> His feast day falls on 12 June, and the elogium mentions

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Księga imion i świętych*, op. cit., vol. 3, col. 460–461.

<sup>34</sup> “Vasteni in Suecia, sanctae Catharinae, virginis, quae, sanctae Birgittae filia, invita nuptum data virginitatem, coniuge consentiente, servavit et post eius obitum piam degit vitam; Romae et in Terra Sancta peregrina, matris reliquias in Sueciam transtulit et in monasterio Vastenensi asservavit, ubi habitum monialium ipsa induit“ (*Martyrologium Romanum*, op. cit., p. 204).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. J. Swastek, *Katarzyna Szwedzka*, [in:] *Encyclopedia katolicka*, op. cit., vol. 8, col. 1002–1003.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *Księga imion i świętych*, op. cit., vol. 2, col. 192; E. Hoffmann, *Eskil v. Södermanland*, [in:] *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, op. cit., vol. 3, col. 883.

both his martyr death and the great efforts he made in the name of Christ.<sup>37</sup> Another feast celebrated in his honour was the day when his relics were transferred, which fell on 6 October.

St. David († about 1082), an abbot and bishop, also came from England. Before he came to Scandinavia about 1020 he was a Cluniac monk, St. Siegfried's companion and then a bishop in Västerås. He is venerated as the Apostle of Västmanland. Initially the place of his cult was the city of Munktorp where his relics were put four centuries after his death. They were transferred to the cathedral about 1463, however, when Sweden was converted to Lutheranism, the sarcophagus was destroyed and his relics were buried in an unknown place in the cemetery.<sup>38</sup> His memorial fell on 15 July, and, after the Second Vatican Council, the day was kept by the *Martyrologium Romanum*. The elogium mentions that he died in the monastery he had built.<sup>39</sup>

Among Scandinavian martyrs we can also find St. Botvid († about 1120). His cult was widespread across Scandinavia and his feast fell on 28 July. Unlike many other missionaries, he was native Swedish and came from Södertön. During a trade trip to England he learnt about Christianity and was converted to the Christian faith and baptised. According to legend, he came into contact with a pious priest who gave him shelter while he was abroad. Devoted to Christianisation, he was the apostle of Södermanland. St. Botvid was murdered by a slave whom he had baptised and given freedom.<sup>40</sup> That is what the

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<sup>37</sup> "In Suecia, sancti Eskilli, episcopi et martyris, qui, genere anglus, a sancto Sigfrido magistro suo episcopus ordinatus, in Sudermannia provincia multis laboribus pro Christo apud paganos impense se tradidit, a quibus vero lapidatus est" (*Martyrologium Romanum*, op. cit., p. 334).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. T. Nyberg, *David*, [in:] *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, op. cit., vol. 3, col. 43.

<sup>39</sup> "Arosiae in Suecia, sancti Davidis, episcopi, qui, anglus natione, Cluniacensis monachus factus ad convertendos Suecos ad Christum profectus est et in monasterio, quod condiderat, senex pie quievit" (*Martyrologium Romanum*, op. cit., p. 391).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *Księga imion i świętych*, op. cit., vol. 1, col. 499.

elogium from *Martyrologium Romanum* states.<sup>41</sup> St. Bridget of Sweden honoured him greatly.

Olaf II Haraldsson († 1030), later known as St. Olaf, was the King of Norway. His feast fell on 29 July. When he was 12 he participated in a Viking expedition. He was a great country organiser who destroyed pagans and founded many churches. In 1028, however, he was forced to leave Norway, as he had incurred the displeasure of some. Trying to regain the throne he was killed in the Battle of Stiklestad. His remains were enshrined in the Cathedral in Trondheim.<sup>42</sup> His memorial fell on 29 July, and the day remained unchanged after the Second Vatican Council.<sup>43</sup>

St. Helena († 1160) is another Swedish patron saint whose feast was celebrated on 31 July. He was a person of high birth and came from Skövde, Sweden. Having lost her husband as a very young woman, she dedicated herself to charity works. Around 1159 she undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Since he husband's family suspected she had killed him, she was murdered when she returned to Sweden. After her death, her intercession led to a number of miracles and the healing spring Elins Källa near the church became a pilgrimage destination. In 1164 her cult was approved by Pope Alexander III (1159–1181). Due to the popularity of the spring, the cult outlasted the period of reformation, and in 1759 her chapel was renovated. St. Helena was also venerated in Denmark.<sup>44</sup> In

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<sup>41</sup> "In Suecia, sancti Botvidi, martyris, qui, suecus genere et in Anglia baptizatus, patriae evangelizationi se tradidit, donec a viro, quem ipse a servitute redemerat, occisus est" (*Martyrologium Romanum*, op. cit., p. 419).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *Księga imion i świętych*, op. cit., vol. 4, col. 437–438.

<sup>43</sup> "Nidarosiae in Norvegia, sancti Olavi, martyris, qui, rex gentis suae, quam fidem christianam in Anglia cognoverat, in regno suo idolatriam sedulo expugnans propagavit, sed postremo ab inimicis oppugnatus gladio occubuit" (*Martyrologium Romanum*, op. cit., p. 421).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *Księga imion i świętych*, op. cit., vol. 3, col. 17; K. Kuźmiak, *Helena Szwedzka, Elin z Skövde*, [in:] *Encyclopedia katolicka*, op. cit., vol. 6, col. 649.

the short elogium in the Roman Martyrology her innocent death was emphasised.<sup>45</sup>

Saint Bridget of Sweden was a great mystic († 1373). She was born around 1302 near Uppsala, in a family related to the kings of Sweden. When she was fifteen she married Ulf Gudmarsson († 1344) and had eight children. She became known for her works of charity. She devoted herself to prayer and caring for the poor. She had a gift of visions, which she wrote down in Swedish. She and her husband went on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. After their return, her husband joined the Cistercian Order in Alvastr, where he died shortly after. In 1346 she had a vision of founding a new order and she went to Rome in order to accomplish that goal. She waited for the return of the papacy to Rome from Avignon, which she had agitated for many years first with Pope Innocent VI (1352–1362), and then Pope Urban V (1362–1370). She went to the Holy Land with her daughter Catherine and her two sons. After her return to Rome, once again she tried to persuade Pope Gregory XI (1370–1378) to return to Rome. She precisely predicted the day of her own death, which happened in her own room during the Holy Mass. The Pope approved the Bridgettine rule and her work was continued by her daughter, Catherine. In 1623 her feast was inserted in the Roman Catholic calendar for celebration on 7 October. However, five years later it was moved to 8 October. After the reform of the calendar by the Second Vatican Council her feast is celebrated on 23 July.<sup>46</sup> In her elogium there are mentions of her marriage, her piety, pious upbringing of her children, pilgrimages to the Holy Land and founding the Order of the Most Holy Saviour.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>45</sup> “Schedviae in Suecia, sanctae Helenae, viduae, quae iniuste occisa martyr habetur” (*Martyrologium Romanum*, op. cit., p. 425).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *Księga imion i świętych*, op. cit., vol. 1, col. 516–519; J. Kłoczowski, *Brygida Szwedzka, Birgitta*, [in:] *Encyclopedia katolicka*, op. cit., vol. 2, col. 1115; T. Nyberg, *Birgitta v. Schweden*, [in:] *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, op. cit., vol. 2, col. 478–479.

<sup>47</sup> “Sanctae Birgittae, religiosae, quae, in Suecia nuptui Ulfoni legifero data, octo quos genuit filios piissime educavit et coniugem ipsum verbis et exemplis ad

The celebration of the holy relics feast preserved in particular churches is an interesting issue. According to *Proprium Sveciae*, the celebration concerned the relics enshrined in the church in Uppsala and the feast itself took place in September, on the first Sunday after the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle (21 September). In the tradition of the Western Church the cult of relics played an important role and there were different celebrations connected with it: transfer (*translatio*), finding (*inventio*), elevation (*elevatio, relevatio*), relation (*reductio, relatio*), reposition (*reservatio, repositio*) and susception (*susceptio reliquiarum seu corporum*). The feasts to venerate relics, during which special breviary texts were said and the Holy Mass was celebrated in accordance with special forms, concerned the so-called major relics (*insignes*), not the minor ones (*non insignes*). The relics referred to as major were parts of the body such as the head, arm or hip of a saint. An important element of the celebration was the fact that the relic was physically present in the church where it took place.<sup>48</sup> The cult of the Swedish saints points to the fact that the roots of Scandinavia are in the Christian faith. All patron saints of the Kingdom of Sweden were venerated together during one celebration which took place on Sunday after the octave of Peter and Paul the Apostles.

## Finishing Remarks

The cult of the Swedish saints endured the difficult course of reformation owing to the annexation of *Proprium Sveciae* to *Proprium*

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pietatem excitavit. Quo defuncto, multa per loca sacra peregrinata est et, de capite et membris Ecclesiae mystice reformandis scriptis relictis atque Ordinis Sanctissimi Salvatoris fundamentis actis, Romae migravit in caelum” (*Martyrologium Romanum*, op. cit., p. 406).

<sup>48</sup> Other major relics were the following parts of the body: heart, tongue, hand, brain, blood. If the major relic had broken and was repaired, it did not lose its value. Its authenticity, however, had to be confirmed by the bishop – cf. A. Nowowiejski, *Wykład Liturgji Kościoła Katolickiego*, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 386–389.

*Poloniae* during the reign of the Vasa dynasty. Following the Proprium Sveciae, eleven saints were venerated: eight men and three women. There was also one commemoration, two relics transfers, one common celebration of patron saints of the Kingdom of Sweden, one feast of relics and two celebrations for the preservation of the Kingdom. Altogether, in the oldest issues of propia they amounted to eighteen liturgical days a year. Among patron saints there were two kings, five bishops, one lay man and three women. Six of them died as martyrs. The relations between Scandinavia and England remain an interesting issue for analysis, as many Swedish patron saints came from England. Although till the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the memorials of these saints were omitted in some Polish dioceses and they were also omitted in the Proprium Poloniae published in 1914, two of them, St. Ansgar and St. Bridget of Sweden were inserted in the universal calendar after the Second Vatican Council.

Saints – both the ones from centuries ago and the ones from the near past – are exemplars of holiness and pleading prayer. They are no hindrance to the reconciliation of the Catholic Church with the reformed Churches. In patron saints the Church worships Christ whose glory shines in them. The splendour resulting from the Christological view of the cult of saints will be even brighter and clearer when it is built on a strong foundation of theological truth which makes it clear that Christ and only Christ is the only true mediator between God and man (cf. 1 Tim 2: 5–6). The saints who introduced Scandinavia to Christianity can still be our intercessors and can become patron saints of the United Europe.

*Lublin*

WALDEMAR PAŁĘCKI MSF

## Summary

### The Worship of Swedish Saints in Poland after the Council of Trent

After the Council of Trent memorials of many saints worshipped in local churches or religious communities were omitted as a result of the unification of the liturgical

books. In order to maintain their cult in particular provinces or convents, appropriate appendices to the breviary and the missal were prepared. A new book of forms entitled *Officium Divinum* of saints worshipped in the territory of Poland prepared by Stanisław Sokołowski, canon of Cracow, was issued in Cracow in 1596. In 1605 an appendix containing missal forms developed by Kacper of Kleczowo was printed. As a result of the influence of the Reformation in Scandinavia, religious battles, fighting the cult of saints and the destruction of their relics, King Sigismund III Vasa asked the Holy See to grant the permission to include the Swedish saints in the Polish appendix to the missal devoted to the saints (*Proprium Poloniae*). Having received the approval issued by the Congregation of Rites in 1616, individual dioceses made decisions to include these saints in their own liturgical calendar. In the seventeenth century missal and breviary forms were first issued as separate editions, and then they were printed together with the *Proprium Poloniae*. This appendix, which had not changed over the centuries, contained the memorials of the great saints of Scandinavia, inter alia Eric, Henry, Ansgar, Siegfried, Eschil, Botvid, Olaf, Bridget and her daughter Catherine of Sweden. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, some dioceses no longer posted Swedish patrons (e.g. Warmia) and the last common issue of Polish and Swedish saints was released in 1901. Saints from the period of the beginning of Christianity in Scandinavia are still present intercessors and may become patrons of the United Europe.

## Keywords

The cult of saints, the Council of Trent, *Proprium Poloniae et Sveciae*, Scandinavia

## Streszczenie

### Kult świętych szwedzkich w Polsce po Soborze Trydenckim

Po Soborze Trydenckim w wyniku unifikacji ksiąg liturgicznych pomięto w nich wspomnienia wielu świętych czczonych w kościołach lokalnych czy wspólnotach zakonnych. Chcąc zachować ich kult w poszczególnych prowincjach czy zakonach, przygotowywano odpowiednie dodatki do brewiarza i mszału. Nowa księga formularzy *Officium Divinum* świętych i błogosławionych czczonych na ziemiach Polski ukazała



się w 1596 roku w Krakowie i przygotował ją kanonik krakowski Stanisław Sokołowski. W 1605 roku wydrukowano dodatek zawierający formularze mszalne opracowane przez Kasпера z Kleczowa. Na skutek wpływu reformacji w Skandynawii, walk religijnych, zwalczania kultu świętych oraz niszczenia ich relikwii, król Zygmunt III Waza zwrócił się do Stolicy Apostolskiej z prośbą o zezwolenie włączenia świętych szwedzkich do patronału polskiego. Po uzyskaniu zgody Kongregacji Obrzędów w 1616 roku poszczególne diecezje podejmowały decyzje o ich włączeniu do własnego kalendarza liturgicznego. W XVII w. formularze mszalne i brewiarzowe ukazywały się najpierw jako odrębne edycje, a później drukowano je razem z patronałem polskim. Dodatek ten, nie zmieniający się w ciągu wieków, zawierał wspomnienia wielkich świętych Skandynawii, m.in. Eryka, Henryka, Ansgara, Zygryda, Eschila, Botwida, Olafa, Brygidy i jej córki Katarzyny Szwedzkiej. Pod koniec XIX wieku niektóre diecezje przestały zamieszczać patronów Szwecji (np. Warmia), a ostatnie wspólne wydanie patronału świętych polskich i szwedzkich ukazało się w 1901 roku. Święci stojący u początku chrześcijaństwa w Skandynawii są nadal aktualnymi orędownikami i mogą stać się patronami zjednoczonej Europy.

## Słowa kluczowe

Kult świętych, Sobór Trydencki, *Proprium Poloniae et Sveciae*, Skandynawia



## RECENZJE · REVIEWS

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TOMASZ MARIA DĄBEK OSB

**Anna Bąk, *Perswazyjna funkcja  
cytatów przywołanych z Księgi Izajasza  
w 1 Kor 1, 18–3, 4*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe  
Uniwersytetu Papieskiego Jana Pawła II  
w Krakowie, Kraków 2010, 324 pp.**

The Holy Scripture is the basis of the Christian faith. The New Testament presents the life of Christ and His teachings, at the same time showing the development of the Church and the problems arising in this process. Both Testaments are in unity, what can be seen by the use of the Old Testament in the books of the New. In the book, being the doctoral thesis prepared on the seminar of the Department of Biblical Hermeneutics and Judaic Studies, supervised by prof. Roman Pindel, the author discusses the use of quotations and allusions from the Book of Isaiah in the initial doctrinal part of the First Epistle to the Corinthians (1 : 18–3 : 4). The text was analysed with the use of methods of rhetorical analysis. The work can be set as an example of following the guidelines of the documents of the Pontifical Biblical Commission: *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church* and *The Jewish People and their Sacred Scriptures in the Christian Bible*. The author showed outstanding skills in the analysis of the Old Testament texts – the Book of Isaiah in its original Hebrew version and its Greek translations, as well as the New Testament texts – the First Epistle to the Corinthians and the rhetorical analysis based on Greek – Roman and Semitic patterns.

The bibliography of the book show the author's familiarity with the scientific literature in her field of analysis, comprising of more than 230 books in Polish, English, German, French, Italian and Spanish.

The first chapter of the book is devoted to the analysis of the argumentative situation of 1 Cor 1–4. The issues of authorship and addressees of 1 Cor 1–4 are discussed, as well as the integrity of 1 Cor, the rhetorical problems of 1 Cor 1–4, particular rhetorical stages of the text as the source of information about the addressees: *prescript* (1 Cor 1:1–3); *exordium* (1 Cor 1:10–17); *probatio* (1 Cor 3:3–4. 18. 21–22; 4:3. 6. 8–13); *peroratio* (1 Cor 4:14–15. 19–20; 5:2), the fractions in the Corinthian Church were characterised with reference to Paul, Apollo, Cephas and Christ. The chapter finishes with the summary of the analysed data.

Chapters two and three are the analysis of the subsequent verses of 1 Cor 1:18–2:5 and 2:6–3:4, as well as the references to the Book of Isaiah included in them. The second chapter begins with the comparison between Isa 29:14b and 1 Cor 1:19 in which it is quoted, a detailed exegesis of the Isaiah's text with the analysis of Isa 29:9. 10. 11–12 as its first background and Isa 29:13–14. 15. 16 as its immediate context, as well as Isa 29:17–21. 22–24 as its second background. The author of the book then presents Isa 19:11–12; 33, 18 as examples of evident allusions in 1 Cor 1:20 and compares the analysed fragments of Isa to 1 Cor in a similar way. She reveals the historical background of the discussed verses of the Book of Isaiah (Isa 19:1–25), the thematic correlation between Isa 19:11–12 and Isa 29:14b, the primary context and exegesis of Isa 33:18, its background (Isa 33:1–16), immediate context (Isa 33:17–24), the connection between Isa 33:18 and Isa 19:11. 12 and 29, 14b. She then discusses Isa 44:25 in a similar way, treating it as a source text of a probable allusion in 1 Cor 1:20. The author goes on to analyse 1 Cor 1:18–2:5 with regard to the persuasive function of 1 Cor 1:19–20; she begins by delimitating 1 Cor 1:18–2:5 and defining rhetorical stages of its particular parts: *propositio* (1 Cor 1:17); *subpropositio* (1 Cor 1:18); the significance of arguments included in 1 Cor 1:19–21 and 1 Cor 1:22–24; *conclusio* (1 Cor 1:25) and 1 Cor 1:26–31; 1 Cor 2:1–5 as individual text units. The chapter is summed up with well – justified conclusions based on the analysed data.

Chapter three includes well presented references to the Book of Isaiah and their persuasive role in 1 Cor 2:6–3:4. First the references to the Book of Isaiah in 1 Cor 2:9 are shown (a collective quotation bearing similarities to Isa 64:3); the primary context of Isa 64:3 is presented, as well as its primary background (Isa 63:7–14), its immediate context (Isa 63:15–19a, 19b–64:4a) and its secondary background (Isa 64:4b–11). Then, as another source of the quotation in 1 Cor 2:9, the fragment of Isa 65:17 is analysed, its primary context is shown as well as its exegesis, Isa 65:1–16a as its broader background and Isa 65:16b–26 as its immediate context are discussed. The issues connected with Isa 52:15 as a possible source of the quotation in 1 Cor 2:9 are presented in a similar way. The author also discusses the connection between the source texts of 1 Cor with the texts which were the source of quotations and references in 1 Cor 1, 16–2, 5 analysed in the previous chapter: Isa 29:14b; 19:11, 12; 33:18; 44:25. She analyses the persuasive function of 1 Cor 2:6–9 with reference to the persuasive function of 1 Cor 2, 9. The complex analysis is summed up with logically formulated conclusions. The author moves on to the analysis of the allusions referring to Paul's apostolic self – awareness and looks at Isa 40:13 as the source text for 1 Cor 2:16, presents the primary context and the exegesis of Isa 40:13, its immediate context (Isa 40:1–11, 12–17), its another context (Isa 44:18–31), the connection between Isa 40:13 with the words of Isaiah, being the origin of 1 Cor 1, 19; 2, 9. The author also touches on Isa 61:1 as the source text for the *propositio* in 1 Cor 1:17, shows the primary context and the exegesis of Isa 61:1, and finishes with the analysis of 1 Cor 2:10–3:4 with reference to the persuasive function of 1 Cor 2:16 and presents the persuasive function of Isa 40:13 in 1 Cor 2:6–3:4 and Isa 61:1 in 1 Cor 1:18–4:21.

The book finishes with the presentation of the research data, which shows the correlation of both Testaments and the methods of argumentation used by the Apostle of the Nations in his correspondence with the faithful of the Judaic origin and its followers, as well as with the Gentiles. The conclusion also shows the analysis of the Epistle in order to emphasise the possibilities faced by Judeo – Christians: the preparation of the originally gentile faithful to the appropriate understanding of the texts of the First Covenant.

The book is written in a clear, communicative style. The issues discussed in it show the unity of the Bible, the significance of the Old Testament for the understanding of the New Testament and the methods of argumentation used by St. Paul based on the knowledge gained in the Jewish and Hellenic circles. The analytical thoroughness in the exegesis of the Old and the New Testaments and the theological understanding of the texts that the book is an example of is outstanding. One might only hope that the author will continue to write and present other interesting books.

*Kraków*

*TOMASZ MARIA DĄBEK OSB*



ANNA IVANČÁKOVÁ

**Peter Caban, *Dejiny kresťanskej liturgie v staroveku*, Vydavateľstvo Paulínky, Praha 2012, 135 pp.**

The author of the *History of Christian Liturgy in the Ancient Times*, rev. Peter Caban, was born in Banská Bystrica. Having graduated from the Roman Catholic Faculty of Theology at the Comenius University in Bratislava, where he also completed his doctoral course, he is currently a priest in the diocese of Banská Bystrica (Slovakia). In 2004 he was awarded the BA title in Liturgics and Church Music. Engaged in the development of teaching aids, he participates in national and international conferences. He is also a member of research councils, academic research organisations and other institutions responsible for the development of art in Slovakia. During his many trips he lectured at different renowned foreign universities and other scholarly institutions. In his research he focuses on the history of Christian liturgy, Christian archaeology and sacral art.

In the introduction the author mentions that while working on his monograph he used private research, as well as written historical sources, books and personal experience from visits at some European universities (Graz, Innsbruck, Regensburg, Vienna, Thessaloniki, Berlin, Potsdam). On the basis of his own work the author tries to present the stages of liturgy development in the Ancient Times in the Christian west. He aims at contributing to the world's research on liturgy, the research the results of which have not yet been published. His attempts resulted in the creation of an originally written, up-to-date monograph concerning liturgical issues of Ancient Christianity.

The first chapter discusses the Jewish roots of Christian liturgy and the history of Judaism as the primary origin of Christianity. He describes different streams of Judaism, the relations in the society in which Christianity came into existence, the later functioning of these streams in the Roman Empire and the functions of early-Christian liturgy that derived from Judaism.

In the second chapter the author elaborates on the birth of Christian liturgy in the times of the Apostles. A part of this chapter is devoted to the Last Supper – the first Christian liturgy described in the Bible by four different authors, the first liturgical prayers and rites, as well as Sunday celebrations in these communities.

The destruction of the Holy Temple in Jerusalem, being an important event in the times when Christians were persecuted and gradually separated from Jews, is referred to at the beginning of the third chapter. Due to Caesarean edicts, participation in liturgy became the main form of reinforcement, despite the liturgical form being simple and rough. In this chapter the celebration of Easter is also mentioned.

The main topic of the fourth chapter is the situation after the victorious battle of Constantine the Great. Christianity, after the period of persecution, became the privileged and reigning religion. The author talks about liturgy, but also about Christian archaeology, devoting a part of this chapter to Christian basilicas. He goes on to describe the divisions that appeared between the eastern and the western parts of the country. The two most interesting hypotheses concerning the origin of Christmas are also presented in this chapter. A substantial part of the chapter discusses three Ancient metropolises which had an important impact on the liturgy. The function of the religious orders that came into existence at that time is described at the end of the chapter.

The fifth chapter deals with the references to liturgy that appear in writings, codices, letters, etc. which were preserved from that period. This part gives the book its exceptional scientific and social value, since it discusses the writings from the period when Christians were strongly influenced by Judaism, as well as Greek and Latin culture. The analysis reveals the author's thorough research on the texts, including the analysis of Slovak translations of some liturgical prayers which were a part of the old liturgy.

The liturgy celebrated in late Ancient period is presented in chapter six. Since there are more source texts available from this period, the author makes use of them, also discussing liturgical families and liturgical rites in the east, which makes the chapter itself, as well as its ending, incredibly interesting. This part clearly presents the richness of tradition constantly preserved in liturgy.

The text is a gripping piece of writing. The author manages to present and successfully summarise the knowledge that has not yet been publicised. Although the text is an academic monograph, the style of the author is interesting and gives an impression that 'history is not as scary as some may think'.

Liturgy is not only the food for the eyes, but also, and most importantly, the food for the souls, which was clear even for people in the Ancient times. Every believer regularly participating in liturgy can change their attitudes and appreciate being a part of it.



REV. KAZIMIERZ PANUŚ

**Roman Mazurkiewicz, *Deesis. Idea wstawiennictwa Bogarodzicy i św. Jana Chrzciciela w kulturze średniowiecznej*, Kraków 2012, 346 pp.**

There are books that have a significant influence on the direction of academic research, and, despite the passage of time, since the appearance of their first editions, constantly inspire it. For the research on late Middle Ages Johan Huizinga's *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, a famous monograph presenting the societies of western Europe in the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, is this kind of book. For the researchers of the Age of Enlightenment the crucial work is Paul Hazard's *European Thought in the Eighteenth Century from Montesquieu to Lessing*, in which this famous professor of Collège de France formulated a hypothesis saying that this century put Christianity on trial and charged Christ himself, in an attempt to bring the Cross down, erase the idea of God's communion with man, the idea of revelation, to destroy the religious concept of life. The afore – mentioned titles are merely examples of a number of important scholarly texts in the field of European Humanities that were created in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

I would like to include in this category of writing a book that is extraordinary in every aspect: *Deesis. The Intercession of the Mother of God and St. John the Baptist in the Medieval Culture*, written by Roman Mazurkiewicz. Its author, a historian of Old Polish Culture and Literature, a professor of the Polish Philology Institute at the Pedagogical University

in Krakow, is a well known researcher of the Medieval religious literature in Poland. He has published more than one hundred academic and editorial papers, including a number of books. In the times of all – powerful electronic media it needs to be mentioned that he is also a creator and editor of the educational portal ‘Staropolska.pl’, which has an impeccable opinion among specialists and is quite popular among Internet users, and has been awarded numerous prizes, also by foreign institutions.

In his preface to the third edition of *Deesis*, which was published at the end of 2012, the author reveals his satisfaction with the fact that this specialised academic monograph, with an incomprehensible, strange – sounding title, has been reprinted for the third time. His work, regardless of the passage of time (its first edition was issued in 1994), not only remains in demand, but also influences current research concerning the religious culture of Medieval Poland and Europe. Suffice it to say, that after the first edition of the book the term *Deesis* appeared in the form of an entry in the expanded edition of *Słownik terminów literackich* [*The Dictionary of Literary Terms*] (1998), and the book itself was put on the list of recommended readings at some courses of Humanistic Studies.

As the author indicates, the Greek term *déesis* stands for ‘prayer’, ‘supplication’. It appears with this meaning in the Gospel according to Luke, in the scene in which the birth of John is announced, when Zechariah hears the angel say: “your prayer has been heard” (Lk 1:13). The term was used much earlier by Ancient Greeks, e.g. Plato and Demosthenes. In the writings of Church Fathers the word *déesis* meant supplication brought to God, with the intercession of a saint, on behalf of the faithful. Apart from Jesus Christ, the only true Mediator between God and men, the Virgin Mother of God and John the Baptist were thought to be the best advocates of sinful mankind. Together with Christ, they constitute a triad of the most important characters in the history of Salvation, crowning the hierarchy of angels and saints in the heavenly reality. This particular motif was first presented in the Byzantine liturgy, later in iconography, which is the interpretation of the content of images. In the history of art *Deesis* stands for a traditional iconic representation of Christ in Majesty, flanked by the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist, sometimes accompanied by other saints and angels. Mary and John are

shown raising their hands in supplication on behalf of the people. These two research fields: “text and image”, “literature and art” form the frame of the original and incredibly interesting book of R. Mazurkiewicz. The first part of the book (*Tradycja antyku chrześcijańskiego i średniowiecza [The Tradition of Ancient and Medieval Christianity]*) has a general, synthetic and reviewing character. With great knowledge and skill, the author analyses theological premises and the historical process of shaping the idea of Mary’s and John the Baptist’s intercession on the basis of the Bible, Biblical apocrypha, the writings of Church Fathers, as well as the cult and liturgy, religious poetry and iconography.

The author gives an interesting account of the change in the perception of John the Baptist and his role in the work of salvation. About the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the Lord’s Predecessor appears in biblical commentaries and prayers not only as a mediator between the Messiah coming to this world and man expecting his arrival, but also in a reverse relation – as a mediator between sinful man and Christ. With the intercession of “none greater among those born of women” (cf. Mt 11 : 11) the faithful started pleading with the Saviour in order to receive graces necessary for salvation. The patristic thought was predominant in this process, accompanied however by the spontaneous development of the cult of John the Baptist as the greatest, right after Virgin Mary, advocate of sinners, additionally stimulated by the monastic spirituality of the period and the cult of John the Baptist’s relics. According to Mazurkiewicz, the liturgy, the cult and the thought of Church Fathers in the first seven centuries of Christianity created a theological basis which was strong enough to let John the Baptist establish a position of the advocate of sinful mankind, second only to Virgin Mary (p. 63).

The second part of Mazurkiewicz’s book (*Deesis w kulturze średniowiecznej Polski [Deesis in the culture of Medieval Poland]*) focuses on the idea of intercession of the Mother of the Lord and John the Baptist in the Polish Medieval culture and its character is more analytical, philologically – interpretational, especially in the chapters devoted to *Bogurodzica*<sup>1</sup>. At the same time, it is in this part of the book that the author introduced most

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<sup>1</sup> *Bogurodzica* (*Mother of God*) is the title of the oldest Polish hymn.

significant changes in comparison with two former editions of *Deesis*, taking into account the most recent linguistic and literary publications on *carmen patrium*.

Indicating that *Bogurodzica* is the best evidence of the presence of *deesis* in the history of Polish Medieval literary works, the author emphasises that the relation between the iconographic presentation of the topic of *Deesis* (e.g. in the Collegiate Church in Tum, near Łęczycza) and *Bogurodzica* can only be perceived in terms of their parallelism, and not any direct genetic correlation. The creation of *carmen patrium*, probably around the 13<sup>th</sup> or the 14<sup>th</sup> century, can only prove that the idea of *deesis* was widespread at that time, and that it was not inspired by its particular artistic presentation. Mazurkiewicz also points out that *Bogurodzica*, the best evidence of the existence of *deesis* in the context of both art and theology, could have been created during the period when the Christian west gradually began to “forget” about St. John’s tradition of the first millennium, and western iconography of *Deesis* began to lose its clear ideological appeal and popularity. With all that in mind, the place, time, as well as the language in which *Bogurodzica* was created, gain a truly symbolic significance.

It is worth mentioning that the graphic design of the work presented here, published by Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych *Universitas*, was meticulously planned. The book has an interesting cover with the reproduction of the Staurothek from Limburg (about 965 AD), and forty illustrations presenting the history of *Deesis* in Christian iconography – from the enamel icon in Martvili, Georgia, to *Deesis* in Michelangelo’s *The Last Judgement* in the Vatican Sistine Chapel. The summaries of the book in English, French and Russian, as well as the Index of names, are also included.

I sincerely recommend this book as a great way to become familiar with the history of joint intercession of Virgin Mary and John the Baptist, thoroughly reconstructed by the author of *Deesis*.