

SÁROSPATAKI FÜZETEK



IDEGENNYELVŰ SZÁM

IMRE TOKICSDaniel's Worship
in the City of Babylon**HENK E.S. WOLDRING**Comenius' Search for Conditions of Peace
set against the Perspective of Shalom**ROB VAN HOUWELINGEN**

Follow in the Steps of Christ

DÁVID CSORBAMetaphern des Gedächtnisses: die Etikettierung
der ungarischen calvinistischen Galeerensklaven**GYÖRGY KUSTÁR**

On the Slopes of Sinai
– Some Hermeneutical
Questions in Light of the
Kabbalistic and Historical
Critical Exegesis



*MTA KÖNYVTÁR ÉS
INFORMÁCIÓS KÖZPONT.*

KIADJA: A Sárospataki Református
Teológiai Akadémia

FELELŐS KIADÓ/PUBLISHER:
Füsti-Molnár Szilveszter, PhD

SZERKESZTŐBIZOTTSÁG / EDITORIAL BOARD:
Elnöke / Editor-in-Chief:
Dienes Dénes, PhD

Tagjai:
Csorba Dávid, PhD
Fodor Ferenc, PhD
Füsti-Molnár Szilveszter, PhD
Kustár György
Nagy Károly Zsolt, PhD
Rácsok Gabriella, PhD
Szathmáry Béla, PhD

NYOMDAI ELŐKÉSZÍTÉS ÉS
BORÍTÓTERV: Asztalos József

KÉSZÜLT: A Kapitalis Nyomdában,
Ügyvezető Igazgató:
Kapusi József

ISSN 1416-9878

Szerkesztőség címe:
Sárospataki Református Teológiai Akadémia
3950 Sárospatak, Rákóczi út 1.
Tel/Fax: +36 47 312 947

e-mail: gracsok@tirek.hu

PÉLDÁNYONKÉNTI ÁRA: 500 Ft
ÉVES ELŐFIZETÉSI DÍJ: 2000 Ft

Címlapkép és fotók: Dr. Nagy Károly Zsolt

CONTENTS / INHALT

Teach Me That I May Live! / Unterweise mich, so werde ich leben!	4
Alfred Mengel: Der Hahn auf dem Kirchturm	5
 Articles / Studien	 9
Sándor Enghy: Die Deutung von Sprüche 2 im Licht der Masora	11
György Kustár: On the Slopes of Sinai – Some Hermeneutical Questions in Light of the Kabbalistic and Historical Critical Exegesis	29
Jaap Doedens: Literary Wormholes: Wild Animals and Angels in Mark 1:13	53
Henk E.S. Woldring: Comenius' Search for Conditions of Peace set against the Perspective of Shalom	67
Dávid Csorba: Metaphern des Gedächtnisses: die Etikettierung der ungarischen calvinistischen Galeerensklaven	75
 Miscellaneous / Sonstiges	 85
Imre Tokics: Daniel's Worship in the City of Babylon	87
Rob van Houwelingen: Follow in the Steps of Christ	95
 Authors / Autoren	 100

TEACH ME THAT I MAY LIVE! UNTERWEISE MICH, SO WERDE ICH LEBEN!

Alfred Mengel

Krähen können sie zwar nicht, die Wind und Wetter trotzenden Hähne auf vielen Kirchtürmen, aber unsere Aufmerksamkeit verdienen sie allemal. Sind sie doch nicht nur Schmuck und Zierde, sondern auch und vor allem weit-hin sichtbare und urvertraute Symbole. So wollen sie uns seit alters an dreierlei erinnern: an Treue, Fleiß und Hoffnung.

Treue

Da ist der Jünger Petrus. Zu Beginn des Leidensweges Jesu hatte er mit Nachdruck versprochen: „*Auch wenn ich mit dir sterben müsste, werde ich dich nicht verleugnen!*“ (Markus 14,31) Doch als eine Magd ihn ansah und sagte: „Und du warst auch mit dem Jesus von Nazareth“, verleugnet Petrus seinen Herrn: „Ich kenne diesen Menschen nicht.“ Da kräht der Hahn (Markus 14,66-72). Petrus bereut es bitter, Christus verleugnet zu haben. Er geht hinaus und weint. Der auferstandene Christus aber hat ihn wieder in seinen Dienst berufen. Und damit erfuhr Petrus erneut das, was er erlebt hatte, als er auf dem See Genezareth über das Wasser gehen wollte. Die Wellen gewannen die Macht über ihn, aber „Jesus streckte sogleich seine Hand aus und ergriff ihn.“ (Matthäus 14,31) Christus lässt ihn nicht fallen.

Der Hahn auf den Kirchen weist also hin auf Petrus, mahnt uns zur Treue, aber auch zur Demut. Er erinnert uns daran, am Wort Gottes zu bleiben und zu beharren im Gebet. Dabei dürfen wir uns an einen schönen Satz halten, der in der Geschichte der reformierten Kirche viele getröstet und gestärkt hat: „*Teneo quia teneor*“ – „Ich halte (fest am Bekenntnis zu Christus), weil ich gehalten werde.“

Alfred Mengel

DER HAHN AUF DEM KIRCHTURM

Fleiß

„Früh, wann die Hähne krähn ...“, beginnt ein Gedicht von Eduard Mörike. „*Wachet auf, wachet auf, es krähet der Hahn!*“, so singt ein bekanntes Volkslied. Hähne wecken die Menschen und rufen sie, ihr Tagewerk zu beginnen. Johannes Calvin schreibt in schöner Klarheit: „*Wir wissen, dass die Menschen dazu geschaffen sind, sich mit Arbeit zu betätigen.*“ Schon hundert Jahre früher hatte der fromme Thomas von Kempen in seiner „*Nachfolge Christi*“ gemahnt: „*Zur Geduld und zur Arbeit bist du berufen, nicht zum Müßiggang und zum Geschwätz.*“ Unser Heidelberger Katechismus fügt in Frage 111 einen wesentlichen, den diakonischen Aspekt hinzu: „*Auch soll ich gewissenhaft arbeiten, damit ich dem Bedürftigen in seiner Not helfen kann.*“ Das klingt nun sehr nach Last und Leistung, und doch hat alle Arbeit ihre Ehre und ein Versprechen. Hören wir noch einmal Calvin: „*Gott will nicht, dass wir als müßige Zuschauer seiner Wundermacht dasitzen, darum hilft er uns auch bei unserer Hände Werk.*“

So erinnert uns der Hahn auf unseren Kirchen daran, dass wir Gottes Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter sein dürfen und dass er uns dabei stärkt und segnet. So wollen wir denn zum Weckruf des Hahnes singen: „*Darauf so sprech ich Amen / und zweifle nicht daran, / Gott wird es als zusammen / in Gnaden sehen an, / und streck nun aus mein Hand, / greif an das Werk mit Freuden, / dazu mich Gott beschieden / in meim Beruf und Stand.*“ (Evangelisches Gesangbuch 443,7) Und schließlich beten wir mit dem Psalter: „*Der HERR, unser Gott, sei uns freundlich und fördere das Werk unserer Hände bei uns.*“ (Psalm 90,17)

Hoffnung

Meine Siegerländer Heimat ist ein altes Bergbaugebiet. Wer in eine Grube einfährt, begibt sich in Dunkelheit und Gefahr. Darum befand sich bei vielen Grubenschächten ein Andachtsraum. Dort wurde vor der Einfahrt und nach der Ausfahrt Gottes Wort gelesen und gebetet. Aber auch mit einem kleinen Zeichen gaben die Bergleute ihrer Hoffnung Ausdruck, wieder gesund aus der dunklen Tiefe ans Licht aufzufahren. Um unter Tage arbeiten zu können, hatten sie Grubenlampen, die sie in einer Hand trugen und die sie in der Grube aufhängten. Diese Grubenlampen waren häufig mit einem kleinen, glänzenden Hahn verziert. Denn der Hahn ist der Künder des Lichtes. Wenn er kräht, vergeht die Nacht und das Licht eines neuen Tages bricht hervor. So brachte der kleine Hahn auf der Grubenlampe zum Ausdruck, dass Finsternis überwunden werden kann, dass das Licht wartet und dass der Bergmann hoffen darf, zu diesem Licht zurückzukehren.

So wollen auch wir in dem Hahn auf dem Kirchendach einen Künder jenes Lichtes sehen, das Gott selbst ist. Denn „*Gott ist Licht und in ihm ist keine Finsternis.*“ (1. Johannes 1,5)

Und dieses Licht hat Gestalt angenommen in Jesus Christus, dem „*wahren Licht, das alle Menschen erleuchtet.*“ (Johannes 1,9) Er, Jesus Christus, hat sich alle Finsternis von Schuld, Krankheit und Tod zueigen gemacht und durch sein

Der Hahn auf dem Kirchturm

Sterben und Auferstehen überwunden. Darum gilt: „*Die Finsternis vergeht, und das wahre Licht scheint jetzt.*“ (1. Johannes 2,8)

Also ist der Kirchenhahn auch ein Hoffnungszeichen dafür, dass einmal alle Dunkelheit, die unsere Herzen schwer macht, überwunden wird durch das Licht des kommenden Reiches Gottes.



ARTICLES / STUDIEN

SÁNDOR ENGHY
GYÖRGY KUSTÁR
JAAP DOEDENS
HENK E.S. WOLDRING
DÁVID CSORBA



ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Das Kapitel ist eine Texteinheit, die durch Petucha (ב) zwischen die Verse 1,33-2,1 und 2,22-3,1 gesetzt, gegliedert und begrenzt ist. Die 22 Verse des Kapitels versucht man, wie die Klagelieder Jeremias 5 als ein Akrostichon zu lesen. Die beiden Texte verbindet, dass diese nicht mit der chronologischen Reihenfolge der Buchstaben des Alphabets am Anfang der Verse beginnen, dennoch sind in ihnen die Charakteristika des Akrostichons zu entdecken. Die Struktur der Formulierung zeigt eindeutig, dass nach der Einleitung die Strophen erst mit ב, dann mit כ beginnen: I. 1. - בְּאָ; 5. - אַ; 9. - אָ; II. 12. - כְּלִילָה; 16. - לְחַזֵּלָה; 20. - לְעַזָּה. So betont der Text im Zusammenhang mit der Weisheit, die Finalität der Vorgänge: Wo man nach der Weisheit schreit, weil sie wichtig wurde (כִּי אָם לְבִינָה תְּקָרָא - Spr 2,3), dort verwirklicht sich der Sinn der Weisheit im Wandeln der Guten (לְמַשְׁנָה בְּרַךְ שׂוֹבֵם - Spr 2,20). Die Weisheitsliteratur definiert genau die Weisheit: Sie ist eigentlich nichts Anderes, als die Furcht des Herrn: –יראת אֱלֹהִים חֲכָמָה Hiob 28,28. Deshalb konzentriert sich die Masora auf diese Weisheit (בְּסִימָה). Diese Zusammenhänge können ohne die Masora nicht verstanden werden. Ich möchte in diesem Aufsatz beweisen, dass die Masora zum Verstehen des Textes unerlässlich ist, und das intime Verhältnis zwischen Mensch und Weisheit (שְׁרוּךְ - Spr 7,4) auf den Sieg über den Tod Auswirkung hat.

Das Kapitel ist offensichtlich eine eigenständige Gedankeneinheit, die eine durch Petucha mit intermediären Abschnitten geschlossene Einheit bildet, beginnend mit Petucha Sprüche 2,1.

Das Symbol der Petucha ist ב, das sich zwischen den Versen 1,33-2,1 sowie zwischen

Sándor Enghy

DIE DEUTUNG VON SPRÜCHE 2 IM LICHT DER MASORA

Versen 2,22 - 3,1 befindet, welches so den Abschnitt 2,1-2,22 abgrenzt. Das ist das Ergebnis der übereinstimmenden Untersuchungen der Texte von drei Kodizes.¹

Nach dem Zeichen der Petuha beginnt das Kapitel Sprüche 2, und danach der Beginn der nächsten Gedankeneinheit ist Kapitel 3.²

Die Fachliteratur ist sich natürlich darüber im Klaren, dass im Fall der Markierung der Petucha auch der Zusammenhang nötig ist, damit die Bedeutung des Symbols eindeutig wird und so die Bestimmung der Gedankeneinheit einen Sinn ergibt.³

Für viele ist durch die 22 Verse des Kapitels die poetische Lesart des Akrostichons eindeutig, auch wenn es in der Konstruktion nicht alle entsprechenden Elemente der einzelnen Buchstaben zu finden sind. In dieser Hinsicht ist der Text der Sprüche 2 dem Text der Klagelieder ähnlich (Kapitel 5).⁴

Weder in den Klageliedern (Kapitel 5.) noch in den Sprüchen 2 befinden sich alle Buchstaben des hebräischen Alphabets, aber die Merkmale des Akrostichons finden sich in beiden Abschritten wieder.⁵

In der Fachliteratur findet man verschiedene Lösungen für die dichterische Form der Klagelieder 5,⁶ als Vergleichsgrundlage können zum Beispiel Akrostichons Sprü-

¹ „1:33-2:1...ם...מָלֵא מְלֵא מְלֵא...2:22-3:1...ם...מָלֵא מְלֵא מְלֵא...“ WAARD, J. de (Prepared): *נַשְׁלִי Proverbs* (Biblia Hebraica Quinta 17) Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2008, 12.; „...petuhot and setumot...these dividers are evidently used to delimit sense units...“ - KORPEL, M. C. A. – MOOR, J. C. de: *The structure of classical Hebrew poetry*, Isaiah 40-55, Leiden [etc.] : Brill, 1998, 2.

² OESCH zitiert die rabbinische Literatur, die Definition der Petucha erklärend: „Und welche sind Petuchot?, Alle, bei denen man (danach) am Zeilenanfang beginnt.“

³ וְאֵלֹו הָן פָתּוּחַ בְּלַ שְׁמַתְהַיְל מִרְאַשׁ הַשִׁיטָה - OESCH, J. M.: *Skizze einer formalen Gliederung sherme neutik der Sifre Tora in: KORPEL, M. – OESCH, J. (eds.): Unit Delimitation in Biblical Hebrew and Northwest Semitic Literature*, Assen, Koninklijke van Gorcum, 2003, 170.

⁴ „...Abschnitte im Sinn von Texteinheiten bezeichnet...meist vom Zusammenhang her klar ist...“ - OESCH, J. M.: *Petucha und Setuma Untersuchungen zu einer überlieferten Gliederung im hebräischen Text des Alten Testaments*, Freiburg, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979, 43.

⁵ „Prov 2 sich nicht streng an den Buchstaben des Alphabets orientiert. Ein Vergleichsfall liegt in KgI 5 vor, wo im Gegensatz zu den anderen Gedichten der Klagelieder nicht die alphabatische Struktur verwendet wurde, der Text sich jedoch an dem Paradigma der 22 Verse orientiert.“ - SCHIPPER, B. U.: *Hermeneutik der Tora, Studien zur Traditionsgeschichte von Prov 2 und zur Komposition von Prov 1-9*, (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft), Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter, 2012, 40-41.

⁶ Man versucht im Zusammenhang mit Jeremias 5 die ersten Buchstaben der Verse des Kapitals zusammenzulesen, unabhängig davon, dass diese Buchstaben nicht in richtiger Reihenfolge stehen. יְיָם נָמֵן נָשָׁב בַּיְשָׁמֶן ... Diese Lösung gibt aber einen sinnvollen Text nur durch die Veränderung der zwei Buchstaben **ו**, am Ende der Zeile zu **ו**:

זְׁנוּם אֲמֵן אֲעֵב נָשָׁב בַּיְשָׁמֶן ... “zōnim ‘am ‘ālb ‘ōnēš búz sənāhāh ‘ælohækā”. “Die Abtrünnigen, (nämlich) das Volk verschmahe ich, (es) strafend mit Verachtung, wie dein Gott klagt” (i.e., “the apostates, a people I spurn, he punishes with contempt, as your God laments”) – Ich werfe die Untreuen, das Volk weg, er straft mit der Verwerfung, wie dein Gott beklagt. - GUILLAMUE, P.: “Lamentations 5: The seventh acrostic”, *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*, 2009, Vol 9. 3.

⁷ Bis zu dem Punkt, dass wir die Halbverse der ersten drei Verse des Kapitels mit ihren Anfangsbuchstaben (1a-1b, 2a-2b, 3a-3b) als Teil des Achrostions betrachten, nach der Einleitung des ersten Verses (יְכָרְהָה הַנְּבִיא) und wir lesen das, mit den Anfangs- und Endbuchstaben

che 2 herangezogen werden, denn auch in diesem Kapitel findet man nicht alle Buchstaben am Anfang der Zeile.

Nach einer Deutung⁷ findet man in diesem Kapitel 4-4, in den beiden ersten (1-4 und 5-8) der zwei grossen (1-11, 12-22), einzeln in 11 doppelzeilig (Bikola) geteilten Abschnitten, und 3 im nächsten (9-11) Abschnitt. Der zweite Abschnitt hat die gleiche Struktur. Auch in den Versen 12-15 und 16-19 gibt es genauso 4-4, und in den Versen 20-22 nur 3. Wir finden also in beiden Einheiten 11 (4-4-3)

Bikola:

I	II
11 Bikola	11 Bikola
1-11	12-22
v. 1-4 : 4	v. 12-15 : 4
v. 5-8 : 4	v. 16-19 : 4
v. 9-11: 3	v. 20-22 : 3

Die Hauptsache ist, dass die Anfangverse der Strophen der beiden Abschnitte in einem Fall sind: Die 1, 5, 9, in dem anderen Fall: 12, 16, 20. Interessant ist in dieser Struktur, dass nach der Einführung בָנִי alle Strophen in dem ersten Abschnitt mit א, in dem zweiten mit ב beginnt: I. 1. - אָמַן ; 5. - אָנָה ; 9. - אָנָה ; II. 12. - בְּלֹתֶץְלָקָל ; 16. - בְּלֹתֶץְלָקָל ; 20. - נְשָׁפֵל . Wie wir wissen vereint die poetische Struktur die Form und den Inhalt, dass heisst: Der Buchstabe des Akrostichons kann nie direkt gefunden werden. Die Klagelieder Jeremias zeigen,⁸ dass auch das Kapitel Sprüche 2 durch seine legierende Struktur, den Charakter eines lockeren Akrostichons aufweist.

In dieser Interpretierung könnten diejenigen Recht haben, die das Kapitel Sprüche 2, als einen einzigen Satz betrachten⁹, welcher die Beachtung der Weisheit zum Ausdruck bringen soll. Der von YHWH bestimmte Zweck der Beachtung der Weis-

(בְּלֹתֶץְלָקָל - 19-22), der vier letzten Verse zusammen, befestigend das ganze mit dem letzten Wort des Kapitels: מָאָר . So wird die volle Bedeutung hergestellt: Secharja der Prophet sagt: dein Herr wird mächtig erhöht., „Zechariah the prophet [says]: your God is greatly exalted! – זְכָרְיוֹחַ הַבְּנֵי אֱלֹהֶיךָ מָאָר – u. o. 4-5.; RONG, L. – BEGG, C. T.: *Forgotten and forsaken by God (Lam 5:19-20), the community in pain in Lamentations and related Old Testament texts*, Eugene, Or, Pickwick Publications, 2013, 23.; Aber wir finden anschlägigere Lösungen in der Welt der Kabbala: <http://www.kabbalahoftime.com/2014/08/book-of-lamentations-chapter-5-acrostic.html>

7 Nov 2016

⁷ SCHIPPER: *Hermeneutik der Tora* a. a. O. 42-43.

⁸ „Chapter 5 is the goal of the first four poems.. As befits prayer from the heart, it is not written as an acrostic.... chap. 5 maintains a loose acrostic framework... The great advantage of this explanation over most other explanations is that it combines form and content as one inseparable whole.“ - ASSIS, E.: *The Alphabetic Acrostic in the Book of Lamentations*, in: *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 69, 2007, 724.

⁹ „Prov 2 besteht de facto nur aus einem einzigen Satz... der abschließende Hauptfinalsatz, eingeleitet mit לְמַשׁ ...Offenbar hat sich der Autor von Prov 2 an zwei Buchstaben des hebräischen Alphabets orientiert, die beide eine besondere Stellung haben: Aleph als Beginn und Lamed als dessen Mitte.“ - SCHIPPER: *Hermeneutik der Tora* a. a. O. 41-43.

heit, ist das Leben zu bewahren. Das ist die zentrale Botschaft des einzigen Satzes des Kapitels Sprüche 2, dies geschieht durch die Schilderung der Finalität. Wo die Bedingung des Schreibens nach der Weisheit erfüllt ist (כִּי אֵם לְבָנָה חַקָּא - Spr 2,3), dort verwirklicht sich der Sinn der Vorgänge im Wandeln auf dem Weg der Guten (כִּי לְפָנֶן תֵּל בָּרוֹדָה טֻבִּים - Spr 2,20). Alles hat nur ja deswegen einen Sinn, weil nur die Gerechten auf der Erde wohnen und die Vollkommenen darin übrigbleiben: כִּי יְשִׁירִים יְשִׁכְנָא גָּדוֹן וְמִתְּבוּאָה בָּה - Spr 2,21.

Hierin erkennen wir den eigentlichen Zweck der Weisheit, welche dazu dient, das Leben, trotz aller Kräfte dieses bekämpfen wollen, zu erhalten.

An diese lebenswichtige Weisheit dachte der Targum wahrscheinlich, als er in seinem Kernsatz (Spr 2,3), der über die Bedingung des Schreibens nach der Weisheit spricht, statt מִתְּבָרָךְ Mutter übersetzt (כָּא).¹⁰ Nach LEVY geht es im Targum darum, dass "wenn der Verstand Mutter gennant wird".¹¹ Die Weisheit bringt demnach Leben zur Welt. Die Wichtigkeit dessen, was hier erwähnt wird, kann auch die LXX betonen, wenn sie in zwei Versen zweimal all das übersetzt, was sie für wichtig hält (dbl).¹² Einmal verlängert sie den Text, als sie persönlich darum bittet, dass das Ohr auf die Weisheit acht hat und die Mahnung des Sohnes betont (2,2) und dass der Verstand der Weisheit auch noch mit erhobener Stimme gesucht werden soll (2,3). Das ist eigentlich die Deutung des Textes כִּי לְבָנָה תֵּל (2,2) in dem des ersten Falles und die des Textes כִּי לְבָנָה תֵּן קְלָבָה (2,3), zweiter Fall, das heisst keine Übersetzung des Textes.¹³

Auch die Masora treibt das Verstehen im Zusammenhang mit der Weisheit in diese Richtung, das im zweiten Vers befindlich ist: כִּי בְּשִׁׁלְחָנָה וְלְחַכְמָה.¹⁴ Der Circllus zeigt, dass es hier um den Begriff לְחַכְמָה geht. Selbst die Form kommt zweimal im Buch vor. Von EVEN-SHOSHAN wurden die Stellen gennant: Spr 2,2; 7, 4.¹⁵

Wir wissen genau, warum die Weisheit in der Weisheitsliteratur wichtig ist. Denn es geht hierbei um nichts geringeres, als die Furcht des Herrn:

¹⁰ „אֵמָא: T (via כָּא ...)“ - WAARD, J. de (Prepared): *בְּשִׁׁלְחָנָה Proverbs* (Biblia Hebraica Quinta) a. a. O. 5.

¹¹ „Spr. 2,3 wenn die Vernunft wird „Mutter“ genannt werden“ - LEVY, J.: *Chaldaïsches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des rabbinischen Schriftthums*, Erster Band נ-ל, Leipzig, Verlag von Gustav Engel, 1866, 34.; JASTROW nennt auch die Stelle und sagt, dass dort die Bedeutung des Begriffes בְּשִׁׁלְחָנָה „Verstehen“ ist - „understanding...Prov. II. 3.“ - JASTROW, M.: *A dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic literature*, London, W. C. Luzac & Co. New York G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903, 159.

¹² WAARD, J. de (Prepared): *בְּשִׁׁלְחָנָה Proverbs* (Biblia Hebraica Quinta) a. a. O. 5.

¹³ παραβαλεῖς δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ οἰουθέτοις τῷ σίδῳ σου - „you shall incline it to the admonition of your son“ (2,2); τὴν δὲ αἰσθησιν ζητήσῃς μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ - „as well as seek perception with loud voice“ (2,3) - RAHLFS, A. (ed.): *Septuaginta, Id est Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX interpres*, Volumen I –II, Stuttgart, Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935, 185.; PIETERSMA, A.– WRIGHT, B. G. (eds.): *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2007, 625.

¹⁴ סְבִבָּה - „In this book“ - KELLEY, P. H. – MYNATT, D. S. – CRAWFORD, T. G.: *The Masorah of Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia, Introduction and Annotated Glossary*, Grand Rapids, MI [etc.], Eerdmans, 1998, 85.

¹⁵ 102. 103. - EVEN-SHOSHAN, A. (ed.): *A new concordance of the Bible, thesaurus of the language of the Bible, Hebrew and Aramaic roots, words, proper names, phrases and synonyms*, Jerusalem, „Kiryat Sefer“ Publishing House LTD, 1992, 369.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים לְאָדָם כְּמַה – Hiob 28,28. Das ist das Wissen, wodurch man den Kern der Dinge erkennt und diese sich auf das Wesentliche reduzieren lassen.¹⁶ Dazu braucht man aber, nicht nur einfach gläubig zu sein, sondern man soll den Herrn fürchten,¹⁷ den Herrn, der das Leben gibt und der das dieses bewahren kann.

Das ist der grundlegende Unterschied zwischen der Angst und der Furcht des Herrn. Das in der Praxis erworbene Wissen, die Erfahrungen, die künstlerischen Fähigkeiten des Menschen hatten nur den einzigen Sinn, dass all das was der Mensch weiss, er im Leben anwendet, damit es ein qualitatives Leben in jeder Hinsicht wird.¹⁸ Nicht in der Theorie, sondern in der Praxis. GOLDZIHER sieht es richtig, wenn er auch das Wesentliche des Judentums, im vorher erwähnten, sucht und formuliert.

Der Begriff חכמה bezieht sich ursprünglich auf das technische Wissen dh. die Fähigkeit, die Tüchtigkeit und die Erfahrung.¹⁹

Zur Veranschaulichung dient nachfolgender Satz:

מֶלֶאכִי רוח חכמָה – 2 Mose 28,3.²⁰

Die Fachkenntnisse sind somit ein Ausdruck der Weisheit, um die alltäglichen Schwierigkeiten des Lebens zu meistern.²¹

Das Leben erlegt uns nicht alltägliche Pflichten auf und beansprucht ausserordentliche Leistungen, um Probleme zu lösen. In diesen Situationen konnte sich der Weise behaupten, durch seine ausserordentlichen Fähigkeiten, durch Fachwissen,durch Erfahrung.

Nehmen wir zum Beispiel Bezalel, der nur dadurch fähig war, Gold, Silber und Kupfer zu bearbeiten, weil YHWH ihn mit dem göttlichen Geist erfüllt hat:

¹⁶ קנה בינה – gewinnt den Verstand, kommt soweit, dass man in die Sachen Einsicht gewinnt; השר לשל כל הדבר ומשיל שער – das Verständnis ist in seinem Besitz; בעל שקל – die Fähigkeit, dass jemand alles, einfach, logisch, in aufrichtiger Denkweise, mit klarem Verstand auf die Waage legt, erwägt. –EVEN-SHOSHAN, A.:

הפלין החרש איצ'ר שלם של הלשון העברית הפטרוונית, מפורעת וה מרובה ניבים ואנרכיות Vol. 1 – מ. – ט – ה – ת – י – מ. Yerushalayim, „Kiryath Sepher“ Ltd., 1969, 762- 763.

¹⁷ „In Biblical language the religious man is not called „believer“, as he is for example in Islam...., but *yare hashem*.“ - HESCHEL, A. J.: *God in search of man, A Philosophy of Judaism*, London, Souvenir Press, 2009, 77.

¹⁸ „Das Wissen ...hat keine theoretischen Zwecke, sondern weist haptisch auf praktische Aufgaben hin, nicht für die Schule, nicht für das Klassenzimmer ist es bestimmt, sondern dafür, dass es sich im Leben durchsetzt, durchkommt.“ - GOLDZIHER, I.: *A zsidóság lényege és fejlődése*, Budapest, Múlt és Jövő Kiadó, 2000, 88.

¹⁹ „(technische) Fertigkeit, Geschick...Erfahrung“ - KOEHLER, L. – BAUMGARTNER, W. (eds.): *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1958, 298.

²⁰ „masterful understanding, skill ...expertise...artistic...Ex 28:3“ - WALTKE, B. K. – Yu, C.: *An Old Testament theology, an exegetical, canonical, and thematic approach*, Grand Rapids, Mi, Zondervan, 2007, 913.

²¹ „The possession of wisdom enables all to cope with life... and to achieve what would otherwise be impossible.“ - ebd.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים בְּחִכָּמָה - 2 Mose 35,31. Die lange Geschichte des Begriffs der Weisheit in Israel, begründet dessen inhaltlichen Reichtum. Im umfassenderen Sinne ist mit **חִכָּמָה** die allgemeine Lebensqualität gemeint.²²

Der Mensch hatte nicht von selbst aus eine besondere Begabung sondern diese wurde ihm von YHWH gegeben. Aber die Begabung hatte nur dann einen Sinn, wenn sie sich in der Praxis zeigte, sich vervollkommnete, sich ständig entwickelte und entfaltete.

Der Text der Sprüche 2,2 will diesen Prozess veranschaulichen, indem unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf die Weisheit gerichtet wird (**להקשֵׁב לְחִכָּמָה**), und all das mit dem einen Zweck, dass das menschliche Leben keineswegs im Tod mündet.

FARMER²³ befasst sich in seiner Arbeit im Kapitel unter dem Titel, „das Haus auf dem Weg nach Seol“ genau mit dieser Thematik.

In diesem Abschnitt kommt noch der Begriff **לְחִכָּמָה** nach der Masora vor, wie das (7,4) auch EVEN-SHOSHAN gennant hat.

Die entscheidene Frage in diesem Kapitel ist die Frage nach der innigen Kenntnis: **לְאַדְתָּן כִּירְבָּנֶשׁ** -7,23.

Wenn der Vogel nicht weiss, welche Gefahr in einer Falle steckt, kann es ihm infolge seiner Unwissenheit sein Leben kosten.²⁴ Also, das ist vollkommen verständlich, warum die Masora die Aufmerksamkeit neben dem Vers Sprüche 2,2, auf den Vers 7,4 richtet, wo die Form noch vorkommt. An dieser Stelle (7,4) bewegt sich der Begriff **לְחִכָּמָה** im Kreis der Brüderlichkeit. Die Weisheit wird so genannt :

את אחתי בלה – 4,9. Sie ist die geliebte Frau, die Liebste, Schwiegertochter, die Braut im Hohelied: **את אחתי בלה – 4,9.** Das ist ganz sicher, dass es hier um die Beziehung der familiären Zusammengehörigkeit gegenüber der fremden Frau geht. Deshalb wird in den Wörterbüchern betont, dass im Zusammenhang mit der Brüderlichkeit, die gemeinsame Mutter und der gemeinsame Vater sowie der Grund der Zusammengehörigkeit,²⁵ die alles bestimmenden Liebe ist.²⁶ Die zweite Stelle, die im Verweis der Masora

²² „Wisdom [ḥokmāh] a quality and principle of life. The constant enrichment of the meaning of this word tells the story of the Wisdom movement in Israel. The primary reference of ḥokmāh is to unusual skill or ability, to expertness of particular kind, attained by training and experience added to special gifts. This was the secret of the true craftsman, like Bezalel...“- SCOTT, R. B. Y. (ed.): *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes*, (The Anchor Bible 18.), Garden City New York, Doubleday and Company, 1965, XVII.

²³ „Chapter seven A House ont the way to sheol“- FARMER, K. A.: *Who Knows What is Good? Proverbs and Ecclesiastes*, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, Edinburgh, Handsel Press, 1991, 48.

²⁴ So übersetzt Whybray das Wort, auf den Tod bezogen die Formulierung „lebensnotwendig“ (**לְאַדְתָּן כִּירְבָּנֶשׁ**), schon an das Ende des Vorgangs denkend: „he does not know that it will cost him his life“ - WHYBRAY, R. N.: *Proverbs*, (The new century Bible commentary), Grand Rapids Mi, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1994, 117.

²⁵ „בְּתִינְךָ וְאַמְתָּה“ (**אֲבִיךָ וְאַמְתָּה**) - 1968. ד- חט המלון החרט a. a. O. 58.; „sister...by the same father a. mother“- KOEHLER, L. – BAUMGARTNER, W. (eds.): *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* a. a. O. 28.

²⁶ „Zärtlichkeitsmetapher...Geliebte...Hhld 4,9“ - JENNI, E. – WESTERMANN, C. (Hrsg.): *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament, Band I*, München, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, Zürich, Theologischer Verlag, 1978, 101.

gennant wurde, will also das Verhältnis zwischen YHWH und dem Menschen stärken, im Bewusstsein dessen, dass das klug erfasste Verbundensein mit Ihm, der einzige Grund der Erhaltung ist. Auf diese weist das Wohnen im Heimatland (ישׁבָנְנוּ אֶרְין) im Vers der Sprüche 2,21 für die, deren Gerechtigkeit sich in fester Verbindung zu YHWH zeigt, als jemand aufrecht (ישָׁרֵת) Gottes Wege geht, Ihn beachtend im Auge behaltend und sich nicht lässt durch fremde Ansichten beeinflussen.²⁷

Der Sinn der festen Bindung zu YHWH ist die Erfüllung Seines Versprechens hinsichtlich des Menschenlebens. Das ist enthalten in den Begriffen der Erde und der Familie, die in jeder Hinsicht das Gegenteil der Fremdheit sind. Das Behütetsein vor der fremden (גַּדְעֹן – 7,5) Frau ist nicht zufällig ein Teil jenes Kapitels, worauf die Masora bezüglich des Begriffes לְחַכְמָה hinweist, welches die intime Beziehung zwischen dem Menschen und der Weisheit veranschaulicht.

Die Fremdheit bedeutete immer ein Problem, welche sich aus den abnormalen menschlichen Beziehungen des Gottesvolkes speist, wie z. B. ein nicht aus der Ehe geborenes Kind (Hos 5,7).²⁸ In diesem Zusammenhang ist auch die Erwähnung der Ehebrecherin (זָנָה – 7,10) im Kapitel wichtig, denn dies markiert den Wendepunkt in der Beziehung zwischen Israel und YHWH.

Die Verschlechterung der Beziehung wird insbesondere durch den Begriff der religiösen Untreue (Hos 2,7) dh. des Kultes anderer Götter (3Mose 17,7), den Kult der Kanaaniten inbegriffen (2Mose 34,15ff),²⁹ geprägt.

Die Masora will mit dem Verknüpfen der zwei Verse erreichen, dass der Mensch die richtigen Bindungen pflegt und dadurch sein Leben und Glück nicht verspielt.

Auch die folgende Masora verstärkt diesen Zusammenhang. Nach der Masora Parva kommt zwanzigmal das Wort in diesem Buch am Anfang des Verses mit diesem Akzent vor: בְּטֻשׁ ר' פ' בְּסִיר' פ' .³⁰ Der Circellus zeigt, dass es sich um die Konjunktion פ' handelt, WEIL zählt diese Stellen unten auf dem Blatt in der durch die

²⁷ „dwell in the land...refers to the land of Israel... gods and men were attached to the soil. The god protected his own land...and the citizen as such enjoyed the benefits of this protection... dwell in the land...came to be equivalent to enjoy the divine favour and all the blessings of life...symbol of happiness...living and dying in the land with which the divine promises were believed to be connected.“ – Toy, C. H.: *A critical and exegetical commentary on the book of Proverbs*, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1914. 52.

²⁸ „...der Norm nach: abnorm, nicht dazugehörig...wie uneheliche Kinder...“ - KÖNIG, E.: *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, Dietrich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung in Leipzig, 1936, 93.

²⁹ „... Verbindung Israels u. Jahves verletzen, also religiös untreu sein... andern Göttern Kultus weihen...Kultus der Kanaaniter...“ - KÖNIG, E.: *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch*, a. a. O. 91.

³⁰ טַעַם „Accent, with this accent“ - KELLEY, P. H. – MYNATT, D. S. – CRAWFORD, T. G.: *The Masorah of Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, a. a. O. 109; „With this accent...abbreviation for טַעַם“ - KELLEY, P. H. – MYNATT, D. S. – CRAWFORD, T. G.: *The Masorah of Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, a. a. O. 81; טַעַם Beginning, start, head“ - KELLEY, P. H. – MYNATT, D. S. – CRAWFORD, T. G.: *The Masorah of Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, a. a. O. 179.; טַעַם Verse“ - KELLEY, P. H. – MYNATT, D. S. – CRAWFORD, T. G.: *The Masorah of Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, a. a. O. 168.; טַעַם In this book.“ - KELLEY, P. H. – MYNATT, D. S. – CRAWFORD, T. G.: *The Masorah of Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, a. a. O. 85.

Magna angegebenen Liste auf. ¹Mm 3573.³¹

3573

**כִּי לְ בַשְׁעָם [מַהְקָן] בֶּרֶאֵשׁ פָּסָקָה
תְּלִשִׁין וְלֹא פָסָקָן וְסִימָנוֹן:**

כִּי משובח	Prv. 1,32
[כִּי] אם לבינה	Prv. 2,3
כִּי שזה	Prv. 2,18
כִּי אָרָךְ	Prv. 3,2
כִּי את אשר יארך	Prv. 3,12
כִּי טוב	Prv. 3,14
כִּי חועבת	Prv. 3,32
כִּי לפקח	Prv. 4,2
כִּי לא ישנו	Prv. 4,16
כִּי נפחת	Prv. 5,3
כִּי נכח	Prv. 5,21
כִּי נר	Prv. 6,23
כִּי بعد	Prv. 6,26
כִּי אין האיש	Prv. 7,19
כִּי שבע	Prv. 24,16
כִּי טוב	Prv. 25,7
כִּי נחלים	Prv. 25,22
כִּי לא לעולם	Prv. 27,24
כִּי בער	Prv. 30,2
כִּי מין חלב	Prv. 30,33

Aus dem zu der Liste gehörenden Vermerk wird klar, dass der Akzent der Konjunktion **כִּי** für WEIL m^{eh}uppák ohne páséq (ohne Trennung), den Verbindungscharakter hervorhebt.³²

Durch das zwanzigfache Wiederholen dieser Erscheinung soll die Einleitung des Verses die Wichtigkeit der Botschaft verdeutlichen.

Die Konjunktion **כִּי** weist, auf das Geschehene hin bzw. auf irgendeine Ursache, dh. die Vergangenheit wird mit den Worten, „Da es so ist“ zusammengefasst. Die

³¹ WEIL, G. E.: *Massorah Gedolah iuxta Codicem Leningradensem B 19 a*, Vol. I., Catalogi Romae Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1971, 389.

³² „...non signum Paseq adhibentes“ - KITTEL, R. (Hrsg.): *Biblia Hebraica, Textum Masoreticum*, KAHLE, P. (curavit), Stuttgart, Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1952, LIII. Also wird das Zeichen páséq, die Trennung nicht zugefügt, das heisst bleibt hier als Verbindungszeichen; „סִמּוּן Mnemonic devices, excerpts, or signs...their signs“ - KELLEY, P. H. – MYNATT, D. S. – CRAWFORD, T. G.: *The Masorah of Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* a. a. O. 157.

Bedeutung der Wörter **כִּי אָם** ist nach einer Verneinung mit „sondern“, oder in einem einschränkenden Sinn mit „nur“ zu verstehen.³³

Es ist selbstverständlich, dass sich die Masora auf das Buch selbst konzentriert ja sie sich nach dem gegebenen Buch in dem Zusammenhang orientiert, woraus seine literarische Gattung stammt. Die Masora konzentriert sich also auf etwas, was unbedingt verstanden werden soll.

Die erste wichtige Beobachtung in dieser Fage ist, dass für WEIL in seiner Liste beinahe mit den gleichen Bemerkungen, woanders gar nicht wichtig ist das Wort als Merkwort zu betrachten, welches dem mit dem Akzent bezeichneten Wort am nächsten steht. Es lässt sich also folgern, dass für ihn immer das Wort wichtig ist, das wegen der Botschaft entscheidend ist, unabhängig davon dass es an anderer Stelle und nicht mit dem Akzent bezeichneten Wort am nächsten steht. Dieses wird immer als Merkwort gewählt.³⁴

In diesen zwanzig Fällen hat das der Konjunktion **כִּי** nächstliegende Wort so mit eine memotechnische Rolle. Diese These bestätigt sich gleich im ersten Fall: - Spr 1,32. Die Weisheit wird auch dem Einfältigen gegeben, obwohl dieser leicht betrogen werden kann, damit er Klug wird. (1,4). Sich von der Weisheit abwenden (**משׁוֹבֵת**), ist gleichlautend mit sich von YHWH abwenden. Diese Menschen erwartet nicht das Leben, sondern der Tod, weil sie getötet werden: **תְּהִרְגָּנֶם** - 1,32.³⁵

Warum hat also die Weisheit einen Sinn? Weil (**כִּי**) sie auf dem Lebensweg wirklich neue Möglichkeiten schafft.

Sie beginnt nicht nur einen Vers, sondern etwas Neues, wenn es nötig ist. Dieses aus der Weisheit erwachsene Leben verlangt aber immer eine Stellungnahme, auch gegenüber den Menschen, die sich von der Weisheit abwenden. Das heisst,³⁶ nur dem nach der Weisheit schreienden Menschen (**כִּי אָם לִבְנֵה**) - Spr 2,3) wird das das Leben bereichernde Wissen gegeben. Diese Zusammenhänge ergreift, das

³³ המלון החדש י-ט 1, משות פ-ט, ש... כִּי אָם... אַחֲרֵי שְׁלִילָה, ר.ך., a.a. O. 1045.; In beiden Fällen ist die Bedeutung des Begriffes „da, weil, denn“: „-weil“ - LAVY, J.: *Langenscheidts Handwörterbuch Hebräisch-Deutsch*, Berlin, München, Wien, Zürich, Langenscheidt, 1985, 560, 457.

³⁴ Zum Beispiel macht die Bemerkung **כִּי** ... **כִּי** ... **כִּי** auf der Liste 3193 ebenso wie hier auf die Rolle des Wortes mit diesem Akzent am Anfang des Verses aufmerksam. Die Erwähnung der Wörter **כִּי** Spr 8,34 berücksichtigt doch nicht, den dem vorliegenden Wort **אָמֵן** nächststehenden Begriff als Merkwort, weil er etwas Anderes als Botschaft hervorhebt. Nicht den Menschen, dessen Rolle der Text schon geklärt hat, sondern dass er auf die Weisheit hört. - WEIL, G. E.: *Massorah gedolah* a.a. O. 353.

³⁵ „turning away...denotes apostasy from Yahweh...one's attitude towards wisdom, like one's attitude towards Yahweh...matter of life and death“ - WHYBRAY, R. N.: *Proverbs* a. a. O. 49.

³⁶ Hir kommt nach Verneinung, die Bedeutung der Konjunktion **אָם** mit „sondern“ und mit ihrem einschränkenden Sinn „nur“ vor: **אַחֲרֵי שְׁלִילָה** [אָמֵן], 1 **כִּי** **אָם** **כִּי** - EVEN-SHOSHAN, A.: 1969. **הַמְלֹון הָחֶדֶש :** ט a.a. O. 1045.

Zitat dieser Verse im Neuen Testament³⁷, wonach der Mensch nicht nur sucht, sondern auch die in Christus verborgene Weisheit bekommt.

Die nächste Begründung des Gewinns der Weisheit ist so formuliert: כי שרה -Spr 2,18.

Die fremde Frau bedeutet nicht in sexueller Hinsicht ein Problem, sondern ihr Verhalten und insbesondere, dass sie den Bund mit YHWH aufgekündigt hat.³⁸

Die Fremdheit der Frau verkörpert den Gegenteil der Weisheit, der nicht der Weg des Lebens, sondern der Weg des Todes ist. Warum ist das ein Problem, wenn nicht die Weisheit der entscheidende Faktor des menschlichen Lebens ist?

Weil wer statt der Höhen des Lebens durch andere Gesichtspunkte geführt wird und nicht durch die Weisheit, sinkt in die Tiefen des Todes (כִּי שָׁהָ). Die nächste Konjunktion כי handelt um Segen: כי אַתָּה - Spr 3,2. Das heisst eine neue Erklärung hinsichtlich dessen, warum es sich lohnt, wenn man sich durch die in der Weisheit begründeten Furcht des Herrn angezogen fühlt: Weil diese ihre Belohnung hat.³⁹ Selbst Jesus betont diese Beziehung des Lebens im Überfluss⁴⁰ mit dem qualitativen Leben.

Dieses Leben macht die alles korrigierende Liebe von YHWH erreichbar, auch dort wo jemand vom Weg des Lebens abweicht, kann man sich seiner Führung und seiner väterlichen Fürsorge sicher sein: **כִּי אָחָת יְהֹוָה** - Spr 3,12.⁴¹

Diesen Gedanken zitiert das Neue Testament und spricht über die väterliche Gottesliebe⁴², sogar das Wort בָּחֵן mit dem Begriff ἀγάπη übersetzt, bedeutet, dass Gott selbst die Liebe ist,⁴³ der die Seinen beizeiten züchtigt, aber nur wie ein Vater

³⁷ „2,3-6: Jc 1,5; 3s : Kol 2,3“ - ALAND, Barbara and others (Hrsg.): *Novum Testamentum Graece* 28. rev. Aufl., Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012, 856.

³⁸ „In Prov 2:16-19 the woman is said to have forgotten the covenant with her God, lending support to a religious rather than a sexual understanding of her wickedness...the ‘alien woman’ personifies the exact opposite of ‘wisdom’, and...her ‘paths’ lead the unsuspecting down towards death rather than life.” – FARMER, K. A.: *Who Knows What is Good?* a. a. O. 33.

³⁹ „Long life is considered in OT. to be one of the chief blessings of man's lot (Ex. 20¹²), including, as it does, the idea of happiness (so that the first line might be rendered: a long and happy life).” - Toy, C. H.: *A critical and exegetical commentary* a. a. O. 57.

⁴⁰ „Abundant life“ (John X 10) was also seen as the fruit of the higher wisdom” - SCOTT, R. B. Y. (Trans. and ed.): *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes* a. a. O. 47; „the word life (*hayyîm*) refers, as frequently in the wisdom literature and especially in Proverbs, to the quality of life” - WHYBRAY, R. N.: *Proverbs* a. a. O. 60.

⁴¹ „the teacher identifies his instruction with that of Yahweh. God's instruction requires continual reproof of the student, like that of a parent to a beloved child...Such reproof should be taken not as rebuke but as the guiding hand and caring word of loving parent toward the child.” - PERDUE, L. G.: *Proverbs*, Louisville, Ky, Westminster, John Knox Press, 2012, 99.

42 בְּכִי אֶת אָשֶׁר יַאֲבֵב יְהוָה יוֹחֵד אֶת־בָּבָן - Spr 3,12.- wen der HERR liebt, den züchtigt er, und zwar wie ein Vater den Sohn, an dem er Wohlgefallen hat. (Spr 3,12); Hebr 12,6 zitiert wörtlich die Übersetzung der Septuaginta: ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ κύριος παιδεύει μαστίγοι δὲ πάντα οὐδὲν ὃν παραδέχεται – Spr 3,12; ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ κύριος παιδεύει, μαστίγοι δὲ πάντα οὐδὲν ὃν παραδέχεται. - Hebr 12,6

⁴³ 'Ο θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν - 1 Jn 4,16. - Gott ist die Liebe; „In Hebr 12,5 wird Spr 3,11ff zitiert. Die Züchtigung des Herrn ist ein Zeichen seiner Liebe und deshalb kein Grund zum Verzagen“ - COENEN, L. – BEYREUTHER, E. – BIETENHARD H. (Hrsg.) : *Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum Neuen Testamente*, (Band 1), Wuppertal, Theologischer Verlag R. Brockhaus, 1983, 294.

seine Kinder, sofern ein gravierender Anlass vorliegt, für die deshalb zur Besorgnis kein Grund besteht.

Dies macht im Rahmen der Weisheit Sinn, die deshalb gut ist (כִּי טָב – Spr 3,14), weil sie nicht kurzfristigen Gewinn (wie z.B. Silber) bringt, sondern den einzigen wahren Gewinn, nämlich das Leben selbst.

Derjenige der nicht den geraden Weg geht, sondern wer neidisch ist und den gewaltsamen Weg wählt, wird niemals den wahren Pfad des Lebens erreichen (כִּי וְהַרְחֵךְ – 4,4), weil sich der Herr vor diesen Menschen ekelt (כִּי חֹנְבָּה – Spr 3,32). Nur das Akzeptieren der Lehre (כִּי לְקָח – Spr 4,2) begründet diesen wahren Weg. Kein anderer Weg führt zum Leben und wie unterschiedlich ist der Weg derer, welche nicht diese Prinzipien haben, die nicht schlafen (כִּי לֹא שָׁנוּ – Spr 4,16) bis sie etwas Böses tun?

Wohin anders als nicht ins Verderben könnte ein solcher Weg führen, der nicht durch die Prinzipien des Lebens bestimmt ist, sondern durch etwas anderes.

Dieses Anderssein finden wir auch bei der fremden Frau, deren Lippen Honig trüpfeln (כִּי נְפָתָח – Spr 5,3) und deren Geschichte ein bitteres Ende findet, weil sie einen anderen Weg, als den Weg des Lebens geht.

Alles ist vor YHWH (כִּי נְכָה – Spr 5,21) und als Folge dessen führt das Verhalten entgegen seinem Willen zum Tod (הָוָא יְמֹתָה – 5,23).

Ein gravierender Grund also, warum es einen Sinn macht die Lehren YHWHS zu befolgen.⁴⁴

Der Befehl repräsentiert offensichtlich, die auf den Gesetzen von YHWH beruhende Lehre des Weisen, welche mit einer Leuchte symbolisiert wird (כִּי נֶר – Spr 6,23).

Diese leuchtet im Dunkeln, erhellt den Verstand, hilft den Weg des Lebens zu finden.⁴⁵

Deshalb ist alles lebenswichtig, was aus der Weisheit kommt. Wenn der Mensch sich danach sehnt, was YHWH fremd ist,⁴⁶ kostet ihn das sein Leben, weil (כִּי בַּעַד – Spr 6,26) wegen einer hurerischen Frau kommt man an den Bettelstab, bis er endlich nicht ein Stück Brot hat.

Jeder hat aber dafür alle Chancen, auch der nichts ahnend und somit unbewusst den Verlockungen einer fremden Frau erliegend, durch den unerwartet hereinplatzenden Ehemann, der bis zur Schandtat nicht zu Hause war (כִּי אֵין דָאִישׁ – Spr 7,19)

⁴⁴ „a motive or reason (For) for the avoidance of adultery“ - WHYBRAY, R. N.: *Proverbs* a. a. O. 92.

⁴⁵ „Precept and instruction (synonyms) represent the teaching of the sage...held to be based on the divine law“ - TOY, C. H.: *A critical and exegetical commentary* a. a. O. 134.; „it enlightens thy dark mind, and clearly discovers to thee the plain and right way“ - POOLE, M.: *A commentary on the Holy Bible Psalms-Malachi*, Vol. 2, Edinburgh, Banner of Truth Trust, 1990, 224.

⁴⁶ „a proverb which no one has yet explained“ - WHYBRAY, R. N.: *Proverbs* a. a. O. 105; In diesem Zusammenhang verkörpert die fremde Frau all das, was YHWH fremd ist. Es kann sein, dass noch niemand diesen Vers erläutert hat, aber es gibt eine logische Deutung, wonach in der Ehebrecherin liegt der Grund dafür welches Schicksals der Mensch erleiden soll, wenn er mit ihr einen Kontakt hat. „כִּי בְּדִין אֲדֹנָה זָהָר עַד־כָּר לְהַטָּה – For by means of a harlot [a man is reduced] to [poverty so that he lacks even] a loaf (kikar) of bread.“ – Rabbi GOLDWURM, Hersch (General Editor): *The Schottenstein Edition Talmud Bavli, Tractate Nazir*, Volume I., (A Project of Mesorah Heritage Foundation) Brooklyn, New York, Mesorah Publications Ltd., 2004, נג 23a³

auf frischer Tat ertappt wird, welcher die Hurerei aufdeckt und damit die Verletzung des Bundes mit YHWH.⁴⁷

Der Verführer findet immer eine Erklärung, womit er den Fehlritt des Menschen erleichtern kann, damit er oder sie schnell in die Falle gelockt wird.

Natürlich ist das YHWH treue Verhalten nicht ohne Gefahr.

Sturz und Stolper erwartet den Gerechten auf seinem Wege, wer einen Gegner hat. Wie oft es diesem auch gelingt den Gerechten zu Fall zu bringen, er ist unzerstörbar, weil er siebenmal (כִּי שְׁבַע - Spr 24,16) nach seinem Fall wieder aufsteht.

Das ist der Sinn des Schutzes von YHWH, das heisst der Sinn des von Ihm bekommenen Wissens und der Weisheit, die Er gibt. Wie anders ist das Schicksal des Sünder verglichen mit dem des Gerechten: Seine Intrige nimmt mit ihm zusammen ein schlimmes und trauriges Ende.⁴⁸ Ein wichtiges Element des von der Masora angegeben Zusammenhangs, ist an dieser Stelle die Masora Parva vom Vers Spr 24,16: ה.

Nach dem Circellus (כָּמָה) bezieht sie sich auf den Begriff עֲזֵל. Das Wort kommt also in dieser Form nur einmal in der ganzen hebräischen Bibel vor.⁴⁹

Es ist offensichtlich kein Zufall, dass die einzigartige Form des Aufstehens, nachdem Angriff des Gegners, des so oft zu Fall kommenden Menschen, auf diese Weise im Zeichen der Masora Parva erscheint und so macht sie auf die alleinige Möglichkeit des Aufstehens aufmerksam. Dies ist gegenüber dem entgültig abgeschlossenem Zustand des Hinfallens, eine Folge der Anhänglichkeit an YHWH trotz der Angriffe des Bösen.

Die nicht zunichte werdende Hoffnung des Gerechten, realisiert sich im Aufstehen nach seinem Hinfallen, dort wo der Sünder nur zu Fall kommen kann. Die grundlegende Bedingung des Aufstehens nach dem Fallen ist die Demut. Sie ist nötig, dass man die Macht von YHWH anerkennen kann. Das zeigt sich in der Ehre des Königs im Leben seiner Untertanen.

Das drückt die folgende Anmerkung der Masora aus in Verbindung damit, dass es besser (כִּי טוֹב – Spr 25,7) ist, wenn dem Menschen gesagt wird: "Komm hier herauf!", als daß er vor einem Fürsten erniedrigt werden soll.

Jesus zitiert diese Stelle in seinem Gleichnis über die Rangordnung und Auswahl der Gäste.⁵⁰ Vor dem König, der den König der Könige repräsentiert, ist es ratsamer, wenn man sich selbst erniedrigt, als sich überschätzt. Die Demut führt schneller zu

⁴⁷ „(zonah)...‘harlotry’ usually refers either to participation in the Canaanite fertility cults or to any relationship the covenant people might have with ‘gods’ other than Israel’s LORD. Thus, the picture of the simpleton who is tempted by a woman dressed as a harlot may also allude to cultic apostasy.” – FARMER, K. A.: *Who Knows What is Good?* a. a. O. 49.; „Sie will den jungen Mann beschwichtigen, dass keine Gefahr besteht, überrascht zu werden...” - PLOËGER, O.: *Sprüche Salomos, Proverbia*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1981, 80.

⁴⁸ „Al zou het zevenmaal gelukken, de rechtvaardige is toch niet te verdelgen.” - GISPEN, W. H.: *De Spreuken van Salomo*, Tweede Deel, Kampen, Uitgeversmij Kok, 1954, 200.; „the wicked will come to a bad end” - WHYBRAY, R. N.: *Proverbs* a. a. O. 350.

⁴⁹ „עֲזֵל ה Unique (with the conjunction vocalized) with qames” - WAARD, J. de (Prepared): *Proverbs* a. a. O. 44. 19.

⁵⁰ Deshalb finden wir unter den Zitaten die Stelle: „25,6s ; L 14,8” - ALAND, Barbara and others (Hrsg.): *Novum Testamentum Graece* a. a. O. 856.

Erhobenwerden, als die Selbstverherrlichung. Der Grund des Lobpreises YHWHs ist, dass man nicht sich selbst verherrlicht, weil nur derjenige, der sich selbst nicht gross macht, wird gross gemacht.⁵¹ Die Weisheit, deren Anfang die Furcht des Herrn ist, nach der Lobpreisung YHWHs, dient auf längere Sicht zur Erhebung des Menschen, gegenüber aller Macht des Bösen und des Todes und alles so, dass sie durch die Kraft der Liebe wirkt, weil sie feurige Kohlen (כִּי נָחַלְתָּם – Spr 25,22) auf das Haupt des Feindes sammelt, wo sie zur Geltung kommt. Wir kennen die bildliche Darstellung dieses Denkens aus China, mit negativem Inhalt, auf dem Gebiet der Selbstquälerei.⁵²



In Wirklichkeit geht es hier um die heilende Wirkung der Hitze, die man in der Heilkunde auch in Ägypten in unterschiedlicher Form verwendet hatte. Die bibliischen Spuren der vorher erwähnten Praxis wurden auch von den Bibelforschern entdeckt. Im Römerbrief konnte Paulus (12,20) in diesem Zusammenhang die Verse von Spr 25,21-22 zitieren, hingewiesen auf die heilende Wirkung der Liebe, die auch den Feind verändern kann,⁵³ die sich durch die Wärme der Tonschüssel realisiert hat-

⁵¹ רַא יְהֹוָה – If one does not raise himself, they will raise him... - Rabbi GOLDWURM, Hersch (General Editor): תלמוד בבלי מסכת מועד קון The Schottenstein Edition Talmud Bavli, Tractate Moed Katan, (A Project of Mesorah Heritage Foundation) Brooklyn, New York, Mesorah Publications Ltd., 2006, ח 28b²; „רַא יְהֹוָה vb. to lift up...raise up“ - SOKOLOFF, M.: A dictionary of jewish babylonian aramic of the talmudic and geonic periods, Ramat-Gan, Bar Ilan University Press, Baltimore, MD [etc.], The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002, 339.

⁵² Strolling beggars in China; Laying burning coals on their heads and using other austeries. Image ID: 1261736 <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e0-0027-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99> 7. Nov. 2016.

⁵³ „The idea that fever is a method of therapy may be traced back to the early days of written history. “Give me the power to produce fever, and I will cure all disease,” is a quotation attributed to Hippocrates more than twenty-three hundred years ago...The origin of therapeutic fever lies buried in medical antiquity. While the rays of the sun have therapeutic value, other than their heating effects, nevertheless, early physicians used them solely for these effects. Heat was also applied to locally affected parts of the body and to its entirety by means of hot water, steam, sand, and mud baths...Egyptian physicians during the Fifth Century B. C. applied rules for sun and heat therapy.” - BIERMAN, W.: The History Of Fever Therapy In The Treatment

te, die durch die feuerige Kohle heiss war und über dem Nacken gehalten wurde, wodurch man das Leiden des Kranken lindern konnte.

Nach der Masora ist es offenbar, dass die Möglichkeiten des Menschen nicht ewig sind, wenn er an den Wert seiner Schätze denkt, die ihm Sicherheit geben, weil all das für ihn nicht ewiglich (כִּי לَا לְעוֹלָם - Spr 27, 24) bestehen bleibt, was die Möglichkeit des Lebens zustande bringt.⁵⁴

Daraus ergibt sich, dass wenn wir an die Zusammenhänge des Reichtums an der Weisheit (Jes 33,6) und die des Lebens denken, dann sollen wir auch einsehen, dass auch die Möglichkeit des Besitzens und die des Beherzigens dieses Reichtums nicht ewig bestehen bleibt. Das, worauf er nicht aufpasst, steht nicht ewig dem Menschen zur Verfügung, weil wer seine Schätze nicht bewahrt, kommt schnell dahinter, dass deren Bestehen wegen der Vielfalt der Gefahren

Of Disease, in: *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, January 1942, 65-66. <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1933808/> 7. Nov. 2016. „Heliotherapy and phototherapy, the natural offspring of solar theology, whose romance with light and sunshine has remained a permanent legacy throughout the ages, have led to much good medicine and much bad medicine. Moses, who brought this people out of slavery in Egypt, legislated against pagan sun worship, but not its healing qualities. The Talmud recognized that the sun “carries healing in its wings”(Malachi 3:20). A biblical story tells of Jacob limping due to an accident, and the “Sun rose upon him, which was interpreted by Rabbi Berachaya to mean, “The sun shone upon him in order to heal him”(Geneis Rabbah 78:5) ...Maimonides (1135-1204) describes the sun as the light and the warmth of the world...“ - BLOCH, H.: Solar Theology, Heliotherapy, Phototherapy, And Biologic Effects, A Historical Overview, in: *Journal Of The National Medical Association*, VOL. 82. NO. 7, 517. <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2626960/?page=2> 7. Nov. 2016. “Whether God punishes the enemy at the eschaton with “coals of fire” or whether the enemy is purified with “coals of fire,” the hoped-for reward for the Christian is the key to the actions. But by forgoing revenge, a normal human response, the actor in Romans offers the potential for a dynamic new relationship by stating to the enemy indeed, “I will not pay back evil for evil.” To treat the enemy kindly has only positive benefits for the Christian and ensures that any judgment the enemy receives takes place according to the only true measure of justice, that meted out by God.” - MARTENS, J. W.: Burning questions in Romans 12:20, what is the meaning and purpose of “coals of fire?”, in: *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 76 no 2 Ap 2014, 305; „Sommigen meenen dat deze spreekmanier mischien afkomstig is van het oude gebruik der artsen, om beroerdheid en zinneloosheid, die door koude veroorzaakt was, te genezen door het leggen van heete kolen op het hoofd...“ - Verklaring van de geheele Heilige Schrift, door eenigen van de voornaamste Engelsche Godegeerde Zevende deel Uitbreidung en Verklaring van Salomons drie Boeken, genoemde de Spreuken de Pediker en het Hooglied – PATRIK – POLUS – HAMMOND: Verklaring van de geheele Heilige Schrift, door eenigen van de voornaamste Engelsche Godegeerde Zevende deel Uitbreidung en Verklaring van Salomons *drie Boeken*, genoemde de *Spreuken de Pediker en het Hooglied*, Te Amsterdam, Isaak Tirion en Jacobus Loveringhy, MDCCXLIV, 224. „Beroerdheit. Paralysis...Lamheit, beroerdheit“ - HANNOT, S. – D. Van HOOGSTRATEN, M. D.: *Nieuw Woordenboek der Nederlantsche en Latynsche Tale*, Alles getrokken uit het gebruik, en de beste Schryvers, Te Amsterdam, Hendrik Boom, Dirk Boom, F. Halma en te Dordrecht, Dirk Goris Boekverkoopers, MDCCIV, 91. 438.

⁵⁴ המלון ההרשותן אוצר – ה- 1969. ת – ח : a. a. O. 808. Der Begriff *לְעוֹלָם* – ist – eigentlich das, was man in irgendeinem Speicher einsammelt, anhäuft, und bewahrt, was zu seinem Unterhalt dient. „The point of v. 24 is that there must be a continuous effort to preserve one's livelihood“ - WHYBRAY, R. N.: *Proverbs* a. a. O. 387.

zweifelhaft ist. Der Reichtum ist nicht ein bodenloser Brunnen, wenn man darauf nicht achtet, sinkt er auf Null.⁵⁵

Von der Weisheit kann der Mensch nur Gebrauch machen, sofern dafür die Möglichkeit besteht. Wer die Weisheit nicht schätzt, sie verschwindet und verläuft, wie die unbewachte Herde.⁵⁶ Dieser Lässigkeit stellt die Masora die Demut entgegen, die sich darüber im Klaren ist, dass ohne die Kenntnis von YHWH, dem Menschen eigentlich nichts Vernünftiges im Leben zuteil werden kann, weil er unwissend ist (כִּי בָּר - Spr30,2), wie das Tier und diese Tatsache unterscheidet ihn von allen Wesen, die menschlich sind.⁵⁷

Diese Denkweise hat nur dann einen Sinn, wenn man damit nicht zufrieden ist, dass er nichts weiss oder zu dumm dazu ist, um Mensch zu werden, oder weiss nur, dass er eigentlich nichts weiss, aber diese Unwissenheit führt ihn zu YHWH, durch wessen Rat er sich eben deshalb führen lässt, weil er selbst in aller Hinsicht unfähig ist, um etwas zu tun.

Man kann eigentlich nur von der erkannten Unvernunft her soweit kommen (אֲנַיְבָעֵד וְאַנְיַחַד - Ps 73,22), dass er endlich von YHWHs Ratschlägen geführt werden möchte (בְּנַחֲנָה - Ps 73,24).

Das letzte Element der Liste von WEIL, die Konjunktion כי, welche an zwanziger Stelle vorkommt, macht auf diesen Umstand aufmerksam. Die menschliche Handlung führt nicht nur zufällig zu einem Ergebnis. Wenn man Milch stößt (כי מין חלב) – Spr 30,33), wird aus der Milch nur durch entsprechende⁵⁸ Vorgänge und nach zweckmässiger Bewegung Butter.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ „Riches; or treasure. The sense is, What thou dost now possess, or hast laid up, will not last always, but will soon be spent, if thou dost not take care to preserve and improve it.” – POOLE, M.: *A commentary on the Holy Bible Psalms-Malachi*, a. a. O. 267.

⁵⁶ Der Talmud versteht unter dem Begriff auch die menschliche Kraft und denkt an den alten Rabbiner, der schwerlich gehen konnte, deshalb haben ihn seine Begleiter in einem Stuhl auf ihren Schultern getragen. – כי לא לשולם חס – For power does not endure forever.” – Rabbi GOLDWURM, Hersch (General Editor): *The Schottenstein Edition Talmud Bavli*, Tractate Yoma Volume I-II A Project of Mesorah Heritage Foundation Brooklyn, New York Mesorah Publications Ltd. 2005. פ"ט 87a¹

⁵⁷ “...כער...” – EVEN-SHOSHAN, A.: 1968. ר' הילון ההדרש : א. חסר קטע...” – EVEN-SHOSHAN, A.: 1968. ר' הילון ההדרש : א. a. a. O. 260. Die Dummheit ist Mangel an Kenntnissen.; „stupidity that separates me from humanity, and equals me with the lower animals...” – TOY, C. H.: *A critical and exegetical commentary on the book of Proverbs* a. a. O. 521.; „too stupid to be a man” – WHYBRAY, R. N.: *Proverbs* a. a. O. 408.; „Socrates, though reputed the wisest man of his age, professed that he knew nothing but this, that he knew nothing.” – POOLE, M.: *A commentary on the Holy Bible Psalms-Malachi* a. a. O. 273.

⁵⁸ „...was mit entsprechend behandelter Milch geschieht...” – MEINHOLD, A.: *Die Sprüche*, Teil 2, Sprüche Kapitel 16-31, Zürich, Theologischer Verlag, 1991, 514.

⁵⁹ Einige denken nicht an die Vorbereitung der Butter, sondern an das erfrischende, beliebte Getränk des israelitischen Hirtenlebens, das durch Schütteln der Milch in einem Gefäß hergestellt wurde. „...not butter...is produced by shaking milk in a vessel; it is a refreshing drink, and was a favorite beverage of the pastoral Israelites...” – TOY, C. H.: *A critical and exegetical commentary on the book of Proverbs* a. a. O. 537.

Wenn jemand töricht handelt, erzwingt er dadurch YHWHs Zorn und seine Vergeltung (Spr 30,32-33).⁶⁰

Also auch das an der Furcht des Herrn hängende, weise Verhalten ist die Voraussetzung des qualitativen Lebens. Es ist aber notwendig, dass das Leben, das aus der Kenntnis YHWHs entspringt, dennoch trotz der Angriffe des Todes und des Bösen ein behütetes und lebenswertes Leben bleibt.

Das nächste Zeichen der Masora Parva zum Vers Spr 2,3 ist die Notiz ב, die sich nach dem Circellus auf den Begriff לְבִינָה bezieht. EVEN-SHOSHAN nennt die Stellen: Spr 2,3; 7,4.⁶¹

Die Masora sieht den Menschen nicht als denjenigen Menschen, der vergeblich nach Weisheit sucht, weil als er nach der Weisheit schreit (כִּי אָמַר לְבִינָה חֲקָרָא - Spr 2,3), sorgt dann YHWH selbst dafür, dass seine Beziehung zur Weisheit, ein ganz inniges Verhältnis ist (וּמְרֻשׁ לְבִינָה חֲקָרָא: - Spr 7,4).

Das heisst, YHWH gibt die nötige Kenntnis den Menschen die darauf Anspruch haben, dass sie durch Ihn geführt werden und zwar in dem Rahmen, wie Er es für richtig erachtet und dies alles als Geschenk des Findens, des Sehens und das der Kenntnis Gottes (: וְרֹעֶת אֱלֹהִים תָמֹצֵא - Spr 2,5).

Wenn man dem Verstand sagen kann, dass er bekannt ist, dann wissen wir, dass es um den Verwandten geht, der den Mitgliedern der Familie gegenüber Verpflichtungen hat (מִר – Spr7,4), wie es in der Geschichte von Naomi und Boas der Fall ist. (Ruth 2,1).⁶²

Der Text weist mit unglaublicher Eindriglichkeit auf die durch die Furcht YHWHs bestimmte Kenntnis hin, die eine logische Folge dessen ist, wo der Mensch tatsächlich eng an YHWH gebunden ist. Aus dieser engen Beziehung, soll auf längere Sicht hin, das den Tod überwältigende Leben entspringen.

LITERATURVERZEICHNIS

A dictionary of jewish babylonian aramic of the talmudic and geonic periods by Michael Sokoloff Ramat-Gan Baltimore London 2002.

A New English Translation of the Septuagint Albert Pietersma, Benjamin G. Wright (Ed.)
New York Oxford 2007

ASSIS, E.: The Alphabetic Acrostic in the Book of Lamentations in: *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 69, 2007, 710-724.

⁶⁰ „resentment caused by behaviour such as is described in v. 32 will, when provoked beyond a certain point, break out in violent retaliation...” – WILHELM B. N. PROVERBS 3, 32; O. 421.

⁶¹ 28-29 - EVEN-SHOSHAN, A. (ed.): *A new concordance of the Bible* 3, 3, Q, 168.

⁶² 28, 29. - EVEN-SHOSHAN, A. (ed.): *A new concordance of the Bible* a. a. O. 168.
 דָּד" - EVEN-SHOSHAN, A.: 1969. מִתְּחַדֵּל חֲדֹשׁ a. a. O. 940; Wie
 es die Ausleger feststellen, der Begriff „Verwandte“ trägt aus dem Wort יְדָה hervorgehend die
 Intimität, die vertrauliche Beziehung in sich. - „intimate friend“ - WHBRY, R. N.: *Proverbs* a. a. O.
 112.

- Biblia Hebraica Kittel, Rodolph (Ed.) Kahle, P. (Textum Masoreticum curavit) Stuttgart 1952.
- BIERMAN, W. : The History Of Fever Therapy In The Treatment Of Disease in: Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine January 1942. 65-75.
- BLOCH, H. : Solar Theology, Heliotherapy, Phototherapy, And Biologic Effects: A Historical Overview in: Journal Of The National Medical Association VOL. 82. NO. 7. 517-521.
- FARMER, K. A. : Who Knows What is Good? Proverbs and Ecclesiastes Grand Rapids Edinburgh 1991.
- GUILLAUME, P. : "Lamentations 5: The seventh acrostic". Journal of Hebrew Scriptures 2009. Vol 9.1-6. 3.
- JASTROW, M. : A dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic literature London New York 1903.
- KELLEY, P. H. MYNATT, D. S. CRAWFORD, T. G. : *The Masorah of Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia : Introduction and Annotated Glossary* Grand Rapids, MI [etc.] 1998
- KORPEL, M. C. A. MOOR, J. C. de : The structure of classical Hebrew poetry: Isaiah 40-55 Leiden [etc.] : Brill, 1998.
- Langenscheidts Handwörterbuch Hebräisch-Deutsch Von LAVY, J. Berlin 1985.
- LEVY, J. : Chaldaïsches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des rabbini-schen Schriftthums. Erster Band נ-ל Leipzig 1881.
- משלים Proverbs Biblia Hebraica Quinta 17 Stuttgart 2008.
- GISPEN, W. H. Dr.: De Spreuken van Salomo Kampen 1952. 200.
- GOLDZIHER, I. : A zsidóság lényege és fejlődése Budapest 2000.
- הפלון סדרת אוצר של כלשוני קעברית הספרותית, הפזענית והסדרת ניבים ואנתרופולוגיים – ח – ט י – מ by Avraham Even-Shoshan. Yerushalayim 1969.
- HESCHEL, A. J. : God in search of man A Phisosophy of Judaism London 2009.
- KÖNIG, E. : Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch Leipzig 1936.
- Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros Edidit KOEHLER, L. BAUMGARTNER, W. Leiden 1958.
- MARTENS, J. W. : Burning questions in Romans 12:20: what is the meaning and purpose of "coals of fire"? in: Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 76 no 2 Ap 2014. 291-305.
- MEINHOLD, A. : Die Sprüche. Teil 2: Sprüche Kapitel 16-31 Zürich 1991.
- NESTLE-ALAND : Novum Testamentum Graece 28. rev. Aufl. Stuttgart 2012.
- Nieuw Woordenboek der Nederlandsche en Latynsche Tale Alles getrokken uit het gebruik, en de beste Schryvers door s. HANNOT...door D.Van HOOGSTRATEN M. D. Te Amsterdam en te Dordrecht MDCCIV.
- OESCH, J. M. : Petucha und Setuma Untersuchungen zu einer überlieferten Gliederung im hebräischen Text des Alten Testaments. Freiburg, Göttingen 1979.
- OESCH, J. M. : Skizze einer formalen Gliederungshermeneutik der Sifre Tora in: KORPEL, M.
- OESCH, J. (Ed.) : Unit Delimitation in Biblical Hebrew and Northwest Semitic Literature Assen 2003. 162-203.
- PATRIK, POLUS, HAMMOND : Verklaring van de geheele Heilige Schrift, door eenigen van de voor-naamste Engelsche Godgeleerden Zevende deel Uitbreiding en Verklaring van Salomons drie Boeken, genoemde de Spreuken de Pediker en het Hooglied, Te Amsterdam MDCCXLIV
- PERDUE, L. G. : Proverbs Louisville, Ky. 2012.

- PLÖGER, O. : Sprüche Salomos. Proverbia Neukirchen-Vluyn 1981.
- POOLE, M. : A commentary on the Holy Bible Psalms-Malachi vol. 2. Edinburgh 1990.
- RONG, L. BEGG, C. T. : Forgotten and forsaken by God (Lam 5:19-20) : the community in pain in Lamentations and related Old Testament texts Eugene, Or 2013.
- SCHIPPER, B. U. : Hermeneutik der Tora : Studien zur Traditionsgeschichte von Prov 2 und zur Komposition von Prov 1-9 Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft Berlin New York 2012.
- SCOTT, R. B. Y. : Proverbs, Ecclesiastes Garden City New York 1965.
- Septuaginta id est Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX interpres editit Alfred Rahlfs Vol. II. Stuttgart 1952.
- SCOTT, R. B. Y. : The Schottenstein Edition Talmud Bavli Tractate Yoma A Project of Mesorah Heritage Foundation Rabbi Hersch Goldwurm General Editor Brooklyn, New York 1998.
- SCOTT, R. B. Y. : The Schottenstein Edition Talmud Bavli Tractate Moed Katan A Project of Mesorah Heritage Foundation Rabbi Hersch Goldwurm General Editor Brooklyn, New York 1999.
- SCOTT, R. B. Y. : The Schottenstein Edition Talmud Bavli Tractate Nazir Vol. I A Project of Mesorah Heritage Foundation under the General Editorship of Rabbi Hersch Goldwurm Brooklyn, New York 2000.
- Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament (Band I) / hrsg. von Ernst Jenni unter mitarbeit von Claus Westermann München Zürich 1978.
- Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum Neuen Testament (Band 1) Lothar Coenen, Erich Beyreuther, Hans Bietenhard (Hrsg.) Wuppertal 1983.
- TOY, C. H. : A critical and exegetical commentary on the book of Proverbs Edinburgh 1914.
- WALTKE, B. K. YU, C. : An Old Testament theology : an exegetical, canonical, and thematic approach Grand Rapids, Mich. 2007.
- WEIL, G. E.: Massorah gedolah iuxta codicem leningradensem B 19 a ; Vol. I: Catalogi Romae 1971.
- WHYBRAY, R. N. : Proverbs Grand Rapids 1994.
- <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2626960/?page=2>;
- <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1933808/>;
- <http://www.kabbalahofftime.com/2014/08/book-of-lamentations-chapter-5-acrostic.html>
- <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e0-0027-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>

1. THE SINAI REVELATION IN THE ZOHAR

From the early rabbinic tradition onwards, the figure of Moses as the mediator and announcer of the divine revelation to Israel played a prominent role. The revelation of the *Torah* as a founding act in the story of Israel in line with the erection of the Tabernacle and the Temple¹ gave rise to the extension of tradition in several directions. The *Mishnah* tractate '*Avot*' became the prototype or model for the mystics to connect their lore to the originating experience at Mount Sinai. In a magical² treatise called *Merkavah Rabbah*, the chain of handling the mystical names originates from Moses.³ The figure of Moses through the course of time became associated with a rich and mystical as well as magical Jewish tradition of all kinds that found their legitimization in referring to their doctrines as handled down from Mount Sinai.

This legitimization process emerges with an even more interesting hermeneutical playground that makes the Moses tradition, and especially the event of revelation, come into its fullest possible expression and richness.

György Kustár

ON THE SLOPES OF SINAI – SOME HERMENEUTICAL QUESTIONS IN LIGHT OF THE KABBALISTIC AND HISTORICAL CRITICAL EXEGESIS

¹ GREEN, Arthur: *A Guide to the Zohar*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2004, 122.

² The definition of magical contrary to the mystical can be grasped in the talismanic uses of divine or angelic names to make the *Shekina* or certain divine creatures descend and serve the magician, while the mystic ponders the revelation in order to make his/her own ascent possible to the divine essence. Though certain distinction is possible to be made, the two realms are divided only by a fine line. Cf. IDEL, Moshe: *Absorbing Perfections – Kabbalah and Interpretation*, Birmingham, New York, Vail-Ballou Press, 2002, 150. For the problem of definition see SWARTZ, Michael D.: *Scholastic Magic, Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1996, 18ff.

³ The most important texts are in *3 Enoch*, *Shi'ur Qomah*, *Merkava Rabbah* and *Ma'asseh Merkavah*.

Moses, as a prototype of the mystic but at the same time as a unique prophet and teacher with all the knowledge human being could possibly attain, was believed to be in an unparalleled relationship with the *Shekinah*⁴ of God. This extended concern of Moses' relationship with the divine shows the profound interest of Kabbalists in the deeper spiritual meaning of the text. For them, the Sinai revelation is a mystery of the embodiment of the Torah from its primordial form, through the written form into the oral one. This process is associated for them with an inner movement within the divine realm of emanation from the upper levels to the lower ones. The mystery also includes a lengthy explanation of God's descent and his voice taking visible form and to the very encounter between Moses and God's *Shekinah* or Presence.

We can witness this complexity for instance in the *Zohar*. In this late thirtieth century *midrashic* commentary on the *Torah*,⁵ we read a lengthy discussion about the dating of the revelation. In Exodus 19:1, where the Bible says: "*In the third month (on the third new moon N.R.S.V), after the Israelites had gone out of the Land of Egypt, on that very day, they came into the wilderness of Sinai*", we read an extremely complex interpretation with numeric, astrological and light symbolism, all drawn together to explain the significance of the revelation from a concealed dimension. The passage reads as follows:

"The third month is the one in which the celestial chief Uriel has sway. He has three hundred and sixty-five myriads of camps with him, corresponding to all the days of the year. All have three hundred and sixty-five keys of light issuing from the inner supernal sphere called "Hashmal", which is hidden and veiled, in which the mysteries of the holy celestial letters of the Holy Name are suspended. This "hashmal" receives the most supernal and recondite lights, and passes them on, so that all the camps receive those keys of the light which issues forth from that sphere. And that light is contained in two lights, which yet are one. The first light (Hesed) is white, too bright for the eye to behold. It is the light which is hidden away from the righteous in the world to come, as it is written: "Light is sown for the righteous". The second light (Geburah) is one which gleams and sparks redly. The two are united and become one. Uriel, the head of the angels and all those hosts, partake of this light. As it is contained in two lights, it is called the twins. Therefore, in that month in which the Torah was given (Sivan), the constellation of the Twin rulers, and from them issue lights of various grades below to illumine the world. Among all the other signs of the Zodiac there is not one possessing mouth or tongue, but this one has both, and the two are one. Therefore it is written in regard to the Torah: "And thou shalt mediate therein day and night", "day" corresponding to the tongue and "night"

⁴ *Shekinah* represents the divine presence that is distinguished in Kabbalist circles from God Himself. As an emanation of the *Ein Sof*, the *Shekinah* stands in the lowest rung of the *sefirotic* ladder, and is associated with *Malkuth*.

⁵ About the dating issues and authorship, see e.g. GREEN, Arthur: *A Guide to the Zohar*, 162-168, likewise WOLSKY, Nathan: *A Journey into the Zohar – An Introduction to the Book of Radiance*, New York, Suny Press, 2010, 3. This dating is generally accepted.

corresponding to the mouth. And both these are one. Therefore the word teomim (twins), in connection with Jacob and Esau, is written in a defective form, in order to indicate that that Jacob alone is under the sign of this constellation. For Jacob had two months, Nisan and Iyar, as his, and therefore within the symbolism of the twins; while Esau's months are Tamuz and Ab, and only nine days of Ab, so it can be seen that he is not included in the twins. He separated himself and turned towards impurity, in chaos and desolation. And because Jacob is in the sign of the Twins, the Torah was given to his children in the months of the Twins, being itself "twin", viz. written and oral; it was given in the third month (Sivan), symbolizing the treble Torah (Law, Prophets, Writings)."⁶

In this lengthy passage a whole set of references are to be found. We have Scripture passages brought into relationship around a common topic that is explained by the aid of sample texts from different parts of the *Tanach*.⁷ But we move several steps further in order to immerse ourselves into the spiritual realm behind the texts, as we are given explanations of astrological constellations. These constellations are in accordance with heavenly lights and powers, and the lights are connected to the *Torah* by numerical-symbolic identifications. The circular explanation, by moving spirally to a central conclusion, presents ideas by combining citations, grammatical and textual considerations and new doctrinal insights. By floating argumentation, a teaching that is close to the genre of sermon is intended. Using different textual considerations and hermeneutical techniques the texts are expounded with the positive assumption that they enclose⁸ the meaning implicitly. This process is nevertheless a very creative, sometimes even aggressive process that applies intricate devices and requires a well equipped interpreter.⁹ As a *midrashic* exegesis on the *Torah*, the *Zohar* does not necessary spells out what it intends to prove, and as such it demands an active participative understanding on the part of the reader.¹⁰ Through the use of these techniques, and this is distinctive characteristic of *Zohar* that transcends the presuppositions of the *midrashic* literature, upper gates of knowledge open up and the reader/interpreter enters into a different reality.

In the passage cited above the exact same thing happens. The month of the arrival at the Mount Sinai becomes meaningful in its own right as it signifies a constellation

⁶ SPERLING, Harry-SIMON, Maurice-LEVERTOFF, Paul P. (Trans.): *The Zohar*, London, New York, The Sonico Press, 1984, fol. 78a-78b (Vol. III, 232-3).

⁷ This interpretative method is typical to the *midrashim*. For definition and samples see MUSAPH, R. C. –ANDRIESSE: *From Torah to Kabbalah, A Basic Introduction to the Writings of Judaism*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1982, 50-54., and NEUSNER, Jacob: *Introduction to Rabbinic Literature*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1999, 223ff. *Tanach* refers to the Old Testament.

⁸ According to Neusner, the act of *midrashic* interpretation is a complex method that expounds new ideas from the text without the possibility to determine exactly whether we are witnessing *exegesis* or *eisegesis*. It depends on where we assume the locus of meaning lays. NEUSNER: *op. cit.* 227.ff.

⁹ Idel speaks about "strong readers" to emphasize the many times aggressive readings imposed on the texts. Cf. IDEL: *Absorbing Perfections*, 18f.

¹⁰ Ibid.

of *Hesed* (love/mercy) and *Gevurah* (Justice/Power), the two emanations of the divine essence that were in perfect harmony at that time. Through an astute exegetical twist, the seemingly neutral date of arrival becomes a profound representation of the events in the divine realm, providing additional reason to ponder on the problem of divine justice and love.¹¹ After describing the discussion of God in front of his divine assembly concerning whether he should reveal himself in Power or in Love, we read not far from the above quoted passage that the revelation took place in the morning. The text then argues in a fairly obscure way that the clear morning is the perfect time for the appearance of Grace. This scrupulous process of dating may seem arbitrary and useless. But it serves not a historical, but a mystical aim: to describe the supernal powers that are in action through the preparation and realization of the revelation: the sides of Grace/Love and Justice/Power. Their central importance in the discussion is further exemplified in our text through commentary on Jacob and Esau. This digression indirectly connects the issue of justice and love to the Genesis narrative, but on a different track explains the revelation as an act of love to the beloved, by emphasizing the election of Jacob by divine grace.¹² Through the development of the argumentation we gain further insights into the divine realm. The eve of revelation is a concentration of divine powers in a total fusion that is manifested in multiple syntheses, in the unity of the supernal lights, the unity and harmony of the divine "sides", and the unity of the different manifestations of the Torah in its primordial form. This fusion was to be completed in the mystical and erotic union of the People of God and the *Shekinah*.¹³

But to see how complex the reference and the hermeneutical play with the figure of Jacob is, we should compare the cited passage to another one from the Zohar, in which Rabbi Simeon talks about the blessing of Isaac.¹⁴ In this passage Isaac's speech concerning the heritage of Jacob is cited. He is promised to share the heavenly dew (Gen 28:28), and in the commentary of this passage it is interpreted as coming down from the highest sphere, whence all the lights and the upper and lower words emanate and resurrect all the children of Jacob. According to the rules of the interpretation that

¹¹ This metaphysical issue was one of the central ones in Jewish thinking throughout time. According to Kabbalist speculations, when the two principles of "justice (*midat ha-din*) and mercy (*midat ha-rahamim*) are in imbalance, catastrophe, both cosmic and historic is sure to follow." COHEN, Arthur A. – MENDES-FLOHL, Paul: *Contemporary Jewish Thought*, New York: Free Press; London: Collier Macmillan, 1988, 375.

¹² In fol. 80b, another explanation points to the same direction: although the Torah comes from the right side of the tree (that is the side of *Gevurah*, that of Power or Justice), for the time of revelation it turned to the left (i.e. the side of love or mercy).

¹³ According to the Zohar, by the idolatry of Israel, this perfect unity receded into concealment, and the unified realms became separate again. The perfect Torah that contained the proper order of the letters in order to reveal all the truths and break the power of Samael disappeared and the black letters concealed the white ones in order to hide the secrets. See WAITE, A. E.: *The Holy Kabbalah*, New York, Cosimo, 2007, 307 ff.

¹⁴ *The Zohar*, fol. 83a (250).

are set by the zoharic text, we are invited to “write with the Zohar”,¹⁵ to expound more meaning by establishing connections between passages through placing them besides each other, thereby bringing as much meaning as possible out of the texts.

Without getting deeply involved in a particular interpretation, it is sufficient to outline the possible network of connections we can create that could serve as starting points for concise teachings. The allusion to the dew establishes a connection to the primordial dew that was the material of the tablets, and the figure of Jacob also creates a link to the *Sefirotic* explanation found in the discussion about the date of arrival. Furthermore, we are introduced to the eschatological future as the realization of the final resurrection. In this context, moreover, the return of the *Shekinah* can be understood as a paradigm for resurrection, as it will be the reinstatement of the original creation, the order of the universe and the divine inner structure. We find the same symbolic light in our first quotation. And we did not mention the grammatical and other possible gates to a new consideration. The multiple links might be created between these texts based on numerical, conceptual, nominal, symbolical, even grammatical components that would make an extremely intricate web of meaning that is always open to more allusions and reference, and meanings. In the process “plays of words and subtle reshadings of the meaning often serve as pathways leading toward a total reconfiguration of the Scripture at hand.”¹⁶ This is the path of the constructive and creative interpretation. Complex interpretations arise from a defective form, or from the *gemetric* or numerical value of certain expressions, and this can lead far from the grammatical-literal sense of the certain texts. The creative interpretation in that point turns out to be an aggressive method, where the text is torn apart in order to reach the mystical core.¹⁷

This aggressive reading requires a strict immutability within the text as we have seen in the first chapter, and also a basic belief that the written word is a repository of hidden divine truths that are contained but not explicitly revealed by the texts. The generally shared assumption of the Kabbalist is that the narrative has a deeper stratum (the black letters contain but conceal the white ones)¹⁸ that reveals the inner life of the Godhead, informs us about the celestial and cosmological issues, and incorporates every dimension of these events which are only equivocally and dimly described by the literal story. The text, if we fathom its depth by creating an intricate net of relationship between its parts, discloses itself as a map that contains and maintains all. To sum it up, the divine text is an all absorbing reality, which through the proper interpretative techniques and

¹⁵ This expression originally applied to the *midrashic* interpretation of Scriptures. See NEUSNER, Jacob: *Introduction to Rabbinic Literature*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1999, 229ff.

¹⁶ GREEN: *A Guide to the Zohar*, 65.

¹⁷ Cf. IDEL, Moshe: *Absorbing Perfections – Kabbalah and Interpretation*, Birmingham, New York, Vail-Ballou Press, 2002, 17-18.

¹⁸ Ibid., 49.

spiritual preparation reveals its deepest secrets about the hidden processes of the divine essence to the knowledgeable mystic.

As we have seen so far, the narrative flow *per se* is not the basic concern of the Kabbalist interpretation. It only functions as a point of departure, a texture that is woven back and forth by hidden threads, a body or a garment that contains the soul and the essential substance.¹⁹ Likewise, in the exodus narrative, the summit of the mountain corresponds to heavens,²⁰ the Torah to the Primordial revelation that was God's contemplative device for Creation, and his innermost thought and map of the Universe. The tablets of the Ten Words were subject to lengthy expositions concerning their material as being the work of God.²¹ Similarly, the Torah as the unique self-revelation of God and the mediating role it plays between the divine and human gave birth to intricate explanations about its innermost nature.²²

a) MYSTICAL HISTORY?

As we will contrast this hermeneutical attitude to the historical method, we should take a glance at the concept of history in Jewish mystical thought. Those historical questions that occupied most of the studies after the Enlightenment were out of focus for the mystics. The surface layer of the narratives, the so called historical or literal sense (*peshat*) was assumed to correspond to real events, and the narrative sequence and its historical reference were unproblematically united with the factual occurrences they reported.²³ If we examine the historical references in the zoharic interpretation of the date of arrival in Ex 19:1, we find no explicit treatment of historiographical issues. The importance of emphasizing the absence of the factuality problem²⁴ but not the absence of historical statements is that while we do not find discussions about the exactness of the date determination, we do find speculations about the celestial constellations according to the indicated arrival date. This speculation doesn't mean a critical approach in a modern sense, neither does it mean a complete ignoring of historical details. The date of arrival of Israel to the mountain is an external and *determining* sign of a more meaningful constellation of cosmological factors. The actual historical happening thus becomes significant as a pulsing

¹⁹ This interpretation is form the note in Ex 32:18, that the stones were the work of God. Cf. also GREEN: *A Guide to the Zohar*, 123.

²⁰ Cf. IDEL: *op. cit.* 30-31.

²¹ *The Zohar*, 84a b, 347.

²² See the discussion in the first chapter.

²³ See the discussions in the second chapter. 26ff.

²⁴ The factuality problem requires the existence of two distinct realms of historical present and past, and a profound sense of discontinuity with the past events. In a certain way, the problem of exploring the past is a historiographic issue, as the emphasis is on the best method to connect the past to the present. Cf. DAWES, Gregory W.: *The Historical Jesus Question – The Challenge of History to Religious Authority*, Louisville, Westminster John Knox Press, 2001, 2f., THISELTON, Anthony C.: *The Two Horizons, New Testament Hermeneutics and Philosophical Description*, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1980), 51ff.

signifier of a universal event. Even if the connection between the cosmic/divine acts and the actual narrated history is not explicit, or to state more precisely, too intricate to give a simple and stable connection that would describe the ever molding correspondence, we find that the narrated history is important, as it sets the initial point of interpretation. As an initial point of departure, the historical horizon is not valuable in itself. The events described by the story of revelation are not examined from an external perspective, outside of the texts, in order to make it meaningful or fit it into an independent historical sequence determined by critical examination. To be more precise, they are seen from an external standpoint, but from the perspective of the *divine*. Consequently, the diachronic chronology is drawn into parallel with the eternal happenings of the Godhead, being only important as mirror of the divine essence poured out into the realm of historical.²⁵ In other words, the course of history appears to be a dim reflection of the cosmic theogonic processes.²⁶ We could say that what the mystic does when understanding history through reinterpreting and actualizing memory of crucial moments in Jewish history is to understand the eternal presence of God.²⁷ This presence is far from being a static “present-ness” and disclosure of the unchangeable divine essence. To the contrary, God draws demands on Himself by establishing covenant with them, suffers by the fall and goes to exile with His people. The process of history reflects and symbolizes the inner processes of the Godhead. The history for Kabbalist is the scenario of good and evil, a constant struggle of powers to terminate or foster the process of redemption that is shared by both human and divine. Kabbalists do not recollect memories that then fade into oblivion. They are not saving facts to maintain historical experience. The mystics see events from a far different angle: for them, the history is the place of heaven and earth coming together. They keep their eye focused on both realities simultaneously. By their mystical endeavor they constantly depart from the historical and ascend to the divine and back, creating channels between the two and working assiduously to enforce the final encounter between them.²⁸ In short, history is not without importance, but is not a focus of interest in itself. The processing of history has profound theological significance, and the basic theological theme running through every single event and reflecting in the attitude of the mystic is the anticipation of final redemption.

²⁵ COHEN, Arthur A. – MENDES-FLOHR, Paul (eds.): *Contemporary Jewish Religious Thought*, Philadelphia, JPS Publications, 2009, 379.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., 372.

²⁸ According to one branch of Kabbalah, called “theosophic-theurgic” Kabbalah, and especially in the mystical system of Isaac Luria, after the fall, the divine emanations damaged. The mystic’s attempt to ascend to the deepness of the text in order to find the divine names serves the purpose to restore the Godhead, and make possible the unity of the Divine and mundane, namely the messianic age itself. Cf. IDEL: *Absorbing Perfections*, 13., COHEN – MENDES-FLOHR (eds.): *Contemporary Jewish Religious Thought*, 380.

However, the ascent from the historical layer of the text to the mystical is only one direction of the two-way motion the mystic experiences. Through the descent from the divine to the historical, the Kabbalists went further by changing the codes and frame for understanding history that was used by Talmudic literature.²⁹ From the perspective of the divine, the mystical texts and interpretations are constantly creating and recreating history. In a certain way they were not only opposing our historical sense, but also the society's vision of historical perception. One case in the Revelation story is the distinction made between the first and second pair of tablets of covenant. In the present form of the story does not make distinctions between the stones and the law given on them. But for the author of the *Zohar*, something happened between the two revelations inside the divine realm. The sin of Israel by worshipping the idol of the golden calf induced a universal tragedy: the reinstating of evil and the return of the serpent.³⁰ The first revelation that would have brought complete salvation and perfect union between God and his People was revoked by God. The possibility to see the divine eye to eye by contemplating the unified Torah engraved on the first pair of tablets that contained explicitly mystical and universal knowledge was terminated. Accordingly, the braking of the tablets was not driven by a psychodynamic factor, the "waxing anger of Moses", but by the cosmic happenings. God revoked His words; according to a passage in the *Zohar*, the tablets fell by themselves;³¹ the letters took flight, and no word remained on the remnants of the broken stones.³² According to another interpretation, the white letters (referring to the secret or oral law) contracted into the black letters (the outward manifestation of the *Torah*, or the *Written Torah*), and remained hidden.³³ "The malediction brought upon the world by the trespass, and removed for a moment as the people passed under the shadow of the Mount Sinai, descended upon them again."³⁴ The *Zohar* implies that the second revelation was different. The law given has its origin in the

²⁹ Joseph Dan even defines this profound distinctiveness as a general character of mystical traditions. Cf. DAN, Joseph: *The Ancient Jewish Mysticism*, Galei Zahal, Tel Aviv University, 1993, 168.

³⁰ WAITE, A. E.: *The Holy Kabbalah*, 307.

³¹ *The Zohar*, fol. 195a.

³² Ibid.

³³ There was an extended disagreement about the exact nature of the original Torah revealed at Sinai. Some speculations held that Moses received the original divine order of Torah, according to others, the Torah descended and through this descent it reached its current form, although containing all the combinations of its form according to the stages of ascent. (IDEL: *Absorbing Perfections*, 121.) Rabbi Joseph Al-Ashqar's dilemma is that the Torah revealed to the angels must be different from the one revealed to Moses. The final revelation thus was clothed in a lower form to make it attainable. (IDEL: *op.cit.*, 369.) According to magical sources, Moses, after winning the contest with angels about the giving or retaining the revelation, he was given the secret names contained by the Torah by each and every angel. (IDEL: *op.cit.*, 137, SWARTZ: *Scholastic Magic*, 166ff.) These speculations are all connected with certain Sefirotic constellations also.

³⁴ WAITE, A. E.: *The Holy Kabbalah*, 308.

Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, while the first one was from the Tree of Life.³⁵ These symbols represent the first law as the medium of salvation, and the second one as the legislation, prohibition and denial. The second tablet was a shadow of the first intention, and as such, a burden.³⁶

This distinction has no support in the text, though it might have a well grounded theological reason to form the story in that way. The cosmic happening, the re-instatement of condemnation and the unsuccessful attempt of the return of the *Shekinah* from the exile profoundly influences not just the actual understanding but the basic shape of the canonical story. The historical or narrative reference was not only a point of departure, but a molding and transforming reality. As symbolical stratum that refers beyond itself to a more profound reality, the historical dimension is open to correction and addition or omission from the perspective of the eternal. As in the famous story of the “ten martyrs” where not even contemporary rabbis are gathering in the already demolished temple for mystical discussion and descent to the *Chariot*, the mystical vision is not bound to the historical reality but more to the vision of the time transcending unity of voices in a symbolical place that does not cease to exist with its destruction.³⁷

b) “YOU SAW THE SOUND OF TRUMPETS”

In the case of Kabbalah, to pose the historical question alone is somehow an anachronistic attempt, but doing that gives an excellent contrast to the modern historical approaches. In medieval times the history at best was “understood as a sermon, [...] not a disinterested attempt to trace and explain the course of civilization”.³⁸ This statement not only informs the theological horizon in which the historical was understood, but the profoundly narrative character of historical understanding.³⁹ The functional distinction between annals and history made possible to transfer from one domain to the other, from the narrated story to the depicted reality without a sense of discontinuity. This made it possible to treat texts less rigorously than most historical studies do, as there was no sense of separateness from the narratives and historical *per se*. But we do face a certain “critical” attitude toward the text, in order to bring out its implicit meaning in its fullness. The fascinating universe of the Kabbalah created a hermeneutical horizon in which written and oral, divine and mundane eternal and temporal was united. This complex universe reflects the complete realm of divine, and the attempt to interpret the texts and disclose their mystical meaning is to gain access to this reality. This system, moreover, works contrary to western metaphysics, as the total absence and presence co-exists in continuous interplay inside the God-

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ WAITE: *op. cit.*, 310.

³⁷ DAN, Joseph: *The Ancient Jewish Mysticism*, 182.

³⁸ COHEN – MENDES-FLOHR (eds.): *Contemporary Jewish Religious Thought*, 378.

³⁹ Cf. FREI, Hans: *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative*, Chelsea, Michigan, Yale University Press, 1974, 1-16.

head, and similarly the absolute distinction between writing and speech is denied.⁴⁰ The Torah was an organic part of this structure as the mediator and container of divine and human. An excellent example is given in the story of Sinai revelation, in Ex 20:18a carried over into Ex 20:22, where we read that the people *saw* (ro’im) the sound of the trumpet. Referring to the same phenomenon, in Deuteronomy an apologetic passage against any image finds support in the fact that at the mountain the people “saw no images, only voice.”⁴¹ The Kabbalist interpretations were incorporated into the explanation of these verses, and the idea of white fire on black fire, for the *Zohar* at least, emerged from the interpretation of this passage.⁴² They did not try to harmonize it with the general experience, as most of the translations and commentaries do. They kept the tension alive given by the texts and allowed multiple interpretations to emerge from the ruptures of the texture. The visible voice of God as a contradictory image is full of meaning for a Kabbalist as they find in the zeugmatic structure a deeper divine meaning being concealed, a unity that is behind the platonistic and Aristotelian distinctions of material and form, essence and attribute. Where the historical studies would strive to bring forth a sense that is not strikingly different from the scientific worldview, and would find meaningless contradictions in verses like this, mystics could stay with the text assuming its unity and meaningfulness *as a book*.⁴³ The belief in a rigid inspiration and in the iconic nature of the *Torah*, that forbids the replacement of even a single character conceiving the text as a reflection of the shape of the divine certainly helped the mystic to assume that each and every single letter is a treasure house.⁴⁴ If the letters have functions as God’s limbs and organs, than they in themselves represent a divine reality that is concealed in them. Perforce the divine voice as white fire in black fire, and accordingly the concept of the dual Torah as white letters concealed in the black ones could prevail and flourish among mystics despite its incompatibility with general, mundane perception.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ COHEN – MENDES-FLOHR (ed.), *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Although some scholars tried to interpret the verse as an antithetical parallelism, and perceive the last phrase as a caesura to avoid the zeugmatic construction, and connect the “only a voice” part to “hearing” in the former line, Thomas B. Dozeman argues that the description of visible voice being as contradictory as it may be, corresponds to the Deuteronomistic *Tendenz*. DOZEMAN, Thomas B.: *God on the Mountain, A Study of Redaction, Theology and Canon in Exodus 19–24*, Atlanta, Scholars Press, 1989, 52.

⁴² *The Zohar*, fol. 81a-81b (244).

⁴³ I am aware of the fact that much more should be said here from a hermeneutical standpoint as these days the concept of text is not clearly defined, especially from the poststructuralist perspective that transgresses the borders of texts and reality in several ways. Cf. DERRIDA, Jacques: *Disszemináció*, Budapest, Jelenkor, 2003.

⁴⁴ See the discussion in the first chapter of this essay on the divine shape of the Torah.

⁴⁵ In *Zohar*, the initial question concerning the issue of visible fire is an introduction from the standpoint of general perception. “Surely it ought to be heard the thunderings?” (italics in text). *The Zohar*, fol. 81a.

2. IN MODERN CRITICAL STUDIES

a) NEW CONTEXT

This would not apply in the age after the Enlightenment. The new sense of past and the growing awareness of the historical distance from ancient cultures made inexorable the continuous effort to make the past available. In a paradoxical sense, the historical consciousness further enlarged the gap between history and the present as it required impartial treatment of past in order to regain it in its clearest form.⁴⁶ The Bible was treated as a historical document, partly in order to maintain its authority in an age that gained a totally different sense of history than it was conveyed by the Scriptures. By a long development and finally by the grounding works of FRIEDRICH WELLHAUSEN, the New Documentary Hypotheses became the generally accepted idea about the historicity of the texts. Although it was criticized from certain circles as largely dependent on DARWIN's and F. W. HEGEL's evolutionary theory, his model went through several stages of refinement but only recently received profound critique.⁴⁷ This theory's basic argument is that the narrative flow at certain point in its present form does not make sense. The ruptures, ungrounded repetitions, interruptions and inconsistencies in the text are signs of different sources being compiled together in a defective way. In the Sinai Tradition, after the quest for the authorship of Moses⁴⁸ and an attempt to reconstruct the events as they were in order to legitimate the biblical testimony, the historical studies turned from the actual events to the history of traditions. Besides, the biblical tradition was used as a more or less adequate source to reconstruct the real history of Israel. In this enterprise, the problem of Sinai revelation appeared to be one of the typical examples where the attempt to reach back behind the tradition handed down causes the most problems. The complexity and the obsolescence of assumed reworking processes make the separation of sources extremely difficult.⁴⁹ The place of the Decalogue in this tradition and the relation between the Exodus and Sinai tradition is only a piece of the complex debate. Though the Decalogue was paralleled with the Hittite suzerain treatises, especially by MENDENHALL, the identification hasn't appeared to be convincing.⁵⁰ The attempt to place

⁴⁶ In his book, Gregory W. DAVES gives a valuable overview of the emergence of the historical perception in connection with the historical-Jesus question. DAVES, Gregory W.: *The Historical Jesus Question*, 1-23. Cf. COHEN – MENDES-FLOHR (eds.): *Contemporary Jewish Religious Thought*, 382.

⁴⁷ MCKENZIE, Steven L.–HAYNES, Stephen R. (eds.): *To Each Its Own Meaning - An Introduction to Biblical Criticism and Their Application*, Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, Kentucky, 1993, 35.

⁴⁸ The beginning of the quest is hallmarked by Jean Astruck with his attempt to distinguish between the sources Moses used. It ended with the questioning of the mosaic authorship itself. Cf. MCKENZIE-HAYNES (eds.): *op. cit.*, 31.

⁴⁹ NOTH, Martin: *Exodus, A Commentary*, trans. J. S. Bowden, London, SCM Press Ltd., Bloomsbury Street, 1959, 154.

⁵⁰ NICHOLSON, E. W.: *Exodus and Sinai in History and Tradition*, Richmond, Virginia, John Knox Press, 1973, 36ff., 39-40.

the Sinai tradition in the frame of the recurring cultic ceremony of Israel under the age of the amphycionic tribe covenant that originates from the wilderness period, and developed through the monarchy to reach its present form have source critical problems from present perspective.⁵¹ In more recent studies more emphasis is laid on the exposition of the narrative character of the story, but in some cases it resulted in an unfortunate mixture concept of tradition-historical and narrative analysis.⁵²

b) “SINAI” AS TRADITION VS. HISTORY

As the Revelation story ceased to be perceived in the way it used to be in pre-critical ages, and a more general pressure appeared to interpret the texts in a historical framework, the narrative was re-contextualized. Applying general hermeneutical principles to ancient texts, which secured a convincingly homogeneous and seemingly universal domain of reason, helped to overcome the new diversity caused by several epistemological reasons we already elaborated elsewhere in detail.⁵³ However, the inner inconsistencies and the unconscious governing presumptions that induced and nurtured the rationalistic-scientific universal paradigm were criticized from several corners from the early twentieth century onward. By the time of the thoroughgoing critique on modern, the distance between the scientific and religious usage of the Scriptures were so impassable that the attempts in the 1940' and 50's to bridge the gap ended without persuasive solutions.⁵⁴ The historical-critical study of the Sinai revelation is instructive example in this respect, and in the following lines we will focus on the problem of the relation between the present form of the text and the sources.

As mentioned earlier, the story of the Sinai revelation described in the Exodus narrative profoundly differs from the reconstructed events as they are historically assumed to have taken place. For instance, in his Exodus commentary, MARTIN NOTH distinguishes an ancient tradition preserved inside the Sinai tradition about a meet-

⁵¹ BEYERLIN, Walter: *Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions*, transl. S. Rudman, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1965, especially the *Summary and Conclusion* part, 145-170.; for the source critical problems, see MCKENZIE-HAYNES (eds.): *To Each Its Own Meaning*, 41-46.

⁵² See the basic discontinuity in Dozeman's "traditio-historical" and "canonical" analysis, where the leap from the multiple source theory to the concept of unitary meaning is unconvincing and fragmentary. A study more focused on the narrative flow and its changes is representative in Martin RAVNDAL HAUGE's *The Descent from the Mountain, Narrative Patterns in Exodus 19-40* [Journal for study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 323], Sheffield, England, Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

⁵³ KUSTÁR, György: "The God Absorbing Text", *Kabbalah and Historical Method – A Complementary Hermeneutical Study*, VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, Saarbrücken, 2009, 22-54.

⁵⁴ A source of this discussion can be found in WESTERMANN, Claus: *Essays on Old Testament Hermeneutics*, Westminster, John Knox Press, 1963. For the result of the discussion, and the new directions cf. BRETT, Mark C.: *Biblical Criticism in Crisis? The Impact of the Canonical Approach on Old Testament Studies*, Cambridge University Press, 1991.

ing with a Midianite priest⁵⁵ and the people of Israel at the Mountain of God.⁵⁶ This mountain is believed to be a sanctuary where the Midianites offered sacrifice to YHWH. The hypothesis goes on to assume that the Israelite's YHWH cult originates from the constant encounter with the Midianites on the place that became a common locus of pilgrimage for both tribes.⁵⁷ Almost every commentary offers an attempt to locate the numinous mountain. Some place it near *Kadesh*; some at the traditional site, *Jebel Musah* ('The Mount of Moses') and some "even to one of the extinct volcanic peaks in north-west Arabia, because of the volcanic imagery in the account of the theophany in Exodus 19."⁵⁸ This origin of the religion hypotheses proved to be unconvincing, leaving the historical speculation even more obsolete. The best we can say, according to B. CHILDS, is that there is a historical core in the narrative that reflects an early common cult between Israel and Midian, but nothing more.⁵⁹ What is obvious after this short glimpse into the operation of historical method is the distance between the textual emphasis on the meeting of Jethro and Moses and the emphasis of the historical study to explain the historical origin of the YHWH cult by *using* this story.

We should turn our attention to the appearance of God on the mountain. According to the critics, the signs accompanying the descent of the divine, the smoke, alongside with the sound of the trumpet refer to the use of incense and trumpet in the ancient worship practice, where in the presence of the worshipping assembly YHWH was concealed and revealed at the same time.⁶⁰ The sound of the trumpet as a part of the worship is described as a later development, maybe in the age of monarchy,⁶¹ which was used in order to dramatically represent the voice of God, and in this way *actualize* the Theophany at Sinai.⁶²

We should stop here for a methodological consideration. The story of the revelation, as we can see, is examined in these works from a historical perspective. The main concern goes beyond the text to the history of the religious development of Israel. Moreover, all the theological conclusions and textual references are subject to the historical understanding. To be more precise, the phenomena at the mountain are not discussed from the perspective of the happenings as they are narrated. The

⁵⁵ Noth is careful not to identify this priest with Jethro too hastily as he considers the name a later insertion. NOTH: *Exodus*, 148.

⁵⁶ The 'Mountain of God' is not without a question identical with Mount Sinai (*Ibid.*, 147-148.)

⁵⁷ Gerhard von Rad's Old Testament Theology embraces this theory; likewise Beyerlin (*op. cit.*, 145-46.), who connects the mountain with the tradition to the area of Kadesh, in order to harmonize the so called 'Kadesh narratives' (being part of the Exodus tradition) with the Sinai Tradition. The debate about the connection between the two corpus of traditions, see NICHOLSON: *Exodus and Sinai in History and Tradition*.

⁵⁸ NICHOLSON: *op. cit.*, 62.

⁵⁹ CHILDS, Brevard S.: *The Book of Exodus, A Critical, Theological Commentary* (The Westminster Press: Philadelphia, 1974.), 322-3.

⁶⁰ BEYERLIN: *Origins and History of the oldest Sinaitic Tradition*, 134.

⁶¹ BEYERLIN: *op. cit.*, 35., based on the reference to the practice in 2Sam 6,14f, 2Cron 5,11b-13a.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 135.

inquiry reaches back behind the text to evaporate the mythical or fictitious elements in order to regain the historical. The keyword in the hermeneutical process applied is ‘*Vergegenwärtigung*’, a word in lack of a better term best translated as actualization or re-presentation.⁶³ What the expression means is that the founding stories of Israel in certain periods went through a re-actualization in order to become comprehensible for the contemporary believing community. The texts in their present forms represent the intricate conclusion of this project that was pursued both by theological and historical modifications.⁶⁴ Consequently, the texts are perceived in their historical development as layers on each other, after the example of excavation tells, each representing a distinct theological stratum in the ancient Israelite religious thought. Comprehending the text in this way adds a dimension to the narratives that binds them profoundly to the hypothetic history of the Israelites. The manuscript in the process of interpretation is used as a documentation of religious and cultic traditions, and also as a dim reflection of the history of Israel. Through the complementary religious and historical studies of these texts, governed by the principles of self-detached scientific-historical method, through distinguishing different layers of tradition the assumption is that we can gain a picture of the development or change of the religious tradition of Israel. Hypothetically, through the determination and separation of the reliable and the historical texts, the diachronic dimension of Israelite history becomes visible. When in this process, through complementary religious and social-scientific studies, the distinctive Israelite elements are recognized, we begin to access to a synchronic segment. Finally, the narratives in their present form are being re-synthesized in light of all these findings. In this respect, contrary to Kaballah, where the textual reality seems to absorb the whole reality, here the method of scholarship seems to dominate the text, and, to an extent seems to absorb it.

This tendency is really clear in the case of the Sinai revelation. The story unfolding the Sinai events is shown to be built up by traditions that are not primarily in connection with each other, but primarily with historical events.⁶⁵ What makes the disclosure of historical background extremely difficult is the tension between the present narrative with its complexity as a textual reality that has its inter-textual and intra-textual references to its own motifs, and between the historical-cultic *Sitz im Leben* that serves as the explanation of the development and the compilation of the sources. Turning back to the example of the smoke and the sound of the trumpet, we saw that it is interpreted in the frame of cultic practice, referring to the incense being used and real trumpets being blown in the re-actualization ceremony of the

⁶³ In the work of Beyerlin, the term is translated as realize, which does not convey its denotative meaning. BEYERLIN: *op. cit.*, 135.

⁶⁴ Cf. Noth, Martin: *The “Re-presentation” of the O.T. in Proclamation*, in WESTERMANN, Claus: *Essays*, 76-89. For the translation of the term, see *ibid.*, 80-83.

⁶⁵ Until the present day, the complexity of the assumed redactional process left scholars without clue. See e.g. MEYERS, Carol: *Exodus* (The New Cambridge Commentary Series), Cambridge University Press, New York, 2005, 142.

Sinai Tradition. Both the incense and trumpet serves as signifiers and reenactments of the theophany. This reenactment in the central cultic place is a part of a larger development, that's dynamic consisted, in addition to the act of transmission, as we have seen, an insertion of new considerations. The story of the Sinai Revelation represents the whole course of development in its narrative form.⁶⁶ Thus, the narrative is a historical document of changing cultic traditions.

A fascinating logic operates here on the texts. In the narrative context of the Revelation story, the smoke and sound accompanied the presence of God and metaphorically connected to it. In the next step this metaphoric concept is de-contextualized and its association with the textural inner web of references is destructed through the usage of the arguments of inconsistency and ungrounded repetitions. This stage can be called the stage of sterilization. Then, the de-contextualized metaphor, detached from the text, is re-contextualized in a different setting, in the so called "real" historical background. Thus, although the transferred primary concept of the smoke and the trumpet as indication of the divine presence correspond to the meaning suggested by the narrative context, the referential character of these words changes profoundly. In short, the setting of the mountain is put aside as secondary to sweep away every hindrance in order to make possible the historical understanding of the metaphor – now, in the context of the cult of Israel. Purified and disconnected, this metaphoric relation can serve as the main reference, transforming it as detachable from the original scene to an implicit attachment to the cultic scene. By this, the mythical character of the primary narrative can be set aside as obscure and irrational, and by the same token preserve a part of the meaning that is comprehensible for a contemporary mindset. Accordingly, the narratives as they are in front of us get no focus, being primarily understood as fragmentary, mythical and fictitious that might contain reflections of cultic and historic developments. In this respect, the historical questioning appears to be an aggressive reading, reconfiguring the text, redefining its nature in order to reach its underlying historical meaning. The historical reading at this stage seems to represent a similar hermeneutical process to the mystical enterprise. In both cases the text is used in order to regain something "hidden" from behind the textual realm. In the latter case, we are assuming the mystical character of the biblical narratives, in the former case we presuppose that the text is in a certain sense a historical document. By this belief, the historical method creates a discontinuity between the narrative flow and the historical understanding, resulting in the suppression of the former in favor of the latter.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ As we have seen, the term *Vergegenwärtigung* reflects a creative representation of the tradition, which involves certain theological and narrative improvements.

⁶⁷ In his discussion about the narrative character of the biblical testimony, Frei makes this claim the center of his arguments. Cf. FREI, Hans: *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative*, Chelsea, Michigan, Yale University Press, 1974.

c) TOWARD UNITY?

In this section I will enumerate some of the latest attempts trying to synchronize the historical-critical method with the more text-centered literary approaches. First I will say a few words about BREVARD CHILDS' canonical-criticism, then DOZEMAN's and RAVNDAL's similar attempt to bridge the gap between the canonical-final form of the texts and their history of development. I will point out their incapability to produce a persuasive synthesis since the presupposition of the historical and text centered approaches are incompatible. This will serve as a basis for comparing and contrasting historical, narrative and Kabbalistic hermeneutics.

BREVARD S. CHILDS offers a new solution for the problem posed by literary theory by seeing revelation in a canonical context. In his Exodus commentary, after a section devoted to the tradition-historical understanding, he offers a short chapter on both the Old and New Testament context, considerations about the history of exegesis on this passage and final theological reflections in the context of Canon.⁶⁸ This promising change signifies a new direction in the understanding of the biblical texts.

However, his treatment is problematical in many ways. Although by this new focus he wishes to transcend the dilemmas of the historical understanding, the separate treatment of the diachronic and canonical dimensions leaves their relationship ambiguous.⁶⁹ Moreover, in his later work *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* "this uneasy tension had turned into an outright polemic against diachronic approaches."⁷⁰

CHILDS' dilemma was obviously shared by THOMAS B. DOZEMAN, who tries to understand the diachronic method in terms of "canon conscious redaction".⁷¹ He understands the traditions through literary-critical theory as moving from metaphorical to metonymical understanding of God's presence on the Mountain.⁷² Following the source critical conclusions of RENDTORFF, he speaks about the development of text in terms of a progress concentrically expanding a core tradition. This new concept has the advantage of seeing the textual evolution as a more organic process that leaves room for the assumption of the relative wholeness of the tradition. He builds upon the presupposition of CHILDS that the text itself bears within it unifying

⁶⁸ See Brevard S. CHILDS: *The Book of Exodus – A Critical, Theological Commentary*, The Westminster Press, Louisville, 1974, 337-384.

⁶⁹ BRETT, Mark C.: *Biblical Criticism in Crisis?*, 3-4.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ DOZEMAN, Thomas B.: *God on the Mountain, A Study of Redaction - Theology and Canon in Exodus 19-24*, (SBL Monograph Series 37.), Atlanta, Scholars Press, 1989, 156f.

⁷² For him, and in this insight he builds upon the critique of Rendtorff against the New Documentary Hypotheses, the Sinai story is built up on a basic document called 'God of the Mountain' that was further elaborated through different redactors according to their theological disposition. The basic source represents a constant relationship between the mountain and the God permanently dwelling on it (this is the metaphorical relationship) and the redatorial works moving from this to the direction of distancing god from the mount, describing God as approaching or actually descending on the mountain. Cf. DOZEMAN: *op. cit.*, 82, 86, 100, 102.

tendencies and devices. That means that in spite of the discontinuous tendencies, on which the historical method building, the text is an independent and continuous universe which has its own strategies of meaning construction. His understanding of the tradition definitely brings a new perspective into the theological discussion. In this respect, his work is a mediating attempt between the historical and narrative hermeneutical models.

Unfortunately, in his actual argumentation DOZEMAN did not succeed in reconciling the diachronic perspective with the canonical form of the texts. He uses the concept of repetition⁷³ as a connecting and explanatory link between the traditions. According to his understanding of reduction, the stages of development are repetitions and enhancements. Making a distinction between two types of replication, “mimesis” and “ungrounded repetition”, he explains the core of the Sinai tradition as representative of the first type and the Deuteronomical (D) and Priestly (P) reactions as illustrative of the second type.⁷⁴ Mimesis is a kind of repetition of which the repetitive elements are connected to a prototype that creates the commonality and also the ground of difference between them.⁷⁵ The story of the oldest tradition represents a prototype for the D and the P tradition, and as such, the relation between the oldest and redactional traditions is mimetic. On the other hand, the P and D redactions in themselves are ungrounded repetitions as they do not represent a common tradition.⁷⁶ In the final form of the tradition they are united though and their simultaneous co-existence creates the basis of connection. Overtly, his approach uses the concept of repetition in a double way, synchronically and diachronically in order to deal with the continuous and discontinuous character of the texts.

The objectionable part of DOZEMAN’s argument is the fact that he applies a literary category decontextualized from its original function. His understanding of repetition is applied to units of traditions diachronically, and not for an organic textual unit, that is presupposed by his original definition of mimesis. Probably because of this, the models of repetition created for the understanding of the text do not coincide with the interpretative facts. He speaks about mimetic repetition as a model for the understanding of the oldest tradition. However, it turns out shortly, that the particular mountain (Zion) that is supposed to be the retraceable point of identity for the two traditions is, in its present form suppressed by the P and D redactions, and is “no longer constructive”.⁷⁷ At this point the trajectory of the argument breaks as the literary category applied appears to be inapplicable for the actual subject. The point of identity between the mimetic model and the historical model is useful until the conclusion that the Zion tradition is the prototype of the other two. But the

⁷³ DOZEMANN: *op. cit.*, 147ff.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 150-156.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 151.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 153ff.

⁷⁷ DOZEMAN: *God on the Mountain*, 153.

original definition of mimesis⁷⁸ moves in a synchronic direction and demands the prototype to function as a *constant* referential point in the repetitive process. However, the historical standpoint dissolves this dynamics of constant referential point into the developmental theory of the tradition, and sets serious limits to the prototype nature of the original story. If we claim that a text is a product of development, we can hardly apply, in explanation of its genesis, a synchronic model.

DOZEMAN concludes that the mimetic model is not sufficient to describe the dialectic between the grounding story and its redaction. That is the point where he initiates the “ungrounded repetition model” to explain the relation of the two redatorial stages to each other, which emphasizes the disconnectedness of the traditions, and refers to their present co-existence as accidental.⁷⁹ In the last analysis, the main purpose to connect the diachronic and synchronic dimensions is abandoned, and the discontinuity between redactions is emphasized. DOZEMAN implicitly has to admit the discontinuity between the perspective of the historicity of the text as a developing and changing reality and the perspective of the canonical-solid textual view.

MARTIN RAVNDAL HAUGE provides an excellent example of the fact that the problem of the relation of history to the text is still not resolved. In his work *The Descent from the Mountain*, he examines the narrative sequence from the Revelation to the erection of the Tabernacle (Ex 19-40).⁸⁰ What he is striving for in this fascinating work is to explain that the intra-textual references construe a meaningful and wholesome structure, and most of the ruptures, repetitions and inconsistencies can be explained by compositional techniques. His conclusion is that the narrative flow, through digressions though, is directed at a particular aim by repetition of motifs, themes and recurring patterns. However, what is striking in this study is the complete absence of historical considerations. In the introductory chapter, through the clarification of his method, he argues against historical analysis only on the first four pages! He cites VAN SETERS and WYBRAY, two radical scholars, the first arguing against the possibility to reconstruct the real history of Israel by denying the independence of the Elohist source and dating the Jahwist to the exile,⁸¹ the other rejecting the New Documentary Hypothesis replacing the concept of multiple redactors with the work of a controlling genius.⁸² Readily embracing their skepticism, he is unhesitant to commence explaining the general framework of his linguistic-literary critical method. In the actual corpus of the exposure he evades the historical question by referring to structures, scenes, patterns, episodes, and the problem of inconsisten-

⁷⁸ He uses J. Hillis Miller's "Fiction and Repetition" to define the concept of repetition. Cf. DOZEMAN: *op.cit.*, 147-148.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 153. He defines the relationship of P and D as "unharmonized" and "separated" in the canonic Torah, and as we have seen, the relationship of the oldest tradition with the redactions as "no longer constructive".

⁸⁰ RAVNDAL HAUGE, Martin: *Descent from the Mountain – Narrative Patterns in Exodus 19-40*, Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.

⁸¹ MCKENZIE - HAYES (eds.): *To Each its Own Meaning*, 28., RAVNDAL HAUGE: *The Descent from the Mountain*, 13.

⁸² MCKENZIE - HAYES (eds.): *To Each its Own Meaning*, 45.

cies and repetitions is overcome by redefining these terms as interruptions, refrains and correspondences between separate themes.⁸³

3. MYSTICAL, NARRATIVE AND HISTORICAL APPROACHES BEYOND THE HERMENEUTICAL IMPASSE?

Though we are uncomfortable in many ways with the aggression of the purely historical and with the one-sidedness of the purely narrative view, the attempts made to harmonize the historical perspective with the final form of the text are also unconvincing. These reading techniques functionally move on separate dimensions, built upon distinctive presuppositions. They are models that are preoccupied with different stratum of the texts, according to their definition of the nature of the biblical text. In our estimation, they are applicable simultaneously, but not complementarily.

What is of value for this present study, however, is the possible parallel between the narrative method and the Kabbalistic understanding of the text. The narrative-hermeneutical theory builds on the assumption of the unitary nature of the text and its complex reality as an organic domain that can be understood according to its own rules. Moreover, it speaks of the textual reality as playground. HANS-GEORG GADAMER's insights can be helpful to understand this concept in detail. The main analogy for the perception of art is the primacy of play over the consciousness of the player.⁸⁴ More precisely, "the play fulfills its purpose only if the player loses himself in this play."⁸⁵ The act of play "*absorbs* the player into itself."⁸⁶ In this respect, the game incorporates the consciousness and "fills it with its spirit." GADAMER's theory is an ontological understanding of art, since, as he puts it, through the encounter with an artistic product an ontological disclosure takes place.

GADAMER builds on the distinction between experience and abstraction as two alternative interpretative preoccupations.⁸⁷ He apprehends experience as an incessant creative comprehension, a move toward the piece of art and its understanding by existential involvement. Through this existential entry into the subject itself, this repositioning of the self into the reality of the piece of art, a basic change occurs in the involved observer. The emphasis on the dimension of the piece of art as a reality

⁸³ Cf. for instance the discussion about the fear scene in Ex 20: 18-21, that is considered to be a linear continuation of the encounter scene of 19: 20-25 by historical critiques. He explains the problem away by emphasizing the common 'nearness' theme of the two sections. (RAVDAL HAUGE: *The Descent from the Mountain*, 45.) The basic incompatibility of the disagreement with the historical view becomes evident when we realize that the two argumentations operate on different levels. In most recent studies, the historical question is astutely evaded, and replaced by the interpretation of the narrative's theological images and symbols. See e.g. MEYERS: *Exodus*, 146ff.

⁸⁴ GADAMER, Hans-Georg: *Truth and Method*, London, Sheed and Ward, 1975, 94.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 92.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 94 (italics mine).

⁸⁷ THISELTON: *The Two Horizons*, 296. The Gadamerian theory of art builds on Wilhelm Dilthey's differentiation between the two epistemological standpoint of Art and Scientific fields (*Wissenschaft*) arguing for separate methodology.

that makes multiple entries possible implies that “there is no final exhaustion of what lies in a work of art.”⁸⁸ Since every single entry induces change in the active observer, every entry starts from a different position. This hermeneutical theory is strikingly similar to the understanding of the Kabbalists. Though the mystics assumed the historical character of the text, they perceived its components as lenses to the infinite. They built on the richness of the text, believing in the possibility that through elaborate hermeneutical attempts they can get access to the innermost realm of the divine. Such access would then uncover the governing code of the universe that is all contained in the infinite *Torah*. For them also, the textual reality was an ontological reality that mediated ontological truths in its very function as mediator. The text as a conveyor and a reflection of the divine “body” and “thought” was the place of encounter between divine and human. However, significant discrepancy lies between the two hermeneutical theories concerning the role of interpreter, and the understanding of the hermeneutical process. Kabbalists had a more active perception of the reader than the narrative theory. The particular exposure of the mystical meaning was supported by the assumption that the interpretative process is basically a technical enterprise, not presupposing any discrepancy between the textual reality and the readers own world.⁸⁹ Consequently, the hermeneutical approaches used interpretative tools to extract the meaning and transform the texts in ways that seems arbitrary from our perspective.

Except this basic difference that lies in the nature of the hermeneutical approach, the theory of text as an esthetic medium that discloses itself and its truth to the active recipient shows the contemporary character of the Kabbalist hermeneutics. The famous phrase that the “Torah is God and God is the Torah” transforms to a strikingly relevant truth, if we agree that the encounter with the text discloses the *onthos*, the divine. In Kabbalah, as we have seen, the astute interpretative techniques many times abuse the text to the extent of total reconfiguration. Aggressive and revolutionary, the interpretation of texts for Kabbalists exceeded the limits of our concept of exegesis by changing the conceptual identity of the Scriptures.⁹⁰ For them, multiple entries into the texts are made possible not so much by the ever changing repositioning of the observer, but by the ever changing refiguration of the text. The immutable layer of the text is the point of departure into the mystical realm that is behind the solid stratum and is not identical with the grammatical-literal structure. Radical forms of exegesis like *gematria*, *notaricon*, *tserufei otiyyot* and *temurah* served the deconstruction of the grammatical form of the text in order to reconstruct the divine Torah and find the mystical names of YHWH. Nevertheless, as IDEL concludes, in many cases the semantic destruction

⁸⁸ GADAMER: *Truth and Method*, 89.

⁸⁹ As Gadamer's detailed study showed, the distinction between the reader's world and the world of the actual piece of art is first recognized by Friedrich Schleiermacher. Cf. GADAMER: *Truth and Method*, especially Chapter II.

⁹⁰ IDEL: *Absorbing Perfections*, 18.

is not as radical as the grammatical.⁹¹ This means that the spiritual dimension is not disconnected from the Scripture's self-identical meaning structure, as the new linguistic logic created by the radical exegetical tools is.

Although we cannot go as far as Kabbalist did in their radicalism, hermeneutically we are not far from their position. The text as we can understand it is indeed a powerful medium, in which to a certain extent the divine and human, the author and the recipient of the text, are both absorbed.⁹² The textual reality is indeed a location of the encounter between God and human, a realm where horizons melt together.⁹³

As compelling as this theory might be, we have to face serious questions concerning this proposal. The mystical view of the Scripture as the shape of the divine seems to fade when we emphasize the sovereignty of God who has the freedom not to be present in the written Word for the reader if God wills. The even more confusing quandary emerges when we speak about the sermon as the word of God.⁹⁴ For Karl BARTH, at least, the solution of this problem is to assert the radical discontinuity between the human and the divine word.

The problem of this theology is its one-sidedness that oversees the bound which indeed exist between God and his word and the recipient of that word in the form of *covenant*. The extreme separation of divine and human reality leads to the passive role of the reader or listener and to the overwhelming activity of the divine. Moreover, this model does not solve the historical issue, but further enforces it, since it declares the text as a pure document that needs God's illuminating presence to transform to the Word of God. According to a covenantal theory, there is a possibility to assume that God by His own free decision bound himself to the text and makes him accessible through the encounter with it. Similarly, in the sermon, the identical covenantal bind applies: God is present where he is proclaimed, since he is bound by his own promise. This is not a magical view, but helps to comprehend the Scriptures in terms closer to the mystical than to the rigid historical-scientific model. What is applicable from the kabbalists is that the sacred text is not only a mirror of a historical development of ideas or cultic rituals. This model leaves room for a historical study also; however, we have to assume that it only has limited significance, as the interest is focused on the textual reality rather than its historical formation, and gains its meaning from analyzing the structural elements and inter-textual connections between elements of the text and between reader and text.

The assumption that the text reflects the intention of God, and the whole process of canonization has its origin in the divine intention must be elaborated very

⁹¹ Ibid., 252.

⁹² Idel already made this comparison in his *Absorbing Perfection*, but he emphasized more the collision of horizons than the absorbing melting process. Cf. IDEL, op. cit., 18.

⁹³ Lesslie Newbigin, from a contextual perspective affirms that the "Bible as that body of literature [that] – primarily but not only in narrative form – renders accessible to us the character and actions and purposes of God." Cf. NEWBIGIN, Lesslie: *Foolishness to the Greeks - The Gospel and Western Culture* (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1986, reprint 2003), 59.

⁹⁴ See DeVRIES, Dawn: *Jesus Christ in the Preaching of Calvin and Schleiermacher*, 100.

cautiously. However convincing synchronic theories might be,⁹⁵ it remains true that the historical paradigm that pervades every aspect of our perception even when many claim that we are a part of a “post-“age, makes impossible any answers that try to evade historical concerns. The problem can be posed as this: as Christians, we do believe that the Scripture is an inspired text, but other than this dogmatic and confessional affirmation we don’t have further support. Moreover, we are compelled to give an account of the development of the canonic Scripture and explain it in terms of revelation. It is always to be feared that we inadvertently make a leap to a paradigm that is already obsolete, and fall prey to an ahistorical or fundamentalist approach that uncritically tries to dissolve into the realm of the text. We cannot simply ignore the problems that shaped theology through the last two centuries. Thus, if we apprehend the divine inspiration as a technical-genetic concept that would be concerned with the conception of the text or with its content, we are forced to think diachronically. This means that the self-confidence of religious apologetics cannot be regained by anti-historical answers. In other words, naïve conception of the unity of textual reality and of holistic understanding that was a characteristic of pre-critical interpretation cannot be resuscitated by casting out every problem as evil spirits in God’s name. Rather, besides being aware of the historical character of the textual reality, we should let the Scripture be what it was intended to be. As “sacred text” it not only preserves traces of the incessant but ever changing relation between God and man but as a medium constantly invites into this relationship. By embarrassing, subverting, and perplexing our self-understanding can Scripture open us up for the dynamic force of a new perception – for a “new life” in God.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Both the classical historical-critical method and the Kabbalist interpretation proved to be aggressive hermeneutical processes that approach the texts from their given presupposition. The classic historical reading expounds the text from a scientific epistemological background, and narrative-mystical methods approach the text from an esthetic background. If we accept them as alternative reading methods, we are still faced with the problem of their relationship.

For Jewish mind, the special character of history as persistent remembrance in the act of recitation of the founding stories through generations⁹⁶ renders the nature of this processing inheritance as basically “monumental”. As the monument stands for an event, the stories passed down are standing for YHWH’s saving acts. Without this character, the tradition loses its validity. It has to be historical *and* narrative to be meaningful. This historicity cannot be replaced by the “historicity of sources” and the historicity of traditions. From the Christian standpoint, the historicity of Jesus

⁹⁵ Here we can refer to Auerbach’s *Mimesis*, Frei’s *Eclipse of the Biblical Narrative*, even Gerhard Ebeling’s *Word and Faith* or George Lindbeck’s narrative approach in *The Nature of Doctrine*.

⁹⁶ YERUSALMI, Yoseph Hajim: *Zachor*, Budapest, Osiris, 1995.

Christ is the central and essential point of departure into the deeper understanding of Christian existence.⁹⁷ Though this statement sounds self evident, the philosophical problems of the term “historical” are really perplexing. Since the time the historicity of the texts became problematic, the historical questioning preoccupied the scholarly interest. Today, when the nature of history and historiography stands in the crossfire of debates, we are even further from a consensus concerning the historical nature of the sacred texts.⁹⁸ In addition, the mystical reading that has more than a thousand years of tradition but was suppressed from the Enlightenment onwards, appears to be impacting the field of theology in new ways in recent years.⁹⁹ Its ambiguous influence, however, shows that the question how we can theologically reconcile the historical perspective with the mystical and narrative to regain the “monumental” character of tradition is still an open question.

⁹⁷ Among others, this is the assumption of Peter Stuhlmacher, who defines himself as a mediator between the radical historical and radical fundamentalist circles. For his definition on both currents and his own position, cf. STUHLMACHER, Peter: *Historical Criticism and Theological Interpretation: Toward a Hermeneutics of Consent*, Translated with and introduction by R. A. Harrisville, Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1977.

⁹⁸ HASEL, Gerhard F.: *Old Testament Theology, Basic Issues in the Current Debate*, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1991¹, 38. See also for the recent debate around the narrative character of historiography and for the epistemological implications the introductory chapter in WHITE Hayden: *Metahistory, The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Baltimore/London, The John Hopkins University Press, 1973, 1-42.

⁹⁹ A representative example could be Allen, DIOGENES: *Spiritual Theology - The Theology of Yesterday for Spiritual Help Today*, Cowley Publications, Plymouth, UK, 1997.



Wild Animals and Angels

Jaap Doedens

LITERARY WORMHOLES: WILD ANIMALS AND ANGELS IN MARK 1:13

In the description of Jesus' temptation in the wilderness, both Matthew and Luke are quite detailed; their narratives refer to three different temptations and end with the remark that the devil left him.¹ Matthew adds here that "angels served him",² while Luke gives a flash-forward by telling his readers that the devil departed from Jesus "until an opportune time".³ Mark, however, only mentions the fact that Jesus was in the wilderness forty days, tempted by the Satan, without further information about what the temptation comprised of. Similarly to Matthew, Mark tells us about Jesus that "angels served him", but adds the fascinating short note that Jesus "was among the wild animals".⁴ To modern readers, this seems to be a strange addition, and one can readily understand why Matthew left this out while copying Mark – if he really used Mark's Gospel to compose his own. In the description, it does not appear that "being among the wild animals" is only another way of saying that Jesus was in the desert. The short remark seems to convey a hidden message, but in its shortness this message becomes rather elusive.

For a long time, I have been fascinated by this strange description of Jesus' temptation in Mark 1:13, but I did not find a clue for its understanding, so I decided that, for the time being, it was better to leave these animals where they were: in the wilderness. But when I found a similar combination of Satan, wild animals and angels in the *Testament of Naphtali* 8:4-6,⁵

¹ Matt 4:1-11, Luke 4:1-13.

² Matt 4:11.

³ Luke 4:13.

⁴ Mark 1:13.

⁵ This was before the publication of the 28th edition of Nestle-Aland's text of the New Testament. Different from earlier editions, this new edition mentions the allusion to *Test. Napht.* 8:4, see ALAND, Barbara

I decided to take a closer look. It appears that Mark, in all his shortness, intended to describe more than only an idyllic picture of a wilderness scene. In view of Second Temple literature, it turns out that these short allusions in Mark may be intended to function as “literary wormholes” through which the reader can reach a different part of the symbolic universe.

Testament of Naphtali

The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is a collection of final sayings of the twelve sons of Jacob. On their deathbeds, they confess their sins, urge their children not to make the same mistakes, and often tell their descendants what will happen to their tribes in the future. The document as a whole is only extant in Greek,⁶ and is probably to be dated to the first quarter of the second century B.C.E.⁷ The extant text is usually viewed as Jewish in origin, but includes some Christian interpolations.⁸

In the *Testament of Naphtali* 8:4.6 the devil, the angels and wild animals are mentioned as follows:

4. Ἐὰν οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐργάσησθε τὸ καλόν,
εὐλογήσουσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀνθρωποι καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι,
καὶ ὁ Θεὸς δοξασθήσεται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν δι' ὑμῶν,
καὶ ὁ διάβολος φεύξεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν,
καὶ τὰ θηρία φοβηθήσονται ὑμᾶς,
καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἀγαπήσει ὑμᾶς,
καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀνθέξονται ὑμῶν.
(...)
6. Τὸν δὲ μὴ ποιοῦντα τὸ καλόν,
καταράσσονται αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ οἱ ἀνθρωποι,
καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἀδοξήσει ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν δι' αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ὁ διάβολος οἰκειοῦται αὐτὸν ὡς ἴδιον σκεῦος,

and Kurt et al. (eds.): *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th revised edition, Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012, 878.

⁶ There are some Aramaic fragments from the Cairo Genizah and from Qumran, but, according to Kee, the Testaments were originally written in Greek, cf. KEE, H. C.: “Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs” in CHARLESWORTH, James H. (ed.): *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Volume 1: Apocalyptic Literature*, New York, Doubleday, 1983, 777.

⁷ Bickerman dates its composition, based on historical data, between 330 and 140 B.C.E. He adds numismatic evidence, which points to either a date between 330-285, or between 200-150 B.C.E., and argues that the first quarter of the second century is the most probable date. Cf. BICKERMAN, Elias J.: The Date of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, *JBL* 69 no. 3, 1950, 245-260.

⁸ De Jonge argued that the text is essentially Christian in origin, written by an author who used Jewish material for his composition. See JONGE, M. de: Christian Influence in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, *NT* 4 no. 3, 1960, 182-235, JONGE, M. de: Once More: Christian Influence in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, *NT* 5 no. 4, 1962, 311-319, JONGE, M. de: The Transmission of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs by Christians, *VC* 47, 1993, 1-28.

καὶ πᾶν θηρίον κατακυριεύσει αὐτῷ
καὶ ὁ Κύριος μισήσει αὐτόν.⁹

*4. If you achieve the good, my children,
men and angels will bless you;
and God will be glorified through you among the gentiles.
The devil will flee from you;
wild animals will be afraid of you,
and the angels will stand by you.*
(...)

*6. The one who does not do the good,
men and angels will curse,
and God will be dishonoured among the gentiles because of him;
the devil will inhabit him as his own instrument.
Every wild animal will dominate him,
and the Lord will hate him.¹⁰*

In this passage, ethical behaviour leads to being blessed by men and angels. This is an imaginable statement; even modern readers of the passage will acknowledge at least the part of the human blessing. The passage about gentiles who glorify God because of good deeds or blaspheme his name because of the lack of it, is a thought which fits nicely into the Jewish worldview.¹¹ The same is true for the belief that resisting the devil will make him flee.¹² But why will animals be dominated by humans who do noble deeds? Or why will bad people be dominated by wild animals? This looks like a nice – but probably not so effective – advice for a safari-trip. But what if these cryptic references connecting ethical conduct to the taming of wild beasts were a way of evoking a larger picture?

Literary Wormholes

It is widely recognized that Mark uses the Old Testament in a “cryptic, enigmatic, and allusive manner that provokes the reader’s imagination to uncover intertextual connections with those scriptures.”¹³ This means that the Gospel of Mark is far more complicated than usually perceived; his work is bristling with secrets and riddles, challenging its readers to understand, as indicated by the exhortation in Mark 13:14, ὃ ἀναγινώσκων νοεῖτω, “let the reader understand!”¹⁴ In its context, this short ad-

⁹ CHARLES, R. H.: *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1908, 156-157. For textual variants within the passage, see this critical edition.

¹⁰ T. Naph. 8:4.6. Translation: KEE: *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, OTP 1, 813-814.

¹¹ See LXX Isa 52:5, quoted in Rom 2:24. See also Ezek 36,20.

¹² Jas 4:7, cf. 1 Pet 5:9.

¹³ CANEDAY, A. B.: *Mark’s Provocative Use of Scripture in Narration: “He Was with the Wild Animals and Angels Ministered to Him”*, BBR 9, 1999, 19.

¹⁴ WRIGHT, N. T.: *The New Testament and the People of God*, Minneapolis, Fortress, 1992, 390-396, referring to Mark 4:11-12; 6:51-52; 7:19; 8:17-21; 13:14. Wright even calls Mark’s gospel a “new-style apocalypse” (393).

monition refers to the quotation from Daniel 12:11 about the “desolating sacrilege set up where it ought not to be,” but it might be a motto for the whole of Mark’s gospel. This observation may also lead to a literary reassessment of his gospel, by highlighting some of Mark’s rhetoric skills in giving his readers a similar experience as the disciples had during their interaction with Jesus. Similarly to how the disciples gradually discovered Jesus’ identity, so Mark’s readers are confronted with enigmas and veils, intended to provoke them to think through what they have just read. The Gospel of Mark can thus be used as an exercise for those who have “ears to hear”; to discover that there is more to it than what is written and to practise a kind of “spiritual reading between the lines”. In this sense, according to Caneday, Mark’s story-telling “imitates the method of Jesus.”¹⁵ Mark rarely explicitly says, like Matthew, that “this was to fulfil what was spoken by the prophet...” – he rather leaves these discoveries of fulfilment to his readers.¹⁶

Charles Gieschen mentions a fascinating example of this allusive style in Mark 6:48, where it is told in a nightly scene how Jesus comes to his disciples who are with difficulty making headway on the Sea of Galilee “while walking on the sea, and he intended to pass by them”.¹⁷ The enigmatic remark about Jesus wanting to overtake his disciples is only found in Mark’s narrative. But when put next to two verses from Job 9, it turns out that Mark probably intended to give his readers some homework in thinking through who Jesus is:

[Jesus] came to them walking upon the sea and he intended to pass by them (ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς περιπατῶν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἥθελεν παρελθεῖν αὐτούς).¹⁸

Who alone has stretched out the heavens and walks upon the sea as upon firm ground (ὁ τανύσας τὸν οὐρανὸν μόνος, καὶ περιπατῶν ὡς ἐπ' ἐδάφους ἐπὶ θαλάσσης).¹⁹

If he [YHWH] should go beyond me, I shall surely not see him; if he should pass by me, it will not be in a way that I perceive him (ἐὰν ὑπερβῇ με, οὐ μὴ ιδω· ἐὰν παρέλθῃ με, οὐδὲ ὡς ἔγγνων).²⁰

Similarly, Mark’s reference to wild animals and angels in his extremely short temptation-narrative may function as a “literary wormhole”, pulling its readers straight into the symbolic universe of the Old Testament and the Judaism of the Second

¹⁵ CANEDAY: *Mark’s Provocative Use of Scripture in Narration*, 21.

¹⁶ CANEDAY, *Mark’s Provocative Use of Scripture in Narration*, 22-23.

¹⁷ GIESCHEN, Charles A.: Why Was Jesus with the Wild Beasts (Mark 1:13)? *CTQ* 73, 2009, 80.

¹⁸ Mark 6:48.

¹⁹ LXX Job 9:8.

²⁰ LXX Job 9:11.

Temple period. But where exactly does the reader arrive? The answer to this question is not even so simple, because Mark's allusions can be ambiguous.

Paradise Regained?

Richard Bauckham mentions three possible explanations for the mentioning of the wild animals in the temptation-narrative. The first solution is that the wild animals, as such, symbolize the wilderness and emphasize Jesus' loneliness in the desert. However, this solution seems rather arbitrary. The second exegesis views the animals as symbolizing the realm of the demons; in a similar way as how 1 Pet 5:8 refers to the devil as a "roaring lion". This explanation does not take into account that Mark tells that Jesus "was with the wild animals" (*ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων*), which rather implies that he has not to be afraid of them, or even a peaceful and friendly being together. Within the Old Testament, wild animals are mentioned symbolically (e.g. Ps 22:12-13.16.21), but there they are mostly a metaphor for *human* enemies. Some Old Testament texts mention the desert as a place where demons and wild animals dwell (Isa 13:21-22; 34:13-16), but this mainly explains why Jesus encounters both the devil and the wild animals when he was in the wilderness for forty days. The third solution is to view the reference to Jesus being among wild animals as a way to depict him as being at peace with animals who otherwise would threaten human existence, thus showing a glimpse of a regained paradise.²¹

There is a lot of exegetical data within the Old Testament and Second Temple literature which supports this third exegetical solution. It is, therefore, worthwhile to take a closer look to this line of exegesis.

The Jewish tradition partly shared the common worldview of the ancient Near East that animals were the enemies of man;²² however, it viewed this animosity between the animal world and humans not as the original state of creation, but as a consequence of human sin. Rebelling against the Creator disturbed not only inter-human relationships, but also the relation between mankind and the rest of creation. According to the creation story, God gave humans dominion over animals.²³

²¹ See BAUCKHAM, Richard: *Jesus and the Wild Animals* (Mark 1:13): A Christological Image for an Ecological Age, in GREEN, Joel B. and TURNER, Max (eds.): *Jesus of Nazareth: Lord and Christ: Essays on the Historical Jesus and New Testament Christology*, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1994, 4-21. See also BAUCKHAM, Richard: *Jesus and the Renewal of Nature: Reading Isaiah and the Gospels Ecologically* (Lecture given at St Thikhon's Orthodox Seminary, Moscow, October 2009). <http://richardbauckham.co.uk/uploads/Accessible/Jesus%20&%20the%20Renewal%20of%20Nature.pdf> (cited 23 June 2016). Cf. GIESCHEN: *Why Was Jesus with the Wild Beasts (Mark 1:13)?* 77- 80.

²² See HARLAND, P. J.: *The Value of Human Life: A Study of the Story of the Flood (Genesis 6-9)*, Leiden, Brill, 1996, 149.

²³ Cf. Gen 1:26.28; Ps 8:6-8.

The apocryphal²⁴ and pseudepigraphical²⁵ works share this view. Part of the Noahic covenant was the fear of animals for man;²⁶ a much wished-for situation in a world where often exactly the opposite was true, where humans feared for wild animals. In such an unsafe world, Jacob concludes that his beloved son Joseph had been devoured by a wild animal,²⁷ and the peoples deported after 722 B.C.E. to the devastated territory of Samaria feared lions which killed some of them.²⁸ The document known as *The Apocalypse of Moses*²⁹ adds to the curse on Adam as known from Genesis 3:17-19 the following sentence: "The beasts, over whom thou didst rule, shall rise up in rebellion against thee, for thou hast not kept my commandment".³⁰ Animosity of animals as a consequence of the sin of man is probably the most clearly expressed in the following section from *The Apocalypse of Moses*:

Then Seth and Eve went towards paradise, and Eve saw her son, and a wild beast assailing him, and Eve wept and said: 'Woe is me; if I come to the day of the Resurrection, all those who have sinned will curse me saying: Eve hath not kept the commandment of God.' And she spake to the beast: 'Thou wicked beast, fearest thou not to fight with the image of God? How was thy mouth opened? How were thy teeth made strong? How didst thou not call to mind thy subjection? For long ago wast thou made subject to the image of God.' Then the beast cried out and said: 'It is not our concern, Eve, thy greed and thy wailing, but thine own; for (it is) from thee that the rule of the beasts hath arisen. How was thy mouth opened to eat of the tree concerning which God enjoined thee not to eat of it? On this account, our nature also hath been transformed. Now therefore thou canst not endure it, if I begin to reprove thee. Then Seth speaketh to the beast: 'Close thy

²⁴ E.g. Sir 17:4 God "put the fear of man upon all flesh, and gave him dominion over beast and fowls"; Wis 9:1-2 "O God of my fathers, (...) who hast made all things with thy word, and ordained man through thy wisdom, that he should have dominion over the creatures which thou hast made".

²⁵ E.g. Jub. 2:14 "and he gave him dominion over everything which was upon the earth and which was in the seas and over everything which flies, and over beasts and cattle and everything which movers upon the earth or above the whole earth" (translation: WINTERMUTE, O. S.: *Jubilees*, in CHARLESWORTH, James H. (ed): *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Volume 2*, New York, Doubleday, 1985, 57; 2 En. 58:3 "And the LORD appointed him over everything (as king), and he subjected everything to him in subservience under his hand." Translation: ANDERSEN, F. I.: 2 (*Slavonic Apocalypse of*) Enoch in CHARLESWORTH, James H. (ed): *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Volume 1*, New York, Doubleday, 1983, 184).

²⁶ Gen 9:2.

²⁷ Gen 37:33.

²⁸ 2 Kgs 17:24-25.

²⁹ Probably to be dated somewhere between the 1st and the 4th century C.E., cf. CHARLES, R. H.: *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English: Volume 2: Pseudepigrapha*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1913, 126-127. Although the text is late, the thoughts expressed in it reflect a similar stance upon the cause of animosity between wild animals and humans as found already in the Old Testament, perhaps only more elaborated.

³⁰ *The Apocalypse of Moses*, 4:4. Translation: CHARLES, R. H.: *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, Volume 2, Pseudepigrapha*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1913, 147.

mouth and be silent and stand off from the image of God until the day of Judgement.' Then saith the beast to Seth: 'Behold, I stand off from the image of God.' And he went to his lair.³¹

In this passage, the lion explains his lack of respect for humans as caused by human trespassing of God's command. However, this situation appears to be reversible, because when Seth is reproaching the lion, the animal abandons its plan to attack Eve's son. Bauckham observes that within the Old Testament and intertestamental literature there are two ways by which the original relationship between man and animals can be restored: an individual way and an eschatological way.³²

Individually, living righteously restores the fear of animals for man. This thought is implied in the above-mentioned passage from *The Apocalypse of Moses*, where Seth is the righteous one, who, apparently, by that very fact has the authority to send an attacking lion to its lair. Similar notions are present in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Apart from the passages from *T. Naph.* 8:4.6 already mentioned at the beginning of this study, in the *Testament of Issachar* 7:6-7 Issachar instructs his children with the following advice:

I acted in piety and truth all my days.
The Lord I loved with all my strength;
likewise, I loved every human being as I love my children.
You do these as well, my children,
and *every spirit of Beliar will flee from you*,
and no act of human evil will have power over you.
Every wild creature you shall subdue,
so long as you have the God of heaven with you,
and walk with all mankind in sincerity of heart.³³

Similarly, Benjamin gives his last guidance to his descendants in *T. Benj.* 3:4-5 and 5:2:

3:4-5 For the person who fears God and loves his neighbor cannot be plagued by *the spirit of Beliar* since he is sheltered by the fear of God. Neither man's schemes nor³⁴ those of *animals* can prevail over him, for he is aided in living by this: by the love which he has toward his neighbor.

(...)

³¹ *The Apocalypse of Moses*, 10:1-4; 11:1-3; 12:1-2. Translation: CHARLES, R. H.: *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament: Volume 2*, 143.

³² BAUCKHAM: *Jesus and the Wild Animals*, 11-14.

³³ *T. Iss.* 7:6-7. (Translation: KEE: *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, OTP 1, 804). (Emphasis added).

³⁴ Sic. Meant is: "nor".

5:2 If you continue to do good, even the unclean spirits will flee from you and wild animals will fear you.³⁵

Interestingly, this belief is also present in the Book of Job where Eliphaz states that if one trusts God, the result will be that

At destruction and famine you shall laugh,
and shall not fear the beasts of the earth.

For you shall be in league with the stones of the field,
and the beasts of the field shall be at peace with you.³⁶

Similarly, the Book of Kings describes what happened after the Northern Kingdom was deported by the Assyrians in 722, after the fall of Samaria, and foreign peoples were transported to the region of Samaria. As turns out, the countryside became so desolated, therefore the population of lions increased so much that these wild animals began to kill people. However, no such ecological conclusion is drawn, (the country has become desolated, which resulted in the increase of wild animals), but a religious explanation is put forward:

And the king of Assyria brought people from Babylon, Cuthah, Avva, Hamath, and Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the people of Israel; and they took possession of Samaria, and dwelt in its cities. And at the beginning of their dwelling there, *they did not fear the LORD*; therefore *the LORD sent lions among them*, which killed some of them. So the king of Assyria was told, “The nations which you have carried away and placed in the cities of Samaria *do not know the law of the god of the land*; therefore *he has sent lions among them*, and behold, they are killing them, because they *do not know the law of the god of the land*.” Then the king of Assyria commanded, “Send there one of the priests whom you carried away thence; and let him go and dwell there, and *teach them the law of the god of the land*” So one of the priests whom they had carried away from Samaria came and dwelt in Bethel, and *taught them how they should fear the LORD*.³⁷

Here, also, the lack of “fear of the LORD” leads to having to fear the ferocity of wild animals. Attacks of lions are explained as a warning signal from “the god of the land,” who in this way expresses his dissatisfaction that people do not keep his rules. It is as if the inhabitants discover that they live in a country of which they are missing the “owner’s manual”.³⁸ Common trait in all these passages is that a righteous life

³⁵ T. Benj. 3:4-5; 5:2. (Translation: KEE: *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, OTP 1, 825-826). (Emphasis added).

³⁶ Job 5:22-23. (Emphasis added. Bible passages are from the Revised Standard Version).

³⁷ 2 Kgs 17:24-28. (Emphasis added). See also the story of 1 Kgs 13, where “the man of God who came from Judah” is killed by a lion because of his disobedience to YHWH (1 Kgs 13,20-25).

³⁸ See also Lev 26:3-6: “If you walk in my statutes and observe my commandments and do them (...) I will give peace in the land (...) and I will remove evil beasts from the land.”

according to God's commandments results in not having to fear wild animals, in accordance with the 'decree' of the Noahic Covenant as mentioned in Genesis 9:2. However, someone who does not live according to God's laws will be dominated by wild animals. The pseudepigraphical literature adds to this notion of the righteous who dominates wild animals the thought that unclean spirits and the devil will flee from those who live in harmony with God and their fellow humans. Being righteous, thus, implies that a glimpse of paradise becomes visible within this world, which is expressed by referring to either the dominance of humans over wild animals or even by referring to a situation of harmony between man and animals.

Apart from this individual way by which something of the paradise is regained, the Old Testament shows eschatological visions of a messianic era, in which everything will be put right.³⁹ This is a view which displays more than only the presence of an individual who – by living righteously – creates circle of peace surrounding him or her. There will be a future brought about by God himself or by God's Anointed One, the Messiah. The effect of the Messiah's righteousness will reach all of creation. This is envisaged by Ezekiel's vision of a new covenant, which God will bring about, when Israel will be ruled by the Messiah, "my servant David". One of the results of this rule of the Messiah will be that "they shall no more be a prey to the nations, nor shall the beasts of the land devour them".⁴⁰ This coming messianic era is most classically worded by Isaiah 11:1-10, where the prophet foresees the "shoot from the stump of Jesse", upon whom the "Spirit of the LORD shall rest", and who has "righteousness as girdle". The prophet describes a striking vision of what will happen: when this future hope of Israel appears, paradise will be restored; natural enemies will be peacefully together:

The wolf shall dwell with the lamb,
and the leopard shall lie down with the kid,
and the calf and the lion and the fatling together,
and a little child shall lead them.
The cow and the bear shall feed;
their young shall lie down together;
and the lion shall eat straw like the ox.
The sucking child shall play over the hole of the asp,
and the weaned child shall put his hand on the adder's den.
They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain;
for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the LORD as the waters cover the sea.⁴¹

³⁹ See BAUCKHAM: *Jesus and the Wild Animals*, 14-19.

⁴⁰ Ezek 34:23-31.

⁴¹ Isa 11:6-9.

A passage from *2 Baruch*⁴² confirms that the passage of Isaiah 11 was explained as a reversal of the curse on humanity after they rebelled against the Creator:

And it will happen that after he has brought down everything which is in the world, and has sat down in eternal peace on the throne of the kingdom, then joy will be revealed and rest will appear. (...) And the wild beasts will come from the wood and serve men, and the asps and dragons will come out of their holes to subject themselves to a child. And women will no longer have pain when they bear, nor will they be tormented when they yield the fruits of their womb.⁴³

The “literary wormhole” of Mark 1:13, thus, transports the reader both back to the far past of a lost paradise and to the future hope of a new paradise. In his resisting the devil, Jesus is the righteous one, who is more than only an individual creating a sphere of holiness around him. From the first verse on, Mark introduces Jesus as the Messiah. The reference to his being “with the wild animals” can function as an allusion to the hope of Israel: the Messiah who will put right whole God’s creation. Jesus “being served by angels” may have the same allusive effect, because in the Jewish tradition angels were very close to humans in paradise.⁴⁴

A New Exodus: Trial of Loyalty?

There is, however, still another possible allusion to be explored. Jesus might not only be the righteous one who restores paradise, but also be depicted by Mark as the representative of Israel, who did not give in while being tested in the desert.⁴⁵ John Paul Heil asks attention for the connection between Mark and Deuteronomy when referring to being tested in the desert. According to Mark 1:13, Jesus was tested (*πειραζόμενος*) by the Satan, while LXX Deut 8:16 tells how God led his people into the wilderness full of dangerous animals in order to test (*έκπειράση*) them to see if they would keep his commandments.⁴⁶

Who led you through that huge and terrible wilderness, where the biting snake is, and scorpion, and drought, where there was no water; who brought you from the flinty rock a fountain of water; who fed you with the manna in the wilderness, which neither you nor your fathers knew, in order to afflict you and thoroughly test you, and to do you well at last.⁴⁷

⁴² The text is to be dated to the first or second decade of the second century c.e., See KLIJN, A. F. J.: *2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch*, in CHARLESWORTH, James H. (ed): *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Volume 1*, New York, Doubleday, 1983, 616-617.

⁴³ *2 Bar* 73:1.6-7. Translation: KLEIN: *2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch*, OTP 1, 645-646.

⁴⁴ See e.g. *Apocalypse of Moses* 17:1-2, CHARLES: *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament: Volume 2*, 146.

⁴⁵ See CANEDAY: Mark’s Provocative Use of Scripture in Narration, *BBR* 9 (1999): 28-36. See also HEIL, John Paul: Jesus with the Wild Animals in Mark 1:13, *CBQ* 68 no. 1, 2006, 63-78.

⁴⁶ HEIL: *Jesus with the Wild Animals in Mark 1:13*, 73.

⁴⁷ LXX Deut 8:16.

This allusion might mean that Mark intended to depict Jesus as the “true Israel”, who passed the test where Israel basically failed again and again. The reference in Mark 1:13 to the angels serving Jesus may allude to the fact that Israel in the desert was allowed to eat the “bread of the angels”.⁴⁸ The period of Jesus being tempted during forty days as mentioned in Mark 1:13 may refer to the forty years that Israel dwelled in the wilderness. At first sight, this appears to be a rather arbitrary allusion, but the symbolical logic of the forty days standing for forty years becomes clearer when reading God’s decision in Num 14:

According to the number of the days in which you spied out the land, forty days, for every day a year, you shall bear your iniquity, forty years, and you shall know my displeasure.⁴⁹

In this way, the word “wilderness” became biblical shorthand for “going through a trial of loyalty”.⁵⁰ From the Old Testament it was known that for Israel this test of faithfulness was not an unqualified success. In most cases they were putting *God* to the test.⁵¹ When Mark 1:13 describes that Jesus was in the wilderness forty days being tested (*πειραζόμενος*) by the Satan, this test of Israel during forty years comes to mind. The following clause about Jesus being “with the wild animals” and about angels who “served him” clearly alludes to the fact that Jesus successfully underwent this test. This must have been clear for Mark’s readers, because they knew the connection between being faithful to God and not having to fear for wild animals. In the light of what is said above, it can be concluded that Mark 1:13 views Jesus as the Messiah, who acts as the representative of Israel. In him, God’s people stood the test of being faithful.

Mark: Let the Reader Understand

The question, therefore, remains: Does Mark 1:13 in its allusive way depict Jesus as a new Adam who restores paradise or as the one who represents Israel in a new Exodus? Not having to fear wild animals, or even being in peace with them, in combination with the presence of angels strongly points at Jesus as the Messiah who restores paradise. The mention of the wilderness, however, rather indicates that Mark wants to narrate how Jesus brings about a new Exodus; he is the personification of an Israel that does not fail the test. Both allusions, however, do not exclude, but rather complement each other. According to Jewish theology, “Abraham / Israel” was meant as a solution for “Adam / mankind”.⁵² This means that Israel was seen as “the true Adam” or the

⁴⁸ Ps 78:22; Wis 16:20. See also HEIL: *Jesus with the Wild Animals in Mark 1:13*, 74–75.

⁴⁹ Num 14:34. See also CANEDAY: *Mark’s Provocative Use of Scripture in Narration*, 30.

⁵⁰ See CANEDAY: *Mark’s Provocative Use of Scripture in Narration*, 31.

⁵¹ See e.g. Ps 106:14 (“ἐπείρασαν τὸν Θεὸν ἐν ἀνύδρῳ” LXX Ps 105:14) Cf. Matt 4:7 and Luke 4:12.

⁵² Cf. Gen. Rab. 14:6, where it is stated that Abraham will redeem the sins of Adam. See NEUSNER, JACOB: *Genesis Rabbah: The Judaic Commentary to the Book of Genesis: A New American Transla-*

“true humanity”.⁵³ But because Israel is at the same time a descendent of Adam, the chosen people of God suffered from the same problem as Adam, in one word: sin. This implies that when the Messiah of Israel is presented as the “true Israel”,⁵⁴ at the same time he must be the “true Adam”, exactly by being the “true Israel”. In notwithstanding the temptation of Satan in the wilderness, Jesus fulfils the future hope of Israel as the Messiah who will restore paradise.

In Mark 1:13, the short references to Jesus’ being in the wilderness for forty days, his being tested by the Satan, as well as his being among wild animals and being served by angels, all function as allusions to evoke this messianic picture. This portrait would be recognizable for readers of Mark’s gospel who were well-versed in the Scriptures.

The key for the understanding of these allusions can be found in the common notion⁵⁵ within the Old Testament and the pseudepigraphical literature about how living with love for God and fellow human beings creates a glimpse of paradise. In this way, Mark not only introduces Jesus as Messiah, but also shows his readers what this messiahship implies. This Messiah will do more than giving glimpses of paradise: he will restore a true humanity within a new creation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aland, Barbara and Kurt, et al. (eds.), *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th revised edition. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012.
- Andersen, F. I. “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch: A New Translation and Introduction.” Pages 91-221 in *The Old Testament Pseudepigraphy: Volume 1: Apocalyptic Literature*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983.
- Bauckham, Richard. “Jesus and the Wild Animals (Mark 1:13): A Christological Image for an Ecological Age.” Pages 3-21 in *Jesus of Nazareth: Lord and Christ – Essays on the Historical Jesus and New Testament Christology*. Edited by Joel B. Green and Max Turner. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994.
- Bauckham, Richard. “Jesus and the Renewal of Nature: Reading Isaiah and the Gospels Ecologically.” (Lecture given at St Thikhon’s Orthodox Seminary, Moscow, October 2009) <http://richardbauckham.co.uk/uploads/Accessible/Jesus%20&%20the%20Renewal%20of%20Nature.pdf> (cited 23 June 2016).

tion. Vol. 1 Atlanta, Scholars Press, 1985.

⁵³ See WENKEL, David H.: Wild Beasts in the Prophecy of Isaiah: The Loss of Dominion and Its Renewal through Israel as the New Humanity, *JTI* 5 no. 2, 2011, 252. See also WRIGHT: *The New Testament and the People of God*, 262-279.

⁵⁴ See e.g. John 15:1 “I am the true vine” (*Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἄμπελος ἣ ἀληθινή*), the vine being a symbol for Israel, cf. Isa 5:1-7.

⁵⁵ A similar common notion connecting sexual abstinence and time for prayer may be that of T. Naph. 8:8 “There is a time for having intercourse with one’s wife, and a time to abstain for the purpose of prayer.” (Translation: KEE: *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, OTP 1, 814. The apostle Paul may have been aware of this notion, cf. 1 Cor 7:5.

- Bickerman, Elias J. "The Date of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." *Journal of Biblical Literature (JBL)* 69 no. 3 (1950): 245-260.
- Caneday, A. B. "Mark's Provocative Use of Scripture in Narration: 'He Was with the Wild Animals and Angels Ministered to Him'." *Bulletin for Biblical Research (BBR)* 9 (1999): 19-36.
- Charles, R. H. *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Edited from Nine MSS, Together with the Variants of the Armenian and Slavonic Versions and Some Hebrew Fragments*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1908.
- Charles, R. H. *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English: Volume 2: Pseudepigrapha*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1913.
- Gieschen, Charles A. "Why Was Jesus with the Wild Beasts (Mark 1:13)?" *Concordia Theological Quarterly (CTQ)* 73 (2009): 77- 80.
- Harland, P. J. *The Value of Human Life: A Study of the Story of the Flood (Genesis 6-9)*. Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum* 64. Leiden: Brill, 1996.
- Heil, John Paul. "Jesus with the Wild Animals in Mark 1:13." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly (CBQ)* 68 no. 1 (2006): 63-78.
- Jonge, M. de. "Christian Influence in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." *Novum Testamentum (NT)* 4 no. 3 (1960): 182-235.
- Jonge, M. de. "Once More: Christian Influence in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." *Novum Testamentum* 5 no. 4 (1962): 311-319.
- Jonge, M. de. "The Transmission of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs by Christians." *Vigiliae Christianae (VC)* 47 (1993): 1-28.
- Kee, H. C. "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A New Translation and Introduction." Pages 775-828 in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha (OTP): Volume 1: Apocalyptic Literature*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth. New York: Doubleday, 1983.
- Klijn, A. F. J. "2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch: A New Translation and Introduction." Pages 615-652 in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Volume 1: Apocalyptic Literature*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983.
- Neusner, Jacob. *Genesis Rabbah: The Judaic Commentary to the Book of Genesis: A New American Translation*. 3 volumes. Volume 1: Parashiyyot One through Thirty-Three on Genesis 1:1 to 8:14. Brown Judaic Studies 104. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985.
- Wenkel, David H. "Wild Beasts in the Prophecy of Isaiah: The Loss of Dominion and Its Renewal through Israel as the New Humanity." *Journal of Theological Interpretation (JTI)* 5 no. 2 (2011): 251-264.
- Wintermute, O. S. "Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction." Pages 35-142 in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Volume 2: Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth. New York: Doubleday, 1985.
- Wright, N. T. *The New Testament and the People of God*. Christian Origins and the Question of God, Volume 1. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992.

Abstract

This study focuses on the short temptation narrative in Mark 1:13. Mark only tells his readers that Jesus “was in the wilderness forty days, tempted by Satan; and he was with the wild beasts; and the angels ministered to him”. This short narrative is an example of how the Gospel of Mark employs a literary style full of enigmatic descriptions. These riddles are a challenge to the reader to discover a hidden meaning. They form a kind of “literary wormholes” through which the reader is transported to the symbolic universe of the Old Testament. Based on Old Testament and Second Temple literature, it is argued that a common Jewish belief described how only people who were righteous could live without fear for animals. Mark, however, not only depicts Jesus as such a righteous person, but also as Israel’s Messiah. Jesus being “among wild animals” evokes, therefore, the messianic visions of the Old Testament prophets about peaceful being together of otherwise natural enemies. The mention of the wilderness and being tempted forty days, reminds the reader of the “test” of Israel in the wilderness. In this way, Jesus is viewed as the Messiah who represents the “true Israel” and “true humanity” by being faithful to God, and as such will bring about a new creation.

*Henk E.S.
Woldring*

COMENIUS' SEARCH FOR CONDITIONS OF PEACE SET AGAINST THE PERSPECTIVE OF SHALOM

1. Introduction

The central question this paper addresses is as follows: What conditions does Jan Amos Comenius describe as necessary to achieve enduring peace, and, finally, to promote *shalom*? To answer this question, in part I of this paper I will analyse causal factors of warfare, and the conditions necessary to achieve enduring peace. In part II I will elaborate on the characteristics of a situation of enduring peace from the perspective of *shalom*. For this elaboration I will use Comenius' pansophic method of research. Firstly, I will use the analytic method to divide the situation of enduring peace into its components. Secondly, I will use the synthetic method to reconstruct a situation of enduring peace to better understand the connection and order of its components. Thirdly, I will use the syncritic method to discover analogies between enduring peace and comparable phenomena. The conclusion will be that these analogies clarify those conditions of enduring peace that may promote *shalom*.

PART I: ANALYSIS OF ENDURING PEACE

2. Causal Factors of Warfare

After a period of ten years during which Comenius had lived in Amsterdam, in 1667 he made a trip to Breda. He wished to meet the diplomats who were gathered there for negotiations to finish the Second Anglo-Dutch War. To promote these peace negotiations he had written the book *Angelus pacis* (*The Angel of Peace*), of which he took along a number of copies to hand over to the diplomats.

In his book Comenius addresses the diplomats with the words of the prophet Isaiah (59, 8): 'They do not know the road of peace.' Next, he explained that greed and avarice had nourished warfare, and had made people blind in the search for peace. The war between Eng-

land and the Netherlands had been driven by nationalist self-interest, the desire for expansion of colonial property, and the ambition to conquer new markets and to gain a clear victory. These reasons underpinned their strivings to maintain fleets of warships to ensure dominance at sea.¹ In summary, Comenius named the factors that had promoted warfare: nationalism, avarice, and political and military power.

3. Negative and Positive Peace

Comenius struggled with Machiavelli's idea that politics would, in essence, mean that governments should maintain their positions of power, possibly even by lie and deceit.² On the other hand, Comenius argued that a government should be duly bound to use its power in favour of the citizens. Therefore, it has a moral obligation to finish the war, and, moreover, to strive for enduring peace, and in this way to promote a just world order.³ In other words, Comenius not only had the absence of war (a negative peace) in mind, but a positive or enduring peace as well to promote a national and international order of law and justice. In his book *The Road of Peace (Cesta pokoge)*, that was published in Poland in 1637, he writes: 'Peace means a situation in which the human being (...) can enjoy his life carefree in a pleasant social order, without any hindrance of others.'⁴ Although this last-mentioned book was about peace among followers of various confessional persuasions, its application was wider: peace meant maintaining a stable social and political order, existential security in public life, and freedom (formulated positively) to enjoy this order and existential security, and (formulated negatively) without to be threatened by others in this order and existential security.

In *Angelus pacis* Comenius did not discuss a situation of enduring peace only to promote a national and international legal system that offers citizens their existential security. He also discussed peace as a necessary condition to achieve general welfare.⁵ This idea did not involve individual or group interests, but general interest that was at issue in the meaning of general, all-embracing, welfare. Although one may conclude from *Angelus pacis* that Comenius was a pacifist, he was not an unconditional pacifist. I will explain the conditions.

4. Conditions of Enduring Peace

In early of 1667, a couple of months before the publication of *Angelus pacis*, Comenius wrote a pamphlet of 28 pages, entitled *Publication of the Prophetic Book (Voluminis prophetici ... dimissio)*. This pamphlet was intended to draw the attention of the diplomats in Breda to another issue: in it, he criticised the pope and the Habsburg emperor Leo-

¹ COMENIUS, J.A.: *Angelus pacis/ Friedensengel*, eingeleitet, erl. und hrsg. von WALTER, Eykmann, Würzburg, Königshausen en Neumann, 1993.

² MACHIAVELLI, N. : *The Prince* (1532). XXI., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991.

³ COMENIUS, J.A.: *Angelus pacis/ Friedensengel*, 21.

⁴ Quoted from Blekastad, M. COMENIUS, *Versuch eines Umrisses von Leben, Werk und Schicksal des Jan Amos Komensky*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget/Praha: Academia, 1969., 241.

⁵ COMENIUS, J.A.: *Angelus pacis/ Friedensengel*, 4.

pold I, both of whom he considered to be fanatic fighters against freedom of religion, and leaders of the extermination of Protestants in Central Europe. As representatives of their countries Comenius exhorted the diplomats to encourage their governments to begin a unanimous war against these rulers in order to expel them, and to appoint others in their place.⁶ His appeal was an outright declaration of war against the pope and the emperor, and might thus seem in possible conflict with his peace mission in *Angelus pacis*, although he did not see it that way. According to him, in a situation of wrongdoing and injustice, enduring peace would be impossible: a situation of enduring peace could only be achieved if certain conditions were met.

These conditions came up for discussion in *Angelus pacis* already, and have been discussed extensively elsewhere. Comenius discusses these conditions in his book *Unum necessarium (The Only Thing Needed)* that was published a year later, in 1668. In this book he enlarged on his peace mission by adding the following condition for peace: 'Concord, the ability that ... all members of society hold together.'⁷ This moral concord was not based upon subjective feelings shared by citizens: it needed more. The condition of moral concord implies that in society a certain social order should exist that would be voluntarily obeyed by the citizens; they would have insight into this order and would thus voluntarily obey the government and its laws. Therefore, he argues that concord requires a social order of 'government that is based on freedom, and civil obedience that is based on freedom as well'.⁸

According to Comenius, enduring peace is a situation of moral concord that was based on a social order of law, justice and other moral virtues. However, this concord is not based on this social order alone, but also on an ontological order of reality that underlies the social order. Comenius considered this ontological order in the sense of a 'creation order' that he interpreted as an originally harmonious order of man and fellow-man, material things and animals, plants and planets, God and cosmos. Since Comenius interpreted this ontological order as an originally and essentially harmonious order, he considered it as a metaphysical order. Comenius argued that human beings should search for their place and existential security in a world that is characterised by this order.

If the social and political order was violated by war, and, consequently, the ontological reality was broken, then, according to Comenius, people needed wise insight into the order of reality to redress the social and political order. This redress of the social and political order, that is to redress the situation of enduring peace, could be achieved by practising justice, love and other moral virtues.⁹

⁶ See BRAMBORA, J.: Comenius und Leibniz, in *Akten des Internationalen Leibniz-Kongresses* (1966), Bd. V: *Geschichte der Philosophie*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1971, 69.

⁷ COMENIUS, J.A.: *Unum necessarium* (1668) / *Das einzig Notwendige*, Hamburg, Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1964. VII, 1.

⁸ COMENIUS, *Unum necessarium*, VII, 2.

⁹ See COMENIUS, J.A.: *Centrum securitatis*, VI-VIII., also BECK, H.: Der Begriff des Friedens bei Comenius, in ZEMEK, P. (hrsg): *Studien zu Comenius und zur Comeniusrezeption in Deutschland*.

Comenius did not consider the world as a static whole, but as a terrain of possibilities which human beings can investigate to achieve improvements. One of these possibilities was a universal or global language which would have to be introduced in all countries. However, Comenius did not claim the existence of universal language as a condition for enduring peace. He discussed a universal language as a means to achieve enduring peace as a permanent situation.¹⁰ Finally he desired to improve the humanity of mankind, and in this way to contribute to the good life or happiness of human beings. This goal places enduring peace in the perspective of *shalom*.

PART II: ENDURING PEACE IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF SHALOM

5. Destination of Peace: *Shalom*

Comenius' *Angelus pacis* was substantially influenced by Erasmus' book *The Complaint of Peace*, that was published one hundred and fifty years earlier, in 1517. There is a clear relationship between both books, in particular concerning the theme of peace and happiness. Erasmus discusses peace as a source of 'human happiness,' and 'happiness of all.'¹¹ In 1659 Comenius had published a book titled *Happiness of a Nation (Gentis felicitas)*, in which he used the word 'happiness' in the sense of general welfare. This means that it does not just concern material prosperity, but particularly to bring into practise justice and righteousness. This practice would promote the moral level of society, and the quality of life of the nation as a whole and of individual citizens. So, Comenius characterized welfare of a nation as happiness. As I observed before, in *Angelus pacis* Comenius discusses peace as the basis upon which to strive for general welfare, or peace as a necessary condition for achieving all-embracing welfare. Whatever the case may be, peace may be understood as a situation of striving for happiness or a situation that gives joy – a situation that may be typified with the Hebrew word of peace, *shalom*.

Shalom means more than a situation of enduring peace. A situation of *shalom* is characterized by bringing into practice justice, righteousness and other moral virtues, material existential securities, and the quality of life one experiences, individually and collectively, as a joy. In other words, *shalom* is achieved in a moral community in which human beings live for mutual support of each other. The human being enjoys a life in harmony with himself and with others, with society and nature, and with God.¹²

Festschrift für Werner Korthaase zum 70. Geburtstag, Uherský Brod, Muzeum J.A. Komenského, 2008, 337-343.

¹⁰ COMENIUS, J.A.: *Via lucis/Der Weg des Lichtes*, Lateinisch-Deutsch, eingeleitet, übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen Voigt, U. von, Hamburg, Meiner, 1997, XIX, 6, 15, XX, 13.

¹¹ ERASMUS, D.: *The Complaint of Peace* (1517). Amsterdam/New York, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum/Da Capo Press, 1973. 5-7, 84ff.

¹² See WOLTERSTORFF, N.P.: *Until Justice and Peace Embrace*, Grand Rapids, Michigan, Eerdmans, 1983. 67-72.

6. Insight of the Syncritic Method

Although Comenius did not use the word '*shalom*', he was familiar with the idea of *shalom*. The purpose of his argument on peace may be characterized by *shalom*. *Shalom* offers a new look at human life in the proper perspective of enduring peace. As such *shalom* means a new stage in the history of mankind; it is a stage of improvement of material and immaterial conditions of human existence, both nationally and internationally. The question is now: How can people gain insight to strive for this improvement of the world? One may answer that the idea of *shalom* is well-known for a long time already, and that bringing into practice justice, righteousness and other moral virtues will undoubtedly promote *shalom*. Comenius would certainly agree with this answer, however, in my opinion, he would judge this answer as inadequate. He did not wish only to preach about improving the world nor to moralize about moral virtues: he wanted to give an insight into the conditions that could make it possible to achieve *shalom*. For this purpose he used in his pansophic research, besides analytic and synthetic methods, the syncritic method.

The *analytic method* divides a whole into its components; the *synthetic method* brings order and mutual connections between the components to better understand the whole. But after having carefully employed these methods to determine the components of a certain phenomenon, the *syncritic method* (or the 'method of comparison') is used to compare phenomena that belong to various domains of reality, and to discover similar components (analogies) of these phenomena. The syncritic method has a higher level than the analytic and the synthetic methods, since it does not divide a whole nor does it bring order into the components, but it compares various phenomena as unities. Moreover, the syncritic method looks for analogies with these phenomena, and it identifies previously unknown connections between various phenomena. So, we can compare a situation of enduring peace that belongs to the socio-political domain of reality with, for instance, physical or biological phenomena.

In his *Didactica magna* Comenius looks for analogies between the developments of various phenomena: brooding an egg, planting a new tree, and building a new house.¹³ Firstly, he uses the analytic method to describe the components of the process of development of each of these phenomena. However, he does not want to stop with these components. Therefore, secondly, he uses the synthetic method to reconstruct the phenomenon as a unity, and its relationships to the other phenomena. The most significant analogies he discusses are the following: both a bird, a gardener and a carpenter are doing things with care, and gradually (without omitting any step), and preparing an excellent result. Comenius' crucial question is: How to make clear that these analogies can be applied to a phenomenon of another domain of reality, for instance, to schools in order to improve their processes of education? In summary, Comenius' answer is as follows: 1) in schools the subject matter should be taught gradually, and step by step in successive classes, and matched to the level of intellec-

¹³ COMENIUS, J.A.: *Didactica magna* (1657) /Grosse Didaktik, übersetzt und herausgegeben FLITNER, A. von, Düsseldorf/München, Küpper, 1970.XVI, 1-63.

tual development of the students. **2)** School education needs a continuous progress so that no stage is omitted, and no gap of knowledge will arise. Students should be encouraged to finish their education or to achieve the proposed goals of education. **3)** In the schools no matter should be raised that may confuse the students, nor they should be charged with too many duties; one should also avoid setbacks that could demotivate them.

Klaus Schaller argues that Comenius' distinction between the analytic, synthetic and syncritic methods 'does not as such concern a method of acquiring knowledge, but rather a path on which the pansophic scholar achieves a human way of life that involves knowledge and actions.'¹⁴ I think that Schaller is right in so far that, by using the three methods just described, Comenius certainly hoped to attain knowledge, but also that these methods are inherently connected with a pansophic way of life. In other words, these methods lead to a true wisdom of life in which theoretical knowledge, practice-based knowledge, and actual renewing actions (*theoria*, *praxis* and *chresis*) are closely interconnected. The syncritic method of Comenius' pansophic research is intended to perform an important role in renewing human life. Although I acknowledge that Comenius' syncritic method of comparison may indeed give an insight into complicated problems, however, I have to add that this insight produces no more than hypothetical knowledge that should be tested by empirical research

Since Comenius was of opinion that all problems could be investigated by using the syncritic method, I will use this method in my further research of the situation of enduring peace. I will use the analytic method to divide the situation of enduring peace into its components (the characteristics as described): a situation of enduring peace is the basis of 1) the national and international order of law and justice, 2) man's existential security, and 3) his striving for general welfare.

Next, I use the synthetic method to make a reconstruction of the order and connections between the components of a situation of enduring peace, so as to receive a better understanding of this order and connections.

Finally, I use the syncritic method to compare a situation of enduring peace with phenomena from other domains of reality. For example, one may think of the phenomena just mentioned from biology, crafts, and education: brooding an egg, planting a new tree, building a new house, and improving processes of school education. Based on such comparisons researchers may discover certain analogies. Some of these have been mentioned already: processes in which everything is done gradually, and with care, in order to achieve the best possible results. Similar analogies can also be found for the conditions of a situation of enduring peace: processes in which people take care of concord in society, and in which a gradual growth of insight exists into

¹⁴ SCHALLER, K.: *Herder und Comenius. Ein Lehrstück zur Aufklärung Johann Gottfried Herders* 57. Humanitätsbrief, Sankt Augustin, Academia Verlag, 1988, 35. See SCHALLER, K.: *Comenius 1992. Gesammelte Beiträge zum Jubiläumsjahr*, Sankt Augustin, Academia Verlag, 1992, 70, 96, 114.

the order of society, so that citizens voluntarily obey the government and its laws. Comparison of the mentioned phenomena also points to an analogy of the intended results: all phenomena lead to growth or progress that produces joy for everyone. Applied to the situation of enduring peace, the syncritic method shows that this situation, based on bringing into practice justice, righteousness and other moral virtues, promotes material prosperity, and the moral level of concord of society – in short, a situation of general welfare or happiness.

Within the framework of Comenius' pansophy the knowledge obtained by the syncritic method serves to expand on a situation of enduring peace by also renewing human behaviour, in order to achieve a higher moral level, and to promote a situation of *shalom* – a joyful peace.

7. The Subject of *Shalom*

Finally, I will ask one more question: what is the subject of *shalom*? By this I mean the following: the word 'subject' comes from the Greek *hypokeimenon* that means *underlying ... or submitted to ...*, not only in the sense of being subject to laws, but also in the meaning of: *foundation of ... or ... receptive to ...* So, the human being as a subject may have the meaning of: *to be open to ..., to be responsible for ..., to be inclined to ...* Thus, the question of the subject of *shalom* may be answered as follows: what people are *receptive* and *responsible* to understand and to experience a joyful peace? Comenius believed the answer would be as follows: those who have the wisdom or insight into the ontological order of reality (or the original harmonious order of nature and society), and into man's place in this order, and also insight into and experience with bringing into practice justice, righteousness and other moral virtues. They will not be happy without a reason, but they have reason to be delighted in an enduring peace in a situation of *shalom*. Also those who believe that *shalom* will eventually be promoted by a divine blessing, will strive ceaselessly for general welfare in order to be worthy to receive this blessing. Those who have insight into, and have experience of situations of violence, oppression and other forms of injustice, and with practising moral virtues, are receptive to arguments to remain hopeful for *shalom* for mankind.

8. Conclusions

A situation of enduring peace forms the basis from which to strive for general welfare. This situation may achieve its destination in general welfare as well. However, an enduring peace will not be possible if a breakdown of fundamental justice exists within or between nations. In this case not only is the social and political order violated but the underlying ontological order of reality as well, which, according to Comenius, is characterized by an all-embracing and essential (metaphysical) order of harmony. The social and political order that should lead to this ontological order of harmony, is characterized by the concord of a nation. Such concord may result in a widely-shared insight of citizens to accept and to obey their government and its laws.

This concord can develop into a situation of *shalom*, that is a situation characterized by freely observing laws, justice and other moral virtues, and that then results in a moral level of society that gives joy to everyone. My final conclusion is that Comenius' syncritic method of research of a situation of enduring peace may indeed present some knowledge to promote *shalom*, but this method produces only hypothetical knowledge that may lead to possible improvements of human life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Blekastad, *Comenius. Versuch eines Umrisses von Leben, Werk und Schicksal des Jan Amos Komensky*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget/Praha: Academia, 1969.
- J. Brambora, 'Comenius und Leibniz', in *Akten des Internationalen Leibniz-Kongresses* (1966), Bd. V: *Geschichte der Philosophie*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1971, pp. 55-71.
- J.A. Comenius, *Centrum securitatis* (1633), nach der deutschen Ausgabe von A. Macher aus dem Jahre 1737, eingeleitet und herausgegeben von K. Schaller. Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1964.
- J.A. Comenius, *Didactica magna* (1657)/*Grosse Didaktik*, übersetzt und herausgegeben von A. Flitner. Düsseldorf/München: Küpper, 1970.
- J.A. Comenius, *Gentis felicitas* (1659)/*Das Glück eines Volkes*, in J.A. Comenius, *Ausgewählte Werke*, Bd. III, Hrsg. K. Schaller. Hildesheim/New York: Olms, 1977, pp. 265-300.
- J.A. Comenius, *Angelus pacis* (1667)/*Friedensengel*, Hrsg. W. Eykmann. Würzburg: Königshausen en Neumann, 1993.
- J.A. Comenius, *Via lucis/Der Weg des Lichtes*, Lateinisch-Deutsch, eingeleitet, übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen von U. Voigt. Hamburg: Meiner, 1997.
- J.A. Comenius, *Unum necessarium* (1668)/*Das einzig Notwendige*. Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1964.
- D. Erasmus, *The Complaint of Peace* (1517). Amsterdam/New York: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum/Da Capo Press, 1973.
- N. Machiavelli, *The Prince* (1532). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- K. Schaller, *Herder und Comenius. Ein Lehrstück zur Aufklärung der Aufklärung. Johann Gottfried Herders 57. Humanitätsbrief*. Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag, 1988.
- K. Schaller, *Comenius 1992. Gesammelte Beiträge zum Jubiläumsjahr*. Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag, 1992.
- N.P. Wolterstorff, *Until Justice and Peace Embrace*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1983.
- P. Zemek c.s. (Hrsg.), *Studien zu Comenius und zur Comeniusrezeption in Deutschland. Festschrift für Werner Korthaase zum 70. Geburtstag*. Uherský Brod: Muzeum J.A. Komenského, 2008.

Hier möchte ich über Images der ungarischen Galeerensklaven (1675–76) sprechen,¹ einige ihrer Rollen aufzeigen, um den Ausdruck Galeerensklave und die Begriffe Märtyrer, Märtyrertum klären zu können. Viele wissenschaftliche und populärwissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen sprechen verallgemeinernd vom „protestantischen Predigerprozess“, (1673–74) obwohl nicht alle Angeklagten Prediger waren. Auf diese Weise wird von der Geschichte der „protestantischen Galeerensklaven“ gesprochen, auch wenn das Thema der Pressburger Prozess oder die aus dem Gefängnis oder aus der Galeerensklaverei Freigekommenen sind.

Nämlich war weder das geschichtliche Gedächtnis, noch das zeitgenössische kommunikative Gedächtnis hinsichtlich ihrer Beurteilung einheitlich. Keiner wurde eindeutig zum Galeerensklaven oder Märtyrer. Nicht einmal die Zeitgenossen benutzten den Begriff Märtyrer unbedingt für die in der Galeerensklaverei gestorbenen oder sie überlebenden Personen. Sogar sie selbst bezeichneten sich bei der Beschreibung aus ihrer Lage nicht als Märtyrer. Im Allgemeinen ist die Rede von 24 calvinistischen und 6 lutherischen Geistlichen, die diese Leiden erlitten und überlebten und, als sie endlich in Zürich gemeinsam ankamen, dort gefeiert und gemalt wurden.

Entlang der Stationen der Entrechzung (1674–81) änderten sich stets die Rollen der Beteiligten. Einerseits können wir das anhand der bekannten aber nur als Manuskripte erhaltenen Berichte von Bálint Kocsi Csergő (*Narratio brevis*) und Ferenc Otrokócsi Fórás (*Furor*

¹ S. VARGA, Katalin (hrsg): *Vitetnek itélőszékre... Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve [Sie wurden zum Tribunal gebracht, Das Gerichtsprotokoll der Galeerenprozesses im Jahre 1674]*, Pozsony, Kaligram, 2002.

Dávid Csorba

METAPHERN DES GEDÄCHTNISSES: DIE ETIKETTIERUNG DER UNGARISCHEN CALVINISTISCHEN GALEERENSKLAVEN

bestiae) verfolgen² sowie der Schrift von Graf Miklós Bethlen (*Apologia*)³, andererseits anhand der Werke von Franciscus Wagner (*Historia Leopoldi*) und Johannes Lapsászky (*Extractus brevis*)⁴ und auch mit Hilfe anderer – hauptsächlich in der Zürcher Zentralbibliothek aufbewahrter – zeitgenössischer Texte.

Die speziellen Ansichten oder Rollen, die einander gegenüberstehen, können vom Beginn des Prozesses bis zur Befreiung beobachtet werden. Am Anfang des Prozessverfahrens standen verdächtigte protestantische geistliche Personen vs. königlicher Staatsanwalt/Regent (in der Angelegenheit der Rebellion).⁵ In der gerichtlichen Untersuchung disputierten Menschen, die in der Rolle des „Advocatus Diaboli“ auf die Bühne traten, gegen die Verteidiger des Staates (wegen der Anklage der Majestätsbeleidigung).⁶ Dem Urteil folgend standen die bekennenden Christen und die „Diaboles Martyri“ einander gegenüber.⁷ Um den Zeitpunkt der Vollziehung des Urteils (in Gefangenschaft und unterwegs) waren die Personen einerseits Partner der Passion Christi und andererseits staatsfeindliche Verurteilte, später Militärgefangene und Häftlinge.⁸ Der Freilassung folgend konnten drei verschiedene Rollen identifiziert werden: die Entschädigung unterschreibenden rekatholisierten Protestant, der entrechtete und schuldige Protestant (ein Selbstbild, seine Gefangenschaft und Erlösung musste er begleichen) und der Märtyrer (das Bild des internationalen Calvinismus).⁹ Unterwegs nach Hause stellten sie sich als ihre Arbeitsstelle abtretende, auf Entschädigung verzichtende Fremde, und als Konfessoren, Exilanten (als Selbstbild), oder auch als Engel dar (da sie ihre eigene Gemeinschaft auf diese Weise emp-

² Diese Texte sind in zahlreichen Kopien erreichbar, aber sie wurden auch auf Lateinisch veröffentlicht. KOCSI CSERGŐ, Bálint: *Narratio brevis de oppressa libertate Ecclesiarum Hungaricarum*, in LAMPE, Friedrich Adolf: [DEBRECENI EMBER, PAL]: *Historiae Ecclesiae reformatae in Hungaria et Transsylvania*, Utrecht, van Poolsus, 1728, 746–919; OTROKCSI FÓRIS, Ferenc: [*Furor bestiae*:] *Fenevad dühöngése*, (übersetzt und hrsg. von Gábor HERPAY), Einl. Sándor CSIKESZ, Budapest., ORLE, 1933, (Antiqua Bibliotheca Ecclesiae Reformatae Hungariae, III/1).

³ [Graf BETHLEN, Miklós]: *Apologia Ministrorum Evangelicorum Hungariae*, [Kolozsvár], [Mihály VERESEGYHÁZI SZENTYEL], 1677 (RMK II, 1400).

⁴ WAGNER, Franciscus: *Historia Leopoldi Magni Caesaris Augusti*, Augustae Vindelicorum, Georgii Schlüter, Martini Happach, 1719; LABSANSZKY, Johannes: *Extractus brevis et verus...*, Tyrnaviae, s. n., 1675 (RMK II, 1369; 1383a; RMKP 2626); und es gibt auch Bände auf Deutsch: Ders., Kurtzer, und wahrhafter Berichts-Auszug, Türrnau, s. n., 1676 (RMK II, 1370).

⁵ S. VARGA, Vitetnek Itélőszékre..., a. a. O.; VAN BRUYNINX, Gerhard Hamel: *Onschuld der Evangelise Leeraaren aan de Rebellie in Hungarien*, in VAN POOT, Abraham (ed.), *Naauwkeurig Verhaal van de vervolginge*, Amsterdam, ten Hoorn, 1684, 437–441.

⁶ KOCSI CSERGŐ: *Narratio brevis*, a. a. O.; OTROKCSI FÓRIS: *Furor bestiae...*, a. a. O.

⁷ KOCSI CSERGŐ Bálint: *Magyar vértanuk nyomában: A Szelepcsényi-Kollonics-féle reformáció vértanui: Koci Csergő Bálint műve a gályarab-per tizenkilenc vértanujáról* [Auf den Spuren der ungarischen Galeeresklaven: Blutzeugen der Reformation von Szelepcsényi-Kollonics: Das Werk von Bálint Koci Csergő über die 19 Blutzeugen des Galeerensprozesses], (übersetzt und hrsg. von Lajos SZIMONIDESZ), Pápa, Misztótfalusi, 1944.

⁸ Vgl. LABSANSZKY: *Extractus brevis et verus...*, a. a. O.

⁹ *Confessio novorum Catholicorum in Hungaria*, in Kort en waaragtig verhaal van de laetste vervolgingen der euangelische leeraaren in Hungarien, Amsterdam, van Someren, 1677 (RMK III, 7738), 46–58.

ding).¹⁰ Und letztlich (nach Artikel 1681/26) kehrten sie heim als die Glieder Christi (im Rahmen der konfessionellen Minderheit), die dort nur zu einem „articularis“ Ort gebundene „acatholices“ wurden.

Die Arten der Etikettierung zeigen an, dass die in dem Prozess erschienenen Bezeichnungen durch die Rollen, die in ihren eigenen Anträgen und Briefen konzipiert wurden und ihre Identität kennzeichneten und durch die von ihren Schweizer Empfängern auf sie angewandte „labels“ abgelöst werden. Untersuchen wir diese Etikettierungen einzeln einerseits anhand des Buches des ehemaligen theologischen Professors von Pápa, Etele Thurys aus 1912 (*Daten zur Geschichte der ungarischen protestantischen Prediger*),¹¹ der in den 1670er Jahren herausgegebenen Schrifte, und andererseits anhand der Manuskripte des Schweizer Archivs der Galeerensklaven (Zentralbibliothek Zürich).

Die Selbstbenennungen, die in Bittbriefen und der Erlösung folgenden Texten (Briefe, Albumeinträge) vorkamen, waren einerseits funktionell, wie „die für ihren Glauben Galeerensklaverei erlitten habenden und *im Exil lebenden ungarischen Prediger und Lehrer*“;¹² „die von den Neapeler Galeeren und aus den Gefängnissen befreiten, aus ihrer Heimat verjagten 30 ungarischen protestantischen *geistlichen Diener*“,¹³ oder nur einfach so: „die einst verbannten Prediger, die jetzt im Exil leben und die einst gesetzliche Prediger waren, dann in den verschiedenen Teilen der Welt als *Häftlinge* bloßgestellt waren und die jetzt aber als *elende Verbannte* angesehen werden“;¹⁴ andererseits christliche, wie die einfachen und *elenden Diener Christi*,¹⁵ *exul Christi*,¹⁶ *socius passionis Christi*.¹⁷ Die für einander gebrauchten Begriffe in der Korrespondenz zwischen den drei Lutheranern und 30 Zürchern waren *Konfessoren*

¹⁰ Die internationalen Verträge und Briefe (geschrieben zwischen 1675–79) sind meistens noch nicht erschienen. Davon hat Thury mindestens 100 Briefen und andere Schriften veröffentlicht: THURY, Etele: *Adatok a magyar protestáns gályarab-lelkészek történetéhez [Daten zur Geschichte der ungarischen protestantischen Galeerensprediger]*, Budapest, Athenaeum, 1912.

¹¹ THURY, *Adatok...*, a. a. O.; vgl. Archiv des Reformierten Kollegiums Pápa, Thury-Nachlass, Nr. O 662.

¹² Vgl. Empfehlungsbrief der niederländischen Stände an den englischen König (Den Haag, 14. Oktober 1676), Harleian Manuskripte, British Museum, Sign. 1516, 16–17.

¹³ Antrag an Karl II. (London, 11. November 1676), Harleian Manuskripte, British Museum, Sign. 1516, 17–18.

¹⁴ Denkschrift für den englischen Gesandten in Genf (17. Augustus 1676), Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Manuskriptensammlung (im Weiteren: ZBZ, MSS), H 272, 105–128).

¹⁵ An die Gemeinde zu Genf (Zürich, 18. September 1676), Staatsarchiv Zürich (im Weiteren: StAZ), A 185.1; im Sermon von Bischof Séllyei steht „die oft verfolgte Diener der ungarischen protestantischen Kirche“ (Zürich, 21. Juli 1677), ZBZ, MSS, B 189, 37r.

¹⁶ S. „nunc pro Christe nomine exul“ (Bischof Fekete), „coexul pro nomine Christi“ (Otrokócsi), „exul pro dulci nomini Jesu“ (Martinus Sajó Szentpéteri) sind alle in dem Album von Illés Ladmóczi zu finden, OszK, Duod. Lat. Nr. 90; „exul propter testimonium Jesu“ (der Brief von Otrokócsi an Heidegger, Den Haag, 3. Mai 1677), ZBZ, MSS, B 9, Nr. 104.

¹⁷ S. „pro Christo una sumus passi“ (Jakab Csúzi Cseh an Heidegger, 30. April 1681), ZBZ, MSS, B 9, Nr. 122; für den Namen Christi gelitten aber befreit (Ders., an Heidegger, 24. April 1685), ZBZ, MSS, D 181, Nr. 191; schon das dritte Mal für den Fall Christi verbannt (Ders., an die Stadt Zürich), StAZ, A 185.1.

Christi: Tóbiás Masznyik in seinem Brief an Heidegger lobpreist Gott dafür, dass er es nicht erlaubt hat, dass die Konfessoren verloren gehen, „de liberatis Christi confessoribus confirmavit“;¹⁸ *athleta Christi*.¹⁹ Und wenn wir die Selbstbenennungen unter den 30 Zürchern unter die Lupe nehmen, treffen wir Begriffe wie *Wanderer* (Bálint Köpeczi hofft, dass sie Gott durch Josua aus der Wüste ihrer Wanderungen in ihre liebe Heimat zurückführt),²⁰ *vivus et mortuus Martyr*,²¹ *die Krone der Martyrer erhaltenende Tote* – eine Benennung in einem Brief, der am 8-ten Februar im Jahre 1676 von den Neapeler Galeeren an die Bukkarer Häftlinge geschickt wurde.²²

Die Selbstbilder (Etikettierungen) weisen natürlich noch viele andere Images auf. In der internen leopoldinischen Korrespondenz werden sie als *Rebell*,²³ *Ketzer* oder einfach nur *Prediger* beschreiben. In seinem schlauen Brief beschreibt Kramprich, der österreichische Gesandte in den Niederlanden, die Wirkung der achtköpfigen Delegation der Galeerensklaven und die Kraft ihrer Schriften und, um die Lage der Katholiken zu verbessern, empfiehlt er Leopold: „durch dieser Prädikanten ahnleitung man einige gnadt für Sie, undt einige Freyheit für die Reformirte in Hungaren“.²⁴ Der Kontext war aber im Allgemeinen typisch für die Gegenreformation: die befreiten Prediger konnten nur heimlich nach Hause fahren, weil sie auch konfessioneller Feind waren. Darüber berichtet ein Brief von den nach Ungarn fahrenden Harsányis, nämlich dass die Passagiere in Ulm erkannt wurden und sie fliehen mussten.²⁵ Nach der Befreiung fuhr eine 8-köpfige Gruppe aus Holland über England nach Deutschland und Dänemark. In der lutherischen Gemeinschaft gal-

¹⁸ Tobias Masznyik an Heidegger (Wittenberg, 3. Mai 1676), ZBZ, MSS, D 181, Nr. 106.

¹⁹ S. „Vidistis magna cum cordis sympathia et commiseratione Christianā Athletas Christi“ (StAZ, A 185.1, Nr. 130–131). Georg Láni schreibt an Heidegger darüber, dass seine ehemaligen Brüder im Glaubensstreit befreit wurden (Leipzig, 13. October 1676), ZBZ, MSS, D 181, Nr. 113; „Captivos et crucis Christi fratres“ (Masznyik an Heidegger, Leipzig, 30. April 1679), ZBZ, MSS, D 181, Nr. 158.

²⁰ Bálint Köpeczi an ihre Zürcher Brüder aus den Niederlanden (Amsterdam, 4. November 1676), ZBZ, MSS, D 181, Nr. 125; „Et teste Jacobo: Peregrinatio est vita nostra in terra peregrinatio“ Michael Karasznaï vergleicht sein Leben im Brief an Heidegger mit dem alttestamentlichen Vorbild (Breslau, 25. Dezember 1677), ZBZ, MSS, D 181, Nr. 132.

²¹ S. „pro veritate verae religionis ac bona conscientia varia sustinentium atque triumphantium, viventium pariter ac mortuorum, tanquam Jesu Christi martyrum“ (Mihály KARASZNAI: *Nomina ministrorum Hungarorum martyrum et confessorum* (Manuskript, 1676), in der Sammlung von Bálint Kocsi Csergő), ZBZ, MSS, D 182, Nr. 1.

²² S. „ad gaudium et exultationem hostium, pretiosam fidelis martyrii coronam, pro temporaria, seu conscientiam in aeternum torquente, transitoria liberationis spe abiiciatis. (...) cum divo Paulo loquamur, quam ingens afflictionum certamen hacenus sustinuitis, partim infame, siti verberibus, partim vero cum ignominia affecti tanquam in tharum propter Christum cum gaudio exceperitis, ut qui sciretis potiorem vobis substantiam reconditam in coelis. (...) et constantissimi martyrii immarcessibili corona potiti sunt“ (Brief von den Neapeler Galeeren an die Bukkarer Häftlinge, 8. Februar 1676), ZBZ, MSS, D 182, Nr. 201.

²³ Der Erlass von Leopold an die Szepeser Kammer über den Umgang mit den Rebellen in Oberungarn (20. März 1675), Nachlass von Thury (Pápa), Regesta, I. 2., IV. Nr. 17–18.

²⁴ Kramprich an Lipót (Den Haag, 10. September 1676), Wien, HHStA, Holl. VI, Nr. 162.

²⁵ Harsányi an Heidegger (Ulm, 5. November 1677), ZBZ, MSS, D 181, Nr. 136.

ten sie entweder als *einer anderen Konfession angehörig*²⁶ oder gar noch als *turcizatos Christianos*: in einem Brief der Prediger in der niederländischen Botschaft an die Welt der Lutheraner steht folgendes negative Bild von ihnen: „in triviis et pulpitis turcizatos Christianos clamitant et traducunt“.²⁷ In den öffentlichen internationalen politischen calvinistischen Texten wurden sie entweder als *Protestante in Ungarn*²⁸ oder nur als die *Verbannten* repräsentiert.²⁹

In den calvinistischen Kontexten, wo für die ehemaligen Galeerensklaven Geld gesammelt wurde, lebten andere, persönlichere Synonyme für sie. In den sie begrüßenden Texten (Wilkommens-Rede, Begrüssungs-Rede, Oration, Propempticon, Disput, Essay) stehen die folgenden Begriffe: *die Diener Gottes*,³⁰ *ungarische Märtyrer*,³¹ *für Christus gelitten habende Prediger*,³² *Konfessoren Christi*,³³ und auch noch ein ganz interessanter neutestamentlicher Begriff, der *Engel*.³⁴ Diese oben erwähnten verallgemeinernden calvinistischen Begriffe wurden nach der Befreiung der ungarischen Galeerensklaven gleich ausgetauscht. In den ihre Befreiung beantragenden Briefen stehen Benennungen wie *Pastoren* (die reformierten Adligen und die Festungsbesatzung in den Grenzfestungen von Pápa, Győr und Veszprém sowie in der Stadt von Komárom bitten Bruyninx – durch den Wiener Agenten und Anwalt István Szalontai – nicht zu erlauben, dass ihre Pastoren weiter in Gefangenschaft verschleppt

²⁶ Einen Feind anzuseigen oder zu vermeiden, da sie keine Brüder sind (ein Lutherischer Prediger „dixit ut non esse Reformatorum Fratri“), Balázs Köpeczi an Heidegger (Dubling, 1. Augustus 1676), ZBZ, MSS, D 181, Nr. 119; der Brief von Otrokócsi an Heidegger (Frankfurt am Main, 14. Augustus 1676), a. a. O., Nr. 122.

²⁷ *S. Alloquium epilogisticum ecclesiarum evangelico Hungaricarum ad orbem evangelico Christianum*, 1677 (Archiwum Państwowe Poznań, Akta Braci Czeskich (Leszno), 2573 (weiter: PABC, 2573), Nachlass von Pál Debreceni Ember); vgl. Nachlass von Thury (Pápa), Nr. 156.

²⁸ A Brief Narrative of the State of the Protestants in Hungary (1677), copy von British Museum, vgl. Nachlass von Thury (Pápa), Nr. 143.

²⁹ Der Brief des Brandenburger Wahlfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm (Köln, 18. November 1676), PABC, 2573, 187; vgl. Nachlass von Thury (Pápa), Nr. 131.

³⁰ „In meinem ganzen Leben erlebte ich nie einen wunderschöneren Tag als den 11. Februar, an dem ich die aus der Hölle erlösten Diener Gottes erblickte“ (Rede von Admiral de Ruyter), s. Kocsí Csergő: *Narratio brevis...*, a. a. O.

³¹ „Sermo exceptorius, quo nomine utriusq(ue) Civitatis Sangallensis ordinis, Martyres Hungaricos salutavit, Cl. D. Wegelinus“ (die Anrede von Wegelinus, Prediger von Sankt Gallen), ZBZ, MSS, B 189, 31r.

³² Die für seinen Namen noch auf den Galeeren gelitten habenden Ungaren (der Brief der Genfer Prediger, 21. Juni 1676), PABC, 2573, 187; vgl. Nachlass von Thury (Pápa), Nr. 84.

³³ MINUTOLI, Vincent: *Ad strenuos Christi confessores... Propempticon* [20. Juni 1676] in LAETUS, Georgius: *Historia Genevrina*, V, Amsterdam, van Someren, 1686, 135–137.

³⁴ S. „angelis et pastoribus fidelissimus; Atque ita sacer ille chorus in universum triginta strenuis et invictis Jesu Christi confessoribus et vivis martyribus (...) constat; dones Danieles hosce, sociosque ex leonum fovea et Babilonica fornace ereptos in integrum restitueret; et tanquam angeli Domini a nobis gestientibus animis excepti sunt, et quibus possunt communioni sanctorum et hospitalitatis piae officiis propensis simis inde a nobis afficiuntur“ (Der unterstützende Brief von Caspar Waser, im Namen des Predigers und Lehrers zu Zürich (Zürich, 25. Juli 1676), PABC, 2573, 180–182); cf. Nachlass von Thury (Pápa), Nr. 92.

werden, „in eadem captivitatem tyrannice cruciarent“.³⁵ Oder *exules Christi*,³⁶ für *Christus leidende Prediger*, wie es im Brief der Pastorenfrauen steht: „humillimae ac devotiae Ancillae Filiae Uxores in Christo afflitorum Praedicantium“;³⁷ standhafte Märtyrer.³⁸

In den Briefen, die als Rückmeldung auf der Fahrt, dem Heimweg, an Heidegger geschickt wurden, stehen wieder andere Benennungen. Die Galeerensklaven beten um den Segen Gottes auf Erden und im Himmel und berufen sich auf die *Verfolgung* der Waldenser und darauf, dass nach der Reformation der Antichrist mit voller Kraft gegen die Auserwählten ausgebrochen sei und dass ihr Leben auch in dieser Reihe zu sehen sei.³⁹ *Engel*, wie Otrokoci im Brief aus Frankfurt an Heidegger schreibt: „Accepti hic sumus a nostris fautoribus et fratribus reformatis, nobis in Christo Jesu dilectissimus, velut angeli Dei, summo cum gaudio et charitate“.⁴⁰ Jakab Cseh Csúzi – der sich vorher mit Geld aus dem Gefängnis von Bukkari befreit hatte – nennt seine vorherigen Freunde im Dankbrief, der am 17-ten Oktober im Jahre 1676 an die Schweizer kalvinistische Gemeinde geschickt wurde, *Konfessoren der Wahrheit*: sie verließen die viel Elend erlitten habenden Heere unserer Häftlinge als Brüder und Glieder Christi.⁴¹ Und nur im Dankbrief an Heidegger von Samuel Köleséri d. Ä. – der kein Galeerensklave war – steht *Märtyrer Christi*: „Quod vivos Jesu Christi martyres, pastores nempe Hungaricos, totidem Paulos ex faucibus leonum ereptos“.⁴²

Die Metaphern der Galeerensklaven- und Märtyrerrollen beziehen sich auf beide Kontingente der zur Galeerensklaverei verurteilten Häftlinge, auf die Verstorbenen

³⁵ Pápa, 7. Juni 1676; s. Archiv zu Pápa, Okmánytár, Nr. 87. (www.papacollege.hu); vgl. Nachlass von Thury (Pápa), Nr. 81.

³⁶ Der Brief des Stadtrates von Rimaszombat nach Zürich (15. März 1677), ZBZ, MSS, D 181, Nr. 129.

³⁷ Wien, 5. März 1676; s. ZBZ, MSS, B 251, Nr. 11. Und ein ähnliches Motiv: „propter verum Christi Confessionem ad perpetuos cruciatus“ (KARASZNAI: *Nomina ministrorum...*, a. a. O.).

³⁸ S., sunt hi 5 reformati, constantissimi martyres vivi“ (Zaffius an Heidegger nach der Befreiung der Bukkarer Häftlinge, Venedig, 16. Mai 1676), ZBZ, MSS, D 181, Nr. 126. Und ähnlich: István Kállai in Venetien als „constantissimus Jesu Christi martyr obdormivit“ (Zaffius an Heidegger, 6. Juni 1676), ZBZ, MSS, B 9, Nr. 76.

³⁹ S. „iusti Lothi excruciamur, in media Babilone (...), ad spiritualem Sionem aspirebamus; omni dolore constitutus Josephus, grex nimirum Hungaricus (...) gaudio recreetur; laceri hanc-nus muri restaurentur“ (Die Blätter lange Gedenkschrift für die niederländischen Gesandten (Zürich, 27. Juli 1676); PABC, 2573, 201–203); vgl. Nachlass von Thury (Pápa), Nr. 93.

⁴⁰ Otrokóci an Heidegger (Frankfurt, 14. Augustus 1676), ZBZ, MSS, D 181, Nr. 122. Oder Simonides schreibt an Heidegger mit ähnlichem Worten: „Adventus Reverendus dominus Harsányi, fuit gratissimus et die 27. Januarii tanquam angelus ab inclyto magistratu, totaque ecclesia est exceptus“, s. den Brief MSS, .

⁴¹ S. „dilectissimi in Christo fratres nostri, veritatis evangelicae confessores constantissimi, vere martyres vivi, suae restituerentur libertati ... in causa Dei agnello... devovebat“ (Dankbrief von Jacobus Csúzi Cseh mit dem Titel *Officiosa gratitudinis sacrum*, Vác, 16. November 1676), wir verfügen über manche Kopien in sämtlichen Formen: ZBZ, MSS, B 251, Nr. 12; MSS, F 199, 357–362; StAZ, A 185.1, Nr. 113; Staatsarchiv Bern, B III 36, 1096–98; Bürgerbibliothek Bern, MSS. Hist. Helv. VI, 54, Nr. 33, 618–628.

⁴² Debrecen, 25. September 1677, s. ZBZ, MSS, D 181, Nr. 140.

während der Galeerensklaverei, und noch auf Häftlinge an anderen Orten beziehen: z. B. auf István Kaposi, der daheim befreit wurde; oder auf den sich unterwegs ablösenden Jakab Csúzi Cseh und die drei lutheranischen Flüchtlinge aus Theate. Es kann festgestellt werden, dass dieses Bild sehr komplex ist und die Begriffe multiplizierte Rollen für die ehemaligen Galeerensklaven bezeichnen: es gibt keine Möglichkeit für eine einheitliche Rollenartikulation. Es gibt negative und positive Beispiele für die Beurteilung der befreiten Galeerensklaven: im Allgemeinen waren die positiven Benennungen in der Mehrzahl, aber es gab damals auch die katholische negative Propaganda und auch die lutheranischen dogmatischen Gegensätze.

Im Hintergrund der Metaphern können Parallelen sowohl zwischen Altem und Neuem Testament als auch zwischen Antike und Christentum stehen. Sie können sogar zusammen erscheinen. Die Beurteilung hängt von Folgendem ab: von der Distanzierung der Beurteiler (Zaffius schrieb viel gefühlsvollere Briefe zur Anregung der Unterstützer mit positiver Auswirkung auf die Spendensammlung oder die Bewirtung der Befreiten); von dem Kontext (der Ton der Anträge für die Befreiung der Häftlinge und der Dankbriefe der Befreiten und ihrer Exempel sind ganz anders); von den konfessionellen, gesellschaftlichen und gemeinschaftlichen Verhältnissen der gegebenen Gemeinschaft, der Huld des Alltags (in Zürich wurde zur Zeit die *Formula Concordiae* unter Heideggers Führung verhandelt und unlängst verließen ein Prediger und dessen Sohn die Kirche und konvertierten zu Benediktinermönchen; weiterhin reflektierten die in den Kanton ankommenden unzähligen Flüchtlingen am lebhaftesten auf die Ungaren und später nach 1683-1685 auf den Hugenottenstrom).⁴³ Die Zuordnung der Begriffe Galeerensklave und Märtyrer ist nicht allgemein verbreitet, sie kann nur in bestimmten Kontexten beobachtet werden (in großen heuristischen Momenten, wie der Empfang in Zürich, Sanktgalen, Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen usw.; oder im Fall von Disputen bei Professor Heidegger in Zürich im Jahre 1676⁴⁴). Die Märtyrerposition verstärkt sich jedoch mit dem Erscheinen des Märtyerbegriffes und nach der Befreiung der Ungaren und gerät in eine bestimmende Interpretationsposition: die 30 Prediger verwenden ihn nicht für sich und ihre in die Niederlande und nach England verschickten Anträge handeln nur von den Verfolgungen; aber zum einen die Begrüßungsreden und -Verse, und zum anderen die Gemälde aus dem Jahr 1677 sowie die Schweizer Abschiedsreden

⁴³ S. die sog. *Rueggische Histori* (die Apostasie von zwei Predigern in Zürich, des Vaters Johann Jacob und des Sohnes Heinrich Ruegg), ZBZ, MSS, B 307, 1720-1730; Kollekten für Flüchtlinge: StAZ, E II 279, 365r-v (1676), 365-375r (1683), 379r-389v (1685-86).

⁴⁴ HEIDEGGER, Johann Heinrich: *Dissertatio de martyrio*, Resp. J. J. Hottinger, Zürich, Gessner, 1677; Ders., *Consolatio Christiana [sanctorum]. Martyrum*, R. J. H. ZIEGLER, F. BRUNNER, Zürich, Gessner, 1678; Ders., *Historia Papatus*, Amsterdam, Wetstein, 1684; 1698²; Ders., *Traitez de martyre*, Genf, Fournes, 1686; *Traitez du martyre*, Genf, de Tournes, 1686.²

verstärken diesen Kontext wieder.⁴⁵ Es kann festgestellt werden, dass mit Hilfe des internationalen Calvinismus das Bild des Märtyrers (gelitten und gestorben) durch Zaffius Korrespondenz und Heideggers Buches (*Historia Papatus*) zum Modell geworden ist.

Die Herkunft des Labels ist vielfältig (antik, patristisch urchristlich, Exempel aus dem Alten und Neuen Testament, zeitgenössische Verfolgungsgeschichten). Nicht nur das Erscheinen des Wortes als beigefügtes Attribut drückt die Beziehung zum Märtyrertum aus, sondern auch der vielfältige Kontext: Sprüche in Alben (persönliche Symbole im Alben von Ladamóczi, Séllyei, Gessner, Balber und Lavater), die bildliche Erörterung (Doppelgemälde, Minutolis Gedichte, die Siegel der Galeerensklaven in ihren Briefen), die biblischen Texte der Galeerensklavenzeichnungen (die Alben von Bálint Kocsi Csergő und Sámuel Hodosi).⁴⁶ Außer dem individuellen Bild und der Situation gibt es bestimmende Figuren der Erinnerung in den zahlreichen Schriften und Texten über die Galeerensklaverei, die im Lauf der Zeit entstanden und mehrere Formationen annahmen. Ihre Texte verfügen über mehrere Kopien, ihre Meinungen erschienen in Schriften zuerst der Doctor Zaffius (in Zürich absolvierte Theologe und Arzt, der geheime protestantische Prediger der deutschen Händler in Venetien), Ferenc Fóris Otrokócsi (er verfügte über das größte Verbindungsnetz von internationaler diplomatischer Bedeutung und ist der Verfasser des sog. *Furor bestiae*). Sie beide lassen zwei Rollen aufleuchten: die des die Passion Christi durchmachenden und das Schicksal der Frühchristen erleidenden Zeugen (Selbstbild) steht der katholischen rhetorischen Rolle der *Diaboles Martyri* gegenüber. Der einhändige Lehrer Bálint Kocsi Csergő ist ein bedeutender Schriftsteller: er machte viele Aufzeichnungen, Zeichnungen; redigierte die Schriften über ihren Prozess und ihre Leiden zu Sammlungen und behielt auch noch die Korrespondenz auf. In dem 1.–9. Kapitel der *Narratio brevis* benutzte er das Wort *Märtyrer* in der Figur der Anklage, aber im 12. Kapitel (die Erinnerung der 19 Blutzeugen in der Gattung *apophtegmata morientium*) baute er auf das Folgende auf: der Blutzeuge kann leidend sein, sogar den Tod erleidend und nicht nur ein Galeerensklave, sondern auch eine verfolgte Person oder Gemeinschaft vor und nach 1673, sogar eine all das überlebende Person. Johann Heinrich Heidegger ist die nächste, bedeutende Figur: er führte die Repräsentation für den internationalen Calvinismus, auch für die Hugenotten, und formte in seinen Werken eindeutige Märtyrerdeutungen und Kontexte, hauptsächlich im kirchengeschichtlichen Rahmen. Und zuletzt soll ein ungarischer Prediger, Samuel Hodosi,⁴⁷ erwähnt werden, der

⁴⁵ Die Abschieds- oder Danksagungs-Rede des Bischofs István Séllyei (Zürich, 21. Juli 1677), ZBZ, MSS, B 189, 37r–46r; Car III 207; Bürgerbibliothek Bern, MSS. Hist. Helv. VI, 54, Nr. 33., 637–670.

⁴⁶ ZBZ, MSS, F 199, 379r–v; OSZK, AA. Oct. Lat. 777.

⁴⁷ ZOVÁNYI Jenő: *Magyar Protestáns Egyháztörténeti Lexikon [Ungarisches protestantisches Kirchengeschichtliches Lexikon]*, (hrsg. von Sándor LADANYI), Budapest, MRE Zsinati Iroda Sajtóosztálya, 1977,³ 259–260.

kein Galeerensklave war, aber ihre Leiden dokumentierte: sein Album beinhaltet die berühmten Galeerensklavenzeichnungen. Für István Séllyei hielt er die Abschiedspredigt am Grab: ihm komme die Krone des Glaubens zu (aber in der gedruckte Version wurde sie als die Heiligkeit des Lebens interpretiert).⁴⁸

Dieser Überblick der Geschichte der Begriffsverwendung deutet an, dass es sich lohnt, die neuzeitlichen Register der Märtyrerum-Interpretationen und deren bis heute dauernde Veränderungen auf der Ebene mehrerer Wissenschaften (Bildungs-, Rhetorik-, Schul-, Theologiegeschichte usw.) weiter zu untersuchen. Es gibt also neuere Rollen, mit denen der einst strenggläubige calvinistische Prediger aus dem 17. Jahrhundert versehen wurde.

⁴⁸ Hodosi, Sámuel: *Pályáját állhatatosan megfutó Isten szolgájának el-tétetett Igazság koronája* [Krone der Wahrheit : Grabrede für Bischof István Séllyei], Debrecen, Vintze, [1697k] (RMK I, 1578); CSORBA, Dávid: *A zászlós bárány nyomában : A magyar kálvinizmus 17. századi világa* [Auf den Fersen des Lammes mit der Fahne: Die Welt des ungarischen Calvinismus im 17. Jahrhundert], Debrecen–Budapest, Kálvin Kiadó, DE Történeti Intézete, 2011 (Speculum Historiae Debreceniense (A DE Történeti Intézete kiadványai), 6, 113–114).



MISCELLANEOUS / SONSTIGES

IMRE TOCSIK
ROB VAN HOUWELINGEN



1 INTRODUCTION

Daniel was “one of the greatest of the prophets, insomuch, that while he was still alive he had the esteem and applause both of kings and multitude; and even now that he is dead, he retains a remembrance that will never fail, for the several books that he wrote and left behind him are still read by us till this time; and from them we believe that Daniel conversed with God.”¹ Josephus Flavius was a Jewish historian, who lived in the first century A. D.

In the case of Daniel’s book its authorship is confirmed by a number of explicit statements found in the book itself. In Daniel’s book, a number of explicit statements found in the book confirm its authorship. Some commentaries on Daniel’s book begin with the basic assumption that Daniel is a non-historical personage: the prophet, himself, was modeled by later authors. Modern- critical scholars’ opinions suggests: Daniel and his friends were only just legendary characters, who most probably never existed.²

The Adventist traditional approach to the book of Daniel holds that a person named Daniel wrote the book, in the sixth century B. C.

The book of Daniel was downgraded because, as is mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud, a rabbinical curse was pronounced on those who used any book to calculate the time of the end.³

The book of Daniel has a strong influence on the New Testament. Daniel’s book was one

¹ FLAVIUS, Josephus: *The Antiquities of the Jews* 10.11.7. and STEFANOVIĆ, Zdravko: *Daniel wisdom to the Wise*, Commentary on the Book of Daniel, Pacific Press Publishing Association, Nampa Idaho, 2007, 14.

² COLLINS, J. John, CROSS, Moore Frank, COLLINS, Adela Yarbo: *Daniel, Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Hermeneia, Minneapolis, Fortress Press 1993.

³ The Babylonian Talmud Sanhedrin 97. b.

Imre Tokics

DANIEL’S WORSHIP IN THE CITY OF BABYLON*

* A lecture delivered at the World Jewish Adventist Congress on 14 July 2016 in Paris, France.

of Jesus' favorite books. Jesus presented himself and his work in apocalyptic terms, because Christ understood the book of Daniel to refer to his own time. According to the Gospel writers, Jesus first and favorite title was the "Son of Man"⁴. This title pointed to his divine authority as well as to His destiny.

2 BIBLE WORSHIP MODELS

The music, sermon, and other important elements of worship liturgy, formed in beautiful symmetry, impress those in attendance. Daniel's worship in the city of Babylon was very special. Daniel was 14-15 years old, when he went from Jerusalem in the exile. Daniel's and also his friends' worship was their lifestyle. It was their worship, when they studied the Babylonian culture, when they ate, when they prayed in a secret place, when they sang a religious song.

What is happening today in our life? Religious wars are killing the modern Christian church. Remembering that God is the Prompter of our praises should keep us mindful that when we come before His presence, the over-arching aim of the worship service is not quality in praying, singing, or preaching – although we should plan and prepare to honor God through every element of the liturgy.⁵ Everything we do in God's house is toward the true audience – God and God alone. Every sentiment in our prayers, every lyric in our songs, and every idea in our sermons should be Bible based and Christ centered.⁶ But such can occur only when we approach worship as a 24/7 lifestyle. A dichotomous life that separates holy living on the seventh day of the week from the holy standard expected of us the other six days, results in vain Christianity.⁷

When people attend Bible Study and the divine worship hour, they are looking for more than inspiration and answers to life's questions. They even seek more than fellowship. They want to see people in whom the presence of Christ makes a difference. They don't merely want to hear a testimony about God's power. They want to see that same testimony lived out in reality. Children of God who display the principles of God's kingdom through their lives of daily worship provide the greatest outreach to those who wish to join God's church.

⁴ COLLINS, Ibid 93-96 p.

⁵ HUCSK II E. Willie: *Father Abraham the Worship Leader*, in Ministry, International Journal for Pastors, April 2016, 5.

⁶ HUCSK II E. Willie: Ibid 5.

⁷ HUCSK II E. Willie: Ibid 5.

3 DANIEL IN BABYLON

Daniel and his friends were between fifteen and eighteen years old when they were taken to Babylon. A scholar⁸ has called this “a teachable age”. Joseph was around eighteen when sold into slavery (Gen. 37:2).⁹

Daniel, as a young man, along with his friends were without any defect. The Bible uses the same language to describe the priests and the sacrifices in the sanctuary Lev. 21:17-23; 22:18-25. The Babylonian diviners were also expected to be “without blemish in body and limbs” when they approached their gods.¹⁰ The Chaldeans were the master race in Neo-Babylon, and by profession they were priests of the god Marduk. “Without any defect”, means Daniel and his friends had perfect knowledge of Jewish worship.

In accordance with the ancient customs, the king himself provided choice food and wine for those who resided or served at the palace. Before the four Hebrews were exiled, the revealed word of God was the center of their life. Daniel studied the scroll of the prophet Isaiah while in Babylon. One may conclude that the four Jews were well aware of a statement made by Isaiah that put their exile into the perspective of God’s plan for their lives.

The young Hebrew slaves must have clearly understood that their God, the Creator of everything, rather than the King or his god or gods, was the ultimate Provider of all things, whether food, drink, life or wisdom.

Daniel and his friends’ daily living was a perfect example of worship for the Chaldean people.

We must always remember that worship is not about the preacher, musicians, or children’s storyteller. Neither is the principle function of the offertory to raise funds for local church operations, nor should someone render a Scripture reading just because this has become tradition. Instead one of the greatest challenges pastors face is to encourage people to live consecrated lives throughout the week and to celebrate – all God has done for us during the previous six days.¹¹

The young Jewish men’s resistance to the acculturation in Babylon began with their attitude toward the new names given them and their decision not to partake of the rich food and drink that the king generously provided for them. Worship is a special resistance to worldly culture.

All four Hebrew names are theophoric – they contain a form of a divine name in them. Daniel’s name “God is my judge”. The word “judge” is frequently used in the Bible in a positive way, with a meaning to “deliver” or “savior”. Scholars have mentioned Daniel’s name is also found in the fifteenth century B.C. as a “righteous

⁸ MONTGOMERY, A. James: *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, The International Critical Commentary, Edinburgh T. & T. Clark, 1927, 120.

⁹ STEFANOVIĆ, Zdravko: Ibid 52.

¹⁰ COLLINS, J. John, CROSS, Moore Frank, COLLINS, Adela Yarbo: Ibid, 137.

¹¹ HUCSKÓ E. Willie: Ibid 5.

ruler” called Danil, from the ancient city of Ugarit.¹² It is therefore important to note that the Babylonian names given to the young men are also theophoric. Unlike Hebrew names, which spoke of the true God, the Babylonian names contain names of Babylon’s pagan gods.

No information is given about the families from which the four Hebrew young men came. Of our protagonist Daniel, no ancestry is noted,¹³ and contrary to the usual Hebrew custom, no patronymics are given.

Daniel’s new name as given by Ashpenaz was most likely Belshazzar – the same name as the later king, and a name that was common in Babylon.

Daniel and his friends believed it was Yahweh and not the god Bel who could protect the life of the pagan kings. Babylonian soldiers regularly ate pork and horse meat while in service for the king. And the original Hebrew word that is translated as defile is associated with blood defilement in the Bible Isa. 59:3; 63:3; Lam. 4:14. The eating of any kind of animal, clean or unclean, that hadn’t been slaughtered in a particular way and draining its blood would defile a Hebrew person Lev. 17:10-17. In Babylon, the blood was not drained when an animal was slaughtered for consumption, so defilement by blood was virtually unavoidable. The presence on the menu of pork together with meat defiled by blood posed a serious problem for the Hebrew young men.

In many places in the ancient world, food and drink were sacrificed to the gods before the meal. A secular slaughtering of animals for consumption was rare.¹⁴ Meat was usually served from animals offered as a sacrifice to a god. In the Bible, the very act of eating had strong religious influence.

Even Jesus Christ said: “*Here I am! I stand at the door and knock. If anyone hears my voice and opens the door, I will come in and eat with him, and he with me*” Rev. 3:20.

In Daniel’s time, the city of Babylon was an important religious center, the food and drink available there would have come from the temple, where we may assume that some kind of pagan sacrificial ritual was carried out before and even after each meal.¹⁵ The Jewish slaves’ choice of a diet consisting of vegetables – literally “seeds” – and water showed their pledge of loyalty to the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. Only the Judean youth knew the truth; in worship they understood what it means to: “fear God”.

“Fear God” are the first words from the Three Angels Messages, proclaimed by the first angel. The biblical notion of “fear” should not be understood as “to be

¹² DAY, John: *The Daniel of Ugarit and Ezekiel and the Hero of the Book of Daniel*, Vetus Testamentum 30. 1980, 361-365, and DRESSLER, P. H. H.: *The Identification of the Ugaritic Dnil with the Daniel and Ezekiel*, Vetus Testamentum 29. 1979, 152-161.

¹³ BERRIGAN, Daniel: *Daniel: Under the Siege of the Divine*, Farmington, PA, The Plough, 1998, 5.

¹⁴ PÉTER-CONTESSÉ, René – ELLINGTON, John: *A Handbook on the Book of Daniel*, New York, United Bible Societies, 1993, 18.

¹⁵ STEFANOVIĆ, Zdravko: *Ibid* 64.

afraid" but to "respect", "revere".¹⁶ Among the four Hebrews, Daniel was excellent because God gave him the ability to interpret visions and dreams of all kinds. This was unusual in their worship in Babylon. Divine wisdom meets people where they are.¹⁷ Daniel was the most learned man in the Old Testament.¹⁸ The high point of the final examination, following the three years of training, was an interview with the king himself, whose questions included riddles and difficult problems. Daniel and his associates are compared not only with the other young men who received the same training as they did but also with professional advisors to the king who were already at work in Babylonia.¹⁹ God was controlling history from its beginning to its end, even when pagan Babylon conquered the holy land of Judah. "God gave" knowledge and understanding to the four young men. The expression "God gave" has been called "the gospel"²⁰ of the book of Daniel. The words "God gave" are a key theme in the book of Daniel.²¹

Daniel offers no answer to the question – why are we here in exile? Later on Daniel understood Yahweh was in full control over the events in history and over the day-to-day activities of faithful believers. Only the eye of faith could perceive²² God at work in Babylon. Daniel and his friends were living in a cross-cultural setting, and they learned what it means to be torn between the attitudes of assimilation and separation, of being in the world but not of it. We can see Daniel actively involved and working in the mission and worship of God, in the context of the divine part.

Notice a number of parallels between the lives, tests, and triumphs of Joseph in Egypt and Daniel in Babylon.

- Both of them were taken to foreign lands
- Both were handsome young man Gen. 39:6; Dan. 1:4.
- The faith of both was tested Gen. 39:7-12; Dan. 1:14-16.
- God showed favor to both before their overseers Gen. 39:21; Dan. 1:9.
- Both were given foreign names Gen. 41:45; Dan. 1:20.
- Both of them could interpret dreams Gen. 41:15; Dan 1:17.
- Both outperformed all the wise men Gen. 41:38; Dan. 1:20.
- Both were promoted to serve as a king's ruler Gen. 41:41-44; Dan. 2:48.
- Both their lives were a school for the worship God.

¹⁶ PETERSON, David: *Engaging With God: A Biblical Theology of Worship*, Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 1972, 72.

¹⁷ NICOL, Francis: *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, Vol. 4. Washington, DC, Review and Herald, 1955, 767.

¹⁸ WALVOORD, John F. Daniel: *The Key to Prophetic Revelation*, Chicago, Moody Press, 1971, 29.

¹⁹ PÉTER-CONTESSÉ, René – ELLINGTON, John: *Ibid* 27.

²⁰ GOLDINGAY, John E.: *Daniel*, Word Biblical Commentary, Dallas, Word, 1989, 27.

²¹ GOLDINGAY, John E.: *Ibid*, 27.

²² LUCAS, Ernest C.: *Daniel*, Apollos Old Testament Commentary, Downers Grove, IL. InterVarsity Press, 2002, 57.

Scholars have pointed to a number of similarities between Daniel and story of Joseph.²³

- Daniel and his companions represent the godly remnant of Israel which preserved the testimony of God even in the dark time of apostasy and divine judgment.²⁴ Daniel and his friends' lives were a lifelong worship in the foreign land. Their wisdom came from God. In the Bible, wisdom is a spiritual and ethical virtue, not just a natural outcome of one's hard work. This is because wisdom is a gift from heaven. True wisdom is not blended with mere intellectual curiosity but with deep trust in God's leading.²⁵ The Hebrew young men, demonstrated a kind of wisdom that was much superior to that of all the Babylonian and non-Babylonian wise men. Worship was most important for them through their lives because they understand God in all times and all places.

- **King Nebuchadnezzar's dream and the Jews**

The second year in Dan. 2:1 changed everything: The king had dreams. The Hebrew noun plural form means it was a series of dreams. The second year of the king was very important. In Babylon dream books were commonly used to explain and treat dream-related problems. The experts were supposed to consult the books, explain the symbols and meanings of the dream, and also conduct appropriate rituals to do away with the evil powers that were behind the dream.²⁶ The spokesmen for the group were the Chaldeans, members of the ruling class in Neo-Babylon. Their commencement greeting: "O king, live forever!" contains a tone of irony here because the story's conclusion is that only the Hebrew God lives forever. The dream was unsettling in the extreme.²⁷ The king's verdict: all the wise man in the city of Babylon must die! Scholars have rightly called this moment the lowest point in Babylon's history for it demonstrated the bankruptcy of its astrological system. Daniel refers to the wise men's inability to help the king, but in doing so he does not specifically mention the term "Chaldean". At this point, the focus of Daniel is "worship of God".

- For this reason Daniel arranges a second visit to the king. This time he follows the traditional protocol at the palace and defers to Arioch, the commander of the king's guard, appointed by the king to put the wise men of Babylon to death. Dan. 2:14. Daniel says that no wise man,

²³ STEFANOVIĆ, Zdravko: Ibid 86.

²⁴ WALVOORD, John F. Daniel: Ibid 43.

²⁵ STEFANOVIĆ, Zdravko: Ibid 72.

²⁶ OPPENHEIM, Alfred Leo: *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1956, 219.

²⁷ BERRIGAN, Daniel: Ibid 55.

including himself, is able to solve the king's problem. Only the Hebrew God, is the only One capable of doing things that are humanly impossible. The situation in the second chapter was the final exam for Daniel, who exalted and worshipped God. Daniel pointed to God – the only Source of wisdom – whose messenger he was. "There is a God" who lives among people, and he is none other than Daniel's God. "There is a God in heaven", this is the cardinal principle of the Bible.²⁸

It is important to notice that Daniel begins and ends his speech before Nebuchadnezzar by referring to his God. Daniel begins his interpretation, he addresses the king directly and links his power and his right to rule with God's sovereignty. The Hebrew prophet uses several superlatives to describe Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom, one of which is the title the king of kings, which elsewhere in the Bible is applied to God himself. The prophet Ezekiel, who was Daniel's contemporary, also refers to King Nebuchadnezzar as "king of kings", Ezek. 26:7. In both of these references, the most probable meaning is "worldwide emperor".²⁹ The emphasis here is not on Nebuchadnezzar's power but on God who gave that power to the king.

To Daniel's words: you are the head of gold, Nebuchadnezzar must have responded inwardly with a resounding "Yes". The second chapter began with the king's fear that became great anger. It ends with a report of immediate effect of the revelation upon the king, a highly positive impact that resulted in great appreciation. Nebuchadnezzar has just witnessed a veritable miracle, so he bows in Daniel's presence. World rulers are under God's control,³⁰ when he chooses he can make them acknowledge it.

• Summary of the teaching

Worship is recognizing who we are in response to who God is, it is giving God His due. However, it is not sustainable unless we continually keep God before us. So, for the children of Israel to learn how to worship, Yahweh gifted them with the weekly practice in the wilderness. At the heart of liberty – of being let go – is worship. But at the heart of worship is rest and silence – stopping from all work, all worry, all scheming, and all fleeing – to stand amazed and thankful before God and his work.³¹ The true understanding of worship makes the practice of Sabbath day a foregone conclusion, an inescapable necessity always easy to do. What, then, are principles we can follow to help us.³²

²⁸ LONGMAN, Tremper III.: *Daniel*, NIV Application Commentary, Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 1999, 78. p. and MONTGOMERY, A. James: *Ibid*, 162.

²⁹ SEOW, C. L.: *Daniel*, Louisville, KY, Westminster John Knox Press 2003, 41.

³⁰ GOLDINGAY, John E.: *Ibid*, 59.

³¹ BUCHANAN, Mark: *The Rest of God: Restoring Your Soul by Restoring Sabbath*, Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson 2006, 94.

³² CARTER, C. Erik: *Sabbath: A School for Worship*, in: Ministry International Journal for Pastors, April 2016, 24.

• God and the future

The story in this second chapter of Daniel, teaches that while human beings are often ignorant and afraid of what may come, God knows, reveals, and holds in His hand the future. In fact, the central message of Daniel 2 is that God knows the future. The pagan gods are impotent to shape events in history.³³

Amos 3:7 says: God does nothing, without revealing his plan to his servants the prophets.

Three times in this chapter Daniel asserts that God reveals mysteries. In each case, he openly confesses who is the Source of his wisdom.³⁴ In this story, we can see that God protected his faithful remnant in Babylon in accordance with the numerous promises found in particular in biblical prophecies. Yet, God's love story did not end with his grace toward those who know and worship him.

• God and Babylon

The most provoking concept found in this second chapter is that God loved king Nebuchadnezzar and had a role for him to play in the fabric of world history. John Calvin argued that the wise men of Babylon "deserved to be exterminated from the world, and the pest must be removed if it could possibly be accomplished."³⁵ In saying that, Calvin reflected a type of negative feeling toward the Babylonians commonly found among the Judeans of Daniel's time. But in several places, the Bible mandates love for one's enemies Exod. 23:4; Prov. 24:17; 25:21; Luke 6:27. Thus, the God of the Bible is the God of all human beings. He reaches out to all in order to save.

It has been suggested that the overall theme of the book of Daniel is that: in spite of present appearances, God is in control.³⁶

May God grant us the eyes to behold His magnificence and the privilege of helping His people worship him together.

³³ LONGMAN, Tremper III.: *Ibid* 75.

³⁴ LUCAS, Ernest C.: *Ibid* 78.

³⁵ CALVIN, John: *A Commentary on Daniel*, Geneva Commentaries Series, Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth 1995, 1:135.

³⁶ TOWNER, W. Sibley: *Daniel*, Interpretation, Atlanta, John Knox Press 1984, 43.

"Christ also suffered for you, leaving you an example, so that you might follow in his steps ... by his wounds you have been healed." (I Peter 2:21,24)

*Rob van
Houwelingen*

FOLLOW IN THE STEPS OF CHRIST

Trackers search for traces left by people or animals. These might be footprints, bloodstains or broken twigs. Ecologists follow such traces to determine the movements and activities of animals in their natural environments. Forensic investigation follows a similar process, to track down criminals or to gather evidence for prosecution. At a more existential level: in the course of their lives, some people may lose their way completely; it is as if their moral compass has stopped working. Then they may search for the right direction, and attempt to get their lives back on track.

Itinerant rabbis

In Bible times, people sometimes followed an itinerant rabbi. Day and night, you would accompany such a teacher, make him your example, and devote your whole life to him. Disciples in Israel were shaped by intensive personal training. Follow the rabbi, and your life will gain direction!

Jesus of Nazareth, while no ordinary rabbi, also left such a path to follow, as he travelled around the land of Israel. Sometimes he followed well-travelled paths, sometimes he chose less-obvious routes. And all the while, he taught. You could follow him by joining his company. Or rather: by giving heed to his invitation: 'follow me'. This is how he gathered a company of pupils, and as they followed, he instructed them. Most of the time, Jesus was accompanied by followers: a small inner circle of twelve young men, with a somewhat larger fixed group around them, who in turn were surrounded by a varying number of interested spectators. It was not long before this rabbi's

unconventional instructional practices became more widely known. With him, discipleship is not a passing thing; no, being his disciple is to embark on a lifelong journey.

Losing oneself

Not everyone had what it took to follow Jesus. For he was on the road to Jerusalem, where death on the cross awaited him. He was prepared to lose his own life to save the lives of others. Sooner or later, each of his followers will come to the same crossroads. Are you prepared, then, to give up everything? As someone who is carrying a cross, on the way to a place of execution? Following Christ means cutting into one's own flesh: prepared, even, to dare to lose one's own life. To follow him is to nail your present life to the cross, and to make a completely new start. In one word: to lose yourself.

John 6:66 says that, because of his 'hard teaching,' many of his disciples turned back and no longer walked with Jesus. There, the Greek verb *peripetein* is used: 'to walk about,' suggesting that these disciples did not really follow him.

It is not for nothing that all four gospels contain Christ's solemn warning: "*If anyone would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me. For whoever would save his life will lose it, but whoever loses his life for my sake will save it*" (Matthew 16:25-26; Mark 8:34-35; Luke 9:23-24; cf John 12:15). Gain through loss of self!

Inimitable

In the gospels, the Greek verb *akolouthein* is used to denote the following of Jesus Christ: 'to accompany, to keep company with, to belong to a group'. Sometimes, the word *opisoo* is added, 'to follow *after*', in order to indicate the leader who is being followed. The Lord determines the path, and his way is unique. Others may well follow in his footsteps, that is: accompany him on *his* way, just as the first disciples did, when Jesus was still on earth and made his way around Israel.

Still, we can feel it coming: this path on earth will come to an end. During the last evening before his death on the cross, Jesus had prepared his closest followers for that. I am going away soon, he had said, and where I go you cannot follow. Simon Peter had asked: "*Lord, where are you going?*" Jesus answered him, "*Where I am going you cannot follow me now, but you will follow afterward.*" Peter said to him, "*Lord, why can I not follow you now? I will lay down my life for you.*" (John 13:36-37). Peter was prepared to follow Jesus into death, but what Jesus meant was his departure to heaven, his return to the Father who had sent him. For the present, this path is one that people cannot follow.

That is also what made the farewell at the lake of Tiberias painful, as the end of the fourth Gospel shows. In veiled terms, Jesus foretold how Peter would glorify God by his death: he too would be crucified. Whereupon Jesus said to him: "Follow me." When Peter turned, he saw that the disciple whom Jesus loved (John) was following them ... But Jesus said to him: "You, follow me" (John 21:19,20,22).

This scene brings the gospel of John to an end. Peter must follow, without looking back at his friend John. But Jesus disappears from view, and all that remains is a few footprints in the sand.

Learning by imitation

Following Jesus on earth is something different from following Jesus after he has gone to heaven. From here on, the New Testament begins to use another, less physical verb: *mimeisthai*, ‘to mimic, to act in the same manner’. Hence: learning by imitation, just as small children, by mimicking their parents in everyday activities, learn for themselves how they ought to be done.

Moreover, the New Testament shows us others, additional to Christ, who also act as examples. One of these is the apostle Paul. When teaching the Corinthians that they ought to seek the interests of others, setting all self-interest aside, he writes: “*Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ*” (I Corinthians 11:1). There are many believers who can be role-models for others: think of the examples of faith from the Old Testament (Hebrews 11), of Paul’s fellow-workers (Philippians 3:17), or of the leaders of the church in Jerusalem (Hebrews 13:7). The example of such believers can serve to encourage each one of us. That is how we as Christians can serve as the hands and feet of Christ in this world. At the same time, we must fix our eyes on Jesus, the founder and perfecter of our faith (Hebrews 12:2).

Footprints

Seen against this background, it is striking that Peter speaks to domestic servants in Asia Minor as if they can literally walk in Jesus footsteps. Domestic servants had to take care of everyday things: cooking, cleaning, caring for children, and working in the fields or businesses of their owners. Peter advises them: “*Servants, be subject to your masters with all respect, not only to the good and gentle but also to the unjust*” (I Peter 2:18).

Domestic servants were slaves, dependent on their masters. Some of these were harsh. Without cause or provocation, you were liable to get a thrashing, or worse. Were that to happen, says Peter, you must learn to suffer as a Christian, and hold the concrete example of the suffering Christ before you. He did not take refuge in lies or deceit; when he was reviled, he did not retaliate; he entrusted himself to the one who judges justly. Follow in his steps, says Peter, and strikingly, he uses the word *akolouthein*, the verb that generally is found only in the gospels. It is as if domestic slaves, of all people, are most able to follow in Jesus’ footsteps.

Of course, Peter realizes only too well that the situation is no longer as it once was. His readers do not live in Israel, and Jesus is in heaven. Still, a trace remains of him, something that transcends time and space. Literally, Peter speaks of an ‘example’ (in Greek: *hypogrammos*, a writing template, used for copying letters) that Jesus ‘left you’. He has departed from this earth, but his footprints, as it were, are still visible in the sand. Follow that path!

A trail of blood

In the story of Christ's suffering, Peter recognizes the image of the suffering Servant of Isaiah 53. He was flogged till he bled, and carried the wooden cross on his back to Golgotha. Imagine that, keep that image before your eyes! Anyone who follows behind him will see his torn back, and all the stripes of his flogging. When you suffer undeserved punishment, think of him. That is Peter's advice for Christian slaves, Peter's first readers. But it also counts for us, later readers, with everything that we must suffer because of being Christians. Jesus' stripes are our salvation, because he bore our sins on the cross. In this way, he carried the blows of his followers and healed their wounds. He gave his life for us. The footsteps of Jesus are the trail of blood that leads us to his kingdom.

Two renowned theologians on the following of Christ:

Thomas a Kempis (ca. 1380-1471)

From: *The imitation of Christ* (1441),

"Whoever follows me, walks not in darkness, says the Lord. By these words of Christ we are advised to imitate his life and habits, if we wish to be truly enlightened and free from all blindness of heart. Let our chief effort, therefore, be to study the life of Jesus Christ.

The teaching of Christ is more excellent than all the advice of the saints, and he who has his spirit will find in it a hidden manna. Now, there are many who hear the Gospel often but care little for it because they have not the spirit of Christ. Yet whoever wishes to understand fully the words of Christ must try to pattern his whole life on that of Christ".

Tr Harry Plantinga

COMMENT:

Thomas begins with a quotation from the gospel of John, in which Jesus calls himself 'the light of the world' (John 8:12). The 'hidden manna' is a direct reference to Revelation 2:17, and an indirect reference to John 6:48-51, where Jesus calls himself 'the bread of life'.

Thomas lists three pathways by which we may follow Christ: to meditate on his life (as described in the Gospel); to live in the spirit of Christ (Romans 8:9; Galatians 5:25); to conform all of one's life to the life of Christ (Romans 8:29; Philippians 3:10,21. Note: conformed is not the same as identical!)

Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906-1945)

From: The Cost of Discipleship (1937)

"Christianity without the living Christ is inevitably Christianity without discipleship, and Christianity without discipleship is always Christianity without Christ. It remains an abstract idea, a myth which has a place for the Fatherhood of God, but omits Christ as the living Son. And a Christianity of that kind is nothing more or less than the end of discipleship."

"Through the call of Jesus men become individuals. Willy-nilly, they are compelled to decide, and that decision can only be made by themselves. It is no choice of their own that makes them individuals: it is Christ who makes them individuals by calling them. Every man is called separately, and must follow alone".

Tr RH Fuller

COMMENT:

Faith is something deeper than merely accepting doctrinal statements or the message of forgiveness; it is more even than having trust in God. Because the Son of God became a human being, because he became the Mediator, writes Bonhoeffer, following Christ is a matter of obedience that excludes any kind of individual choice.

Bonhoeffer emphasises the role of the individual, because no-one can make a decision of faith for anyone else, especially not when any such decision calls for sacrifice. If necessary, following Christ requires swimming against the tide – also that of German national socialism.

In the end everyone is personally responsible before God.

2017 JAN 19.

Authors / Autoren:

Dávid Csorba, PhD

Associate Professor of Church History

Sárospatak Reformed Theological Academy, Hungary

Jaap Doedens, PhD

Associate Professor of Systematic Theology

Pápa Reformed Theological Academy, Hungary

Sándor Enghy, PhD

Professor of Old Testament

Sárospatak Reformed Theological Academy, Hungary

Rob van Houwelingen, PhD

Professor of New Testament

Theological University Kampen, The Netherlands

György Kustár

Assistant Lecturer in New Testament

Sárospatak Reformed Theological Academy, Hungary

Rev. Alfred Mengel

United Protestant Church Lengerich (Emsland), Germany

Imre Tokics, PhD

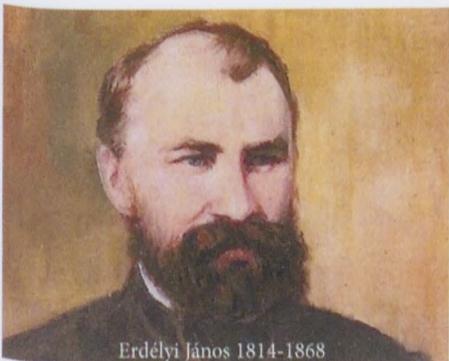
Professor of Old Testament

Adventist Theological College, Budapest, Hungary

Henk E.S. Woldring, PhD

Emeritus Professor of Philosophy

Free University Amsterdam, The Netherlands



Erdélyi János 1814-1868

A SÁROSPATAKI FÜZETEKET
ALAPÍTotta: ERDÉLYI JÁNOS 1857-BEN

ÚJRAINDÍTotta: HORVÁTH CYRILL
1904-BEN

ISMÉT ÚJTÁRA BOCSÁTotta: A
SÁROSPATAKI REFORMÁTUS TEOLÓGIAI
AKADÉMIA 1997-BEN

