POWER AND EMOTIONS IN
BIBLICAL SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Amadeusz Citlak

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by

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I dedicate this monograph to the memory of the Elder Brothers in Faith
—to the Jews of Lvov who lost their lives during the pogroms of
World War II

Contents

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

AA	*American Anthropologist*
AESP	*Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*
AGP	*Advances in Group Process*
AJP	*The American Journal of Psychology*
AJPt	*American Journal of Psychotherapy*
ANS	*Applied Network Science*
AOP	*Annals of Psychology*
APIR	*Applied Psychology: An International Review*
APR	*Archive for the Psychology of Religion*
APS	*Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*
ARP	*Annual Review of Psychology*
AUNC	*Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici*
BA	*The Biblical Annals*
BBS	*Bulletin of Biblical Studies*
BCT	*The Bible and Critical Theory*
BHS	Kittel, Gerhard, ed. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1987.
BI	*Biblical Interpretation*
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation
BIOSCS	*Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
CB	*Collegium Biblicum*
CBR	*Currents in Biblical Research*
CBQ	*The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CE	*Cognition and Emotion*
CHP	*Cultural-Historical Psychology*
CI	*Critical Inquiry*
CL	*Cognitive Linguistics*

CM	*Cognition & Emotion*
CSLC	*Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures*
Dial.	Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
EJSP	*European Journal of Social Psychology*
EP	*European Psychologist*
EPR	*Euhemer. Przegląd Religioznawczy*
ERSP	*European Review of Social Psychology*
HALOT	Ludwig Köhler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann Stamm. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Brill, 2001.
HHS	*History of the Human Sciences*
HOP	*History of Psychology*
HP	*Historie Psychologie*
HS	*Hebrew Studies*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HTS	*HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IJCL	*International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*
IJPR	*The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*
IP	*Individual Psychology*
IPBS	*Integrative Psychological & Behavioral Science*
JATRP	*Journal of Adlerian Theory, Research, and Practice*
JBC	*Journal of Bible and Culture*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCC	*Journal of Cognition and Culture*
JCCP	*Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*
JCD	*Journal of Counselling and Development*
JCH	*Journal of Cognitive Historiography*
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JECH	*Journal of Early Christian History*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JGP	*The Journal of General Psychology*
JHBS	*Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*
JHS	*The Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*
JIP	*Journal of Individual Psychology*
JLSP	*Journal of Language and Social Psychology*
JNCN	*Journal of Neuropsychiatry and Clinical Neurosciences*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JORH	*Journal of Religion and Health*
JPSP	*Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*
JPT	*Journal of Psychology and Theology*
JS	*Journal for Semitics*
JSP	*The Journal of Social Psychology*

JSCS	*Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies*
JSHJ	*Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSJPHRP	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSP	*The Journal of Social Psychology*
JT	*Journal of Translation*
KP	*Kwartalnik Psychologiczny*
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
L&N	Louw, Johannes P., and Eugene A. Nida, eds. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains.* 2nd ed. United Bible Societies, 1989.
LVC	*Language Variation and Change*
MHRC	*Mental Health, Religion & Culture*
MTSR	*Method and Theory in the Study of Religion*
NA[27]	Nestle, Erwin and Kurt Aland, eds. *Novum Testamentum Graece.* 27th ed. Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993.
Neot	*Neotestamentica*
NOR	*New Oxford Review*
NT	*Novum Testamentum*
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OTE	*Old Testament Essays*
PaP	*Pastoral Psychology*
PACA	*Psychology of Aesthetics, Creativity, and the Arts*
PB	*Psychological Bulletin*
PCS	*Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences*
PF	*Przegląd Filozoficzny*
PG	*Psychologie und Geschichte*
PhP	*Philosophical Psychology*
PI	*Psychological Inquiry*
PLC	*Psychology of Language and Communication*
PoP	*Political Psychology*
PP	*Przegląd Psychologiczny*
PPd	*Przegląd Pedagogiczny*
PR	*Psychological Review*
PRs	*Psychological Research*
PRS	*Psychology of Religion and Spirituality*
PS	*Psychological Science*
PSp	*Psychologia Społeczna*
PsR	*Psychologische Rundschau*

PSPB	*Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*
PSPSH	*Poznań Studies in the Philosophy of the Sciences and the Humanities*
PSS	*Philosophy of Social Sciences*
PWN	*Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe*
RBL	*Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny*
RBS	Resources for Biblical Study
RF	*Ruch Filozoficzny*
RHFP	*Rocznik Historii Filozofii Polskiej*
RP	*Rocznik Psychiatryczny*
RGP	*Review of General Psychology*
RRA	*Rhetoric of Religious Antiquity*
SA	*Sociological Analysis*
SBEC	Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SEET	*Studies in East European Thought*
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
SI	*Scripture and Interpretation*
SIPR	*Social Issues and Policy Review*
SJBTCH	*Scriptura: Journal for Biblical, Theological and Contextual Hermeneutics*
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
SO	*SAGE OPEN*
SP	*Studies in Psychology*
SPC	*Studia Philosophiae Christianae*
SPs	*Studia Psychologiczne*
SPQ	*Social Psychology Quarterly*
SR	*Studia Religiologica*
SRI	Sociorhetorical Interpretation
SSI	*Social Science Information*
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SWPS	*Szkoła Wyższa Psychologii Społecznej*
TDNT	Kittel, Gerhard, and Gerhard Friedrich, eds. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.* Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Eerdmans, 1964–1976.
THAT	Jenni, Ernst, ed. *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament.* With assistance from Claus Westermann. 2 vols. Chr. Kaiser Verlag; Theologischer Verlag, 1971–1976.
ThWAT	Botterweck, G. Johannes, and Helmer Ringgren, eds. *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Kohlhammer, 1970.*
TMSR	*Theory & Method in the Study of Religion*
TP	*Theory & Psychology*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*

VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZHP	*Z Historie Psychologie*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift fur Neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift fur Theologie und Kirche*

Introduction

This monograph is the result of work undertaken several years ago, when I pondered the possibility of the psychological interpretation of ancient texts, especially those of a biblical nature, with the use of tools and theories offered by contemporary psychology. However, it soon appeared that due to its specificity, this task is exposed to far more methodological and theoretical problems than typical empirical research in contemporary psychology. First, most psychological theories have been developed on the basis of research conducted in twentieth-century Europe and the United States, not in the ancient world. The relevance of such theories, although they may address substantial problems of the Christians or Jews of the time, is problematic. The ethnocentric attitude of Western psychologists, dominant for many years, has only recently become the subject of an extended discussion and criticism, primarily through cultural psychology and cross-cultural psychology. Nowadays, many of what seemed to be universal laws governing human psychological and social life have a completely different status, often severely restricted to the population and latitude in which they were formulated. Second, the psychological interpretation of the texts from a bygone era belongs to the field of historical or historical-cultural psychology, in which there is no possibility to apply experimental models, including the manipulation and control of variables (the key requirements for contemporary empirical social science). Unfortunately, this sidelines even the most advanced models of analysis from the mainstream of these sciences, although it certainly does not invalidate their value. The more important tasks a researcher can accomplish focus on the historical and cultural fluctuation of variables, correlations between them, or differences in definitions. Third, the psychological analysis of historical documents is the domain of scientific disciplines such as history, literary studies, linguistics, and, in the case of biblical books, biblical and religious studies. These problems, but not only these, confront us with difficulties of a fundamental nature. What theory should be chosen and what methodology? Which concepts of contemporary psychology should be used to describe the mental world of people from the past? And unfortunately, it is impossible to give a simple and singular answer to any of these questions.

One of the first attempts to harness historical-cultural psychology into mainstream psychology was Wilhelm Wundt's programme in Germany at the start of the twentieth century (especially his Völkerpsychologie). However, contrary to Wundt's expectations, experimental psychology later dominated it in Western Europe and the United States. The need for such psychology was also raised later in various countries and academic centers worldwide, although it must be admitted that it was more common in Europe than overseas. In the first half of the twentieth century, the outstanding achievements and theories were presented by, among others, Lev Vygotsky and his associates, and in the second half of the twentieth century, by Ignace Meyerson in France, or the famous Annales School. Other important achievements in this field were also presented by the early Polish school, that is, the Lvov-Warsaw philosophical school of Kazimierz Twardowski. The latter became a valuable source of inspiration for my own analyses of the biblical text presented in this monograph.

The Lvov-Warsaw School of Twardowski was a philosophical school, but in the first phase of its existence, an equal role was played by the psychology emerging in the world at that time. The first treatises of the school's founder and his students were often philosophical and psychological, and some were strictly psychological. From the perspective of the study of cultural texts, including the Bible, Twardowski's theory of actions and products and his closest student, Władysław Witwicki's theory of striving for a sense of power (the theory of cratism), are of particular importance. Interestingly, the Lvov-Warsaw School was distinguished not so much by one common theory as by a common research attitude and analytical approach. Recalling Twardowski's works enables the bringing of order to the conceptual chaos in historical psychology and also indicates its methodological possibilities and limitations. He treats cultural texts as psychophysical products containing their authors' psychic creations. "Any permanent psychophysical products can be named … documents of mental or psychological life,"[1] and this is the reason why these texts need psychological interpretation. In turn, Witwicki's theory of striving for power was developed mainly on the basis of the psychological analysis of ancient texts, including those by Plato and Aristotle. It has clear features of a grounded theory, which originated from these works and was not imposed derivatively on the ancient texts. Witwicki also provided a psychological interpretation of the lives of Socrates (presented in Plato's *Dialogues*) and Jesus of Nazareth (presented in the Gospel of Matthew and Mark) as reflected in the theory of cratism, arguing that the pursuit of a sense of power was crucial in the lives of these great historical figures, being the main motivating force behind their activities and social relations. Twardowski's school produced the oldest psychobiography in the world (that of Socrates), dating as far back as 1909, as

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[1] Kazimierz Twardowski, "O psychologii, jej przedmiocie, zadaniach, metodzie, stosunku do innych nauk i o jej rozwoju," in *Wybrane pisma filozoficzne*, ed. Wanda Rowicka and Helena Zelnikowa (repr. Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1965), 259.

well as an original interpretation of the gospels based on the theory of striving for a sense of power. The research conducted in the Lvov-Warsaw School was interrupted by the outbreak of World War II and the subsequent domination of communism in Poland. However, the reactivation and greater interest in this tradition has been observable in recent years and not only in Poland.[2]

This monograph is a proposal to consider the social world as depicted in the canonical literature of early Christianity (in the Greek Old Testament, that is the Septuagint, and in the Greek New Testament) according to the major achievements of Twardowski's School and of contemporary social-scientific criticism, which in the last twenty years, has attracted extraordinary interest and can boast significant achievements, especially among American and Scandinavian biblical scholars.[3]

The social reality depicted in the biblical literature is one of the most sensitive indicators of historical, political and ethical change. It is also closely related to the

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[2] Jerzy Bobryk, "The Relevance of Concepts in Traditional Polish Psychology," *ZHP* 58 (2014): 302–10; Anna Brożek, Alicja Chybińska, Jacek Jadacki, and Jan Woleński, eds., *Tradition of the Lvov-Warsaw School: Ideas and Continuations* (Brill, 2015); Anna Brożek, Friedrich Stadler, and Jan Woleński, eds. *The Significance of the Lvov-Warsaw School in the European Culture* (Springer, 2017); Jens Cavallin, *Content and Object: Husserl, Twardowski and Psychologism* (Kluwer, 1997); Amadeusz Citlak, "Lvov-Warsaw School: The Forgotten Tradition of Historical Psychology," *HOP* 19 (2016): 105–24; Citlak, "Psychology of Religion in the Theories and Research of the Lvov-Warsaw School (Basic Achievements and Developments)," *APR* 43 (2021): 95–116; Citlak, "Brentano's Psychology and Kazimierz Twardowski School: Implications for the Empirical Study of Psychological Phenomena Today," *PRs* 87 (2023): 1665–83; Francesco Coniglione, Roberto Poli, and Woleński, eds., *Polish Scientific Philosophy: The Lvov-Warsaw School* (Rodopi, 1993); Anna Drabarek, Woleński, and Mateusz Radzki, eds., *Interdisciplinary Investigations into the Lvov-Warsaw School: History of Analytic Philosophy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019); Witold Płotka, "From Psychology to Phenomenology (and Back Again): A Controversy over the Method in the School of Twardowski," *PCS* 19 (2019): 141–67; Jan Woleński, "The Achievements of the Polish School of Logic," in *The Cambridge History of Philosophy 1870–1945*, ed. Thomas Baldwin (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 401–16.

[3] Istvan Czachesz, *Cognitive Science and the New Testament: A New Approach to Early Christian Research* (Oxford University Press, 2017); Istvan Czachesz and Risto Uro, eds., *Mind, Morality and Magic: Cognitive Science Approaches in Biblical Studies* (Acumen, 2013); John Elliot, "From Social Description to Social-Scientific Criticism: The History of a Society of Biblical Literature Section 1973–2003," *BTB* 38 (2008): 26–36; Harold Ellens and Rollins Wayne, eds., *Psychology and the Bible: A New Way to Read the Scriptures*, 4 vols. (Praeger, 1999–2004); Bruce Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (Westminster John Knox, 2003); Jerome Neyrey and Eric Stewart, eds., *The Social World of the New Testament: Insights and Models* (Hendrickson, 2008); Wayne Rollins and Andrews Kille, *Psychological Insight into the Bible* (Eerdmans, 2007).

perception of human relationships, the definition of hierarchies, the demarcation between one's own community and a foreign community, or the determination of the individual's place in the group. This very issue is the thread around which the individual themes of the monograph are analyzed. However, we do not want to focus on a detailed analysis of the relations between specific subjects of social life but rather on a more basic dimension of these relations, such as the concept of power, strength, or emotions dominating in a given discourse. The main aim of the monograph is to identify selected features of the description of the social world and the underlying tendencies to the linguistic and cognitive perception of reality. This is based on the assumption that the cognitive perspective of the authors of the analyzed texts was subject to certain dynamics in changing social and cultural conditions, which led to a different conceptualisation of reality and then to a new description of the world and social relations. However, the key motivational factor underlying these relations and resulting from existential or living conditions was most probably the notion of force, power and domination, which directly influenced the status and social position of an individual. The theory of striving for a sense of power developed in Twardowski's School, seems intuitively to indicate an important aspect of everyday life in that culture. Therefore, the aim is to look at the biblical tradition from this perspective and assess to what extent the concept of power-dominance actually played an important role in relations between people, and whether it allows us to better understand the dynamic transformations between Judaism and primitive Christianity.

The subject of this monograph focuses on the analysis of the selected features of the linguistic description of the social world (social relations), and psychological and partly sociological theories play an important role in this respect. Some of them, such as Alfred Adler's theory and the honor-shame cultural code, have been used often in the analysis of the selected problems of the biblical or ancient social world and have a permanent place in the history of this research. The psychological theories of Twardowski's School (despite having been developed much earlier and based on the written works of antiquity) have only recently been used as conceptual instruments in the study of ancient literature.[4] I must admit, however, that the use of the theories and concepts developed in Twardowski's school is quite subjective, and even worse, apodictic. The intellectual heritage of the school is considerable, concerning not only achievements in the fields of philosophy and psychology but also epistemology, linguistics, sociology and ethics.

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[4] Citlak, "Lvov-Warsaw School"; Citlak, "Group Conflicts in Light of the Cratism Theory (Psycholinguistic Analysis)," *AOP* 23 (2020): 107–31; Citlak, "The Psychology of the Pursuit for a Sense of Power and Structural Patterns of Biblical Social Relations," *JORH* 60 (2021): 3993–4013; Citlak, "Socrates and Jesus: Between the Honour-Shame Cultural Code and the Twardowski School," in *Beyond WEIRD: Psychobiography in Times of Transcultural and Transdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Claude-Helen Mayer et al. (Cham, 2023), 149–66.

In such a situation, each choice becomes a subjective decision, a more or less justified proposal of the interpretation and application of its selected achievements. In this case, the decision to choose one or another theory is connected with the already existing state of knowledge and research in the world, in relation to which, Twardowski's school may constitute an interesting and—as I believe—valuable supplement.

The content of the book covers the issues that were the subject of the research conducted in three scientific projects devoted to Twardowski's Lvov-Warsaw School.[5] The results obtained have been systematically published since 2016 in Polish[6] and English.[7] However, this is not a presentation of that research. The theoretical part of the monograph (chapters 1, 2, 3) refers to the findings of the first grant (2012–2016) and is similar to the first part of the 2016 Polish publication (*Relacje społeczne świata antycznego w świetle teorii kratyzmu. Psychologia historyczno-kulturowa w szkole lwowsko-warszawskiej* [Social Relations in Ancient World. Cultural-Historical Psychology in Lvov-Warsaw School]), the empirical part (chapters 4, 5, 6, 7) uses the results from all three grants as a starting

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[5] The Lvov-Warsaw School and Selected Problems of Psychology, Philosophy, and Semiotics, The Programme of the Minister of Science and Higher Education entitled "National Programme for the Development of the Humanities," in years 2012–2016 (11H 11005180). Władysław Witwicki's Theory of Cratism: Psychological Research on Social Relations, in years 2018–2019 (2018/02/X/HS6/00278). The Biblical Discourse in the Light of the Lvov-Warsaw School, Excellent Science, in years 2020–2022 (DNM/SP/461604/2020).

[6] Citlak, "O empirycznym wykorzystaniu teorii kratyzmu W. Witwickiego," *PSp* 39 (2016): 48–60; Citlak, *Relacje społeczne świata antycznego w świetle teorii kratyzmu: Psychologia historyczno-kulturowa w szkole lwowsko-warszawskiej* (Instytut Psychologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2016); Citlak, "O dwóch postaciach teorii dążenia do mocy: Teoria kratyzmu Witwickiego i psychologia indywidualna Adlera," in *Język, wartości, działania: Szkoła lwowsko-warszawska a wybrane problemy psychologii, filozofii, semiotyki*, ed. Jerzy Bobryk (Instytut Psychologii PAN, 2016), 249–70; Citlak, "O psychologii religii w szkole lwowsko-warszawskiej i szkole dorpackiej w pierwszej połowie XX wieku," in Bobryk, *Język, wartości, działania*, 271–98.

[7] Bobryk, "Relevance of Concepts"; Citlak, "Lvov-Warsaw School"; Citlak, "Psychology of Religion"; Citlak, "The Interdisciplinary Nature of Władysław Witwicki's Psychological Investigations," in *Interdisciplinary Investigations into the Lvov-Warsaw School, History of Analytic Philosophy*, ed. Anna Drabarek, Jan Woleński, and Mateusz Radzki (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 157–76; Citlak, "Problem of Mind and Mental Acts in the Perspective of Psychology in the Lvov-Warsaw School," *PhP* 32 (2019): 1049–77; Citlak, "Group Conflicts in Light of the Cratism Theory (Psycholinguistic Analysis)," *AOP* 23 (2020): 107–31; Citlak, "Psychology of the Pursuit for a Sense of Power"; Ewa Głogowska, "On a Sense of Power, Authority and Escape from Freedom," in *Language, Values, Actions: The Lvov-Warsaw School and Selected Problems of Modern Psychology, Semiotics and Philosophy*, ed. Jerzy Bobryk (Instytut Psychologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2016), 197–218.

point for new research, which is presented in this publication for the first time. It is, therefore, an extended presentation, which has not been published in this form before but is based on previous projects' findings. In this way, the work presents both the theories of the school and their practical application in the analysis of the biblical discourse.

The first chapter discusses the origins and specificity of the school as well as its most important achievements, on the basis of which social-scientific criticism and psychological-biblical criticism can be regarded as part of cultural-historical psychology and as an important branch of psychology in general. The second chapter is devoted to the theory of striving for a sense of power in Twardowski's school and in social sciences more broadly, although the main direction of inquiry in the monograph is marked by Witwicki's theory and the conclusions drawn from his interpretation of the lives of Socrates and Jesus. The third chapter focuses on the more important features of the biblical social world and concerns theories of social-scientific criticism that may be relevant to the problems discussed in the second part. The second (empirical) part includes a chapter on methodology and three separate, though closely related, analyses of the linguistic representation of social relations according to the theory of striving for a sense of power. Chapter 4 is devoted to the methodology, hypotheses, and research problems. It focuses on the relevance and justification of the quantitative discourse analysis adopted from the social sciences for the study of ancient discourse. The essence of quantitative analysis in the form presented here is an attempt to reconstruct the structural properties of the language used by biblical authors to capture the essential features of their worldview. Although the quantitative approach dominates in this section, it is verified or supplemented in each subsequent chapter by the additional analysis of the text (selected concepts, problems). The first study (chapter 5) concerns differences in the perception of the social world and its linguistic expression as reflected in the Greek Old and New Testaments. It thus addresses two different socio-religious orders. The second study (chapter 6) is devoted to the person of Jesus and his social relationships. The third analysis (chapter 7) examines social relationships in the early Christian communities in the second half of the first century CE, which faced a growing threat from the gentile world. All the analyses form a very coherent set of results that enable important conclusions to be drawn about the transformation of the social world from biblical Judaism to biblical Christianity, and the important role that Jesus of Nazareth played in this transformation.

The aim of this work is to provide a holistic and comprehensive view of biblical discourse. The quantitative approach requires the researcher to select textual material in such a way as to be able to formulate reliable conclusions. Therefore, the object of analysis must not be small textual units but rather extensive corpora. This creates certain problems in the analysis of biblical discourse, the most unrewarding example of which is a focus on the more general and universal rather than on specific issues. The difficulty is particularly noticeable when considering

the fact that modern biblical studies have grown impressively, offering not only numerous textual research methods, tools and theoretical spectrums but also plentiful studies of selected short textual units. However, the relatively holistic view of biblical discourse—and the implicitly important underlying subjects of contemporary biblical studies—also has undeniable advantages. This is because, paradoxically, amid the accumulation of contemporary research, it offers a relatively coherent conceptual instrumentarium that I believe offers new interpretive possibilities for specific issues. This fact is emphasized in the relevant parts of the monograph as it does not fully cover the entire subject matter but rather constitutes an interpretative proposal whose potential, if appropriately applied, may be significant. For this reason, my intention is not to present a closed study of a strictly exegetical nature but rather a study that opens up some possibilities for analyzing the biblical text in a new perspective.

As a point of trivia, in October 2001, Bruce Malina and John Pilch came to Poland to deliver lectures on social-scientific criticism in biblical studies at the Pontifical Academy of Theology in Krakow (now the Pontifical University of John Paul II). The lectures received a great response and one of the first major results of this meeting was a monograph by Professor Janusz Kręcidło, *Honor i wstyd w interpretacji ewangelii: Szkice z egzegezy antropologiczno-kulturowej* [Honor and Shame in the Interpretation of the Gospels: Sketches from Anthropological and Cultural Exegesis], published in Warsaw in 2013. Pilch, in his introduction to this work, wrote

> As in the ancient Middle Eastern civilisation, honour and shame are also key values in today's Polish culture.… Therefore, finding similarities between the ancient Middle Eastern culture and contemporary Polish culture facilitates the process of updating, i.e., reading the biblical content in the context of Polish culture.[8]

These similarities were obviously much greater at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when the Lvov-Warsaw School was born, than they are today in the twenty-first century, with Poland now being part of the European Union and NATO and having been building democratic structures since 1989. Unfortunately, I couldn't attend the Krakow lectures given by Malina and Pilch as at the time, I was beginning my studies in psychology at the University of Warsaw and graduating in biblical studies from the Christian Theological Academy in Warsaw. However, my academic interests in both fields coincided thanks to the topics of the Twardowski School, which triggered my inspiration since the very beginning of my academic path, and this inspiration continues to this day. I hope,

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[8] Janusz Kręcidło, *Honor i wstyd w interpretacji ewangelii: Szkice z egzegezy antropologiczno-kulturowej* (Verbinum, 2013), 12.

therefore, that despite the differences between the Semitic world and the Polish world, the theories developed in the Lvov-Warsaw School will prove to be interesting instruments in the biblical scholar's workshop.

Part 1

1. The Kazimierz Twardowski's School: Philosophical and Psychological Heritage

1.1. The Roots and Specificity of Twardowski's School of Thought

The Lvov-Warsaw School, established by Twardowski (1866–1938) in Lvov, was above all a school of philosophy, and more specifically, a school of philosophy and logic.[1] Its beginnings date back to 1895, when Twardowski came from Vienna to Lvov, then under the rule of the Austro—Hungarian monarchy, and took over the chair of philosophy at the Jan Kazimierz University. Twardowski was strongly influenced by Franz Brentano, whose lectures he attended during his philosophical studies in Vienna. It was there that he was awarded a doctorate on the basis of the work *Idee und Perzeption: Eine erkenntnis-theoretische Untersuchung aus Descartes*, and in 1894, he presented his habilitation (thesis *Zur Lehre vom Inhalt und Gegenstand der Vorstellungen*), in which he further developed the theory of mental acts by Brentano, published twenty years earlier in the famous *Psychologie vom empirischen Standpunkt*.

His departure from the world's academic capital and the decision to move to Lvov were at the very least controversial. Poland, which was then divided between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, did not exist on the map of Europe and gained political independence only after the First World War in 1918. Despite the connections between the Jan Kazimierz University and the German philosophical tradition, the city remained on the margins of ongoing European academic disputes. The attempt to organize a philosophical center there was, therefore, a very difficult task, yet paradoxically, this also had its advantages. Since Twardowski "started from scratch, he was able to shape the philosophy in Lvov according to

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[1] Brożek, Stadler, and Woleński, *The Significance of the Lvov-Warsaw School*; Cavallin, *Content and Object*; Coniglione, Poli, and Woleński, *Polish Scientific Philosophy*; Katarzyna Kijania-Placek and Jan Woleński, eds., *The Lvov-Warsaw School and the Contemporary Philosophy* (Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998).

his intentions and did not have to take into consideration the various limitations resulting from the existing *status quo.*"[2]

Evaluating Twardowski's achievements in such a short time, it can be said that it was an organizational, scientific, and pedagogical phenomenon. This is because he managed to bring together highly talented students and create an original "methodology"—although it should rather be called a style of approaching science—which allowed him to develop original philosophical, logical, ethical and psychological theories. In 1904, Twardowski founded the Philosophical Society in Lvov, and in 1911, the journal *Ruch Filozoficzny* (Philosophical Movement), the aim of which was, inter alia, to inform readers about the current state of knowledge and new developments in Polish and world philosophy. Twardowski's vision, however, reached much further than popularising novelties from the world of science. The idea was not only to introduce the achievements of German, British, and French philosophers to Polish science but, above all, to have a broad knowledge of European philosophy to develop a unique, original path for its development.

The school's period of splendour lasted until the outbreak of the Second World War and first covered the Lvov period of 1895–1918, and then the period of its exceptional bloom (Lvov-Warsaw 1918–1939) when after the reactivation of the University of Warsaw in 1915, some of Twardowski's students moved to Warsaw. This was a breakthrough moment because the second center and the so-called Polish School of Logic were established in Warsaw, which soon became one of the most important centers of world logic.[3] Unfortunately, during the Second World War, some of the representatives of the school lost their lives, while others had to leave the country, engaging in academic activities in other academic centers around the world. For example, Alfred Tarski became a professor of logic at Berkeley University, Henryk Hiż became a professor of linguistics at Pennsylvania State University, Jan Łukasiewicz moved to the Royal Academy of Science in Dublin as a lecturer in mathematical logic, Edward Poznański went to Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Henryk Mehlberg went to the University of Chicago (where he took over the philosophy department after Rudolf Carnap), and Józef Bocheński went to the University of Freiburg.[4] Although the academic activity of the school did not cease after 1945, there was a significant decline, dispersion and change in the nature of the activity, especially because at that time, Lvov was

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[2] Jan Woleński, "Szkoła lwowsko-warszawska z perspektywy historycznej," *PP* 1 (2014): 10.

[3] Brożek, Stadler, and Woleński, Significance of the Lvov-Warsaw School; Zbigniew Jordan, *The Development of Mathematical Logic and of Logical Positivism in Poland between Two Wars* (Clarendon, 1945); Sandra Lapointe et al., eds., *The Golden Age of Polish Philosophy: Kazimierz Twardowski's Philosophical Legacy* (Springer, 2009); Woleński, "Achievements of the Polish School of Logic."

[4] Jan Woleński, *Logic and Philosophy in the Lvov-Warsaw School* (Kluwer, 1989).

outside the borders of Poland. Moreover, from 1945 Poland was under the strong influence of the communist governments and ideology, which—especially from 1945 to 1956—treated Twardowski's school as a relic of bourgeois thought, hostile to the new order.[5] For many prominent figures, this was a time of systematic marginalization and denial of the school's scientific achievements.[6] Although literature often mentions the following generations and descendants of Twardowski's students,[7] in practice, after 1945 there was no longer a united, consolidated group of researchers, they act rather independently in the spirit of their master's assumptions in various parts of the country.

Determining the number of Twardowski students and their achievements is virtually impossible. It was a huge group which also included people more or less connected with the Lvov and Warsaw scientific environments. The closest students were undoubtedly Łukasiewicz and Witwicki, prominent figures in Polish literature and science. The former is remembered as the author of trivalent logic and the rector of the University of Warsaw in the 1920s and 1930s, the latter as a psychologist, the author of cratism theory and a translator of *The Dialogues* of Plato. The list of students includes the following key representatives of Polish science in the first half of the twentieth century: Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz—creator of original solutions in semiotics and epistemology; Tadeusz Czeżowski—logician and ethicist; Tadeusz Kotarbiński—logician, ethicist, creator of independent ethics; Zygmunt Zawirski—philosopher and logician; Mieczysław Kreutz—psychologist; Stanisław Leśniewski—logician and philosopher, creator of systems theory; Władysław Tatarkiewicz—philosopher; psychologists Stefan Baley, Stefan Błachowski. The world's best-known representative of the Lvov-Warsaw school is Tarski, a student of Lukasiewicz and Leśniewski, a logician and creator of the semantic theory of truth who emigrated to the United States in 1939, where he worked as a scientist for nearly forty years at Berkeley University in California. However, he was not directly one of Twardowski's students, nor were the sociologists Stanisław and Maria Ossowski, the mathematician and logician Adolf Lindenbaum, Leopold Blaustein, Izydora Dąmbska and others. The circle of Twardowski's students can be extended to as many as around one hundred people

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[5] Citlak, "Psychology of the Lvov-Warsaw School and the Shape of Postcommunist Polish Psychology (Unfinished Dialog with Brentanian Tradition)," *JHBS* 59 (2023): 20–30; Leszek Koczanowicz and Iwona Koczanowicz-Dehnel, "Ideology and Science: The Story of Polish Psychology in the Communist Period," *HHS* 34 (2021): 195–217.

[6] Radosław Kuliniak, Mariusz Pandora, and Łukasz Ratajczak, eds. *Filozofia po ciemnej stronie mocy: Krucjaty marksistów i komunistów polskich przeciwko Lwowskiej Szkole Filozoficznej Kazimierza Twardowskiego*, 2 vols. (Wydawnictwo Marek Derewiecki, 2019).

[7] Brożek et al., *Tradition of the Lvov-Warsaw School*; Jacek Jadacki and Jacek Paśniczek, *The Lvov-Warsaw School: The New Generation* (Rodopi, 2006).

by considering the direct influence of the master and his later influence through his colleagues and closest students. The Lvov-Warsaw School is a unusual phenomenon in the history of science because it was a school of philosophy distinguished by a particular scientific style rather than a single, unquestionable theory. The school included not only philosophers, logicians and ethicists but also sociologists and psychologists. An important distinguishing feature of the school was the negation of irrationalism and, above all, the principle that all propositions must be intersubjectively communicable and testable. Twardowski particularly valued the precision of language and the unambiguity of definition.[8] Such an attitude systematically developed precise conceptual apparatus for the given discipline (especially in Polish, which proved to be extremely important after the regaining of independence in 1918, during the reconstruction of the state and Polish culture). It can be claimed that the representatives of the school were not so much linked by a common theory but by a common scientific language and way of practising science so that there were the representatives of such different disciplines in the same school.[9]

The specificity of the school was, of course, determined by philosophy and logic, but logic did not play such a significant role in the first years. It should be remembered that the turn of the nineteenth/twentieth century was a time when philosophers were seeking recognition of this discipline so that it was actually a science and its theories were certain. Brentano and Twardowski were convinced that such a function could be performed by empirical psychology, that is, the psychology of mental acts (including representations, judgments, and imaginations) with theoretical and methodological background. Despite various attempts to incorporate psychology into philosophy and logic, Twardowski, followed by his students, concluded that psychology could meet these expectations. The publication that played a key role here, *Logische Untersuchungen*, was written in 1900–1901 by Edmund Husserl, according to which logical theorems and psychological theories should be considered to relate to other qualitative/ontological issues. Łukasiewicz was very early to express his scepticism about psychology. According to him, solutions to the problems of philosophy and scientific accuracy had to be found in logic, namely, in mathematical logic. Finally, psychologism was rejected, setting a slightly different development for the school. The establishment of the second center at the University of Warsaw after the First World War—where Łukasiewicz, Stanisław Leśniewski, Tarski, and Zygmunt Janiszewski began their academic work at the Faculty of Philosophy—was of great importance.

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[8] "An author who neither knows how to express their thoughts precisely, nor can think clearly … so his thoughts do not deserve to be guessed." Kazimierz Twardowski, "O jasnym i niejasnym stylu filozoficznym," in Rowicka and Zelnikowa, *Wybrane pisma filozoficzne*, 347.

[9] Drabarek, Woleński, and Radzki, *Interdisciplinary Investigations into the Lvov-Warsaw School*.

It was then that the Lvov-Warsaw school's most vital and most significant scholarly group was formed, which has been recorder in world literature as the Polish School of Logic. It primarily dealt with mathematical logic, but in a broader sense, the Polish school of logic is also represented by such figures as Ajdukiewicz, Tadeusz Kotarbiński, and Andrzej Mostowski. First, the journal *Fundamenta Mathematicae* (1920) and later *Studia Logica* (1953), founded by K. Ajdukiewicz, began to be published. Thus, a phenomenon of the Lvov-Warsaw School was combining the problems of philosophy and logic of the time with the methods and achievements of mathematics.

It is difficult to overestimate the philosophical and logical achievements of the representatives of the Lvov-Warsaw School. It is an unique heritage: the theory of actions and products by Twardowski, the semantic theory of truth by Tarski, semantic epistemology and radical conventionalism by Ajdukiewicz, rheism by Kotarbiński, many-valued logic by Łukasiewicz, as well as the theory of logical systems by Leśniewski and many more. There is no need to discuss all of these here, some of them have already played a significant role in the development of philosophy and logic, or could potentially have played such a role (especially if compared to British analytical philosophy or the philosophy of the Vienna Circle).[10] Jan Woleński aptly evaluates the impact and importance of the school:

> The LWS acted in a country which never belonged to the philosophical superpowers. This circumstance is important for any assessment of the significance of the LWS. One can measure it on a national or an international scale. The importance of the LWS for Polish philosophical culture was enormous. Twardowski fully realised his task. He introduced scientific philosophy in his sense into Poland and created a powerful philosophical school.… As far as the matter concerns international importance, one thing is clear. The logical achievements of the LWS became the most famous. Doubtless, the Warsaw school of logic contributed very much to the development of logic in the twentieth century. Other contributions are known but rather marginally. This is partially due to the fact that most philosophical writings of the LWS appeared in Polish. However, this factor does not explain everything. Many writings of the LWS were originally published in English, French or German. However, their influence was very moderate, considerably less significant than that of similar writings of philosophers from the leading countries. This is a pity, because radical conventionalism,

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[10] See Henryk Skolimowski, *Polish Analytical Philosophy: A Survey and a Comparison with British Analytical Philosophy* (Routledge, 1967); Klemens Szaniawski, ed., *The Vienna Circle and the Lvov-Warsaw School* (Kluwer, 1989).

reism or semantic epistemology are the real philosophical pearls. But perhaps this is the fate of results achieved in cultural provinces.[11]

1.2. Psychology of the Lvov-Warsaw School

Twardowski's school was a school of philosophy, but its achievements in terms of science reach far beyond. Psychology played a significant role there. The most famous treatises by Twardowski, *O treści i przedmiocie przedstawień* [On the Content and Object of Presentations] written in 1894, as well as *O czynnościach i wytworach. Kilka uwag z pogranicza psychologii, gramatyki i logiki* [Actions and Products: Comments on the Border Area of Psychology, Grammar, and Logic], written in 1912, may be treated equally as philosophical and psychological works. This was mainly due to the difficulties that philosophy as a science had to deal with, which, as was initially believed, could be resolved by psychology.

According to Kazimierz Twardowski, "the philosophical analysis method aimed, among others, at reconstructing the internal structure of human mental life. Mental life is … a sequence of intentional acts or a sequence of actions," and what is more, "at some point in its development, psychology was not only the source of a method for philosophy but also the basis for determining the subjects of research."[12]

It seemed that the psychology describing mental phenomena and thought processes could describe the principles of logical thinking and logic in general. This reasoning was also supported by Brentano's position and the psychology of acts of consciousness he postulated. It soon appeared, however, that this was not the case. These hopes were extinguished by Husserl, who proved that the laws of logic cannot simply be translated into the laws of the psychology of thought. Husserl's anti-psychology, already presented in volume 1 of *Logische Untersuchungen*, was widely accepted in Twardowski's school, but the transcendental aspect of phenomenology raised serious objections and was met with criticism. Although Husserl proposed a phenomenological description of data occurring in the field of consciousness and also focused on the transcendental subject and transcendental awareness (which offered new research opportunities in the form of phenomenological psychology, much closer to Brentano's and Twardowski's descriptive psychology than experimental empirical psychology[13]), it did not have a

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[11] Woleński, "Lvov-Warsaw School," Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, rev. 2023, https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/lvov-warsaw/#SignLvovWarsSchol.

[12] Jerzy Bobryk, *Twardowski: Teoria działania* (Pruszyński i S-ka, 2001), 18, 20.

[13] Witold Płotka, *The Philosophy of Leopold Blaustein. Descriptive Psychology, Phenomenology and Aestethics* (Springer, 2024). Płotka, "The Origins and Development of Leopold Blaustein's Descriptive Psychology: An Essay in the Heritage of the Lvov-Warsaw School," *HOP* 26 (2023): 372–90. It should be emphasized that Twardowski's vision of psychology and philosophy underwent some changes and was not always consistent with the father's views of empirical psychology. Arianna Betti, "Brentano and the Lvov-

significant influence on psychological thought except a few inspirations from the representatives of the Lvov-Warsaw School.[14]

Anti-psychologism has somehow shifted psychology beyond the mainstream so that some of the original works at the Lvov-Warsaw School were not continued. Nevertheless, in the initial period of the school, there were attempts to establish the relationship of psychology with philosophy, and define its subject and methodology. For example, should psychology study the processes of consciousness, in accordance with Brentano, or the processes of unconsciousness, in accordance with Freud? Were they supposed to be mental processes or behavioral acts? What is the source of psychological cognition? Should examination be performed using introspection or observation and measurement? As a result of such disputes, theoretical and methodological concepts were presented, thus the Lvov-Warsaw School also became a psychological school of thought.[15]

It should be remembered that Twardowski did not only study under Brentano, who was both a philosopher and a psychologist. He was also the first lecturer of psychology in Poland at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lvov, where he gave his first lectures on the psychology of visual illusions as early as 1898.[16] There, he established a small psychological laboratory in 1901, and after many hardships in 1907, a laboratory of experimental psychology.[17] It was under his supervision that

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Warsaw School," in *The Routledge Handbook of Franz Brentano and the Brentano School*, ed. Ulrich Kriegel (Routledge, 2017), 334–40; Płotka, "On the Brentanian Legacy in Twardowski's Views on Psychology," in *Brentano and the Positive Philosophy of Comte and Mill: With Translations of Original Writings on Philosophy as Science by Franz Brentano*, ed. Ion Tănăsescu et al. (De Gruyter, 2022), 351–70.

[14] Walter Auerbach, "O wątpieniu," in *Księga Pamiątkowa Polskiego Towarzystwa Filozoficznego we Lwowie* (Towarzystwo Naukowe we Lwowie, 1931), 78–97; Leopolod Blaustein, *Husserlowska nauka o akcie, treści i przedmiocie przedstawienia* (Towarzystwo Naukowe we Lwowie, 1928); Roman Ingarden, "Dążenia fenomenologów," *PF* 22 (1919): 118–56, 315–51.

[15] Bobryk, "Relevance of Concepts"; Teresa Rzepa, *Psychologia w szkole lwowsko-warszawskiej* (Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1997); Rzepa, *Życie psychiczne i drogi do niego: Psychologiczna Szkoła Lwowska* (Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 1998); Rzepa and Ryszard Stachowski, "Roots of the Methodology of Polish Psychology," *Poznań Studies in the Philosophy of the Sciences and the Humanities* 28 (1993): 233–50.

[16] In 1897, Twardowski also published an important text *Psychologia wobec fizjologii i filozofii* [Psychology in relation to Physiology and Philosophy].

[17] In 1904, Twardowski visited many European psychological and academic centers (in Graz, Halle, Leipzig, Berlin, Göttingen, Giesen, Würzburg, Paris, and Prague). In 1907, he established a laboratory of experimental psychology in Lvov. It was, therefore, the first psychological laboratory in Poland, although even today, the disagreement between Polish psychologists prevails whether the first laboratory was established at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lvov or at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, founded by

the first doctoral theses in psychology were written; he also educated the first psychologists such as Witwicki, Kreutz, Stefan Baley and Stefan Błachowski. Many of Twardowski's students participated in lectures and experiments by Wundt in Leipzig and then established similar psychological laboratories in Poland (at universities in Poznań, Vilnius, Warsaw, and later in Wrocław). Furthermore, most of them studied abroad, for example, Baley studied psychology in Paris and Berlin under Carl Stumpf from 1912 to 1914, Witwicki attended Alois Höfler's lectures in Vienna from 1901 to 1902, and Blachowski attended Husserl's lectures in Göttingen from 1909 to 1013.[18]

The years of the greatness of psychology in the Lvov-Warsaw School were less spectacular than in the case of philosophy and logic and were generally shorter-lasting until 1918. By then, the most important psychological theories had been developed: Twardowski's theory of acts and products in 1912, a proposal for the psychological interpretation of products, Witwicki's theory of cratism in 1907 (similar to Adler's theory of power) and the first psychobiography in 1909. This was a period dominated by Twardowski's psychological and philosophical views. It was also then that the original psychological terminology was created, and the works of psychologists such as Wundt, William James and Theodor Fechner were translated into Polish. In 1901, Witwicki defended his doctoral thesis (*Analiza psychologiczna ambicji* [Psychological Analysis of Ambition], the first doctoral thesis in psychology in this school), and in 1911—Baley (*O potrzebie rekonstrukcji pojęcia psychologicznej podstawy uczuć* [The Reconstruction of a Psychological Basis of Feelings]). In 1904, Witwicki's habilitation thesis was announced (*Analiza psychologiczna objawów woli* [Psychological Analysis of Will]) and in 1917, Blachowski's (*Nastawienia i spostrzeżenia: Studium Psychologiczne* [Attitudes and Perceptions: Psychological Study]). Thus, Polish literature refers to the Lvov period (and even to the Lvov Psychological School) and then the Lvov-Warsaw period.[19] However, in practice, it was already a period of dispersed academic activity with the dominance of the University of Warsaw, where Witwicki became a professor of psychology (while Błachowski at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and Bogdan Zawadzki in Vilnius). Other essential publications which appeared in the Lvov-Warsaw period included: the development of Witwicki's cratism theory in 1927, Blachowski's research into magical thinking in the 1930s, the study of religious beliefs and the foundations of cognitive dissonance in 1939, the psychobiography of Jesus Christ in 1958 and

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Władysław Heinrich in 1903. Bartłomiej Dobroczyński and Aleksandra Gruszka, "Generations of 'Wasted Chances': Władysław Heinrich and Psychology in Poland," *HOP* 22 (2019): 163–85.

[18] Cezary Domański, *Historia psychologii w Europie Środkowej* (PWN, 2018).

[19] Rzepa, *Psychologia w szkole lwowsko-warszawskiej*; Ryszard Stachowski, *Historia współczesnej myśli psychologicznej* (Scholar, 2007).

the development of Kreutz's theory of introspection in 1949 and 1962, and later, Tomaszewski's theory of action published in 1963.

Unlike philosophical and logical research undertaken in the atmosphere of international contacts and the exchange of ideas,[20] a significant proportion of psychological research was unfortunately presented only in Polish. Apart from a few cases (such as Błachowski's research or Blaustein's analyses), there were no polemics or dialogues with the representatives of important psychological centers or schools in Europe, such as Leipzig, Berlin, the Würzburg School or the Dorpat School. Furthermore, there were no attempts to familiarise the academic world with achievements in this area. As a result, the psychology at the Lvov-Warsaw School, creating a milieu of early European psychology (so strongly connected with Brentano's descriptive psychology and with the notion of intentionality[21]), was slowly entering a phase of isolation, increasingly separating itself from philosophy. In fact, this separation was fostered by the changes in world psychology: the adoption of the positivist tradition, the naturalization of the mind and the expansive dominance of experimental research. Hermeticization of psychology proved to be an unforgivable sin, ultimately leading to forgetting and not continuing the research that had been started. This period is one of the most astonishing episodes in the school's history: the original approach to the subject matter of psychological research and methodology, innovative theories giving initial results, fell on the fringes.

Disputes over the status of psychology determined the nature of psychology in the Lvov School. At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, two positions dominated.[22] Wundt and his students represented the first position.[23] He proposed an experimental study of consciousness and its basic components in the form of sense impressions. The experimental approach was intended to ensure the testability and credibility of psychological claims, all the more so as the research was performed in controlled laboratory conditions. The concept of the study was

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[20] Witold Płotka, "Early Phenomenology in Poland (1895–1945): Origins, Development, and Breakdown," *SEET* 69 (2017): 79–91; Płotka, "From Psychology to Phenomenology."
[21] Amadeusz Citlak, "Qualitative Psychology of the Brentano School and Its Inspirations (Another Look at Empirical Qualitative Research)," *TP* 33(2023): 749–70; Płotka, *Philosophy of Leopold Blaustein*.
[22] Rzepa, *Psychologia w szkole lwowsko-warszawskiej*; Rzepa, *Życie psychiczne i drogi do niego*; Citlak, "Problem of Mind and Mental Acts."
[23] Wilhelm Wundt, *Grundriss der Psychologie* (Engelmann, 1897); Wundt, *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie* (Engelmann, 1908). Later, Wundt strongly emphasized that psychology cannot be based solely on experimental data but must use cultural-historical psychology, providing a broader framework for interpretation and the necessary context. He presented the most important theses of cultural-historical psychology in the ten-volume *Völkerpsychologie* from 1911 to 1920. See John Greenwood, "Wundt, Völkerpsychologie and Experimental Social Psychology," *HOP* 6 (2003): 60–78.

relatively simple: to evoke sense impressions and physiological reactions using stimuli, which could then be measured and observed. Wundt was convinced that data collected in this way would make it possible to explain the complexity and specificity of human mental life. In practice, however, they only allowed confirming correlations between impressions and a specific stimuli series or confirming the psychophysical parallelism principle. Although practised with a positivist attitude, Wundt's physiological psychology raised concerns about its scientific utility and future prospects.

Another position was represented by Brentano and his descriptive psychology from 1874. It was supposed to be the psychology of acts, focused on the introspective description of mental phenomena. Wundt's physiological psychology contributed to the reduction of mental life, downsizing it to physiological phenomena or, at best, showing their mutual parallelism. It seemed, therefore, to be an illusory belief in the possibility of reaching the essence of the human psyche. According to Brentano, mental acts are characterized by intentionality (object orientation). In acts of consciousness, the subject experiences oneself and the world, and can present or make judgments about something. Thus, mental acts form the basis of both presentations and judgments. The reference to the scholastic idea of intentionality and the analytical-descriptive approach forced a critical assessment of Wundt's laboratory research, which seemed to be far from the essence of the mental phenomenon.[24]

A slightly different concept was presented by Husserl, who proposed a psychological phenomenology. Its aim was to study elementary and even a priori mental life structures and to reach the so-called pure consciousness. It was, however, a theoretical project with a high level of abstraction, ultimately referring to the study of mental experiences as if in their pure state, disconnected from any relation to empirical reality.[25] As such, this programme, unfortunately, discouraged psychologists who concentrated on mainly examining the empirical subject, their mental life here and now.

The psychological tradition of the Lvov-Warsaw School (especially the Lvov period) remains primarily in the current of descriptive psychology and the psychology of acts, which was a natural consequence of its embedding within the philosophical context of the school.[26]

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[24] As Witwicki wrote, "the physiological experiments and anatomical examinations which Wundt applied in his works … reveal only one side of the phenomenon, they only reveal the physical side of things." What is crucial for psychological phenomena is studied by psychology "in the field of internal experience" (after Stachowski, *Historia współczesnej myśli*, 38).

[25] Katarzyna Święcicka, *Husserl* (Wiedza Powszechna, 2005), 68.

[26] See Citlak, "Brentano's Psychology," 1665–68; Witold Płotka, "The Origins and Development of Leopold Blaustein's Descriptive Psychology: An Essay in the Heritage of the Lvov-Warsaw School," *HOP* 26 (2023): 372–90.

"The Brentanian theory of intentional acts is at the heart of Twardowski's psychology and the entire psychological tradition of this school. It had a key impact on determining the nature of mental phenomena and research possibilities."[27] Wundt's experimental physiological psychology did not earn wider recognition. However, both of these research traditions were linked by introspection as well as (paradoxically) nonexperimental, which Wundt later promoted in his research.[28]

1.3. Psychology of Acts and Cultural-Historical Psychology

1.3.1. Theory of Actions and Products

The research order and theoretical field of psychological investigations were mainly determined by Twardowski in two treatises On the content and object of presentations: A psychological investigation (1894) and Actions and Products: Comments on the Border Area of Psychology, Grammar and Logic (1912). These form the basis of this school's most original psychological and philosophical theory, that is, the theory of actions and products. This theory is widely known in literature[29] and therefore, only aspects significant for this monograph will be covered.

The subject of psychological research should be the psychological life of the human being.[30] It consists of a number of psychological phenomena or, in other words, mental facts. Traditionally, mental facts, according to Brentano's assumptions[31] were understood at that time as *acts* (like acts of feeling, judging, and thinking) and also as the content of these acts, that is, what was the object of the acts (what was thought, judged, felt).

> Every mental phenomenon is characterised by … what we might call, …, reference to a content, direction toward an object.… Every mental phenomenon includes something as object within itself …, in judgement something is affirmed or denied, in love loved, in hate hated.… We can, therefore, define mental

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27 Citlak, "Problem of Mind and Mental Acts," 1056.
28 Wilhelm Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, 10 vols. (Kroner, 1911–1920).
29 Bobryk, "Relevance of Concepts"; Cavallin, *Content and Object*; Arkadiusz Chrudzimski and Dariusz Łukasiewicz, *Actions, Products, and Things: Brentano and Polish Philosophy* (De Gruyter, 2006); Rzepa and Stachowski, "Roots of the Methodology of Polish Psychology"; Kijania-Placek and Woleński, *Lvov-Warsaw School.*
30 Kazimierz Twardowski, "O psychologii, jej przedmiocie, zadaniach, metodzie, stosunku do innych nauk i o jej rozwoju," in Rowicka and Zelnikowa, *Wybrane pisma filozoficzne*, 241–91.
31 Franz Brentano, *Psychology from an Empirical Standpoint* (Routledge, 1995).

phenomena by saying that they are those phenomena which contain an object intentionally within themselves.[32]

Thus, the mental phenomenon consisted of two elements: the mental act and its content/object, with the distinguishing feature of the mental act being its intentionality, that is, its orientation towards the object of thinking or judging. "This intentional in-existence is characteristic exclusively of mental phenomena. No physical phenomenon exhibits anything like it."[33] The accepted division was very simple and clear. Still, Aloise Höfler (1853—1922) soon remarked that mental phenomena understood in this way do not consider all the elements, specifically, it does not separate the subject and the content of the mental act in an understandable way. The object of the mental act can exist, firstly, in the external world independently of the subject, and this is the object that is considered or judged. Secondly, the object of the act can also exist in the subject's mind as a mental image. Twardowski addressed Höfler's objections in his habilitation thesis *On the Content and Object of Presentations* in 1894. He defines a mental phenomenon in a more precise way as consisting not of two but three elements: the mental *act* as well as the *content* and *object*:

> Just as in the presenting of an object, toward which this presenting is directed in the real sense, something else occurs, namely, the content of the presentation— which is also "presented" but in a different sense from the object—so is that which is affirmed or denied through a judgment, without being the object of the judging behavior, the content of the judgment.

And slightly further, he adds: "When the object is presented and when it is judged, in both cases there occurs a third thing, besides the mental act and its object, which is, as it were, a sign of the object: its mental "picture" when it is presented."[34]

Twardowski explains the relation between the object and the content of the act by referring to the painter's example: in the act of painting, the painter creates a picture (*content*) of a landscape (*object*).

> The painted landscape, the picture, depicts something which is not in this very same sense something painted. Similarly, the content of a presentation aims at something which is not the content of a presentation but which is an object of this presentation, in analogy to how the landscape is the "subject" of the picture which depicts it.[35]

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[32] Brentano, *Psychology*, 68.
[33] Brentano, *Psychology*, 69.
[34] Kazimierz Twardowski, "O treści i przedmiocie przedstawień," in Rowicka and Zelnikowa *Wybrane pisma filozoficzne*, 7.
[35] Twardowski, "O treści," 13.

In other words, "we shall say that the content is presented *in*, the object presented *through*, the presentation."[36]

The adopted classification became the subject of later analysis in the thesis *Actions and Products: Comments on the Border Area of Psychology, Grammar and Logic* from 1912. Here, a mental phenomenon already includes a mental action and the resulting mental product, as in the case of any other activity, for example, a physical activity and its physical production. It is therefore necessary to distinguish between thinking as *an action* and thought as *a product* of thinking, judging as *an action* and judgement as *a product* of judging, writing as *an action* and written work as *a product* of writing. Distinguishing between an action and a product is not always as simple as it might seem and can be difficult to do in individual cases (how do we differentiate between dancing and dance or laughing and laughter?): "There is a gradation from those cases in which a product almost merges with the action of which it is a result to those in which a product is clearly distinct from the action."[37] The products of physical activities may be enduring or nonenduring, while the products of mental activities are nonenduring. Imagination exists as long as there is an act of imagining, and thought exists as long as we think. Often, however, a mental action is accompanied by a physical action, which, taken together as a mental action, may lead to a psychophysical product, which may be enduring or nonenduring. For example, thinking would be a nonenduring mental action and talking would be a nonenduring mental action, while painting or writing would be an enduring psychophysical action and a painting or written work would be an enduring psychophysical product.

Twardowski also emphasizes the relationships between mental and psychophysical products:

> A mental product which is manifested in a psychophysical product … is sometimes said … to be expressed by that psychophysical product. But we say this only under a certain condition, namely if the psychophysical product in which a mental product is manifested can itself become a partial cause of the emergence of an identical or similar mental product by evoking a mental action which is identical with, or at least similar to, the action whence that product has resulted.[38]

However, the psychophysical product becomes a *partial cause* because the other causes lie in the effect of the psychophysical product on a person with the appropriate dispositions.[39]

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[36] Twardowski, "O treści," 15.

[37] Kazimierz Twardowski, "Actions and Products," in *Semiotics in Poland 1984–1969*, ed. Jerzy Pelc (Springer, 1912), 15.

[38] Twardowski, "Actions and Products," 19.

[39] Twardowski, "O czynnościach i wytworach," n. 30.

Psychophysical products create the world of culture, they are cultural goods and, most importantly, they are an expression of the mental products of their authors. For example, a discourse as a social fact can be treated as a nondurable psychophysical product (a discourse that is not written down but only spoken) or as a permanent psychophysical product (in the form of written texts, documents, books) of a given psychophysical action (speaking). At the same time, Twardowski introduces the notion of sign and meaning, which is essential from the perspective of the issues raised here: "Psychophysical products which express certain mental products are also termed 'signs' of those mental products, and the mental products themselves are termed their respective 'meanings.'"[40] This means that signs understood as psychophysical products (for example, dances, documents, and works of art) have a kind of hidden meaning, hidden in the psychophysical product because the meaning is a mental product, which by its nature is something nondurable. Psychophysical products may evoke

> in one and the same person or either successively simultaneously in a number of different persons then it obviously evokes not one product only, but as many products as there are actions yielding them.[41]

In other words, a psychophysical product can produce its own meaning in the receiver, which is immanently and potentially contained within it.

The above findings are important for nonexperimental historical and cultural psychology. First, they establish relationships between mental actions and their products, and psychophysical products. Second, psychophysical products as cultural goods express mental products, so they can be treated as objects of psychological analysis. Third, a mental product covered in the form of a psychophysical product constitutes its meaning, which can be discovered by subsequent objects in relation to this psychophysical product. "All psychophysical actions and all non-durable psychophysical products may be called signs of mental life … while all durable psychophysical products may be called mental life documents or psychological documents."[42] In this way, the cultural heritage of social groups or entire societies, regardless of historical period or geographical differences, conveys to us the mental products of its creators. In other words, it conveys to us their mental life, which is the meaning of these products (these psychological documents). Historical and cultural psychologists gain access to them through all possible cultural texts: through historical, religious documents, legends, myths, customs, rituals, and even through art and architecture. Of the psychophysical products available to us, speech in particular, as a nondurable psychophysical product, according to Twardowski, "expresses more accurately than other

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[40] Twardowski, "Actions and Products," 19.
[41] Twardowski, "Actions and Products," 22.
[42] Twardowski, "O psychologii," 259.

psychophysical products, those mental products which are their meaning."[43] The speech and also the text as a permanent psychophysical product provides an opportunity to survive and reconstruct the actions and mental products expressed in them. Such a mental product, existing "potentially,"[44] may arise repeatedly in the minds of others, although by its very nature, it will remain a nondurable product.

Taking into account Twardowski's claim that psychophysical products contain mental products that can be created in the mind of the recipients of these psychophysical products, it seems that, based on the cultural-historical psychology that deals with such products, introspection could be a helpful tool to reach the meaning of psychophysical products, that is, the mental products that led to their creation. Thus, cultural-historical psychology, understood in this way, aims to identify and describe the psychological phenomena experienced by the subject as a result of contact with the examined product and then to establish their nature, content, and mutual relations. In this respect, Lvov psychology shows a certain similarity to Wilhelm Dilthey's *geisteswissenschaftliche Psychologie*, which can be noticed not only in the descriptive approach but, above all, in the clear analogy that exists between the proposal of psychological interpretation of cultural products and Dilthey's *Erlebnis–Ausdruck–Verstehen* triad. For Dilthey Ausdruck, the general concept included the expression of the human spirit in the form of cultural goods that could be psychologically interpreted and understood.[45] However, can the reconstruction of the meaning of the products Twardowski presented be more than just a theoretical conclusion resulting from his theory?

1.3.2. Introspection and Psychological Interpretation of (Cultural) Products

Within the Lvov-Warsaw School, the subject of psychology was understood as the entirety of actions and products that manifest in a mental experience in the form of a complex or a stream of experiences and sensations (similarly to the notion of a stream of consciousness by James from 1890[46]). When a psychologist examines his or her own mental life, he or she uses introspection, understood according to Brentano's assumptions as an internal "perception" (*die innere Vahrnehmung*). Mental acts and their contents are inaccessible to other methods, such as observation, which by its nature can only relate to the natural world (as in the natural sciences). If, on the other hand, a psychologist investigates other people's mental lives with their various symptoms, he or she uses observation as an

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[43] Twardowski, "O psychologii," 232.
[44] Twardowski, "O psychologii," 233.
[45] Wilhelm Dilthey, "Der Aufbau der Geschichtlichen Welt in den Geisteswissenschaften," in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 7 (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992); Citlak, "Lvov-Warsaw School."
[46] William James, *The Principles of Psychology* (Holt, 1890).

essential tool to collect empirical data. However, regardless of the nature and complexity of the symptoms of someone else's mental life, the basic condition for a researcher-psychologist to understand the inner life of others is his or her previously introspective psychological knowledge or, otherwise, some kind of self-awareness. As Twardowski claimed: "Examining the mental life of other beings on the basis of their external symptoms, we reconstruct this mental life according to the introspective knowledge of our own mental life."[47] Such psychological knowledge and competence was acquired by the researcher not so much (or not only) through the cold acceptance of psychological laws or statistical data but based on a deep awareness of their own mental life, which, combined with knowledge of general psychological laws, enabled them to examine mental products.

Introspection also played a significant role in the research of two other psychological schools of that time: the Dorpat and the Würzburg Schools. In the Dorpat School (now Tartu in Estonia) it was widely used in the study of religious experience.[48] In the Würzburg School in 1901–1909, it was used in the analysis of higher mental processes, which enabled discovery the processes of thinking without imagination, a kind of pure thinking devoid of sensual and imaginary elements.[49] In the Lvov-Warsaw School, on the other hand, an analytical approach made it possible to formulate a thesis on hemisymbolic (semisymbolic) thinking, which supplemented the knowledge on symbolic and unsymbolic thinking proposed by the representatives of the Würzburg School.[50] In all three schools, the dominant tool was the so-called introspective experiment, during which—in a nutshell—under controlled conditions, specific reactions were evoked in the examined persons. They were then asked to describe the accompanying mental states.

The use of introspection was a priority here. First of all, in the light of the theory of actions and products, experimental psychology provided direct access only to the products of mental acts based on observation and measurement but not to the acts themselves. Besides, access to only some products, mental products

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[47] Kazimierz Twardowski, "O metodzie psychologii: Przyczynek do metodologii porównawczej badań naukowych," in Rowicka and Zelnikowa, *Wybrane pisma filozoficzne*, 211.

[48] Karl Girgensohn, *Der seelisches Aufbau des religiösen Erlebens: Eine religionspsychologische Untersuchung auf experimentaler Grundlage* (Hirzel, 1921).

[49] Wundt limited his introspection to examining mainly impressions, associations, perception, or attention, reserving the study of thinking for the cultural-historical model (*Völkerpsychologie*). For this reason, he subjected the findings of the Würzburg School to severe criticism, which, however, did not alienate its representatives from continuing the undertaken research. See Benedikt Hackert and Ulrich Weger, "Introspection and the Würzburg School: Implications for Experimental Psychology Today," *EP* 23 (2018): 217–32; Michel Hark, "The Psychology of Thinking before the Cognitive Revolution," *HOP* 13 (2010): 2–24.

[50] Bobryk, *Twardowski*.

(thought, conviction, and imagination), was still not available. The very essence of mental experience was, therefore, not available in this way. Observation and measurement shift the researcher's attention beyond actual mental life to his or her manifestations (products), leading directly to reductionism (if the psychologist confuses actions with products). This was a controversial thought, considering the changes in the psychology of the time. From 1879, when Wundt opened the first psychological laboratory in Leipzig using an experimental method, psychology became an empirical science, following the example of the natural sciences. Such a model quickly dominated psychological research worldwide and gained many prominent representatives (Edward Titchener in the United States, the behavioral tradition). However, it was only a methodological shift[51] that led to the domination of a new methodology and a new language for describing psychological data. This is a necessary and valuable methodology, but referring only to products and not mental acts. Furthermore, this shift has not brought anything new to the understanding of the nature of mental phenomena, and in some cases, it has completely ignored them.[52]

For the representatives of the Lvov-Warsaw School, introspectively gained self-awareness and psychological knowledge entitled the researcher to interpret the products and to apply the "method of analogy" crucial for "reconstructing someone else's spiritual life."[53] This process, also called psychological interpretation, can be treated as an original methodological proposal of the psychology of this school. This is particularly evident in cultural-historical psychology. The basic principle of reconstructing someone's mental life seemed relatively simple: to compare and relate the symptoms of someone's mental life to the symptoms and mental content of the psychologist-researcher, and then using the comparison (which could occur between one's own and someone's mental life) to interpret and try to identify the laws ruling someone's mental life. In the simplest way, the idea was to try to describe and explain the symptoms of the mental life of person A by referring them to comparable symptoms of the mental life of person B, that is, the psychologist-researcher. Thus, the work of the psychologist came down to the interpretation of psychophysical products, the meaning of which is the content and mental products present (hidden) in them. According to Twardowski,

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[51] Kurt Danziger, "The Methodological Imperative in Psychology," *PSS* 15 (1985): 1–13; David Wulff, "A Field in Crisis: Is It Time for the Psychology of Religion to Start Over?," in *One Hundred Years of the Psychology and Religion: Issues and Trends in a Century-Long Quest*, ed. Peter Roelofsma, Josef Corveleyn, and Joke Van Saane (Vrije University Press, 2003), 11–32.

[52] Jerzy Bobryk, *Redukcjonizm, psychologia, semiotyka* (Polskie Towarzystwo Semiotyczne – Instytut Psychologii PAN, 2011); Citlak, "Problem of Mind and Mental Acts."

[53] Teresa Rzepa, *O interpretowaniu psychologicznym w kręgu szkoły lwowsko-warszawskiej* (Polskie Towarzystwo Semiotyczne, 2002), 34.

Psychological reconstruction of this kind is based on an analogy. Because it is known the relationship between our own mental life, given to us in introspection, and its signs and documents, given to us in external experience. If, therefore, there are facts and things within the surroundings that are similar to the signs and documents of our own mental life and yet not originating from us, they are considered to be signs and documents of someone else's mental life, and assuming that this other person's mental life is similar to our own to the extent that they are similar to the signs and documents of our own mental life. And in this way, other people's mental lives are reconstructed on the basis of their signs and documents.[54]

Both Twardowski and Witwicki compared the work of a psychologist to that of a historian: in both cases, it was not about the psychophysical product itself (speech, writing, a work of art), but above all, it was about its content, that is, meaning. The historian reconstructs historical facts, the psychologist reconstructs mental facts. However, a historian reproducing historical facts cannot evoke them, and a psychologist, in many cases, can re-create the psychological facts associated with these products (in the examined person), although he or she cannot directly observe them. It was the so-called introspective experiment that was to serve this purpose. It consisted of deliberately and repeatedly inducing certain mental phenomena in similar laboratory conditions, which could be repeatedly recalled from memory and systematically described by the examined person.[55] The introspective experiment therefore presented a special value for the psychologist. In laboratory conditions, the systematic confrontation of the person being examined with the psychophysical product could provide empirical data, which appeared in the introspective experience, with data relating to the meaning of the product we are looking for, that is, relating to the mental product that led to the creation of the work. Thus, it was an attempt to evoke psychological experiences somehow similar to those contained in "psychological documents."

Despite the advantages and originality of the process of discovering meaning described above, its basic weakness was primarily subjectivity and susceptibility to countless disturbing factors (psychological differences between the creator and the recipient, cultural and social differences, et cetera). The school's founder believed these problems could be minimized to some extent. Although in each successive interpreter, mental products are created that are typical for him/her and are thus slightly different, one can finally see some common features between them.

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[54] Twardowski, "O psychologii," 263.

[55] Twardowski refers, first of all, to the introspective experiment, which is used to learn about a mental phenomenon by the examined person, which is evoked many times to obtain a repetitive introspective insight. Second, Twardowski refers to a traditional experiment, which is used to learn about the mental experience of others.

> It is not possible to repeat the same mental facts, but it is possible, at least within certain limits, to freely recall facts that are almost the same, that is, so similar to the past that, for some purposes, differences between later and earlier facts can be ignored. If the fact could be recalled for a second or third time, et cetera, it is also possible to experience it several times, and each time a different phase or property can be noticed. In this way, a picture of a single fact can be created that is almost unchanged and repeated.[56]

The meaning does not, therefore, have to be linked to the individual, "mental product, but it is something that is achieved through abstraction on many products."[57] Psychological interpretation could be a supra-individual process with the traits of objectivity.

However, even with the above assumptions, the attempt to reconstruct the psychological experience required extraordinary competencies from the psychologist, which included not only knowledge of the product being interpreted but also psychological knowledge and practical skills. The psychologist should be[58]: (1) an excellent introspectionist; (2) be able to see signs and documents of psychological life, which are evidence of the mental life of others; (3) be able to use analogies in relation to external manifestations of mental life (that of others and self), to find their meaning; (4) to understand what is the relationship of expression between mental and psychophysical actions and products; (5) to be able to replace others' mental facts with their own, that is, to *feel*, *fit*, *shift* others.[59]

The interpretation and reconstruction of mental experiences were of great importance for learning about the nature of these experiences and person's mental life in general (not only in relation to cultural works). The introspectionist psychologist could provide valuable knowledge that is not directly available through other psychological methods. Although the results obtained in this way were subjective judgments collected from a number of people or even from a single person,

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[56] Twardowski, "O psychologii," 262.

[57] Twardowski, "O czynnościach i wytworach," 236.

[58] Rzepa, O *interpretowaniu psychologicznym*; Władysław Witwicki, *Psychologia*, vol. 2 (Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1927).

[59] The latter competence seems close to the notion of intuition in Schleiermacher's hermeneutics, according to which understanding the meaning of a work is impossible without considering psychological interpretation. In a sense, however, it opens the door not only to subjectivity in psychological research but also makes interpretation "a kind of art" (as Schleiermacher claimed—Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Hermeneutik und Kritik*, ed. Manfred Frank [Suhrkamp, 1977]), which not everyone can learn. In the Lvov-Warsaw School, despite attempts by Kreutz, Twardowski's student, the problem of subjectivity was not entirely resolved (Mieczysław Kreutz, *Metody współczesnej psychologii: Studium krytyczne* [Polski Związek Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1962]; Jerzy Brzeziński, Dariusz Doliński, and Tadeusz Tyszka, "Aktualność myśli psychologicznej Mieczysława Kreutza," *PP* 56 [2013]).

in repeated introspective studies, they could provide valuable, objective knowledge. As Kreutz, Twardowski's student, who for many years was involved in the theory and practice of introspection, claimed

> Only individual introspective judgements, namely, judgements about certain mental phenomena that have occurred in a particular person at a particular time, are not verifiable; whereas general judgements, obtained by means of the introspective method, can be verified as well as judgements about physical objects, obtained by means of natural sciences methods.[60]

This was shown by the research using an introspective experiment in the Dorpat and Würzburg Schools.[61] Here, however, the idea of interpreting the products could go beyond the (then) traditional use of introspection. Still, despite its originality, it remained a research proposal.

In retrospect, it can be said that the theory of actions and products opened up a research field for two branches of nonreductionist psychology[62]:

- Research on psychological acts and impermanent products (that is, psychology of acts, descriptive psychology, with the introspection method; opposite to behaviorism and physiological psychology; its task was to reach the essence of mental phenomena);
- Research on psycho-physical permanent and impermanent products (that is, historical-cultural psychology, similar to Völkerpsychologie by Wundt, where the primary sources of data were supposed to be psycho-physical products, such cultural goods as language, works of art, documents, holy books, religion; the use of casual-effect schemes was impossible here, but there was a chance to use an introspective experiment to reach the meaning of the products; this cultural-historical current—although present in European psychology also in the works of Leo Vygotsky,[63] Ignace Meyerson,[64]

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[60] Kreutz, *Metody współczesnej psychologii*, 92.

[61] Hackert and Weger, "Introspection and the Würzburg School"; David Wulff, "Experimental Introspection and Religious Experience: The Dorpat School of Religious Psychology," *JHBS* 21 (1985): 131–50.

[62] Citlak, "Lvov-Warsaw School"; Citlak, "Psychology of Religion"; Teresa Rzepa, "On the Lvov School and Methods of Psychological Cognition," in *Interdisciplinary Investigations into the Lvov-Warsaw School: History of Analytic Philosophy*, ed. Anna Drabarek, Jan Woleński, and Mateusz Radzki (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 141–58.

[63] Lev Vygotsky, "The History of the Development of Higher Mental Functions," in *The Collected Works of L. Vygotsky*, ed. Robert Rieber (Plenum, 1997), 83–149.

[64] Ignace Meyerson, *Écrits 1920–1983: Pour une psychologie historique* (Presses Universitaires de France, 1987); Francoise Parot, "Psychology in the Human Sciences in France, 1920–1940: Ignace Meyerson's Historical Psychology," *HOP* 3 (2000): 104–21.

or in historical social psychology of Kenneth Gergen[65]—has unfortunately been dominated by experimental research).

In both cases, the methodology to be applied went beyond the traditional methodology of natural sciences.

> The specific character of psychological methodology stemming from the Lvov-Warsaw School may be described by the following categories: (1) analytical method, (2) specifically understood introspection, (3) method of interpreting products and the importance of the role of intuition in psychological cognition, (4) objection against "statistics-mania"—preference of psychological description as a method of presenting the results of studies.[66]

The theory of actions and products also determined the chances of developing other branches of psychology. The search for meaning by means of an introspective experiment and a method of comparison was an absolute novelty not only in European but also in world psychology. The ideas of Twardowski and his students could then (and nowadays, as I think) prove valuable in the research on the interpretation and psychological reception of cultural works, regardless of whether it would be possible to find the meaning of the work in this way or not. The lack of continuation in this area is one of the most significant losses in school history. They could also have been an essential complement to research into the structure of religious experience in the above-mentioned Dorpat School. The school used an introspective experiment and studied, among others, the specificity of religious experiences created as a result of contact with religious works. However, the religious experience itself was studied without an attempt to find the meaning of religious works. The combination of these traditions has created unique research opportunities and contributions to the psychology of religion.

It should be stressed that the issue of the psychological impact and the reception of cultural works is not only applicable in the field of psychology[67] but has also been of great interest to biblical scholarship for some time. Research on the Bible concerns the *Wirkungsgeschichte*, understood as the impact of a text in history. It is usually in the form of analyses of the history of the impact of certain religious ideas or traditions contained, for example, in prophetic books, gospels or apostolic epistles. In recent years, however, there have been increasing calls

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[65] Kenneth Gergen and Mary Gergen, *Historical Social Psychology* (Lawrence Erlbaum, 1984).

[66] Rzepa and Stachowski, "Roots of the Methodology," 234–35.

[67] Astrid Schepman et al., "Shared Meaning in Children's Evaluations of Art: A Computational Analysis," *PACA* 12 (2018): 440–52; Eva Specker, Pablo Tinio, and Michiel van Elk, "Do You See What I See? An Investigation of the Aesthetic Experience in the Laboratory and Museum," *PACA* 11 (2017): 265–75.

for the use of psychological knowledge in the *Wirkungsgeschichte* to determine the real impact of the text's content not only on theological thought, but also on the social and psychological life of its readers. As long ago as 1996, the advocates of such research wrote about *Wirkungsgeschichte*:

> Borrowing a phrase from Ulrich Luz, … task on the psychological-critical agenda is the study of the "history of effects" of the Biblical text at the psycho-spiritual level, individually and corporately, pathogenically and therapeutically. In his article "The Study of Religion and the Study of the Bible," Wilfred Cantwell Smith issues a similar call, envisioning a new generation of Biblical scholars specially bred to study what he calls Nachleben or "continuing history" of the text, identifying the forces for good and for ill, that Scripture has unleashed in its historical wake.[68]

Wayne Rollins even treats *Wirkungsgeschichte* as a synonym of the psychology of biblical effects.[69] Such an attitude is currently one of the most important voices of contemporary psychological-biblical criticism, where the subject of the study is not only the psychological interpretation of the content of the text but also its psychological impact, for example, on the viewer's worldview, emotions, and perception of the social world.[70]

The application of the theory of actions and products entails many more consequences than those mentioned above.[71] There is no doubt, however, that the programme of dual-track psychology, that is, acts and cultural-historical psychology, had great potential for a future in the Lvov-Warsaw School. The first works of this type appeared relatively early; interestingly, they were works on religious psychology. Interestingly, Twardowski criticized any deviation from logical accuracy and vagueness of concepts; he did not tolerate irrationalism and, above all, opposed the subordination of research into ideology. The sphere of religious beliefs, intrinsically entangled in subjectivism (or irrationalism), soon slipped into the margins of philosophical and logical investigations. However, this attitude forced Twardowski's students to conduct critical research into the psychology of religion. The following figures have played an essential role in this regard: Witwicki, Stefan Błachowski, and Stefan Baley. The first of these was a professor of

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[68] Wayne Rollins et al., "Rationale and Agenda for a Psychological-Critical Approach to the Bible and Its Interpretation," in *Biblical and Humane*, ed. Linda Barr and Elisabeth Bennett (Scholar, 1993), 168.

[69] Wayne Rollins, *Soul and Psyche: The Bible in Psychological Perspective* (Fortress, 1999), 146.

[70] Charles Davies, "The Evolution of Pauline Toxic Text," in *Destructive Power of Religion*, by Harold Ellens (Praeger, 2004), 192–204; Andrew Kille, *Psychological Biblical Criticism* (Fortress, 2001); Kille, "Bible Made Do It," in Ellens, *Destructive Power of Religion*, 50–62.

[71] Bobryk, *Twardowski.*

psychology at the University of Warsaw; he studied religious beliefs, behavior,[72] and also created a psychobiography of Jesus Christ.[73] The second, a professor at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, was concerned with magical thinking and religious beliefs,[74] while Stefan Baley, a professor at the University of Warsaw, was involved in developmental psychology and the selected problems of religious psychology.[75]

Unfortunately, as mentioned before, neither the original theories nor the first results of the research were continued and gradually became forgotten over time. There are two main reasons for this state of affairs: political (outbreak of war, change of borders, and loss of Lvov, communist discrimination) and those resulting from changes in psychological science (separation of psychology from philosophy, domination of psychology focused on observation and measurement). The feeling of alienation finally led to the fact that, in later years, the dynamically developing psychology in Western Europe and the United States was looked upon with longing while moving away from the school tradition. Today, the Lvov-Warsaw School is known worldwide as a school of philosophy and logic, whereas the psychology developed within it—including the psychology of religion—remains unnoticed. This situation began to change much later—only in the 1980s and 1990s.[76] Professor Ryszard Stachowski played a significant role in establishing the Department of the History of Psychological Thought at the Adam Mickiewicz

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[72] Witwicki, *Psychologia*, vol. 2; Witwicki, *La foi des eclaires* [Faith of the Enlightened] (Alcan, 1939).

[73] Władysław Witwicki, *Dobra Nowina wg Mateusza i Marka* (Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1958).

[74] Stefan Błachowski and Stefan Borowiecki, "Epidemia Psychiczna w Słupi pod Środą (Z psychologii i psychopatologii sugestii)," *RP* 7 (1928): 176–97; Błachowski, "The Magical Behaviour of Children in Relation to School," *AJP* 50 (1937): 347–61; Błachowski, "O sztucznych ekstazach i widzeniach" [On Artificial Ecstasy and Visions], *RP* 34–35 (1938): 143–59; Błachowski, "Good Luck Letters: A Contribution to the Psychology of Magical Thinking," *KP* 11 (1939): 170–88. Błachowski's research also concerned impressions, memory, and mathematical skills. His influence on the development of Polish psychology was significant. In 1929, he became president of the Psychological Society in Poznań; in 1930, he became editor of the *Psychological Quarterly* (also a collaborator of *Psychological Abstracts* and *Psychological Register* editorial offices), and in 1948, he became rector of the University of Poznań. Ryszard Stachowski, *Stefan Błachowski: Założyciel poznańskiej psychologii* (Uniwersytet Adama Mickiewicza, 2009).

[75] Stefan Baley, *Psychologia wieku dojrzewania* (Ksiaznica; Atlas, 1932); Baley, *Zarys psychologii w związku z rozwojem psychiki dziecka* (Ksiaznica; Atlas, 1933); Baley, *Psychologia wychowawcza w zarysie* (Państwowe Wydaniwctwo Naukowe, 1967).

[76] The publications that were supposed to serve as reminders of selected characters or theories are not included here. The exception among them is the 32nd issue of *Przegląd Psychologiczny* [Psychological Review] from 1989, in which a large proportion of the articles were devoted to the psychology of Witwicki.

University in Poznań in 1986. Recently, a number of papers and monographs on the psychological aspects of the Lvov-Warsaw School or psychology in the Lvov-Warsaw School have been published in Polish. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that the number of publications in English is increasing.

2. The Sense of Power and Social Relations

2.1. The Theory of Striving for Power in Kazimierz Twardowski's School

2.1.1. Wladyslaw Witwicki Theory of Power (Cratism Theory) and Social Emotions

Władysław Witwicki (1878–1948) was one of Twardowski's closest students and the first doctor of psychology at the Lvov-Warsaw School. He is also one of the most important representatives of Polish psychology. Witwicki was under the strong influence of his mentor, and he had a similar understanding of the subject matter and methodology of the psychology of the time. Although he participated in Wundt's research work in Leipzig, he was much more in favor of descriptive and qualitative psychology than the physiological approach. He was also opposed to research based mainly on psychological tests, which at one point turned into testomania in Poland. In his works, although Twardowski's thoughts dominate, there are also influences from Wundt, James, and Aloise Höfler.[1] In 1915, he moved from the Jan Kazimierz University in Lvov to the University of Warsaw, where he taught psychology until his death in 1948. Witwicki is the author of the first Polish, two-volume psychology handbook[2] and the mentor of many Polish psychologists. He left a remarkably original scientific legacy, reaching far beyond psychology, and dealt with art, religion, the history of philosophy, and the theory of cognition. He is also the only representative of the Lvov-Warsaw School who actually practised psychology—in particular, the psychology of religion—in two ways: (1) the psychological research of cultural works;[3] (2) the psychological research of religious beliefs using an introspective experiment[4]. In both cases, Witwicki had significant achievements. First, he created the theory of striving for

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[1] Teresa Rzepa, *Psychologia Władysława Witwickiego* (Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza, 1991).

[2] Witwicki, *Psychologia*, vols. 1. and 2.

[3] Władysław Witwicki, "Wprowadzenie, komentarze," in *Uczta* (Wydawnictwo Antyk, 1909), 5–28; Witwicki, *Dobra Nowina wg Mateusza i Marka*.

[4] Władysław Witwicki, *La foi des eclaires* (Alcan, 1939); Polish edition *Wiara oświeconych* [Faith of the Enlightened] (PWN, 1959).

power (the theory of cratism) several years before Adler. Second, he discovered the foundations of cognitive dissonance almost twenty years before Leon Festinger.[5] Third, his research results on religion could be complementary to the achievements of the then famous Dorpat School.[6] With all this in mind, to this day it remains incomprehensible why Witwicki and his students did not manage to pass on such a valuable piece of European psychology.

Witwicki's theory of cratism (striving for power) is one of the oldest and most original Polish psychological theories[7]. It was largely based on the analysis of ancient written works, but in the history of psychology, it has not been verified empirically. What is more, it shared the fate of the entire psychological tradition developed in the Lvov-Warsaw School. Despite its explanatory potential, especially in relation to the social world of antiquity, its theses have only recently been attempted to be used in studies of cultural-historical psychology and religious discourse.[8]

The theory of cratism was directly influenced by the texts of Plato (*Republic*, *Dialogues*[9]), Aristotle (*Rhetoric*), and the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche.[10] Clear analogies, although not explicitly expressed, can also be seen in the evolutionism of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer.[11] The theory was developed slowly and published in three stages. Its foundations are described in the doctoral thesis *Analiza psychologiczna ambicji* (Psychological Analysis of Ambition), published in *Przegląd Filozoficzny* (Philosophical Review) in 1900. The outline of the main psychological mechanism appears in a paper presented at the philosophical section of the 10th Congress of Polish Physicians and Naturalists in Lvov in 1907, under the title *Z psychologii stosunków osobistych* (From the Psychology of Personal Relationships). Witwicki used the term *cratism* for the first time in

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[5] Leon Festinger, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Stanford University Press, 1957).

[6] Amadeusz Citlak, "O psychologii religii w szkole lwowsko-warszawskiej i szkole dorpackiej w pierwszej połowie XX wieku," in Bobryk, *Język, wartości, działania*, 271–98; Citlak, "Psychology of Religion."

[7] A critical presentation of the theory and its place in contemporary psychology, see Amadeusz Citlak, "The First European Strength-Power Motivation Theory (Władysław Witwicki's theory and the Lvov-Warsaw School)," *HOP* (2024).

[8] Citlak, *Relacje społeczne świata antycznego w świetle teorii kratyzmu*; Citlak, "Lvov-Warsaw School"; Citlak, "Group Conflicts in Light of the Cratism Theory"; Citlak, "Psychology of the Pursuit for a Sense of Power"; Citlak, "The Oldest Psychobiography in the World? (Psychobiography of Socrates in the Lvov-Warsaw School)," in *Psychobiographical Illustrations on Meaning and Identity in Sociocultural Context*, ed. Claude-Helen Mayer, Paul Fouché, and Roelf van Niekerk (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 55–73.

[9] Especially the *Symposium* and *Gorgias*.

[10] Plato's works also inspired Nietzsche in his philosophy of power and Adler, the creator of individual psychology, the psychology of striving for a sense of power (1933), which will be discussed further.

[11] Jerzy Szacki, *Historia myśli socjologicznej* (Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 2004).

1907, and this year is considered when the theory was officially announced. The theory gained its most developed form in 1927 in the second volume of the academic handbook *Psychologia* (Psychology), in which Witwicki analyzed social relations and divided human emotions based on the most important theses of the theory. This is one of the reasons why the theory of cratism can also be seen as the theory of emotions.[12] According to Witwicki, cratism was supposed to be "a psychological theory that would organize, explain, and incorporate some facts of internal experience into a whole."[13]

In 1902, he wrote to Twardowski:

> Because I would like to carry out such a series of analyses of various directions of mental life and thus give an inductive basis to this cratism, about which Professor knows from my academic times. Then, I will have … a coherent view of the spiritual (at least emotional) life of human being—then the classification of emotions and their teleological theory will have a solid foundation; it will be a clear parallel between nature and human emotional life. Then I will have a particular view of human nature.[14]

Evidently, hopes were high, and the theory was supposed to explain and integrate various areas of human activity. Witwicki used it in the theory of cognition, philosophy of science, aesthetics,[15] and even in the psychological analysis of such figures as Socrates, Jesus, and the prophets of the Old Testament.[16]

2.1.1.1. Psychological Analysis of Ambition

The thesis on ambition is considered a prototype of the theory of cratism.[17] It was a theoretical thesis inspired by reading philosophical works[18] and based on "life

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[12] Teresa Rzepa, *Witwicki: Psychologia uczuć i inne pisma* (Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1995).

[13] Władysław Witwicki, "Z psychologii stosunków osobistych," *PF* 10 (1907): 537.

[14] Aleksandra Horecka, "Kratyzm Władysława Witwickiego," *RHFP* 6 (2013): 128.

[15] Horecka, "Kratyzm Władysława Witwickiego"; Ryszard Jadczak, "Teoria kratyzmu Władysława Witwickiego," *AUNC* 5 (1981): 25–40.

[16] Witwicki, "Wprowadzenie, komentarze," in *Uczta*; Witwicki, *Psychologia*, vol. 2; Witwicki, *Dobra Nowina wg Mateusza i Marka*.

[17] Janina Budkiewicz, "Władysław Witwicki jako psycholog," *RF* 33 (1975): 1–9; Jadczak, "Teoria kratyzmu"; Andrzej Nowicki, *Witwicki* (Wiedza Powszechna, 1982); Teresa Rzepa, "Geneza, istota i konsekwencje teorii kratyzmu Władysława Witwickiego (1878–1948)," *SPC* 26 (1990): 221–34; Rzepa, *Psychologia Władysława Witwickiego*; Teresa Rzepa and Bartłomiej Dobroczyński, *Historia polskiej myśli psychologicznej* (PWN, 2009).

[18] "Witwicki admitted on several occasions that the genesis of the theory of cratism, the origins of which in his scientific work were *Analiza psychologiczna ambicji* [Psychological

observation," namely, the observation of human behavior and everyday life. It is a typical example of descriptive psychology, proposed by Brentano,[19] among others. At the same time, the analysis of ambition fits perfectly into the tradition of the analytical philosophy of the Lvov-Warsaw School, in which the analysis and reconstruction of concepts played a primary role.[20] Witwicki, following Aloise Höfler, assumes that ambition is not a feeling, but a disposition to feel. Just like friendship, love or pride, ambition is "a state in which feelings of some kind can easily occur, these are the conditions under which certain feelings can arise, not feelings; these are dispositions for feelings, but not feelings."[21] He divides feelings into "imaginary" and convictional feelings. The first of these appear when a person imagines or presents to themselves an object. Convictional feelings are created on the basis of a judgement when a person "learns about the existence of something, when a person learns about something, knows, … in a word, when a person gives judgement."[22]

A special role among convictional feelings is played by the feelings of value, which appear at the moment of making a judgement on whether or not to possess an object or feature, which for the individual is a value itself (for example, fame, honor, and health). Feelings of value allow Witwicki to explain the notion of ambition: it is the disposition to experience feelings of value, which appear at the moment when a judgement is given on the possession of the desired values (objects or features). However, two types of judgement decide whether the ambition is to be revealed.

The first of these types of judgement are judgements of an ambitious person concerning his or her qualities, regarding what a person cares about and "values as an ambitious individual"[23]: praises, virtues, independence, et cetera. The underlying value is the tendency to elevate oneself above others and in the eyes of others ("being above") with a simultaneous reluctance to humiliate oneself ("being below").[24] This tendency is the essence of ambition. An ambitious person seeks to achieve the belief that they are:

Analysis of Ambition], was combined with an insightful reading of Plato's Dialogues (mainly *Gorgias, Republic* and *Pheadros*), as well as the works of Aristotle, Hobbes and Nietzsche" (Rzepa, *Psychologia Władysława Witwickiego*, 70).

[19] Franz Brentano, *Descriptive Psychology*, trans. Benito Muller (Routledge, 1994).

[20] Anna Brożek, *Analiza i rekonstrukcja: O metodach badania pojęć w Szkole Lwowsko-Warszawskiej* (Copernicus Center, 2020); Brożek, "Józef M. Bocheński and the Categorial Reconstruction of Concepts in the Lvov–Warsaw School," *SEET* 74 (2022): 241–54; Woleński, *Logic and Philosophy*.

[21] Władysław Witwicki, "Psychologiczna analiza ambicji," *PF* 3 (1900): 28.

[22] Witwicki, "Psychologiczna analiza ambicji," 28.

[23] Witwicki, "Psychologiczna analiza ambicji," 31.

[24] Nowicki, *Witwicki.*

- Independent/equal/or above other people;
- Independent/equal/or above oneself (passions, weaknesses);
- Idependent/equal/or above nonpersonal factors (natural forces, circumstances).

The second type of judgement are judgements of the social environment that sees in a person the qualities that are the basis of the feelings of value. Ambitious people need signals from the social environment about themselves: "Ambitious people are satisfied when they say or think: the environment respects me."[25] Witwicki, therefore, goes beyond the boundaries of the subject, ambition as a disposition to experience certain feelings is dependent not only on the convictions of the individual but also on the convictions of the environment.[26]

Witwicki regards ambition as an instinct, which brings his theory closer to the evolutionary tradition of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer.[27] He explicitly claims that ambition is *common* because it occurs in all healthy, normal people, it is *involuntary*, that is, it is independent of the process of reasoning,[28] it is a *source* of pleasure, and it is also *beneficial* because its implementation brings concrete individual and social benefits.[29] In this way ambition becomes a universal force, pushing people upwards ("to be above") or towards independence.

2.1.1.2. Development of the Cratism Theory

In his paper *Z psychologii stosunków osobistych* (1907) Witwicki presented two psychological tendencies regulating human activity. He calls the first tendency the need to humiliate, destroy, or oppress and the second, the need to elevate, support, or develop.[30] Although they lead to different behaviors in the form of egoism or altruism, they are not completely independent of each other. Witwicki sees a common feature to humiliation/oppression and supporting/elevating, namely, a pleasant feeling accompanying both the subject and the object of such actions. These feelings of pleasure result from the fact that the universal desire for

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[25] Witwicki, "Psychologiczna analiza ambicji," 39.

[26] Rzepa, *Psychologia Władysława Witwickiego*.

[27] Jadczak, "Teoria kratyzmu."

[28] The claim that the emergence of ambition does not require reasoning seems inconsistent with the previously postulated need for a judgment and a conviction stating the possession of certain qualities (values).

[29] The social value of ambition remains questionable because there is no attempt to draw a line between socially desirable ambitious behavior ("being above") and the forms that border pathology. We do not see the clear difference between ambition and megalomania or ambition and vanity (see Witwicki, "Psychologiczna Analiza Ambicji," 31.35).

[30] This resembles two Freudian drives, namely, the drive for life—Eros and the drive for death—Thanatos, but Witwicki indicates the links between his theory and psychoanalysis.

a sense of power, deeply rooted in the human psyche, is satisfied. By humiliating or elevating (supporting) others, people feel the strength and a sense of power. The basic mechanism regulating social relations is, therefore, the cratic tendency: the desire for a sense of strength and power. Witwicki introduced the term *cratism*, which from Greek (τό κράτος) means "power," "force," "authority," and in the form of the verb (κρατέω) "to take possession," "to hold," "to capture."[31] The states of elevation and humiliation are "the moments of feeling of power and the drive to them: an elevating or humiliating cratism, in other words: positive or negative."[32]

Thus, the same category of sensations or pleasures is at the root of humiliation and elevation. Cratic desires may appear in four forms:[33]

> 1. humiliating others (for example, cruelty, sadism);
> 2. elevating others (for example, altruism, caring);
> 3. self-humiliation (for example, need to feel mortified, humiliate oneself, feel remorse);
> 4. self-elevation (for example, pride, selfishness, conceit, ambition).

It is worth to notice that the aforementioned ambition may also provide a kind of psychological basis for four completely different cratic tendencies. Moreover, the author uses terminology that, on the one hand, expresses the socially desirable behavior but, on the other hand, also behavior on the border of what is socially acceptable ("humiliate," "oppress"). Both "humiliation" and "elevation" can be a source of pleasure here resulting from "successfully overcoming someone's resistance," as if a person "successfully elevated or bent something heavy, as if he himself elevated or forced others to fall."[34] Although the feeling of pleasure may be associated with oppression and humiliation, such as in the sadistic-masochistic relationship or social pathology, direct references to pathology and sadism/masochism were only to appear twenty years later.[35] However, the problem reaches a little further, as the author claims that inhibition of one of the above-mentioned cratic tendencies may intensify other cratic tendencies. For example, a person publicly deprived of a sense of power (publicly criticised or humiliated) may start humiliating others or themselves in acts of self-criticism. In this way, almost any behavior can be interpreted as a cratic behavior. From the point of view of

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[31] Walter Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Worterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der fruhchristlichen Literatur* (De Gruyter, 1988), 634.

[32] Witwicki, "Z psychologii stosunków osobistych," 535.

[33] In 1939, Witwicki distinguished four types on this basis: the type used to humiliate others; the type used to humiliate oneself; the type used to elevate others; and the type used to elevate oneself. Władysław Witwicki, *O typach charakteru* (Wydawnictwo Sekcji Psychologicznej Towarzystwa Wiedzy Wojskowej, 1939).

[34] Witwicki, "Z psychologii stosunków osobistych," 533–34.

[35] Witwicki, *Psychologia*, vol. 2.

psychology as a science whose claims should be falsified, this aspect of Witwicki's theory is problematic, making it challenging to form hypotheses and verify them.[36] This problem is addressed in the empirical section.

Witwicki presented the most developed form of the theory in 1927 in *Podręcznik Psychologii* [Handbook of Psychology]. In the context of the universal desire for a sense of power, he carries out a detailed (nearly 200 pages) analysis of feelings, interpersonal relationships, humor, and art. Interestingly, in each of these cases, he continues to maintain the conviction of the biological nature of the cratic motivation.[37] Witwicki distinguishes two groups of feelings here: autopathic (Greek *authos*—he, himself and *pathos*—feeling, experience) and heteropathic (*heteros*—another, different and *pathos*—feeling, experience). The first group of feelings appear independently of the relationship with other people. Heteropathic feelings, on the other hand, are experienced in relation to living beings, including oneself or nonliving objects, which are treated as living beings. Autopathic feelings can, of course, be either convictional or imaginary.

The reintroduction of imaginary feelings (initially introduced in 1900) provides Witwicki with a basis for analyzing aesthetic attitudes. He uses the notion of a "coherent, well-closed system," which plays an essential role in the act of aesthetic experience and the feelings accompanying it. This is "a whole built of certain elements and relations between them … that which, when the quality of the elements changes, remains unchanged.… In German, … *ein fundierter Inhalt* or *Gestaltqualität.*"[38] Coherent systems are a structured space or a combination of sensory experience elements that seem relatively constant, giving some order to an apparently chaotic, unrelated stimuli. Aesthetic experience can occur not only at the moment of experiencing a pleasant sensory experience (symmetry, line, rhythm, harmony) but also at the moment of experiencing a sense of power. Aesthetic sensations, in which the human being perceives harmony and order, can trigger a sense of "embracing chaos," a kind of control, and as pleasant sensations, they "elevate" or "strengthen."[39] In other words, a sense of power can be one of the key elements of an aesthetic experience.

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[36] Horecka, "Kratyzm Władysława Witwickiego"; Rzepa, *Psychologia Władysława Witwickiego*.

[37] "In this review of spiritual life, we try to keep a biological point of view, namely, to remember that mental facts are … a useful means of struggle for existence, and this is a position we will follow in the classification of feelings" (Witwicki, *Psychologia*, 2:106).

[38] Witwicki, *Psychologia*, 1:210.

[39] This motif appeared not only in Gestalt psychology, but also later, among other things, as a need for cognitive closure or a need for structure. See Arie Kruglanski and Donna Webster, "Motivated Closing of the Mind: 'Seizing' and 'Freezing,'" *PR* 103 (1996): 263–83; Tallie Freund, Arie Kruglanski, and Avivid Schpitzajzen, "The Freezing and Unfreezing of Impressional Primacy: Effects of the Need for Structure and Fear of Invalidity," *PSPB* 11 (1985): 479–87.

However, social relations are dominated by heteropathic feelings, which are also closely linked to the striving for a sense of power. In practice, feelings or attitudes towards others depend upon three factors, the identification of which determines the uniqueness of the theory of cratism and the originality of the classification of these feelings. First, as Witwicki suggests, it depends on the initial impression, that is to say, the sense of life force of the person with whom the relationship occurs. Second, it depends upon this person's friendly or hostile attitude towards us. Third, it depends upon the cratic tendencies of (1) humiliating others, (2) humiliating oneself, (3) elevating others, and (4) elevating oneself. The combination of the first factor (initial impression of the person as stronger than/equal to/weaker than oneself) with the second factor (whether they are friendly or hostile towards us) leads to the creation of the following six types of relationship, with different emotions being dominant in each:

1. The attitude (feelings) towards the friendly stronger person: honor, respect, admiration, gratitude, desire to imitate, readiness to submit to.
2. The attitude (feelings) towards the friendly equal person: feeling of friendship, respect, kindness, solidarity, trust, loyalty.
3. The attitude (feelings) towards the friendly weaker person: pity, mercy, compassion, desire to help and protect.
4. The attitude (feelings) towards the stronger hostile person: fear, hostility, hatred.
5. The attitude (feelings) towards the equal hostile person: dislike, hatred, envy, anger, hostility.
6. The attitude (feelings) towards the weaker hostile person: repulsion, contempt, disregard, disdain. This type of relationship also provides a broader context for the concept of comicality and ridicule, which can be, according to the theory of cratism, a way of achieving a sense of power over others. The essence of humor and ridicule is then to express irony and mockery towards others, and thus is a form of humiliation. It results from the statement of a funny, comical, or "impotent appearance of a person or thing" or from emphasizing the difference between the appearance of someone's power and their actual power.

The combination of these three factors (the life force of others, their attitudes towards us and cratic tendencies) allows social relationships and dominant feelings to be predicted. Unfortunately, Witwicki did not conduct detailed connections or juxtapositions between them. He also admitted that the above typology does not cover other feelings or dispositions.[40] The theory of cratism in

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[40] As mixed states and dispositions, he mentions *love*, which includes sympathy, erotic pleasure, and the need for closeness, a *moral sense* which includes solidarity, a sense of duty and remorse, *religiousness* involving a sense of reverence, holiness and magical thinking, an *artistic inclination*—the need to create by which a person expresses themselves through a work of art (Witwicki, *Psychologia*, 2:277–95).

the latest form (from 1927) should, therefore, be considered and included primarily in social psychology and partly in personality psychology. Although there is an individual desire for a sense of power in its center, Witwicki is mainly interested in relations with the social environment. Ambition and a sense of power are closely linked to cratic tendencies and social evaluation. What is more, it is to a large extent, a theory of emotions, the constellations and strength of which Witwicki makes dependent on the social position a person takes and on the satisfaction of their cratic desires.[41] The theory of cratism is therefore an attempt to identify the key factor (motivational force) that determines human behavior and regulates interpersonal relations.

2.1.2. Historical and Cultural Variability of Desires for Social Power

As early as 1900, Witwicki claimed that the pursuit of domination, power or superiority depends on socio-cultural conditions. Although it is primarily a universal motivational mechanism with a biological basis, its concrete realization is intertwined with current cultural patterns. Such an assumption seems evident in the light of general sociological or anthropological knowledge: as time passes, basic human needs, as well as ways of satisfying them, gain a slightly different, more sublime form.[42] Witwicki wrote in his doctoral thesis:

> If a human being did not live in societies, but in a wild state among the forests and the steppes, surrounded by wild equals, as today non-socialized animals live side by side, his/her ambition would make him/her gain physical strength, develop his/her cunning and agility to ensure his/her independence; exercise him/her comprehensively to make him/her an equal competitor in the struggle for existence, and make him/her, together with his/her other instincts, master and turn his/her weaker environment at his/her service … ambition would lead this primitive human to gain respect and fear of his/her greatness; thus ensuring his/her freedom to live his/her own life on the corpses and the necks of those weaker than himself/herself.[43]

In light of these words, in an archaic, tribal society, the satisfaction of cratic desires was closely linked to the physical domination over weaker individuals, consisting of the display of force, including manifestations of acts of aggression and various forms of humiliation. Physical strength and the ability to arouse fear played a key role. However, as cultural evolution and social diversity progressed,

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[41] Rzepa, *Witwicki: Psychologia uczuć*.

[42] Florian Znaniecki, *Social Relations and Social Rules: The Unfinished Systematic Sociology* (Chandler Publishing Company, 1965; Polish edition: PWN, 2011); Norman Goodman, *Wstęp do socjologii* (Zysk i S-ka, 2000).

[43] Władysław Witwicki, "Psychologiczna analiza ambicji," *PF* 3 (1900): 47.

people were faced with new challenges that physical strength no longer ensured that the cratic desires were fully satisfied.

> Today, people live in organized communities …, people change both physically and spiritually. The importance of ambition is also changing.… Today, in society, when a man has begun to value the traits that make him/her a decent component of human society … ambition elevates him/her not as an individual but as a member of mankind. In this way, this instinct, originally personal, is taken on as a social instinct. This is how a human being living in society can rise up to fulfil his/her social role: working in some direction for all.[44]

In other words, climbing the social ladder required new social competencies (for example, moral, communicative, and professional skills), among which physical strength played a decreasingly minor role. Respect and authority have increasingly been acquired through greater social engagement and the creation of new relationships with others, so that this originally "personal instinct will benefit society and take on the role of social instinct."[45] An individual learns to build the common good, to gain power, control or autonomy through the development of new competencies, as their position in the social hierarchy depends upon them.

The diversity of ways of satisfying the cratic desires can also be seen in the handbook of *Psychology* from 1927. Witwicki, for example, emphasizes that in the tribal environment, paying homage and adoration often took the form of bloody rituals and harsh physical punishments. However, with the sociocultural development, the traditional bloody systems of sacrifice have been marginalized, the image of the deities has changed, and the previously sanctioned forms of punishment and humiliation have changed. In short, we can see the evolution of the means of satisfying the cratic desires. Interestingly, the extreme examples of acts of humiliation or elevation cited by Witwicki, such as harassment, mockery of others, self-mutilation and claiming the rank of deity or superhumanity, are quite often an exemplification of either the tribal environment, many centuries ago, or are examples of behavior on the verge of normality.[46]

At the Lvov-Warsaw School, Andrzej Lewicki and Stanisław Ossowski also drew attention to the importance of the different forms of social life organization in the process of forming a different constellation of social behavior. Lewicki, in his 1960 work *Procesy poznawcze i orientacja w otoczeniu* [Cognitive Processes and Orientation in the Environment], emphasizes that that humans were separating themselves from the natural environment over time, creating increasingly complex social networks. Referring to Adler and his thesis from 1927,[47] he sees a human being as the biological organism that is least prepared for survival. Staying

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[44] Witwicki, "Psychologiczna analiza ambicji," 48.
[45] Witwicki, "Psychologiczna analiza ambicji," 48.
[46] Witwicki, *Psychologia*, 2:181–296.
[47] Alfred Adler, *Menschenkenntnis* (Hirzel, 1927).

alive depended mainly on the community and its development. Primitive communities evolved into increasingly civilized societies, taking on, as it were, the fight against nature, providing new means in the form of technological, scientific, and cultural achievements. The fight against the community's enemies was taken over by organized groups such as the army and the police. However, these

> Blessings of civilization do not come to human beings for free; they must … be gained by means of appropriate forms of behavior.… The specificity of the social environment (in a civilized form) is determined … above all by the presence of the requirements that society sets for the individual.… One of the basic requirements of human society … is the demand for mutual help and cooperation, or at least not to harm each other.[48]

According to Lewicki, this kind of socialization occurs both on an individual level and on the human species level in the process of evolution. For thousands of years, human beings have developed "non-biological needs, facilitating the balance in the social life conditions."[49] Lewicki, similarly to Adler, claims that the human being has always been accompanied by a sense of togetherness and community, which enables overcoming the awareness of one's own weakness. Thus, historical changes allow the belief that the deepening complexity of social networks has systematically forced humans to shift their attention away from the importance of physical strength, domination or aggression towards the social common good and new social competencies.

In contrast to Lewicki and Adler, Stanisław Ossowski[50] stresses the close link between the social structure and the structure of the personality of its members. In his opinion, the community plays a fundamental role in shaping human attitudes.

> The community culture imposes emotional response patterns and behavior patterns on us.… The polymorphism of the human psyche is the result of the complexity of the social structure, the interweaving of social relations among which the individual lives. There is a correlation between the structure of societies and the structure of personality.[51]

The development of society is associated with its systematic fragmentation, the presence of new groups and new social roles, which over time raises dilemmas

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[48] Andrzej Lewicki, *Procesy poznawcze i orientacja w otoczeniu* (Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960), 398–400.

[49] Lewicki, *Procesy poznawcze*, 402.

[50] Stanisław Ossowski, *Z zagadnień psychologii społecznej* (Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1967).

[51] Ossowski, *Z zagadnień psychologii społecznej*, 119, 121.

concerning the adequacy/usefulness of traditionally held religion and ethics. Although, as Ossowski claims, the phenomenon of ethical relativization appeared quite late and is closely linked to the development of modern metropolitan societies, the change in social structure he mentioned is closely related to changes in the individual psyche. For instance, the mental space of Inuits or certain groups of Indians involves less diversity of social attitudes than, for example, the inhabitants of large cities today, but also greater clarity and intensity.

> If, therefore, from those simpler societies, a psychologist armed with our conceptual apparatus had come to us and started researching the psyche of today's human being, that human would perhaps have impressed him/her with a more amorphous than polymorphous being.[52]

However, greater clarity/intensity of attitudes means, in practice, that they may manifest themselves in the form of more unequivocal and radical patterns of emotional or behavioral responses. For example, socially acceptable aggression against criminals or enemies could include public acts of violence, torture, and humiliation, which nowadays would be regarded as manifestations of barbarism.

In conclusion, Witwicki's statements about the historical variability of cratic desires, as well as their dependence on the level of organization of social life, fit well with the social views of other representatives of the Lvov-Warsaw School. However, the very theory of cratism as an example of descriptive psychology, in a sense even phenomenological, reflects the specificity of the Lvov-Warsaw School psychology. The basis for the formulated theses was mainly observations of social life and analysis of historical sources. Psychological variables seem to very accurately describe the reality of both the historical and the contemporary social world. The conceptual grid of theory is clear and coherent. Unfortunately, as indicated earlier, Witwicki did not conduct empirical verification studies and did not analyze the relationships between cratic tendencies and emotions. This is a shame because constellations of these variables could describe and predict the dynamics of social relations. Therefore, the theory of cratism remains unfinished, the value of which can only be demonstrated in research. I think that similar theories that emerged a little later and have undergone either full or partial empirical verification may be a valuable addition to some of its claims.

2.1.3. Theory of Cratism and Psychological Interpretation of Products

Witwicki has seen the cratic desires in many areas of human activity. This can be seen not only in his scientific work, but even in personal correspondence with his loved ones, in which he explained people's behavior in the light of the theory.[53]

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[52] Ossowski, *Z zagadnień psychologii społecznej*, 122.
[53] Rzepa, *O interpretowaniu psychologicznym*.

Witwicki—similar to Baley[54]—conducted psychological research in two ways. First, he was interested in the subject of contemporary living and current interpersonal relations. A typical example of this type of research is the analysis of religious beliefs using introspection,[55] which is widely discussed in Polish literature,[56] as well as the study of interpersonal relations, art, and humor in the light of the theory of cratism. Second, he was interested in the historical social world, accessible only through cultural (psychophysical) products. In the latter case, Witwicki was primarily interested in the ancient Greek world, although in his works, there are many instances of more or less detailed interpretations of interpersonal relations, whether from the history of Semitic culture or the history of Christianity. For this reason, Witwicki's psychology should be included in the current of cultural-historical psychology,[57] represented mainly by Wundt and Vygotski. His works are original, especially regarding his cultural-historical psychology of religion.

The most original of Witwicki's works are undoubtedly two psychobiographies written independently of the then-dominant psychoanalysis. The first is a psychological portrait of Socrates, written many years during the translation of Platonic *Dialogues* into Polish, starting as early as 1909, from the moment of the translation of the *Symposium*. The second is a psychological portrait of Jesus of Nazareth, based on the biblical gospel, from the period of the Second World War, published in 1958. The first of these psychobiographies makes Witwicki one of the world's leading authors of psychobiography. It should be mentioned here that the first relatively mature psychobiography in the psychological literature is an analysis of the life and work of Leonardo da Vinci by Freud in 1910, which is a continuation of the thesis of 1907 *Der Wahn und die Träume in W. Jensens "Gradiva."* Unfortunately, also in this case, the contribution of Polish psychologists fell into oblivion together with other achievements of the Lvov-Warsaw School and now, apart from Freud, Fromm (psychobiography of Hitler and Stalin)[58] and Erik Erikson (psychobiography of Mohandas Gandhi and Martin

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[54] Stefan Baley, *Psychologia deskryptywna*, vol. 1 of *Wybrane pisma psychologiczne*, ed. Stepan Ivanyk and Maria Lewicka (Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2016).

[55] Witwicki, *La foi des eclaires*.

[56] Halina Grzymała-Moszczyńska and Henryk Hoffmann, "The Science of Religion in Poland: Past and Present," *TMSR* 10 (1998): 352–72; Ryszard Jadczak, "Teoria supozycji wg Władysława Witwickiego," *AUNC* 4 (1979): 35–45; Nowicki, *Witwicki*; Rzepa, "Dlaczego Władysław Witwicki nie odkrył zjawiska dysonansu poznawczego?," *PF* 1 (1997): 79–93; Jan Szmyd, *Psychologiczny obraz religijności i mistyki: Z badań psychologów polskich* (Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1996).

[57] Citlak, "Lvov-Warsaw School"; Citlak, "Psychology of Religion."

[58] Erich Fromm, *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness* (Holt, Rineheart and Winston, 1973).

Luther)[59] are mentioned as classics or precursors of psychobiography.[60] The psychobiography of Socrates in the light of Witwicki's theory appeared in world literature only in 2016 as part of the psychological heritage of the Twardowski School[61] and in 2021 in the form of a separate study as the first psychobiography in the world.[62]

2.1.3.1. The Concept of Power and the Psychological Portrait of Socrates

The psychological analysis of Socrates's life was created on the basis of Witwicki's excellent preparation and extensive factual knowledge. He knew the culture of ancient Greece and the ancient Greek language perfectly.[63] Linguistic-translational skills created an opportunity to recreate the personality traits of the ancient philosopher, all the more so because he was also a psychologist. However, this is not a dispassionate personality analysis. Witwicki felt intellectually and emotionally connected with the figure of Socrates and treated his translation work very personally. In his comments on the *Dialogues* (even in private letters), he expressed a deep, spiritual bond with Socrates. In 1936, he wrote in a letter to Kazimiera Bańkowska: "I experience him [Socrates] deeply and write him from the bottom of my heart. I lend him my lungs, my pulse, and I enjoy it when he speaks to people today with my mouth as if he had not died at all."[64]

The analysis of Socrates's personality appears periodically with subsequent translations and comments to the Dialogues, although as early as 1909, in the comments to the Symposium, the essential elements of the cratic portrait of Socrates can be found, which were to be supplemented later. The specificity of psychobiography also results from the adopted method of the translation of Plato's texts because Witwicki tried to give the translated texts a new, as it were, "own," folklore form of language, which in consequence, gave the *Dialogues* a slightly different character from the original. As Henryk Elzenberg once observed, Witwicki uses modern phrases in his translation, which are associated with "everyday

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[59] Erik Erikson, *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History* (Norton, 1958); Erikson, *Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence* (Norton, 1969).

[60] William Runyan, "Evolving Conceptions of Psychobiography and the Study of Lives," in *Handbook of Psychobiography*, ed. William Schultz (Oxford University Press, 2005), 137–59; Wiliam Schultz, *Handbook of Psychobiography* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

[61] Citlak, "Lvov-Warsaw School."

[62] Citlak, "Oldest Psychobiography."

[63] Among other things, Witwicki corresponded in Greek with Andrzej Nowicki, Polish religious scientist and philosopher, editor of the journal *Euhemer–Przegląd Religioznawczy* (Nowicki, *Witwicki*).

[64] The personal character of his translation work and his sense of bond with Socrates is shown by a humorous episode: when Stefan Jaracz read Plato's *Dialogues* in Witwicki's translation in Polish Radio broadcasts, he could not stand it—he criticized him and took his place by reading his own translation.

life"; although his translation becomes "extremely vivid," full of "crude expressions," even on the verge of vulgarisms, it is so "ingenious" that, unfortunately, at certain moments "against Plato, who did not dream of these colourful blobs."[65] Thus, it was a fairly free translation.[66]

Trying to recreate Socrates's personality was a difficult task, if feasible at all. Above all, Socrates did not leave any written documents behind, so the researcher is condemned to use indirect/secondary materials. Moreover, the currently available sources differ. The earliest document preserved to this day is that of *The Clouds* by Aristophane from 423 BCE, but it is somewhat of a parody of Socrates, which did not gain wider recognition. Relatively late, as they date back to the beginning of the fourth century BCE, are the texts *Apology of Socrates* by Xenophon, written partly based on secondary documents (for example, *Dialogues* by Plato). Witwicki considered them to be "the stories of landed gentry man and general."[67] Aristotle's writings, in turn, are devoted to philosophical problems and have a completely different character.[68] Plato's *Dialogues* are characterized by a strong tendency to idealise Socrates.[69] In view of such problems, the words of Albert Schweitzer, who wrote in 1913, deserve special attention: "as far as historical material is concerned, it is simpler with Jesus than with Socrates because Jesus was described by simple, uneducated people whereas Socrates' writers imprinted their own talent on his portrait."[70] According to Schweitzer, the reconstruction of Jesus's personality was an impossible task. In short, Witwicki could only create a psychological portrait more or less close to the real Socrates, and above all in line with idealistic Plato's vision.[71] However, such a decision was

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[65] Henryk Elzenberg, "Od Redakcji," in *Platon, Eutydem* (Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1957), 12–13.

[66] Irrespective of this, the translation of Plato's *Dialogues* into Polish has become one of Witwicki's most important scientific achievements. It is the only Polish translation that has been very popular for decades and has been reprinted and commented on several times.

[67] Witwicki, "Wprowadzenie, komentarze," in *Uczta*, 25.

[68] Giovanni Reale, *Historia filozofii starożytnej: Od początków do Sokratesa* (Wydawnictwo Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, 2005).

[69] "Plato's first *Dialogues* were created at the earliest a few years after Socrates' death.… They were the work of a mature thinker who started to organize his school of philosophy. The later *Dialogues* were written by Plato when he was developing and teaching his doctrine at the Academy. Moreover, the same *Dialogues*, which were supposed to be testimonies about Socrates, are simultaneously the only source of knowledge about Plato himself, as he put his views into the master's mouth." Irena Krońska, *Sokrates* (Wiedza Powszechna, 2001), 9.

[70] After William Guthrie, *Sokrates* (Aletheia, 2000), 11.

[71] In his comments to *Dialogues*, Witwicki points out that Plato put his own views into Socrates's mouth, manipulating the image of the master.

in line with the opinion of Friedrich Schleiermacher of 1838 (*Über den Wert des Socrates als Philosophen*) and Maier of 1913 (*Socrates: Sein Werk und seine geschichtliche Stellung*) on the assessment of available sources and the priority of Plato's texts.

Witwicki describes Socrates, above all, as a man motivated by a lofty desire to acquire knowledge. It was an irresistible need to learn about the world and, above all, universal ideas. Socrates explores the reality around him in the conviction that he serves not only himself but also society. He conducted endless disputes, gathered students, and enlightened the wandering ones. The truth about the world and ourselves was almost sacred to him. The cult of reason demanded from the philosopher the deepest sacrifice, and from the average Athenian man, respect with obedience. Socrates sought the truth regardless of the consequences, regardless of the social ethos. To achieve this, he used the elenctic method (overturning false beliefs of the interlocutor) and the majeutic method (exposing rightful beliefs from the interlocutor). Thanks to majeutics, Socrates established the meaning of concepts and ideas through inductive thinking. Until now, there has been a generally known, even stereotypical image of Socrates. However, Witwicki sees a certain motivating force here, which is revealed in Socrates's intellectual pursuit of control over his environment and himself. Knowledge and cognition in themselves became a virtue for Socrates. Man does not do evil because he is evil but because he has no knowledge. This position led Socrates to ethical intellectualism. Knowledge allows people to know themselves, their own limitations, to master their passions or weaknesses. It becomes a way of self-improvement and doing good. Witwicki links this inner state of the philosopher, firstly, with *ambition*: "he [Socrates] pretends to be serious. This ambitious man will show nothing of its own, which is boiling in him."[72] And second, his behavior is connected with *the striving for a sense of power*:

> The need for rule, power, and superiority over the environment and over one's own drives. He was unimpressed by anything; he could not stand anyone's moral superiority, anyone's nimbus of seriousness.… He was disgusted by the sight of … a gourmet and rake or any man who bent his neck … to his own passions. He needed a sense of power so much.[73]

Despite his submission to the power of reason, however, Socrates is still a man of flesh and blood, a person who cannot deny his nature: "He has succeeded to a certain extent in working on himself, but for it to succeed, he would have to stop being a human being for that."[74]

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[72] Witwicki, "Wprowadzenie, komentarze," in *Uczta*, 12–13.

[73] Witwicki, "Wprowadzenie, komentarze," in *Uczta*, 13.

[74] Witwicki, "Wstęp tłumacza, objaśnienia," in *Platon: Kriton* (Wydawnictwo Antyk, 1999), 595.

However, the striving for a sense of power, this cratic desire, went further than the desire to control oneself. Socrates appears in the *Dialogues* as a figure with an obvious intellectual and even moral advantage over his surroundings. His method of discussion and reaching out for the truth reveals specific personality traits that cannot be easily integrated into lofty philosophical or ethical aspirations. While it is true that in the course of the disputes, it has always officially been about ideals and truth, very often it is possible to see the other face of Socrates. For example, when he noticed the mistakes of his interlocutor, the philosopher played a conscious game with him; he was involved in a kind of mockery or ridicule. The interlocutor "winds up" in a sense of incompetence and embarrassment that seems to please Socrates.

> Agathon is getting lost, worried about the purpose of the dialogue … is on the verge of despair. He will agree to everything as long as Socrates gives him peace of mind. He is very poor at the moment and must be ashamed. Agathon is beaten up, and the rest of the company is looking at their tails.… Socrates no longer needs to fight anyone. Yes, now he is on top and content.[75]

Witwicki explains that such behavior resulted mainly from an irresistible desire to be above others and to show one's superiority. "It was an irresistible need, it was a tame need for a mastery of those who tried to impress him or others."[76] This means that, as a philosopher who proclaims great ideals, he has in practice shown his greatness and dominance at the expense of others. This of course calls into question Socrates's morality, especially the quality of the ethical intellectualism he preached. Witwicki will therefore say that Socrates "pretended to be stupid," he was "a man with two faces."[77]

A typical example of Socrates's cratic motivation was an attitude towards his own death. As is known, he was convicted of corrupting the young and of proclaiming atheism. He accepted the sentence with dignity and finally drank hemlock, despite the possibility of escaping from prison or receiving a replacement punishment in the form of exile. It is already clear during the trial (especially in his defence), how he demonstrates a sense of superiority over the judiciary and the surrounding crowd. Socrates seems to be above adversity, above condemnation, above misunderstanding on the part of those around him. Moreover, he seems to be above his own weaknesses. According to Witwicki, Socrates did not escape from prison because his ambition, "his main spiritual spring," did not allow him.[78] In his comments on the dialogue *Crito*, Witwicki describes it in the same way as in his doctoral thesis of 1900.

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[75] Witwicki, "Wprowadzenie, komentarze," in *Uczta*, 65–66.
[76] Witwicki, "Wprowadzenie, komentarze," in *Uczta*, 16.
[77] Witwicki, "Wprowadzenie, komentarze," in *Uczta*, 16.
[78] Witwicki, "Wstęp tłumacza, objaśnienia," in *Kriton*, 589.

> He will not get out of prison. He will not come out, so that he could be humiliated in exile. He will not come out, because he would not be able to walk without a laurel wreath on his head or bend his head to escape.… It was ambition to keep him in prison, ambition to himself and to the public. Sorrow for the children was second to none.[79]

He is guided by "a sense of own dignity, noble pride." In the light of the same motivation, we can understand his behavior when he drinks hemlock without hesitation full of "stoic calm" not only expects the approaching death, but also reproaches his grieving friends for their lack of composure.

Socrates remained faithful to the image of the philosopher–man, who controls his own weaknesses and lives in a sense of independence or superiority over his environment. However, a carefully built image of himself, sustained for many years, must have caused internal tension. All the more so because the descriptions of Plato and Aristophanes show that Socrates's physical appearance did not arouse admiration: thick lips, a crooked nose, a large head, chipped eyes, barefoot, sloppily dressed, dishevelled. Witwicki therefore stresses that reason and intellectual abilities were the main way to secure respect for oneself and dominate others. Verbal battles, the search for lofty ideas of good or beauty, while pointing out the incompetence of others, and even their public humiliation, placed Socrates on the pedestal but also forced him to play some role all the time.[80] This inner split had to shift to any activity based on emotions, visions, uncontrolled desires or passions. "That is why he concealed [Socrates] everything he thought was worthless in him, like the gusts of the heart in the face of any issues, things, works and people."[81] He had to play in front of himself and in front of the world, "to tell lies to his human nature," to be someone who "cannot live without a mask."[82]

The axis of Socrates's actions and personality is, therefore, ambition and the striving for a sense of power, that is to say, a cratic motivation, the aim of which is primarily to elevate oneself. In relation to others, it appears that positive cratism (that is, the desire to elevate and care) seems to dominate, but very often, it is simply a form of criticism and humiliation of others, and is thus negative cratism in Witwicki's terminology. It is precisely this kind of Socrates that has become one of the main inspirations for the theory of cratism, as well as its typical and oldest exemplification.

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[79] Witwicki, "Wstęp tłumacza, objaśnienia," in *Kriton*, 607.

[80] A slightly different aspect of this internal split of Socrates was aptly described by Teresa Rzepa: "The essence of the inner conflict … results from the contradiction between artistic creation and inspiration as its basis and the search for truth based on … the logic of reason.… To subdue one of the 'two opposing drives' … Socrates takes a distanced attitude towards the artist's self" (Rzepa, *Życie psychiczne*, 102).

[81] Rzepa, *Życie psychiczne*, 103–4.

[82] Witwicki, "Wprowadzenie, komentarze," in *Uczta*, 20.

2.1.3.2. The Concept of Power and the Psychological Portrait of Jesus of Nazareth

In 1958, Witwicki presented the psychological interpretation of the life and activity of Jesus in a commentary to his own translation of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark.[83] This was an original and highly controversial work, which could have caused great controversy in the Catholic community in Poland. Witwicki was aware of this, which is why he wrote in one of his letters to his sister, then a nun:

> And the text … and the commentary encourage to think independently.… These books will not harm a wise person—this is my deep conviction.… It seems to me that to work as best an individual can, it will always come out to God's glory. And it seems to me that whoever honestly does not write completely stupid books serves the Truth. Even if this person is mistaken and wrong, the others will improve them. If not today, maybe tomorrow. I firmly believe that the Truth is a good thing and that it finally wins.[84]

The above comments seem to show Witwicki's faith in the rightness and correctness of the presented analyses, although it should be remembered that he was an areligious man or rather an atheist.[85] The "truth" mentioned here is not sacred, and "God's glory" appears here rather as a means of alleviating possible doubts and religious anxiety of the sister or the people around her.

Dobra Nowina wg Mateusza i Marka was written very quickly in 1942. He translated the gospel in a few months, and a 200-page commentary was written between May and July of that year. However, both the translation and the commentary are specific. First, the basis of the psychological image of Jesus was the free translation of a Greek text, which sometimes takes the form of a paraphrase. Second, Witwicki was absolutely convinced of the universality and usefulness of the theory of cratism he created, to which he subordinated the content of the gospel. Third, Witwicki, when writing this psychobiography, almost completely disregarded the achievements of biblical scholarship in this field, which is expressed, among other things, in the fact that he makes no significant references to world biblical literature.

The very translation of the gospel raises objections. Above all, the methodology according to which Witwicki analyzed and read the biblical text is not explained. In the first half of the twentieth century, biblical studies offered a set of widely spread methods of analyzing the text (especially in German theological

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[83] Witwicki, *Dobra Nowina wg Mateusza i Marka*.

[84] After Kazimiera Jeżewska, "Od Wydawcy," in *Dobra Nowina według Mateusza i Markai*, ed. Zofia Martynowska (Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1958), 7.

[85] Witwicki came from a very religious Catholic family; his mother, brought up in one of the Lvov convents, was the niece of an archbishop. Quite early on, he began to distance himself from the church and then from religion in general. He eventually became an atheist.

tradition), which significantly limited subjectivity and freedom of translation. Witwicki had easy access to such literature and achievements because he knew German. However, such explanations are nowhere to be found. Yet it was not only a question of whether Witwicki would translate Greek expressions or sentences better or worse. It was a question of the nature of the sources studied, their *Sitz im Leben*, the history of different oral traditions and the history of the text, widely discussed at the time in the current of historical-critical research. Only once did Witwicki explain that he wanted to find the original image of Jesus in the eyes of his disciples, but this explains little. As it turned out, the adopted methodology consisted mainly of reading the gospel from the psychological notion grid of Ernst Kretschmer,[86] Eugen Bleuler,[87] and his theory of cratism, developed two thousand years later than the original text.

Another problem is the possibility of reconstructing the psychological portrait of Jesus in general. In 1913, the above-mentioned Albert Schweitzer wrote in *Die psychiatrische Beurteilung Jesu: Darstellung und Kritik*, that recreating the personality of Jesus and his mental condition on the basis of the material available today is an impossible task due to the limitation of sources and their specificity. Although Witwicki points out that he wants to recreate the image of Jesus that his disciples had, in practice, he completely overlooks this problem and writes directly about Jesus by ascribing him traits and motivation as his actual attributes rather than as a subjective interpretation of his disciples. It is also surprising that there is a total lack of references to similar psychobiographies, which were already widely known in the world at the time. There is no reference to the aforementioned Schweitzer or Albert Hitchcock's *The Psychology of Jesus: A Study of Development of His Self-Consciousness* from 1908, Stanley Hall's *Jesus the Christ in the Light of Psychology* from 1917, William Hirsch's *Religion and Civilization: The Conclusion of Psychiatrist* from 1912, Charles Binet-Sangle's *La Folie de Jesus* from 1908–1915, Emil Rasmussen's *Jesus. Eine Vergleichene Psychopathologische Studie* from 1905. Furthermore, the attempt to analyze the consciousness of Jesus placed Witwicki at the center of the most important biblical disputes at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[88] It is enough to recall the dispute about the self-awareness of Jesus, that is, whether Jesus was at all convinced of his messianism, and if so, in what sense.[89] Witwicki omits such

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[86] Ernst Kretschmer, *Geniale Menschen* (Springer, 1929).

[87] Eugen Bleuler, *Lehrbuch der Psychiatrie* (Springer, 1916).

[88] Wilhelm Baldensperger, *Das Selbsbewusstsein Jesu im Lichte der messianischen Hoffnungen seiner Zeit* (Heitz & Mundel, 1888); William Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien: Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Markusevangelium* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901); Albert Schweitzer, *Die psychiatrische Beurteilung Jesu: Darstellung und Kritik* (Mohr Siebeck, 1913).

[89] Bos Van Os, *Psychological Analyses and the Historical Jesus* (T&T Clark, 2011); Joachim Gnilka, *Jesus von Nazareth: Botschaft und Geschichte* (Herder, 2000); Gerd Theissen

important findings in this area completely. And yet, the messianic consciousness of Jesus was to become one of the central categories of the cratic analysis of the gospel. Witwicki would even identify the messianic consciousness with the aspiration to rule over others—the cratic aspiration.

There was also the problem of editing the written sources and the evolution of Jesus's logia (known as the problem of *ipsissima verba et facta Jesu*), for example, dealing with the issue of whether all the words and deeds of Jesus described in the gospels come from him or the Christian community and their historical transformations. Witwicki did not need to know these problems in detail as a psychologist. Still, his attitude of total "carelessness" and omission of such important issues seems to contradict the lofty assurances about the pursuit of the Truth, all the more so because the conclusions of the biblical scholars would not allow Witwicki to draw some conclusions. Finally, it should also be taken into account that he did not recognize the importance of Hebrew (and Aramaic), which is essential for understanding the specificity of Semitic thought. This language was a valuable source of information about how the Jews—and Jesus himself— understood the world then. The reference to Greek alone was justified in the case of the psychobiography of Socrates, who spoke and thought in that language. But Jesus was a Semitic, brought up in the spirit of the Hebrew Torah and the prophets, so to omit such a significant variable is, in my view, incomprehensible. In this respect, it would be justifiable to use the Latin translation of the gospel in the form of the Vulgate, which is based on old Latin translations dating as far back as the second century CE and, therefore, very much like the preserved Greek copies of the biblical originals. This seems all the more paradoxical because Witwicki officially resigned from the Vulgate in order, as he claimed, to avoid the unnecessary pathos that the old Latin translations allegedly brought to the "neutral," "folk" character of the originals.[90] In other words, he renounced the Vulgate in order to get to the essence of Jesus's words, and in practice ignored the language used by Jesus and the apostles.

So, what is Witwicki's translation of the gospel? In some places, it seems to be somewhat detached from the tradition of Judaism. Regarding fundamental concepts of Jewish culture, significant semantic shifts are easily noticed. Greek terminology—which in the gospels reflects the Jewish world of the time—gives a new, often surprising meaning. A typical example is the omission of a religious context and the narrowing or even changing of the semantic field of concepts or words; for example: in the Gospel of Mark 10:52 he uses *ocalacz* (*helper*)—instead of *saviour*; in Mark 3:37 he uses the word *pięknie* (*beautiful*) instead of *good*; in Matt 4:16 *słońce* (*sun*) instead of *light*; in Matt 4:14 *słówko* (*saying*)

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and Dagmar Winter, *The Quest for the Plausible Jesus: The Question of Criteria* (Westminster John Knox, 2002).

[90] Witwicki, *Dobra Nowina*.

instead of *word of the prophet*; in Matt 6:2 *komedianci* (*comedians*) instead of *hypocrites*. In other places, Witwicki trivialises or slightly vulgarises the message of the text,[91] for example, in Matt 5:11 he uses the word *ścigać* (*pursue*)—instead of *persecute* for religious reasons; in Matt 14:5 *pospólstwo* (*mob*) instead of *people*; in Mark 6:13 they *smarowali oliwą* (*oiled*) instead of *anointed with oil*; in Mark 1:25 *stul pysk* (*shut up*) instead of *be silent*. On more than one occasion, Witwicki also deprives the text of the drama and tension it contains. In Witwicki's translation of Matt 26:37 the fear, emotional pain and despair of Jesus in Gethsemane disappear—according to him *it started to be hard for Jesus who had enough of everything*; when Jesus heals the sick, he orders them to remain silent—but according to Witwicki, Jesus *nodded to them* (probably *wagged the finger*); in Matt 12:24 when Jesus casts out demons, the author introduces a folk language speaking about *czarty* (*dickens/fiends*). Witwicki systematically avoids the words *bring*, *establish*, *make*, and instead of them, he translates *do peace* (Matt 5:9), *do someone a fisherman* (Matt 4:19), *do someone commit adultery* (Matt 5:22).

There is no doubt that Witwicki's translation, which serves as a basis for creating the psychobiography of Jesus, is very controversial and should rather be regarded as an attempt to give it a new, secularised meaning. Semantic shifts, the inclusion of new contents that were absent from the culture of Judaism of the time, and the tendency to secularise evangelical utterances make it necessary to treat this translation as a proposal for a new (but controversial) interpretation of the text of the Bible. In its final form, Witwicki's translation has one most striking feature: the evangelical narratives are given to the reader at a much lower level of abstraction of the language.[92] The behavior/deeds of Jesus are described as clearly more concrete than general or abstract. The use of the words *do*, *shut up*, *comedian*, *sun* instead of *make*, *silence*, *hypocrite*, *light* leaves no illusions. The biblical text (and with it the figure of Jesus) changes its character from the general and universal to the occasional and concrete. It is worth taking into account that this type of practice has been quite well described in the psychological literature as an effective means of forming or modifying stereotypes—the defining feature of which is the high level of generality and abstractiveness of the description.[93] An important role for Witwicki is also played by depriving the biblical narrative of

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[91] Wiesław Smereka, "Profesor Witwicki jako tłumacz ewangelii," *RBL* 14 (1961): 114–20.

[92] Witwicki "in many cases, sins too bright a vulgarity that is not even philologically justified. He based his translation on the selection of sometimes very coarse words" (Smereka, "Profesor Witwicki," 117). These features of Witwicki's translation, although visible in Polish, may be less readable in English, which results from the different terminology of both languages.

[93] Anne Maass et al., "Language Use in Intergroup Contexts: The Linguistic Intergroup Bias," *JPSP* 57 (1989): 981–93; Gün Semin, and Klaus Fiedler, "The Cognitive Functions of Linguistic Categories in Describing Persons: Social Cognition and Language," *JPSP* 54 (1988): 558–68.

its specific context, which is rooted in the religion of former Israel. The religious language, its conceptual character and its high level of abstractiveness transfer the claims of prophets or apostles into the sphere of a universal ideology, which is difficult to challenge. Thus, already at the level of formal features of the text, Witwicki's Jesus becomes a person who can be easily subjected to a new interpretation, because his deeds and words, often reduced to the level of individual and concrete acts, devoid of the dimension of universality, can be the subject of a new, in this case more general, conceptualization[94]—of course, the conceptualization imposed by Witwicki. In short, Witwicki is deconstructing the original text in order to propose a new interpretation of Jesus's deeds, which could be called a new stereotype in light of the above considerations. Instead of the traditional Jesus of Nazareth, he proposes a new, psychological image. The applied translation procedure thus fulfilled a particulare purpose—it allowed the creation of a new stereotype of Jesus of Nazareth.

The psychological image of Jesus is embedded by Witwicki in the emotional relations between Joseph and Mary. Analyzing only a few verses of the gospel (Matt 1:18–22), he concludes there was emotional distance between them. They are "wo people who do not physically or spiritually live with each other. Each has a closed inner life and a separate relationship with God. The disposition is eminently schizotymic."[95] Furthermore, Jesus's schizotymic parents reflect the broader social relations and even the relations between the then-Israeli and Yahweh. Witwicki sees, above all, an authoritarian God who enters human life without taking into account human freedom, autonomy or personal drama. Jesus therefore grows up between people (family) who are "shy, not directly responsive, not social, weird … sensitive to small things … strangely irritated, nervous, and at the same time hard of heart … they are as if they were emotionally numb, unresponsive, although they seem docile and obedient.… So they are approaching the schizothymic type."[96]

Witwicki also sees such traits in the person of Jesus: he is schizothymic, with qualities typical of a person with schizophrenia. His personality is marked by two tendencies which are difficult to reconcile: the messianic feeling and the awareness of being human. The messianic feeling, divine sonship, provided him with a sense of independence and elevated him above his social surroundings. Traditionally described in theology as the two natures of Christ (divine and human), here

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[94] Gün Semin and Klaus Fiedler, "The Linguistic Category Model, its Bases, Applications and Range," in *European Review of Social Psychology*, ed. Wolfgang Stroebe and Miles Hewstone (Wiley, 1991), 1–50; Anne Maass and Luciano Arcuri, "The Role of Language in the Persistence of Stereotypes," in *Language, Interaction, and Social Cognition*, ed. Gun Semin and Klaus Fiedler (Sage, 1992), 129–43.

[95] Witwicki, *Dobra Nowina*, 186.

[96] Witwicki, *Dobra Nowina*, 335.

they are a combination of two contradictory psychological tendencies. For Witwicki, the inner split is the most convincing proof of the historicity of Jesus because no one around him would then be able to consciously manipulate so coherently and create such a convincing image of Jesus. "The splitting of the personality could not have been an invention of the Evangelists—it is undoubtedly an authentic trait.… This cannot be invented when one is devoutly inventing."[97] The contemporary reader of Witwicki's commentary, however, has no illusions that it is much more than some general analogies to the 1929 Kretschmer typology. The author draws very radical conclusions, inscribing the personality of Jesus into a pattern of serious disturbances in social functioning.[98]

> The psyche of Jesus, just as it shines through the stories of the Gospel, is by no means the psyche of a common, everyday, balanced man.… Here we are dealing at every step with an inner split … with inner compulsions, with no regard for the suggestions of those around us, with disturbances in contact with those around us, with behaviour that disturbs those around us … and leads to an inevitable disaster.[99]

In the light of cratism theory, the axis around which the inner life of Jesus of Nazareth is organized is the striving for a sense of power and cratic motivation. In most events of his life, such as baptism, the healing of the sick, the forgiveness of sins, and above all, in his sense of mission and divinity, Witwicki sees the striving for a sense of power. Jesus had a "sense of superhuman power," an "increased sense of power," and "he felt himself an exceptional, chosen creature, destined to rule and triumph over the world." Furthermore, he "looked down on his disciples and the crowds listening to him, very down from the highest top."[100]

Witwicki sees such an image of Jesus as being seen primarily in the so-called Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5–7), delivered at the Sea of Galilee. It is the key to establishing the cratic desires of the Master of Nazareth (although it is known that it contains different Jesus's logia, expressed in different circumstances). In Jesus's speeches, Witwicki sees his apparent concern for poor and marginalized people. Apparent, because by promising a better world, he meant not so much a moral or spiritual world or life after death (this was a secondary issue) as a radical transformation of socio-political relations. It was about a "social upheaval/revolt," with participants ultimately solely dependent on him. Moreover, the aim of the Sermon on the Mount was the psychological addiction of the listeners by controlling their natural human instincts, such as aggression or sexual desire, which have always

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[97] Witwicki, *Dobra Nowina*, 202.
[98] However, Witwicki claims that Jesus has retained the ability to assess reality objectively; "a healthy, human assessment of the situation—he kept it—served him as a regulator" (Witwicki, *Dobra Nowina*, 210).
[99] Witwicki, *Dobra Nowina*, 203.
[100] Witwicki, *Dobra Nowina*, 213.

served the survival of the species and played a defensive role. For while the Decalogue forbade physical adultery and the desire for a neighbour's wife, Jesus demanded the impossible: psychological control of such physical desire. For the Galilean peasant, says Witwicki, this was an impossible task. Similarly, he considered the anger that arises in human hearts to be a religious offence. Therefore, Jesus forbids people to implement "reproductive instinct" and "self-preservation instinct."[101] As a consequence, Jesus's demands triggered a permanent, because of being insurmountable, feeling of guilt. "Feelings of desire are already a sin. And since these impulses are embedded in the structure and activities of every healthy body, it is for this reason that every young, healthy follower has had a reason to consider himself or herself spotted at almost every step."[102] In addition, Jesus forbade taking revenge, ordered turning the other cheek, which in turn would have to destabilize the social order. The disciples of Jesus, wanting to keep all the master's recommendations, would be doomed to deep alienation and would eventually become "parasites and beggars" themselves.

So Jesus tried to create a type of disciple who would be at his mercy alone. From a permanent sense of guilt, he could only be liberated by Him—the Saviour. He was to save a world that did not see this need and did not see its guilt and blame, so his actions aimed to create a new consciousness among the followers. The key to understanding the relationship with the world around Jesus, as well as understanding his motivation, is presented in the following quote:

> When these practical, life-long guidelines are brought together, a type of human with an egocentric, introverted attitude comes out of them … immersed in his inner life, busy with the purity of his soul and his relationship to God, rather autistic, detached from the affairs of this world, surrounded by enemies who still threaten to be tarnished and lost.… Such an image of the faithful's psyche would fit the mission of the Anointed One like a plaster form to a model.… Among people who are calm about their fate, busy with their external life, cheerful, and satisfied, Jesus would have no room for action. His sense of greatness and readiness to fight evil … demanded from his listeners a sense of smallness, staining, intrusive fears, surrender and trust in him. It wasn't easy to find such an environment ready. Jesus created it in Galilee with the help of His disciples, the fishermen.[103]

In this exceptionally critical (negative) image of Jesus, Witwicki further strengthens the unusual interpretation of selected acts of the healing of the sick, which according to him are only seemingly acts of mercy. As an "egocentric

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[101] Witwicki, *Dobra Nowina*, 223.
[102] Witwicki, *Dobra Nowina*, 224.
[103] Witwicki, *Dobra Nowina*, 241.

schizotymic"[104] Jesus was demanding and strict, almost merciless towards all those who did not show respect for him and did not see him as the divine chosen one. He showed acceptance and mercy only to those who sought in him purification and recognized his superiority. He healed those who suffered if "they accepted humiliation without protest and acknowledged his benevolent power and messianic dignity, in spite of his frigidity, his rejection and suppression."[105]

In line with this, there are unusual (if not bizarre) drawings by Witwicki, in which he depicts Jesus as a man with a cold and repulsive expression on his face, who looks at others usually with contempt, distrust or a sense of superiority. He is distanced from his surroundings, critical of others and fiercely critical of rabbis, and at the same time distrustful or even lost towards Pilat. In short, Witwicki's Jesus is a man motivated, above all, by negative cratism in relation to others.[106] If the most important theses of Jesus's psychobiography were to be applied to Witwicki's typology of 1939 *O typach charakteru* [On Types of Character], it could also be considered that it was "a type particularly disposed of to elevate oneself," even at the cost of self-denial and crucifixion, as well as "a type disposed of to humiliate others."[107]

There is no need to explain that such an extreme interpretation, including the translation of the gospel, did not find recognition in the relevant scientific community, that is, among philologists and, above all, among Polish biblical scholars.[108] However, it is worth emphasizing that in terms of personality disorders and disturbances of contacts with Jesus's social environment, this image was close to other, critical works of that time, such as those of Hirsch[109] or Binet-Sanglé.[110] Witwicki undertook a challenging task and, regardless of the final shape of the psychobiographies, created two exceptionally original portraits of great personalities of antiquity. They are all the more original because they were completely independent of psychoanalytical research, which, as is known, dominated the psychobiography of Jesus for many years.[111] Both psychobiographies

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[104] Karina Jarzyńska, *Jezus jako egocentryczny schizotymik*, Racjonalista, 19.04.2022, http://www.racjonalista.pl/kk.php/s,5828/k,6.

[105] Witwicki, *Dobra Nowina*, 298.

[106] Interestingly, Witwicki also saw the cratic motivation in the activities of other biblical figures such as John the Baptist, Old Testament prophets, Moses, and even figures from the history of Christianity such as Simon Stylites, Catherine of Siena or Francis of Assisi. However, even in these cases, Witwicki does not encounter such negative characteristics and an unfavorable constellation of cratic tendencies (Witwicki, *Psychologia*, vol. 2).

[107] Witwicki, *O typach charakteru*, 24–25.

[108] Smereka, "Profesor Witwicki."

[109] William Hirsch, *Religion and Civilization: The Conclusions of a Psychiatrist* (Truth Seeker Company, 1912).

[110] Charles Binet-Sanglé, *La folie de Jésus* [The Insanity of Jesus], 4 vols. (Maloine, 1908–1915).

[111] Ellens and Rollins, *Psychology and the Bible*; Van Os, *Psychological Analyses*.

also confirm for Witwicki the theory of cratism, and the psychological portrait of Socrates was one of the basic sources of this theory. In describing Socrates, however, Witwicki does not refer, as in the case of Jesus, to the Kretschmer typology. The cratic motivation of the Greek philosopher is characterized by greater subtlety and higher sensitivity to the complexity of social relations, more than that which Witwicki saw in the life of Jesus. Even if Socrates seeks to emphasize his superiority over others or to make others aware of their incompetence or vices, he is embedded in social relations of a different type than that of Jesus. In both cases, the protagonists of psychobiography, although admired by the crowds, establish a different type of relationship with them. Jesus of Nazareth seems to be integrally connected with the crowd in the sense that he offers salvation and expects worship, releases a strong sense of guilt, makes people dependent on himself and even humiliates them. Socrates does not build relationships with the crowd and the broader environment, although he can find himself in virtually any social situation. Socrates does not need a crowd to achieve a sense of power but intellectual competition with wise men or philosophers. In short, Jesus of Nazareth presents his life and behavior as a less subtle version of the cratic aspirations than Socrates. Witwicki was aware of the considerable cultural diversity of the former Greece and Israel. Perhaps, therefore, the different nature of the cratic motivation of both "masters" of antiquity has something to do with the manner (or level) of organization of socio-cultural life, although Witwicki does not say so explicitly. Evidently, there are different forms of the realisation of cratic desires, which, in my opinion, cannot be explained only by the difference in personality.[112]

The interpretation of cultural products proposed by Witwicki is, therefore, controversial. While it is based on a coherent theory, its practical application arouses reservations. The psychological interpretation of *Dialogues* shows the great sensitivity of the Polish psychologist to the psychological dimension of an ancient text. It was in this text that Witwicki discovered the basic assumptions of the theory of cratism. One can even risk a claim that his attitude reflects the manner of research work typical for representatives of grounded theory, where the researcher does not approach empirical data with a ready-made theory and variables, but tries to read/find them first in the source material.[113] Unfortunately, in the case of the gospel, Witwicki seems to be abstracted from the psychological layer of the text, imposing a rather authoritarian alien interpretive cliche. Therefore, Witwicki lacked the subjectivity of the psychological interpretation of the

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[112] Citlak, "Socrates and Jesus," 149–66.
[113] Glaser Barney, *Doing Grounded Theory: Issues and Discussions* (Sociology Press, 1998).

products, which then threatened the supporters of cultural-historical psychology because of methodological deficiencies.[114]

Despite these shortcomings, the general direction of Witwicki's investigations deserves broader discussion, which I will return to in the empirical section. The key question is not whether he was right in relation to Jesus (because he was generally not) but whether it was a completely misguided portrait or concerned only marginal aspects of his life, which Witwicki unnecessarily made the core of his inquiries.

2.2. The Pursuit of Social Power and Emotions in Social Sciences

Witwicki's theory of the pursuit of power is very similar to several commonly known psychological theories, especially those in which the sense of power or strength plays an important role, as well as the type of relationship (friendly vs. hostile) with the social environment. The theory is particularly similar to Adler's *Individualpsychologie*, Timothy Leary's theory, Theodore Kemper's sociology of emotions, and the honor-shame cultural code. Their general characteristics and mutual similarities will allow the theory of cratism to be viewed in a slightly broader context.

2.2.1. Alfred Adler's Theory of the Pursuit of Power

Undoubtedly, the closest to Witwicki's theory was the psychology of striving for a sense of power of the Austrian psychologist Adler. In many places, they are so convergent that they can be considered as parallel or complementary theories.[115] Adler presented the foundations of his theory in 1907 (Studie über Minderwertigkeit von Organen), then again in 1912 (Über den nervösen Charakter) and 1920 (Praxis und Theorie der Individualpsychologie), that is at similar times to Witwicki.[116] If the doctoral thesis of a Polish psychologist is taken as the nucleus of the theory of striving for a sense of power, one could even say that in its basic

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[114] The fact that Witwicki was an atheist and critic of the church is not without significance. Teresa Rzepa expressed an interesting assessment: "I think (after several years of studying the profile and scientific work of Witwicki) that Władysław Witwicki could—with the greatest success—relate similar characteristics to himself. Similar views were included in works on Witwicki: A. Nowicki (Nowicki, 1981, 229–230) and M. Wallis (Wallis, 1975, 15)" (Rzepa, "Geneza, istota i konsekwencje teorii kratyzmu," 224).

[115] Estera Markinówna, "Psychologia dążenia do mocy: Zestawienie poglądów Witwickiego i Adlera," *KP* 7 (1935): 329–40; Markinówna, *Psychologia indywidualna Adlera i jej znaczenie pedagogiczne* (Instytut Wydawniczy Nasza Księgarnia, 1947); Amadeusz Citlak, "O dwóch postaciach teorii dążenia do mocy: Teoria kratyzmu Witwickiego i psychologia indywidualna Adlera," in Bobryk, *Język, wartości, działania*, 249–70.

[116] Witwicki, "Psychologiczna analiza ambicji"; Witwicki, "Z psychologii stosunków osobistych"; Witwicki, *Psychologia*, vol. 2.

assumptions, Witwicki was slightly ahead of Adler's theory. When asked: "Are you writing this in the spirit of Adler? Are you not?" he replied: "Well, not in the spirit of Adler, but in the spirit of my own from the time … before 1900 and … in 1907. I am reading Adler only now."[117] Unfortunately, although Witwicki knew Adler's psychology, he never contacted him or referred to his theory. The analysis of differences and similarities between the theories was carried out as early as in the 1930s by Witwicki's disciple, Ester Markinowna,[118] so only the most important issues will addressed.

The leading theme of both theories is the striving for a sense of power. For both psychologists, a sense of power can reflect an objective state of affairs or can be only a subjective feeling without a deeper connection to facts. Witwicki uses the term cratism, while Adler uses *Machtstreben* (striving for power) and *Machtgefühl* (feeling of power). Striving for power determines a person's entire life in both the diachronic and synchronous dimensions, namely, their species and personal history, the sphere of thoughts, feelings and behavior. For Adler, however, *Machtstreben* triggers a distinctive, unique constellation of personality traits and a unique style of achieving a sense of power that cannot be subordinated to one generally accepted classification of personality types. For this reason, he defines his psychology as *individual psychology*. In both theories, there is also the pursuit of superiority, and while in Witwicki's case, it is associated with a sense of strength, domination or independence, in Adler's case, it takes the form of the pursuit of perfection and competence much more clearly (*Vollkommenheit, Vollendung*). The striving for power is, therefore, of a more social character and also develops in interpersonal relationships.[119]

Both theories are also linked by the concept of inferiority, although this is explained differently: Witwicki sees the cratic motivation as a biological, driving force, independent of the process of upbringing and socialisation, and interprets the feeling of inferiority as a result of the "frustration" of the cratic innate aspirations. For Adler, although the feeling of inferiority is common to all people, it appears in the educational and upbringing process in relationships with significant people. The child first experiences a sense of inferiority in relation to his or her parents and then triggers a complex process of striving for a sense of superiority (power, competence). Adler therefore gives priority to the sense of inferiority as the driving force behind the striving for power, although the very quest for a sense of power also has a biological and developmental component.[120]

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[117] After: Rzepa, *Psychologia Władysława Witwickiego*, 79.

[118] Markinówna, "Psychologia dążenia do mocy"; Markinówna, *Psychologia indywidualna Adlera*.

[119] Alfred Adler, *Studie über die Minderwertigkeit von Organen* (Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1907).

[120] Alfred Adler, *Praxis und Theorie der Individualpsychologie* (Bergmann, 1920).

According to Adler, the feeling of inferiority forces the individual to develop an individual lifestyle (*Lebenstil*), which is already formed in the first years of a child's life, defining his or her personality and relations with the environment. In other words, this sense of inferiority lies at the heart of *Lebenstil*. Witwicki, on the other hand, makes the type of character, relations with the environment and the interpersonal emotions which dominate in them dependent on the very sense of cratism.[121] Seemingly, both theories are about the same, but in Adler's case, there is a clear connection with the Freudian tradition, where childhood experiences form a lasting and essentially unchanging foundation of personality.[122] In this respect, Witwicki's cratic tendencies are presented in a teleological rather than deterministic perspective. The four cratic tendencies (humiliating oneself/other, elevating oneself/other) can also be successfully considered as an orderly scheme presented by Adler with numerous examples of coping with the feeling of inferiority.[123]

However, both psychologists value striving for a sense of power differently. Witwicki, in his works of 1900 and 1907, does not deal with the assessment of behavior that borders on the norm and on pathology and even combines some of them with the concept of ambition. A clear distinction appears in 1927, when he discussed the problem of sadism and masochism, but even then, he was not too interested in the pathological aspect of such behavior, seeing them simply as an expression of cratic desires. Adler is unambiguous on this point: the human being must be guided by a sense of social interest (*Gemeinschaftsgefühl*) and any means of achieving a sense of power that is not aimed at building a social good or a social relationship based on mutual respect is undesirable and pathological.[124] He accepts only what fits into Witwicki's positive cratism: the desire to elevate oneself and elevate others. Moreover, Adler tried to indicate the sources of a pathological style of dealing with the feeling of inferiority (like inappropriate family relations and peer relations), which allowed him to start therapeutic and educational processes. However, the theory of cratism was not practically used.

Witwicki's and Adler's psychology comes from entirely different thought traditions: cratism is an example of descriptive psychology in the spirit of Twardowski's and Brentano's schools; Adler represents a psychodynamic school

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[121] Witwicki, *La foi des eclairs*.

[122] Alfred Adler, *Der Sinn des Lebens* (Passer, 1933).

[123] Markinówna, "Psychologia dążenia do mocy." In 1937, Stefan Błachowski, the Poznan representative of Twardowski's School wrote on Adler's psychology: "The reader does not get lost in abstractions; he learns to understand and apply Adler's concepts on interesting examples. However, the pursuit of intelligibility and concreteness made Adler's psychology not a compact system." The Adlerian method of psychological research he called "an artistic method of dealing with man." Stefan Błachowski, "Alfred Adler," *KP* 9 (1937): 489.

[124] Alfred Adler, "Der Aggressionsbetrieb," in *Heilen und Bilden*, ed. Alfred Adler, Carl Furtmüller, and Erwin Wexberg (Bergmann, 1922), 18–25.

in the spirit of Sigmund Freud. Surprisingly, that despite the differences, they can be treated as alternative or complementary theories.

2.2.2. Theodor Kemper and Timothy Leary: Social Position and Emotions

A significant similarity can also be found in Leary's theory, presented in *Interpersonal Diagnosis of Personality*.[125] He developed a model of interpersonal relations based on rich empirical material and factor analysis, using the assumptions of Henry Sullivan and Kurt Lewin in the initial phase. Theoretical analyses, as well as empirical data, allowed him to distinguish three dimensions regulating social relations and, at the same time, to predict their dynamics. The first dimension, called the control dimension, denotes a continuum with opposite poles of *domination versus submissiveness*, which take on a force closer to the end of the continuum, while the central part of this dimension defines persons with a feature of independence and autonomy. The second dimension is the emotional attitude, the ends of which are *friendship/love versus hostility*. In the central part of the continuum, there are people with no emotional attitude, that is, with an indifferent attitude. Overlapping both dimensions allows the following four basic areas of possible interpersonal attitudes to be determined: friendly submissiveness, friendly domination, hostile submissiveness, and hostile domination. It is only against this background that a specific combination of the intensity of these characteristics (more/less submissive plus more/less hostile) is created. The third dimension—flexibility of behavior—refers to the ability to adapt one's own reactions to the changing environment. At its extremes there is *rigidity versus instability*, and between them is flexibility or adequacy of behavior.[126] Ultimately, Leary singled out sixteen styles of interpersonal relations, half of which are within the norm and the other half are pathological.

    The key similarity to the theory of cratism is the dimensions of domination versus submissiveness and friendship versus hostility. On the other hand, some styles are similar to the behavioral and emotional patterns presented by Witwicki in the form of cratic desires. Witwicki also speaks of one trend in general, while Leary distinguishes two styles. For example, the retreat-masochistic style seems to reflect the cratic tendency to humiliate themselves, the aggressive-sadistic style seems to reflect humiliating others, the supportive-care style with the desire to elevate others, and the managerial-autocratic style with a desire to elevate oneself. The analogies refer not only to cratic tendencies but also—using Witwicki's terminology—to heteropathic feelings. Leary also attributes an essential role to social evaluation, such as evaluation from the social environment. The individual

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[125] Timothy Leary, *Interpersonal Diagnosis of Personality* (Ronald, 1957); Citlak, "O empirycznym wykorzystaniu teorii kratyzmu."

[126] Jan Stanik, *Skala Ustosunkowań Interpersonalnych* (Wydawnictwo Szumacher, 1994).

style of interpersonal relations, despite its relative stability, is constantly being verified and modified. As I stressed earlier, for Witwicki, the motif of social evaluation also plays an crucial role in relations with others. The most important theses of Leary's theory do not significantly differ from the theory of cratism. Still, it is a theoretically and empirically refined theory based on numerous studies, which can serve as a predictive model for further experimental research.

Kemper is the author of the sociological theory of power-status, in which he tries to explain how social relations can lead to particular emotions. In the 1970s, Kemper first presented the social-interactive theory of emotions.[127] In 1990, together with the American sociologist Randall Collins, a researcher of interactive rituals, he presented the aforementioned power-status theory of emotions.[128] The basic assumption is that in social situations, everyone has relative power and status, and emotions arise primarily in connection with a change in this position in the social structure and a change in the perceived personal status. Kemper defines the position in the social structure (and hierarchy) and the ability to influence others as power, while unforced social respect is defined as social status. Gaining more power and status generally gives rise to positive emotions, and their loss results in negative emotions. Kemper distinguishes three types of emotions: structural (aroused by the relative power and status in social relations), situational (aroused by a change of power and status) and anticipatory (aroused by expectations of power and status). The possessed power and status, or their growth, are a source of satisfaction, self-confidence, and security. In the opposite situation, fear, anxiety and a lack of confidence are born. The diversity of emotions is explained in considerable detail and predicted separately for changes in power and for changes in status, where the attribution of failure also plays an important role. For example, shame arises from the loss of status through one's own fault, but when the blame for the loss of status is attributed to others, anger appears. Social status can be received from others as well as given to others, which has a decisive influence on the feeling of satisfaction (status given) or gratitude (status received). Moreover, status and power dynamics are responsible for strengthening or weakening social solidarity. Kemper has conducted a number of empirical studies to verify selected theses of theory as well as detailed predictions.[129] It is one of the more convincing and attractive sociological theories, in the light of which it is possible to explain changes in social emotions in a coherent way using the concept of power and status. The similarity to the cratism theory is very clear and concerns

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[127] Theodore Kemper, *A Social Interactional Theory of Emotions* (Willey, 1978).

[128] Theodore Kemper, "Power, Status, and Emotions: A Sociological Contribution to a Psychophysiological Domain," in *Approaches to Emotion*, ed. Klaus Scherer and Paul Ekman (Erlbaum, 1984), 369–83; Kemper, "Predicting Emotions from Social Relations," *SPQ* 54 (1991): 330–42.

[129] Jonathan Turner and Jan Stets, *Sociology of Emotions* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

the basic thesis: the sense of power (in Kemper's case, status and power), both subjectively perceived and possessed in fact, is linked to the result of social comparisons, which consequently determines the experienced heteropathic emotions. In other words, in both theories, social position determines the type of emotions between people.

2.2.3. The Honor-Shame Cultural Code (the Biblical Perspective)

An interesting theory, or rather a theoretical construct, which bears a similarity and clear parallel to the concept of cratism is the *honor-shame cultural code* developed by anthropologists and sociologists. The value of this concept seems to be significant as it was developed independently of psychological theories as a result of the study of Mediterranean culture, including Semitic. One of the first researchers (if not the first) to introduce the idea of honor and shame as central to Mediterranean culture was the anthropologist Julian Pitt-Rivers. He studied the social relations of the inhabitants of Spanish Andalusia in the nineteen-fifties and presented the results of his research in the works *The People of the Sierra* (1954) and *Honour and Social Status* (1966). This research received a great response, and as early as 1966, a collective work on this subject was published in England, *Honour and Shame: The Values of the Mediterranean Society* edited by John Peristiany, sparking numerous discussions (including critical discussions) all around the world. In 1987, another collective work was published, but this time in the United States, *Honour and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean*, edited by David Gilmore. Although both publications take a stance on a critical discussion of whether the Mediterranean culture can be perceived as a coherent whole in the honor and shame frame of reference as well as a critical modification in the manner in which anthropology is practised, despite some reservations, it was unanimously accepted that both values are among the most significant in Mediterranean culture, whether referring to Andalusia, Egypt, Greece or the Bedouin society. Most importantly—from the point of view of this monograph— these are also pivotal values for the Semitic world.[130] These conclusions have been confirmed in many subsequent sociological and anthropological studies.[131] In 1992, another important work appeared, edited by Peristiany and Pitt-Rivers, *Honour and Grace in Anthropology*, combining the concept of honor with the

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[130] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Sentiment of Honour in Kabyle Society," in *Honour and Shame: The Values of the Mediterranean Society*, ed. John Peristiany (Chicago University Press, 1966), 191–224; Michael Marcus, "Horsemen are the Fence of the Land: Honour and History among the Ghiyata of Eastern Marocco," in *Honor and Shame and the Unity od the Mediterranean*, ed. David Gilmore (American Anthropological Association, 1987), 49–60.

[131] Patricia Mosquera, "Honor and Harmed Social-Image. Muslims' Anger and Shame About the Cartoon Controversy," *CE* 32 (2018): 1205–19.

concept of "grace," which was the result of the study of the connection between honor and social position with religion (especially with ritual).

It also very quickly became apparent that these were the values organizing the social sphere of the ancient world, which were particularly evident in the culture of Greece and Rome.[132] The concept of honor is repeatedly mentioned in ancient literature as one of the most important motivational factors for human action. Such descriptions can already be found in Xenophon, Demosthenes and Seneca, while Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics* mentions pleasure alongside honor, which should be balanced by honor. In the Greek tradition, honor was closely associated with an individual's participation in the life of the polis and his or her commitment to building the public good, while in the Roman empire, it was related to submission and loyalty to the emperor and the empire in general. In both cases, honor was associated with public recognition, prestige and public glory.[133]

The patron-client relationships played an essential role in the honor dynamic, in which an individual lower in the hierarchy could participate in honor of an individual of higher status. These were voluntary and interchangeable relationships as both parties derived significant benefits from them. The people of lower status offered their services and obedience and cared for the honor of the master, who in turn offered patronage, physical protection and support in various difficulties. These relationships were always asymmetrical.[134] The relationships of this type were found in master-servant, master-disciple, priest-follower, God-believer and other interactions.

It is important to note (and this is not emphasized very clearly in the literature) that the desire to gain honor was also associated with ambition, which Aristotle regarded as a honorable aspiration that ennobles. For a long time, honor was also the domain of the upper classes and aristocracy (this was gradually changing by expanding to the lower social strata). In the Greco-Roman culture, honorable action and ambition were close to each other, and in certain circumstances, ambition was even a kind of driving force for the acquisition/enhancement of personal or communal honor. I emphasize this aspect because, in cratic theory, ambition is the foundation of cratic motivation (the pursuit of power). Witwicki also drew significant inspiration from Aristotle's writings. In the stream of anthropological research into the Greco-Roman culture and psychological studies conducted in the Twardowski school, there are similar conclusions about universal human motivation. Here, the anthropologists emphasize the importance of value systems, while in the Twardowski school, the

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[132] Jon Lendon, "Roman Honor," in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World*, ed. Michael Peachin (Oxford University Press, 2011), 377–403.

[133] Janusz Kręcidło, *Honor i wstyd w interpretacji ewangelii: Szkice z egzegezy antropologiczno-kulturowej* (Verbinum, 2013).

[134] Narry Santos, "Family, Patronage and Social Contexts: Narrative Reversal in the Gospel of Mark," *SN* 2–3 (2008): 200–224.

focus is on a universal (all-human) motivational mechanism with a biological basis, although widespread in the high culture of Greek and Roman citizens.[135] In the ancient world, honor had a predominantly collectivist meaning, whereby an individual's honorable actions had a direct impact on the perceived honor of the family or clan; it also influenced the public image of the individual, adding value, importance and a sense of dignity. Translated directly into the recognition and place in the social hierarchy, such individuals enjoyed greater respect, authority and the possibility of social influence, which are inalienable attributes of power.

In other words, honor (especially related to ambition), has always been a constituent element of influence and the potential for control and power, albeit differently exposed and forming different conceptual constellations in the Mediterranean region. It seems very likely that social influence and power constituted a more basic and universal motivational mechanism, for which honor was one of the key areas of possible expression. It is also interesting to observe that both influence and power, as well as the notion of honor fostered a specific perspective on the perception of the world, namely, a dichotomous and even agonistic perception in which there are always two groups, namely, those who are above and those below, those who are recognized and those who are despised, those who are stronger and those who are weaker, et cetera.

The results of the anthropological study proved significant enough to attract the interest of biblical scholars fairly quickly. The honor-shame cultural code could prove to be a useful descriptive and exploratory instrument in analyzing biblical discourse and the social relations of Judaism at the time. This was the case, and particular credit was given in this regard, especially to the team of American scholars forming "The Context Group," with figures such as Bruce Malina, Philip Esler, John Pilch, Jerome Neyrey, Richard Rohrbough, Douglas Oakman and John Elliot.[136]

According to the theory's basic premise, the worlds of Judaism and emerging Christianity were socially and psychologically organized around notions of honor and shame.[137] This code denotes a culturally developed approach to controlling social behavior. An example of this is shame, especially public shame, which was

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[135] Lendon, "Roman Honor."

[136] James Dvorak, "Edwin Judge and Wayne Meeks and Social-Scientific Criticism," in *Pillars in the History of Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Stanley Porter and Zachary Dawson, vol. 3 (Pickwick, 2021), 179–203; Philip Esler, "The Context Group Project: An Autobio-graphical Account," in *Anthropology and Biblical Studies: Avenues and Approach*, ed. Louise Lawrence and Mario Aguilar (Deo, 2004), 46–61.

[137] David Horrell, "The Label Xristianos: 1 Peter 4:16 and the Formation of Christian Iden-tity," *JBL* 126 (2007): 361–81; Karl Kuhn, *Insights from Cultural Anthropology*, Reading the Bible in the Twenty-First Century (Fortress, 2018); John Pilch and Bruce Malina, *Handbook of Biblical Social Values* (Cascade, 2016); Brian Tucker and Coleman Baker, eds., *T&T Clark Handbook to Social Identity in the New Testament* (T&T Clark, 2016).

an effective tool for eliminating undesirable behavior, while honor was associated with desirable behavior and goals, important from the community's perspective.[138] In relation to the Old and New Testaments, such concepts appear not only important for the understanding of basic social processes but even ethical and theological issues. Moreover, according to some researchers, "these values were at the heart of social interactions outside of family and close friendship circles, and indeed held a central place within the self-identity and thought processes of individuals of that era."[139] According to Bruce Malina, the concept of honor mainly emerges in a social environment in which authority (understood as the ability to control and influence others), respect (respect towards those who influence one's life) and gender status (different standards of evaluation of men and women) play an important role. When this is the case, then the concept of honor can be said to be dominant, which he himself defines as "the value of [a] person in his or her own eyes (that is, one's claim to worth) plus that person's value in the eyes of his or her social group."[140] This has, as can be seen, a double meaning. First, as an *ascribed honor*, resulting from ethnicity, clan, descent and family status, which by its nature is not subject to major changes in a person's life. Second, as an *acquired honor*, closely linked to one's conduct and personal achievements, it is not given once and for all, it changes dynamically in different social constellations, and because it can be lost, it requires a constant commitment in order to maintain it. This commitment is closely related to the basic characteristics of the society of that time. These were collectivist societies whose basic principle of social life was group membership. The individual always remained in relation to the group (family, tribe) and it was the group that set the canon of norms and values crucial for the concept of honor.[141] Crossing the norms of the community was a source of shame and consequently condemnation. Therefore, the personality of that time is described as a "dyadic personality."[142]

> A dyadic personality is one that simply needs another continually in order to know who he or she is … the person perceives himself or herself as always

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[138] Lyn Bechtel, "Shame as Sanction of Social Control in Ancient Israel: Judical, Political and Social Shaming," *JSOT* 49 (1991): 47–76.

[139] Collin Petterson, "The World of Honor and Shame in the New Testament: Alien or Familiar?," *BTB* 49 (2019): 5.

[140] Malina, *New Testament World*, 31.

[141] Neyrey and Stewart, *Social World of the New Testament*.

[142] Bruce Malina, "Understanding New Testament Persons: A Reader's Guide," in *Using the Social Sciences in New Testament Interpretation*, ed Richard Rohrbaugh (Hendrickson, 1996), 41–61.

interrelated to other.… Pivotal values of such persons would be honour and shame, not guilt.[143]

This is because guilt has to connect with the individual voice of personal conscience, which in a collectivist culture is shifted towards collective experiences. What is wrong is publicly stigmatised—it becomes a matter of public shame.[144]

The distribution of honor within the community also marked a clear division between that which was one's own and that which was foreign, which in the religion of Israel was rooted primarily in the perception of the sacred and the profane. The sphere of the sacred, in addition to beliefs and practices, included the sacred space and place of worship to which only the chosen people enjoyed access. Other groups, such as proselytes, the disadvantaged (physically, mentally) and illegitimate children, had access to the sacrum with substantial restrictions. Whereas gentiles, representing the profane sphere, were barred from it. Sacred–profane, purity–pollution, clean–unclean drew clear boundaries between the chosen people and the strangers, defining at the same time the attitude towards them.[145] The fact that strangers represented the profane justified an attitude of profound distance and even hostility. This was also true of the apostate Israelites who transgressed the sacred laws of the community. One of the characteristics of social relations understood in this way is the specific function of anger, hatred and contempt as a reaction to dishonoring the community and disgracing it (Jer 13:27; 51:51),[146] which can also be noticed in the contemporary Muslim society.[147] The influence of honor dynamics on group relationships of the time can be observed in many narrative portions of the biblical discourse, especially when analyzed with the assumptions of social psychology.[148] When the political conditions and

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[143] Malina, *New Testament World*, 127–28; Carolyn Osiek, "Woman, Honor and Context in Mediterranean Antiquity," *HTS* 64 (2008): 323–31.

[144] Carol Newsom, "Models of the Moral Self: Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Judaism," *JBL* 131 (2012): 5–25; Richard Rohrbaugh, "Honor: Core Value in the Biblical World," in *Understanding the Social World of the New Testament*, ed. Dietmar Neufeld and Richard DeMaris (Routledge, 2010), 109–26.

[145] Mary Douglas, *Leviticus as Literature* (Oxford Academic, 2001).

[146] John Collins, "The Zeal of Phinehas: The Bible and the Legitimation of Violence," *JBL* 122 (2003): 3–21; Martin Slabbert, "Coping in a Harsh Reality: The Concept of the 'Enemy' in the Composition of Psalms 9 and 10," *HTS* 71 (2015): 1–5.

[147] Mosquera, "Honor and Harmed Social-Image."

[148] Stephen Ahearne-Kroll, "Audience Inclusion and Exclusion as Rhetorical Technique in the Gospel of Mark," *JBL* 129 (2010): 717–35; Coleman Baker, "Social Identity Theory and Biblical Interpretation," *BTB* 42 (2012): 129–38; Jacobus Kok, "Social Identity Complexity Theory as Heuristic Tool in New Testament Studies," *HTS* 70 (2014): 1–9; Pilch and Malina, *Handbook of Biblical Social Values*; William Travis, *Good Works in 1 Peter:*

Israel's socio-cultural environment changed in subsequent centuries, there were changes in the pattern of human relations in which slightly different values prevailed. Many examples can be given, although the most spectacular seems to be precisely the development of Christianity in the first century CE. It disseminates a new definition of the chosen people, cult, sacrifices and the meaning of the holy land. There is a transition to a completely new social reality, requiring the development of new forms of group and individual relationships. The words of Jesus of Nazareth about loving one's enemies were far more likely to be accepted in the Hellenised Palestine of the first century CE than in the Palestine of David's or Ezra's time. At the same time, these words show the erosion of ancient social relations and the diminishing role of hatred or aggression.

This aspect of the honor-shame cultural code also seems to coincide with the theory of cratism, according to which the change in social relations through cultural development and the increasing complexity of social structures has a decisive impact on how a sense of power is achieved through building relationships and connections with others rather than through the display of power and the distinctions between own and stranger, stronger and weaker. The theory of cratism predicts a greater preference for openness and friendship under the conditions of increasing sociocultural complexity, with a tendency to abandon (or at least redefine) aggression, hostility and hatred.

Traditional collectivist societies also respect the strict division between male and female activity domains. Honor belongs to the primarily public sphere and thus is the domain of male activities.[149] It is the man who defends the honor of the family who retaliates cases of family members being dishonored (wife, daughter). The man performs disputes, arguments and representative functions. In contrast, the domain of women's activity is defined by the home, virtue and the private sphere. A woman may by her behavior tarnish her husband's honor, bringing dishonor upon him and herself.[150] This is exactly the picture of gender-typical behavior in the discourse of the Old and New Testaments.[151] One of the most important behavioral patterns regulating social relations described in the Bible is also the challenge–riposte, according to which, one party to an interaction may challenge the honor of the other party with even a public question. If the parties represent a similar status, the other could accept the challenge and defend the honor and/or challenge the honor of the interlocutor with appropriate behavior.

Negotiating Social Conflict and Christian Identity in the Greco-Roman World (Mohr Siebeck, 2014).

[149] Susanna Asikainen, "Masculinities in the Ancient Greco-Roman World," in *Jesus and Other Men: Ideal Masculinities in the Synoptic Gospels*, ed. Susanna Asikainen (Brill, 2018), 19–45.

[150] This is a somewhat simplified depiction of the division of roles by gender, which has been objected to (Osiek, "Woman, Honor and Context").

[151] Osiek, "Woman, Honor and Context."

However, the outcome of such a clash was judged by the environment with the community formulating a "public court of reputation," which emphasizes the social rather than the purely individual aspect of honor.[152] This pattern was common in the Semitic culture of the biblical times. It provides an understanding of the dynamics of interaction not only among the Jews but also between them and the Christians, between the priests and Jesus, the Romans and the apostles, as has also been frequently illustrated in literature.[153] While the challenge–riposte holds a relatively permanent place in the Christianity of the first century, the image of women undergoes some changes. For example, women belong to the circle of Jesus's disciples, and in a soteriological perspective, they are equated with men (Gal 3:28).

One of the most interesting topics related to the dynamics of honor, at least from the perspective of this monograph, seems to be the trial and death of Jesus of Nazareth and his vision of social relations in the context of the prevailing patterns in the Jewish culture of the time. This problem will be discussed later, but it is worth emphasizing that Jesus's message can be read as a form of contestation of the existing order in Israel, an order typical of not only the Semitic but, more broadly, the Mediterranean culture, the patron-client culture, the honor reserved for the pure, the division marked by rules of cult, et cetera.[154] Jesus seemed to create a new type of community and a new type of relationship between people that did not conform to traditional society.[155] It was a kind of socio-religious revolution, or at least that is how it can be read within a dynamic of honor.[156]

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[152] Zeba Crook, "Honor, Shame, and Social Status Revisited," *JBL* 128 (2009): 591–611.

[153] Markus Cromhout, "Identity Formation in the New Testament," *HTS* 65 (2009): 1–13; Crook, "Honor, Shame"; John Pilch, "Insults and Face Work in the Bible," *HTS* 70 (2014): 1–8; Victor Matthews and Don Benjamin, *Semeia 68: Honor and Shame in the World of the Bible* (1996); Lau Te-Li, *Defending Shame: Its Formative Power in Paul's Letters* (Baker Academic, 2020).

[154] Ernest Van Eck, "Mission, Identity and Ethics in Mark: Jesus, the Patron for Outsiders," *HTS* 69 (2013): 1–13.

[155] Rick Talbott, "Nazareth's Rebellious Son: Deviance and Downward Mobility in the Galilean Jesus Movement." *BTB* 38 (2008): 99–113; Gerd Theissen, *Die Jesusbewegung: Sozialgeschichte einer Revolution der Werte* (Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2004); Ernest Van Eck, "When Patrons Are Patrons No More: A Social Scientific Reading of the Rich Man and Lazarus," *HTS* 65 (2009): 1–11; Daniel Aryeh, "Social-Scientific Interpretation of the Parables of Jesus in Luke: A Review of Some Works of Ernest van Eck," *Neot* 55 (2021): 171–91.

[156] Jennifer McClure, "Jesus's Social Network and the Four Gospels: Exploring the Relational Dynamics of the Gospels Using Social Network Analysis," *BTB* 50 (2020): 35–53.

The honor-shame code, despite critical opinions,[157] has received much attention in biblical scholarship. The main thesis concerning the importance of both dimensions of social life described in the Bible seems very convincing.[158] The authors identify not only a rich vocabulary for both concepts (for example, glory, strength, shame, praise, sin, to be blessed, exalted, humbled) or a specific social dichotomy and asymmetry (inferior vs. superior, diminished person versus honored person, hierarchy of honor among gods)[159] but also numerous examples of a similar way of thinking about the world. Interwoven into the honor-shame perspective are the narratives of male-female relationships, in which key features include the protection of women's dignity and image (Deut 22:13–17; 2 Sam 13:11–14); the narratives of Israel's shameful punishment is expressed, for example, in its subjection to the authority of children and boys (Is 3:3–6); Jesus's reference to social asymmetry (Luke 14:11); the nature of relationships within communities,[160] the participation in divine honor by the apostles in the patron-client pattern (Acts 5:41),[161] and even in soteriological thought (Phil 2:6–11; Heb 12:2).[162]

It is rather intriguing that the honor-shame code is commonly attributed to the entire Mediterranean culture. It is applied to the Greek, Roman, Semitic and other societies, although they remain different.[163] And yet they remain very

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[157] Crook, "Honor, Shame"; Luise Lawrence, *An Ethnography of the Gospel of Matthew: A Critical Assessment of the Use of the Honour and Shame Model in New Testament Studies* (Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

[158] David DeSilva, *Despising Shame: Honor Discourse and Community Maintenance in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Society of Biblical Literature, 2008); John Neyrey, *Honor and Shame in the Gospel of Matthew* (Westminster John Knox, 1998); Petterson, "World of Honor and Shame"; Rohrbaugh, "Honor."

[159] Saul Olyan, "Honour, Shame and Covenant Relations in Ancient Israel and Its Environment," *JBL* 115 (1996): 201–18.

[160] John Daniels, "Engendering Gossip in Galatians 2:11–14: The Social Dynamics of Honor, Shame, Performance, and Gossip," *BTB* 47 (2017): 171–79; Mark Finney, "Honor, Rhetoric and Factionalism in the Ancient World: 1 Corinthians 1–4 in Its Social Context," *BTB* 40 (2009): 1–10; Bruce Malina and Pilch John, *Social-Science Commentary on the Deutero-Pauline Letters* (Fortress, 2013).

[161] Jonathan Marshall, *Jesus, Patrons, and Benefactors: Roman Palestine and the Gospel of Luke* (Mohr Siebeck, 2009); John Neyrey, "God, Benefactor and Patron: The Major Cultural Model for Interpreting the Deity in Greco-Roman Antiquity," *JSNT* 27 (2005): 465–92; Kingsley Uwaegbute and Damian Odo, "Ancient Patronage: A Possible Interpretative Context for Luke 18:18–23?," *HTS* 77 (2021): 1–6.

[162] Stanley Porter, "How Do We Define Pauline Social Relations?," in *Paul and His Social Relations*, ed. Stanley Porter and Christian Land (Brill, 2013), 7–33; David Watson, *Honour among Christians: The Cultural Key to the Messianic Secrets* (Fortress, 2010).

[163] Karl Fischer, *Das Urchristentum* (Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1985); John Peristiany, *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediteranean Society* (Chicago University Press, 1966).

different. Moreover, recognizing the continuity of traditions in the Mediterranean, the code is attributed to contemporary societies as well as to those of two thousand years ago. Equally surprising is the identification of the code in many societies of the Far East (China, Japan) and even in South America. Is this not, then, a weakness of the whole construct, which indicates a lack of precision and consequently leads to the misinterpretation of socio-cultural processes? I think not, while the identification of the code in different cultures around the world may be an important indication that at its base lies another more general or universal factor that motivates people to similar actions and organization of social life. Such a suggestion can also be found in various publications, for example, Saul Olyan writes, "In short, honour and shame communicate relative social status which may shift over time."[164] Recently, Colin Petterson proposed a broader theoretical perspective provided by social and evolutionary psychology. According to him, the concept of honor is close to the idea of social status. It is also closely related to the group identification and social comparison processes. The loss of honor is nothing but the loss of status and, therefore, also of a social position. He formulates three theses, two of which are particularly important. First,

> Individuals in both the New Testament honor-shame culture and the contemporary West are driven by social comparison and depend intimately upon the evaluations of others" and second, "the similarities between the biblical and modern worlds can be masked by the former's strongly collectivist aspect.[165]

So, where is the similarity? Well, it lies in the universal social dominance motivation shared by all people. The author refers to a rich tradition of empirical research, mainly psychology, in which social dominance desire is indicated as one of the universal mechanisms regulating social life, regardless of latitude and historical epoch.[166] The way of revealing this motivation has undergone innumerable modifications, but the motivation itself is still present. For example, in societies with a lower level of social complexity or subcultures with a lower level of education, it is possible to mirror the similar but simplified social dynamics of such interactions. In the end, he concludes that the concept of status, as well as "core values of honor and shame … can be subsumed under the broader category of social dominance, a biological/psychological motivational system which underlies each of them."[167]

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[164] Olyan, "Honour, Shame and Covenant," 204.

[165] Petterson, "World of Honor and Shame," 9–10.

[166] Ronald Fischer, "Gene-Environment Interactions Are Associated with Endorsement of Social Hierarchy Values and Beliefs across Cultures," *JCCP* 44 (2013): 1107–21; Jim Sidanius and Felicia Prato, *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression* (Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[167] Petterson, "World of Honor and Shame," 12.

In the context of the Semitic patriarchal culture, which promoted a traditional (stereotypical) set of masculine values such as courage, strength, bravery and competition, these social mechanisms interacted with particular intensity. The agonistic nature of gaining honor, the widespread asymmetry of patron-client relations and social interactions on the principle of challenge—riposte, intensified the dichotomization of the social world and fostered an asymmetrical vision of human relations in which position and power played a fundamental role. These are closely related to the universal human striving for a sense of personal and social strength/power, which should not be linked exclusively to a sense of physical strength or power. Indeed, the concept of power also refers to a sense of influence, prestige or social recognition.[168] This is, moreover, consistent with the work of Pitt-Rivers published in 1966, in which he associates the concept of honor with the notion of social status. I think it matters little whether it is called the universal striving for social dominance or the pursuit of social power; in fact, they are concerned with the fundamentally same human need—albeit manifested rather differently in different parts of the Mediterranean in the form of honor—that had already been identified at the beginning of the twentieth century by Adler and Witwicki as the striving for a sense of power.

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[168] Joseph Marchal, *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation: A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul's Letter to the Philippians* (Society of Biblical Literature, 2006); Petterson, "World of Honor and Shame."

3. Social-Scientific Criticism and Early Judeo-Christian Social World

3.1. The Biblical Social World in the Light of Psychological-Biblical Criticism

3.1.1. Cultural-Historical Psychology

The biblical world has been the subject of psychological analysis since ancient times, throughout the Middle Ages and the modern era. Many of the issues that the authors of biblical books address are essentially psychological (for example, hope, love, forgiveness, anger, and conversion). However, they have usually been considered from the theological perspective, possibly in the light of biblical anthropology. The development of empirical psychology since the end of the nineteenth century has, nevertheless, brought new research opportunities and conceptual instruments. Recently, psychological biblical criticism, after a period of psychoanalysis, has been dominated by a very promising current of research, specifically social-scientific criticism. This current directly refers to the significant tradition of European psychology, albeit dominated by experimental psychology. Unfortunately, this tradition is also ignored or simply unknown to biblical scholars. What is meant here is the current of cultural-historical psychology of Wundt in Germany and Leo Vygotsky in Russia, as well as Ignacy Meyerson and the Annales School in France, which provide an important (and at the same time broader) theoretical background for social-scientific criticism. Including such a background in the psychological research of biblical text makes it possible to regard the results of such research as an important supplement to the empirical base of various subdisciplines of modern psychology (especially social psychology, social cognition, cross-cultural psychology and the cognitive psychology of religion), and consequently to consider them as important contributions to modern psychological thought. I believe that social scientific criticism practised by biblical scholars should have a permanent place in historical and cultural psychology, given the nature of the research being conducted.

Wilhelm Wundt—regarded as the father of cultural-historical psychology with the classic ten-volume work *Völkerpsychologie*—has opened a new chapter

in psychological research, including cultural expressions (language, religion, customs, myths, documents, et cetera). The very term *Völkerpsychologie* had already appeared before, among others, in the works of Wilhelm von Humboldt.[1] *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, founded in 1860 by Moritz Lazarus and Heymann Steinthal, was dedicated to this subject and was published until 1890 and later as *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*.[2] Wundt was not, therefore, the first researcher of these issues,[3] although it was he who gave it an entirely new character.

Although it is known that Wundt contributed to the separation of psychology from philosophy by establishing the laboratory of experimental psychology (mainly physiological psychology) in Leipzig in 1879, he limited the application of the experimental approach mainly to the study of simple mental phenomena such as impressions or perception. The main source of information about the body's reaction was observation and measurement.[4] According to Wundt, the development of psychology required a broader redefinition than simply the introduction of a new methodology, that is, the experiment. While this part of his research is most strongly exposed in the literature, he saw psychology's future in a broader context. The study of the complexity of a person's mental experience and the underlying rules should take into account the historical and cultural context of the person and their place in complex social networks. The psychologist should consider the historical variability of the psychological functioning of both individuals and social groups. Neither the source of empirical data nor the subject of psychological research can be only an isolated subject in the laboratory. In a later period of scientific activity, Wundt adopted a programme of two-track psychology; this took the form of an experimental approach, focused on the individual experience, and a nonexperimental approach, focused on the socio-cultural environment of a human being using historical and statistical methods. It was only by combining the results of both currents of research that it was possible to not only explain the nature of human thinking or feelings but also to discover the rules regulating their development. Wundt did not believe in the possibility of experimenting with higher mental processes expressed at the level of individual/object behavior. Still, he did so mainly because the subject of such research was highly variable and difficult to control experimentally. As he claimed: "the

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[1] Wilhelm Humboldt, *O myśli i mowie: Wybór pism z teorii poznania, filozofii dziejów i filozofii języka* (Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 2002).

[2] The aforementioned Moritz Lazarus (professor at the Universities of Bern and Berlin) as early as 1851, in the article "Über den Begriff und die Möglichkeit einer Völkerpsychologie als Wissenschaft," proposed the creation of a new scientific discipline—*Völkerpsychologie*.

[3] The programme of such psychology was suggested by, among others, Franz Brentano in *Psychologie vom empirischen Standpunkt* from 1874.

[4] Benjamin Ludy, *A Brief History of Modern Psychology* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2007).

mental products of the individual are of too variable a character to be the subject of objective observation. The phenomena gain the necessary degree of constancy only when they become collective."[5] Therefore, the examination of higher mental processes is only possible through the analysis of cultural products using historical methodology, statistics and comparative studies. The main merit of Wundt in historical psychology was to indicate *the social dimension* of human mental processes, although

> Wundt does not seem to have been much concerned with the *synchronic* social psychological dynamics of cognition, emotion, and behaviour in his *Völkerpsychologie* … [he] was much more interested in the question of the *diachronic* historical development of the social psychological processes that ground the development of language, myth, and custom.[6]

I agree with Greenwood's claim that Wundt would be willing to use an introspective experiment to study the social character of cognition, feelings and human behavior. If so, then at least theoretically, there was some room for experimentation within the framework of *Völkerpsychologie*[7] but in a broad sense, that is, including the study of the social character of cognition, emotions and so on. It also seems quite obvious that although the two branches of psychology differed in method (experiment versus historical-comparative research), they did not have to be completely different in terms of the research subject. In such a perspective, research on sacred scriptures, which shows different ways of understanding the world or thinking about social reality over many centuries, can (and should) provide important information about the psychological variability of a person and the social character of their behavior. Such research is, therefore, not only for religious or biblical scholars but is also psychological research *par excellence*, which should complement the results of the experiments.

The first coherent attempt to combine experimental and cultural-historical research was proposed by the Russian psychologist **Lev Vygotsky** (1896–1934),[8]

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[5] Wilhelm Wundt, *Grundriss der Psychologie* (Engelmann, 1897), 21.

[6] John Greenwood, *The Disappearance of the Social in American Social Psychology* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 59.

[7] According to Greenwood, the simplified interpretation of Wundt's psychology as discrediting the possibility of an experimental study of the social dimension of cognition, emotion and behavior (and, consequently, the historical and cultural conditioned) followed a longstanding negation of the social dimension of mental states and human behavior by many American social psychologists. See Greenwood, John "Wundt, Völkerpsychologie and Experimental Social Psychology," *HOP* 6 (2003): 60–78; Greenwood, *Disappearance of the Social.*

[8] The Western world's interest in Vygotsky's psychology only began in the 1960s; Kharkov School and Vygotsky Circle played a vital role in developing Vygotsky's thought.

who studied the cognitive development of an individual and his/her socio-cultural conditions. According to Vygotsky, the development of higher cognitive abilities is possible only thanks to the complex relations of the subject with the surrounding world, especially relations with the cultural world.[9] By assimilating ready-made sets of symbols and cultural signs, the subject shapes mental abilities in a similar manner to previous societies, throughout history. Cultural heritage—and above all, language as a communication tool with a ready-made system of signs that determine the way of thinking about the world—is a key development factor here.[10] Language significantly influences cognitive processes and "changes the course of mental functions"[11]; it allows the individual to move to a higher level of both the organization of one's own activities and the perception of the environment and thinking. The adoption/adaptation of the linguistic system results in higher mental functions "built on the principle of the use of mediated signs, and therefore they are [that is, mental functions] mediated."[12]

The human mind thus has a socio-cultural background, and its development involves two co-ordinated processes: a short-term biological process, responsible for the development of basic cognitive skills, and a historical process of social evolution, which is necessary for the formation of new, qualitatively higher cognitive skills. The examination of cognitive development (and partly also of the evolution of the human mind) was, therefore, of a two-track character for Vygotsky: (1) experimental, concerning the mental development and development of concepts in children; (2) cultural-historical, concerning the mental development of individual in general.[13] In such a perspective, communication and linguistic

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Vygotsky still finds his rightful place in social sciences. See Anton Yasnitsky and Michel Ferrari, "Rethinking the Early History of Post-Vygotskian Psychology: the Case of the Kharkov School," *HOP* 11 (2008): 101–21; Yasnitsky and Ferrari, "From Vygotsky to Vygotskian Psychology: Introduction to the History of the Kharkov School," *JHBS* 44 (2008): 119–45.

[9] "The basis for the development of human psyche is created by a qualitative change of the social situation." Vitaly Rubtsov, "Cultural-Historical Scientific School: The Issues that L. S. Vygotsky Brought Up," *CHP* 12 (2016): 4–14.

[10] Lev Vygotsky, *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes* (Harvard University Press, 1978).

[11] Lev Vygotsky, *Wybrane prace psychologiczne* (Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1971), 49.

[12] Vygotsky, *Wybrane prace psychologiczne*, 59.

[13] Peeter Tulviste, *Cultural-Historical Development of Verbal Thinking* (Nova Science Publishers, 1991). However, Vygotsky integrated the cultural-historical trend into Marxist ideology. "Recognizing the historical (and social) character of verbal thinking, characterized by many specific properties, which are not present in natural forms of thinking and speech of a child, Vygotsky was able to apply to this form of behavior all methodological theses that historical materialism established for all historical phenomena in human society." Ryszard Stachowski, "Lew S. Wygotski: Prekursor psychologii o dwóch obliczach,"

space becomes a crucial area of psychological analysis. For example, both in children and in history, it is possible to identify forms of wishful thinking, magical or prelogical, which seem to disappear in subsequent historical periods and in the process of a child's development, exactly as Vygotsky described it. Certainly, the experimental verification of changes at the individual level (in ontogenesis) is not yet a verification of changes at the cultural-historical level (in phylogenesis), but in the latter case, there is empirical material, for example, in the field of linguistics, anthropology and especially religious history, which can prove such changes. Thus, psychological phenomena and laws obtain a twofold—although not always experimental—complementary verification.[14]

Vygotsky and his collaborators' research has a high explanatory potential. The very idea of combining the verification of the same or similar phenomena in different methodological paradigms brought a new look at the empirical possibilities of psychology and a new perspective on the interpretation of the obtained data. Unfortunately, it must be admitted that, despite the passage of time, this programme has not been continued and developed, which is all the more surprising as there is currently a lot of data in experimental psychology which can be used in a similar methodological scheme.[15] This applies, for example, to cognitive development, the development of thinking about the world, the construction of religious beliefs and their contents, and the evolution of communication or religious experience. These phenomena can be examined not only on the ontogenetic level in the psychologist's laboratory but also on the phylogenetic level in the area of cultural goods and products. Vygotsky's perspective is not only theoretically coherent but also shows clear analogies to the contemporary cognitive science of religion, in which the development of religious thinking, the formation of religious beliefs, or their relation to the social order are important topics and issues within this discipline. Most importantly, however, this research can (and should) be carried out in a complementary way, in which the results of experiments are

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in *Wybrane prace psychologiczne*, by Lev Wygotski, ed. Ryszard Stachowski, vol. 2 (Zysk i Spolka, 2002), 19–39.

[14] Experimental research on thinking and the development of cognitive functions was also carried out by his collaborators: Alexander Łuria (1902–1977), Alexei Leontiev (1903–1979), and others who together form the Vygotsky Circle (Anton Yasnitsky, "Vygotsky Circle as a Personal Network of Scholars: Restoring Connections between People and Ideas," *IPBS* 45 [2011]: 422–57). For Łuria "the cognitive processes of people living in conditions of less complex social and historical systems … are organized quite differently.… They differ considerably in their character and structure" (after Maciej Dymkowski, "O uniwersalności teorii psychologii społecznej," *PS* 2 [2007], 46).

[15] The return and growth of interest in historical and cultural psychology can be seen in recent years among Russian psychologists and in the scientific profile of the *Cultural-Historical Psychology* journal, published since 2005 in Moscow.

combined with the results of historical and cultural research, including research on historical and religious documents.

The French Annales School also played an important role in the study of historical collective consciousness, which was created as a result of the rivalry between the historical German tradition of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and the innovative way French historians understand and practice history (less focused on the individual and more closely related to empirical tradition and social sciences). On the initiative of Lucien Febvre (1878–1956) and Marc Bloch (1886–1944), a new environment of French historians was created with the international and interdisciplinary leading scientific journal *Annales d'Histoire Economique et Sociale*, which has been published since 1929. Bloch, Febvre, Blondel, Elias, Mandrou, Duby, Le Goff, were more or less concerned with the issue of social mentality in connection with different spheres of social life (economy, economy, politics, culture). One of the most significant theoretical inspirations of the school was, of course—although treated selectively—Emile Durkheim's sociological thought, especially his research on social consciousness,[16] understood as the entirety of beliefs, convictions and attitudes shared by members of a given society. From this perspective, collective consciousness, the collective soul (l'âme collective), not only determines a person's consciousness but is also subject to different laws. Therefore, the (individual) consciousness of an entity, dependent on social (collective) consciousness, cannot explain the social facts upon which it depends.[17] Collective consciousness must be examined in relation to the social structure, its institutions and the division of social roles. The problem of collective consciousness and imagination are central categories in the research of Annales' representatives, both in a synchronous and diachronic perspective. The most important conclusion of the ongoing research is that any study of collective mentality, whether expressed in language, customs or religion, must include an analysis of the organization of social life. This is because it fundamentally determines collective consciousness and, at a later stage, individual consciousness.

Ignace Meyerson (1888–1983) also played an important role in the French tradition of the same period, whose works in the field of cultural-historical psychology are characterized by great originality and which, unfortunately, remain mainly available in French. Meyerson is one of Europe's most important representatives and pioneers of historical psycholog.[18] According to Meyerson's main premise, a person's mental life is historically conditioned.

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[16] Emilie Durkheim, *De la division du travail social* (Alcan, 1893).

[17] Emile Durkheim, *Le suicide: Étude de sociologie* (Alcan, 1897); Steven Lukes, *Emile Durkheim: His Life and Work; A Historical and Critical Study* (Stanford University Press, 1985).

[18] Meyerson, born in Warsaw, came from a Jewish family, moved to Paris in 1905, where he studied medicine and sociology. In 1920, he became secretary of Société Française de

> Human behaviour is closely linked to cultural creations and social institutions and, in a broader sense, to the social structure. It is always set in concrete realities; it is an individual of his/her land and of his/her age, entangled in a social and material context.[19]

The subject of psychological research should, therefore, be the study of the psychological functions of a human being, shaped in a historical process and expressed in his socio-cultural activity.[20] Meyerson rejects the belief that cultural products and social institutions can be considered as an expression of permanent mental dispositions and functions. They are subject to change, and with them, the whole world of human culture. The ability to create social life, mental expression by means of material and nonmaterial goods (especially signs), or the ability to create new systems of meanings are clear evidence of the changeability of the human psyche, and at the same time, they are its embodiment. Meyerson quite freely understands the notion of mental functions or categories. He uses the expressions *fonctions psychologiques*, *fonctions de l'esprit*, *catégories psychologiques*, *catégories mentales* interchangeably, without making a precise distinction between them. Sometimes, they are even treated synonymously and can mean will, reason, drives, feelings, perception, language, memory and even a person as a whole.[21] However, the main source of knowledge of these functions/categories is always the analysis of human mental activity in history, which is only possible through the analysis of forms of its expression, that is, through the analysis of works, institutions, customs, language, texts, signs, et cetera. They are, therefore, at the center of historical psychology research, especially language and texts, which provide the fullest access to the world of mental experience.

Meyerson's cultural-historical psychology is actually a proposal for interdisciplinary research on the historical changeability and nature of the human mind, which cannot be artificially isolated from social connections as a separate research

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Psychologie and secretary of the *Journal de Psychologie Normale et Pathologique*. In 1940, together with the representatives of the Annales School (Bloch, Febvre, Mauss), he co-organized the psychological studies conducted by Societe d'Études Psychologiques and contributed to the creation of the *Journée de Psychologie et d'Histoire du Travail et des Techniques*. In 1947, he habilitated at the Sorbonne with a dissertation *Les fonctions psychologiques et les oeuvres* (Psychological functions and their creations), which turned out to be a programmatic text and one of his most important works in historical psychology. See Parot, "Psychology and the Human Sciences in France."

[19] Heinz Happ, "Ignace Meyerson: Ein bedeutender Wegbereiter der Historischen Psychologie," *PG* 1 (1993): 116.

[20] Meyerson, *Écrits 1920–1983*.

[21] Happ, "Ignace Meyerson."

subject.[22] In this light, it seems obvious that the conceptual apparatus of psychology should be combined with those of sociology and history. The relationship between what is psychologically individual and what is psychologically collective is evident here.

> Any separation between the individual and the community contributes to creating a fictitious being: an inner man to whom we lend a natural and biological origin, rendered autonomous of his social bases.… The mind could not be regarded by psychologists as being in the subject but was rather outside the subject.… The mind shows its objective presence in productions, in pieces of work and in traces that must be examined by psychologists.… Meyerson firmly set aside the substantialistic conceptions of the mind, according to which there is a transcendent and ahistorical ego behind human creations; the mind and the ego are not substances in which activities develop: They are those activities.[23]

However, the popularity of Meyerson's psychology declined in the subsequent years due to two key factors. The first was the indication of the Annales School of the possibilities and limitations of using psychology in historical research.[24] The second, which was the most important, turned out to be the mainstream of French psychology, which was already strongly influenced by behaviorism and experimental research, in the light of which, such an ambitious and empirically difficult programme did not find a wider range of supporters.

Summing up the above-mentioned voices of cultural-historical psychology, which are extremely important in European psychology, although they have been marginalized in experimental research, there is no need for special argumentation that they create an exceptionally friendly space for psychological-biblical criticism. The biblical text, which presents a relatively coherent linguistic, mental and social tradition, provides absolutely unique material for such research. It allows capturing the specificity of religious thinking about the world and its evolution. It also enables capturing the social nature of selected psychological processes (as Wundt and Vygotsky would approve of), the changeability and social dimension of the self (as Meyerson and the representatives of the Annales School would say), or the cultural expression of the human psyche in a given historical period (as all supporters of cultural-historical psychology would favor). However, this depends above all on the attitude of biblical scholars themselves: whether they would conduct their research in the isolation of modern psychology, only using its more interesting theories, or whether they would be interested in integrating their

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[22] Jerome Brunner, "Ignace Meyerson and Cultural Psychology," in *The Mind as a Scientific Object: Between Brain and Culture*, ed. Christina Erneling and David Johnson (Oxford University Press, 2005), 402–12.

[23] Parot, "Psychology and the Human Sciences in France," 116–17.

[24] Andre Burguiere, *The Annales School: An Intellectual History* (Cornell University Press, 2008).

research with the results of modern psychological research. Contrary to the general trends in mainstream modern psychology, there has always been room for cultural-historical research, especially in the tradition of European psychology.

3.1.2. Psychological-Biblical Criticism as Part of Social-Scientific Criticism[25]

Psychological reflection on the Bible is a constant element of theological thought, starting with the apostolic fathers, through the fathers of the church, the fathers of the Reformation to the twenty first century. Systematic inquiries in this area came about, as it is commonly accepted, in the nineteenth century, and with it, the treatises of Franz Delitzsch, *System der biblischen Psychologie* (1855), Johann Beck, *Umriss der biblischen Seelenlehre* (1877), and a little later, Scott Fletcher, *The Psychology of the New Testament* (1912). Delitzsch's dissertation is a kind of "opening" or "initiation" of the so-called biblical psychology, whose task was initially to reconstruct the biblical image of human mental life and the spiritual condition of the person. Taking into account various schools and interpretative proposals, it must be stressed that the first half of the twentieth century was dominated by depth psychology. Although Freud himself treated religion as a source of neuroses,[26] Carl Jung saw it as a therapeutic system (*cura animarum*) and a space for the optimal development of the human psyche and even individuation, of which Jesus Christ was to be an example.[27] For a hundred years, probably every possible attempt has been made to interpret the Bible in the light of the influence of the forces of the subconscious – the Oedipus complex, repressed sexuality, archetypes, the self. The evaluation of these analyses is currently ambivalent, from negative (more often among biblical scholars) to positive (more often among psychologists). Even such serious accusations as reductionism of the religious sphere to the dimension of sexuality,[28] the lack of historical awareness,[29] or speculativeness, have not managed to cancel out the contribution of depth psychology to

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[25] The content of this paragraph is similar to the article in Polish: Amadeusz Citlak, "Poza psychologię głębi: Dyskurs biblijny w świetle social-scientific criticism," *BA* 11 (2021): 121–39.

[26] Sigmund Freud, "Czynności natrętne a praktyki religijne," in *Charakter i erotyka* (Wydawnictwo, 1996), 5–14.

[27] Carl Jung, *Archetypy i symbole: Pisma wybrane* (Czytelnik, 1976).

[28] Amadeusz Citlak, "Psychologia historyczna tekstu antycznego: Eugena Drewermanna tiefenpsychologische Auslegung," in *Interpretacja tekstu antycznego*, ed. Amadeusz Citlak (Libron, 2017), 59–76.

[29] David Stannard, *Shrinking History: On Freud and the Failure of Psychohistory* (Oxford University Press, 1980).

biblical studies. The work of Eugen Drewermann[30] (who tried to take into account the achievements of the historical-critical school to a greater extent than his predecessors[31]) and Gerd Theissen (who stressed the need to use other psychological theories),[32] had a great influence upon this. The weakening of the negative attitude towards tiefenpsychologische Exegese also resulted from the publication of the Pontifical Biblical Commission *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church* in 1993, in which psychological interpretation (mainly understood as the depth psychology of Freud and Jung) was considered a valuable tool of exegetic work.[33] There is no doubt, however, that thanks to the depth psychology, more attention was paid to the symbolism of religious language, which was understood as an expression of the unconscious. This type of analysis of the text may also prove valuable on the therapeutic and pastoral level and constitutes a valuable complement to the existential reading of the biblical books in the spirit of Rudolf Bultmann.[34]

Contemporary psychological biblical criticism goes much further than the psychoanalytical tradition, and even the latter is very diverse today and includes many theories and schools of thought only partly related to the classical theories of Freud and Jung.[35] From the point of view of the analyses undertaken in this monograph, special attention should be paid to social-scientific criticism, which makes much more frequent use of empirically proven theories and methodology of contemporary social psychology and sociology.[36] This coherent conceptual

[30] Eugen Drewermann, Tiefenpsychologie und Exegese, 2 vols. (Valter, 1985); Drewermann, *Strukturen des Bösen: Die jahwistische Urgeschichte in psychoanalytischer Sicht* (Schöningh, 1988).

[31] Drewermann was nevertheless criticised by Catholic biblical scholars for selective and superficial use of historical-critical research. See Gerhard Lohfink and Rudolf Pesch, *Tiefenpsychologie und keine Exegese: Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Eugen Drewermann* (Katholisches Bibel Verlag, 1987), and his response to the allegations: Eugen Drewermann, *An ihren Früchten sollt ihr sie erkennen: Antwort auf Rudolf Peschs und Gerhard Lohfinks "Tiefenpsychologie und keine Exegese"* (Valter, 1990).

[32] Gerd Theissen, *Psychologische Aspekte paulinischer Theologie* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993); Theissen, *Erleben und Verhalten der ersten Christen: Eine Psychologie des Urchristentums* (Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2007); Gerd Theissen and Petra von Gemünden, *Erkennen und Erleben: Beiträge zur psychologischen Erforschung des frühen Christentums* (Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2007).

[33] In this document, the psychological interpretation is classified as so-called approaches, as opposed to recognised exegetical methods. This is mainly due to the lack of a clear methodology and research procedures for such an exegesis.

[34] Rudolf Bultmann, *Jesus Christ and Mythology* (Scribner's Sons, 1958).

[35] Ellens and Rollins, *Psychology and the Bible*; Rollins and Kille, *Psychological Insight into the Bible*; Andries Van Aarde, "Progress in Psychological Biblical Criticism," *PaP* 64 (2015): 481–92.

[36] John Pilch, "Psychological and Psychoanalytical Approaches to Interpreting the Bible in Social-Scientific Context," *BTB* 27 (1997): 112–16.

apparatus seems to describe the social realities of the biblical world adequately. It also indicates important but underestimated psychological variables that determine the way of thinking about the world of biblical authors or their social relationships. Thus, new research opportunities have been created, opening up dialogue and broader discussion between representatives of various social sciences. A clear sign of such interest is not only the new publications, which focus on the relationship between the Bible and social sciences, it can also be seen in the profile of international scientific journals, clearly promoting or at least open to social-scientific crticism such as *Journal of Psychology and Theology*, *Journal of Psychology and Christianity*, *Biblical Interpretation: A Journal of Contemporary Approaches*, or *Biblical Theology Bulletin: A Journal of Bible and Culture.*[37]

American biblical scholars, including The Context Group with Bruce Malina and collaborators, mentioned earlier,[38] played a particular role in developing and shaping social-scientific criticism. Malina plugged a very capacious theoretical instrumentarium into the analyses of the biblical text. He "integrated the social scientific theories of Talcott Parsons, Mary Douglas, and Michael Polanyi into a model for understanding first-century Christianity,"[39] presenting their concept in *The New Testament World* (1981) and *Christian Origins and Cultural Anthropology* (1986). As a reminder, Parsons was one of the key founders of the structural-functionalist theory of social systems and social action. Anthropologist Douglas dealt with the role of symbols in culture, while Polanyi proposed an original concept of meaning as a subjective and social construct. The linguistic work of Michael Halliday, in which language is treated as part of a social system, has also played an important role.

Malina and The Context Group's proposal presents a model-based approach, according to which the concept of the model is understood rather broadly and can refer to various patterns of social interaction identifiable in the biblical or Semitic world and which have been discussed more widely in the social sciences. Inspired by sociolinguistic theory, Malina treats language and text as a form of social action rooted in a community's life and its symbolic sphere. The discourse of a community, the narratives, and the meanings of concepts embedded in language comprise this community and, at the same time, express social action. The social

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[37] The first two journals were quite orthodox (confessional) until recently; however, this position seems to be changing (for example, *Journal of Psychology and Theology* has moved its aim and scope to more empirically oriented publications).

[38] Philip Esler, "The Context Group Project: An Autobiographical Account," in Lawrence and Aguilal, *Anthropology and Biblical Studies*, 46–61; James Dvorak, "Edwin Judge and Wayne Meeks and Social-Scientific criticism," in *Pillars in the History of Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Stanley Porter and Zachery Dawson, vol. 3 (Pickwick, 2021), 179–203.

[39] Zachary Dawson, "Bruce J. Malina and Models of Cultural Anthropology," in Porter and Dawson, *Pillars in the History of Biblical Interpretation*, 355.

system, as well as the whole set of behaviors of its members, forms a certain model-structure, which, despite its dynamics, is marked by a relatively high degree of stability, sensitive to all forms of contestation. In a situation of internal tensions aimed at modifying the structure or symbolic space, strong opposition and protective actions are triggered.[40] Anthropological and sociolinguistic assumptions firstly made it possible to consider the biblical text as an expression of social (Jewish, pre-Christian) structure and interaction. Second, they provided a way to interpret it as a symbolic sphere expressing the recognized values and group aspirations.[41] Third, they facilitated the incorporation of social conflict models, which occur when recognized values and order are threatened.[42]

The research of Malina and The Context Group created a promising field for the application of linguistic, cognitive, sociological and psychological theories. At the most general level, this mainly concerned the linguistic picture of the world, institutions and social interactions between Judaism and emerging Christianity at the time. In more specific analyses, the processes of identity construction, social knowledge, group conflict and stereotypical language became the subject of research.[43] By reconstructing the social background of the biblical discourse, the concepts of, inter alia, honor-shame, dyadic personality and patron-client relationship were introduced.[44]

> Contemporary social-scientific approaches rightly view texts as meaningful social discourse, an idea that assumes a shared system of signification … to determine what a text meant, then, requires the interpreter to know as well as possible, not only the historical context, but also the social and cultural context in which the text was constructed.[45]

Social-scientific criticism does not currently represent a homogeneous position. As early as 1993, Elliott, answering the question, "What is social-

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[40] Dvorak, "Edwin Judge and Wayne Meeks and Social-Scientific Criticism."

[41] Pilch and Malina, *Handbook of Biblical Social Values*.

[42] Dawson, "Bruce J. Malina and Models"; Kuhn, *Insights from Cultural Anthropology.*

[43] Bruce Malina, "John's: The Maverick Christian Group the Evidence of Sociolinguistics," *BTB* 24 (1994): 167–82; Malina and Neyrey Jerome, *Calling Jesus Names: The Social Value of Labels in Matthew* (Polebridge, 1988); Brian Tucker, *You Belong to Christ: Paul and the Formation of Social Identity in 1 Corinthians 1–4* (Pickwick, 2010); Tucker and Baker, *T&T Clark Handbook to Social Identity*.

[44] Marshall, *Jesus, Patrons, and Benefactors*; Bruce Malina, "Understanding New Testament Persons: A Reader's Guide," in *Using the Social Sciences in New Testament Interpretation*, ed. Richard Rohrbaugh (Hendrickson, 1996), 41–61; Malina and Jerome Neyrey, *Portraits of Paul: An Archaeology of Ancient Personality* (Westminster John Knox, 1996); Jerome Neyrey, "God, Benefactor and Patron: The Major Cultural Model for Interpreting the Deity in Greco-Roman Antiquity," *JSNT* 27 (2005): 465–92.

[45] Dvorak, "Edwin Judge and Wayne Meeks and Social-Scientific Criticism," 179.

scientific criticism?," pointed to five different research attitudes in the biblical scholarship, which give slightly different priorities to the institutions and social groups of the biblical world, the conditions of everyday life, the economy, the organizational structure and the cultural background. In this way, Elliott even included researchers such as Joachim Jeremias, Martin Hengel, Wolfgang Stegemann, Gerd Theissen, and eventually, the researchers representing The Context Group. Although the thematic complexity in this strand has increased enormously over the last thirty years, there remains a strong interest in the selected social problems or theories.

Leaving aside the impressive conceptual complexity or the diversity of research attitudes in social-scientific criticism, these achievements seem interesting to me mainly for two reasons. First, because of their complementarity to the demands of cultural-historical psychology in Europe. Second, because of the provision of a conceptual instrumentarium capable of describing the transformations and evolution of the social relations which occurred with the arrival of Jesus in the context of Judaism at the time (changes in the social structures, discourse, the meaning of power, honor, et cetera). I will refer to this problem in chapters 4–7; for the moment, I want to underline the great importance of these developments and a certain parallelism with the interpretation of biblical social relations according to the power-dominance proposed in the Twardowski School.

Social-scientific criticism primarily includes psychology, sociology and anthropology, in the light of which attempts are made to describe and explain the social reality of the Old and New Testaments.[46] Since the 1980s, it has been steadily gaining strength, mainly in Europe and the United States to the point where it now achieves two strong research traditions: *biblical social history* and the aforementioned *social-scientific criticism*. The accumulation of data on the biblical social world (social relations, institutions and their transformations) is already so impressive that it simply requires a new language of description provided by empirical social sciences with a rich empirical background. This is simply necessary for a proper understanding of the content of the Bible. Elliott speaks plainly: "Like text criticism, literary criticism, narrative criticism, historical criticism, form criticism, tradition criticism, rhetorical criticism, and the other criticisms of exegesis,

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[46] Coleman Baker, "Social Identity Theory and Biblical Interpretation," *BTB* 42 (2012): 129–38; John Elliott, *Conflict, Community, and Honor: 1 Peter in Social-Scientific Perspective* (Wipf & Stock, 2007); Philip Esler, *The First Christians and Their Social Worlds: Social-Scientific Approaches to New Testament Interpretation* (Routledge, 1994); Jacobus Kok, "Social Identity Complexity Theory as Heuristic Tool in New Testament Studies," *HTS* 70 (2014): 1–9; Petri Luomanen, Ilkka Pyysiainen, and Risto Uro, eds., *Explaining Early Judaism and Christianity: Contributions from Cognitive and Social Science* (Brill, 2007); Pilch, "Psychological and Psychoanalytical Approaches."

social-scientific criticism is an indispensable operation of an interpretive method."[47] This includes first "description of the relevant social data" and next, "explanations of social facts" by formulating hypotheses on possible links and dependencies, which are then verified on the basis of the collected data (to minimize—at least in theory—the interpretative subjectivism of the biblical scholars).

One of the most frequently used theories in recent years is *the social identity theory* Henri Tajfel and John Turner[48] and John Turner's *self-categorisation theory*,[49] according to which one of the basic human aspirations is the need for positive self-assessment, which is achieved mainly through group identification and social identity. This process is connected with the phenomenon of self-categorization (including *self* into a larger category—*we*), which is unfortunately exposed to cognitive errors and simplifications, the most important of which is the phenomenon of accentuation, consisting of the mind accentuating inter-category differences (differences between the *we* and *you/they* categories) and intra-category similarities (*he*, *she* are unified/assimilated within the *we* or *you*/*they* category). Categorization and accentuation lead directly to favoring one's own and disfavoring others, and thus in practice, to stereotypes and prejudices. These are processes so universal and fundamental in social relations that Tajfel and his contributors have found their presence not only in experimental and real group relationships but also in the so-called minimal group paradigm, when people are randomly assigned to imaginary groups.[50] *Self-categorization theory* develops these theses, emphasizing the dynamics of categorisation, which can take place on three levels, depending on socio-cultural conditions (and availability of a given category): identification with the whole humanity, identification with the group-community and conceptualisation of the self as a unique entity. Both theories explain the processes of social identity formation (including the identity of religious groups), relations dynamics, and group conflicts.

In the light of the Old and New Testaments, which describe the history and development of the socioreligious identity of Judaism and early Christianity, the heuristic value of both theories proved to be high. It is important to take into

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[47] Elliot, "From Social Description," 28; David Horrell, "Social Sciences Studying Formative Christian Phenomena: A Creative Movement," in *Handbook of Early Christianity: Social Science Approaches*, ed. Anthony Blasi, Jean Duhaime, and Paul-Andre Turcotte (Altamira, 2002), 3–28.

[48] Henri Tajfel, *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 1982); Henri Tajfel and John Turner, "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior," in *Psychology of Intergroup Relation*, ed. William Austin and Stephen Worchel (Brooks/Cole, 1986), 33–47.

[49] John Turner, *Rediscovering the Social Group: Self-Categorization Theory* (Blackwell, 1987); Turner, "Towards a Cognitive Redefinition of the Social Group," in *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*, ed. John Turner (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 15–39.

[50] Ruppert Brown, Henri Tajfel, and John Turner, "Minimal Group Situations and Intergroup Discrimination," *EJSP* 10 (1980): 399–414.

account the fact that both Israeli and early Christian communities were formed under conditions of a constant desire to maintain their own identity and even a constant struggle to preserve it in the face of both external and internal threats. *Social identity theory* makes it possible to take into account the social dimension of the psychological functioning of Jews and Christians (or better still, Jesus's followers) and refers to processes of an even fundamental nature.[51] This is currently a very promising current of research, represented not so much by psychologists but by biblical scholars.[52] There is also another reason for the usefulness of this theory. It makes it possible to explain consistently social behavior aimed at protecting the image of an in-group and the radicalization or negativization of beliefs about enemies. In other words, it allows us to describe and explain important elements of the social and religious worldview of Jews and Christians.[53] A significant novelty is also the increasingly discussed problem of the presence of a stereotype in the social worldview of biblical authors. According to the *social identity theory*, the threat to identity favors the creation of stereotypes of an enemy or a stranger,[54] which in the Old and New Testaments are often pagans, the unfaithful or apostates. This can be seen in the Old Testament image of pagans,[55] the New Testament image of infidels and even orthodox (non-Christian) Jews.[56]

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[51] Brian Tucker and Aaron Kuecker, eds., *Social Identity Commentary on the New Testament* (T&T Clark, 2020).

[52] Coleman Baker, *Identity, Memory, and Narrative in Early Christianity: Peter, Paul, and Recategorization in the Book of Acts* (Pickwick, 2011); Baker, "Social Identity Theory and Biblical Interpretation," *BTB* 42 (2012): 129–38; Markus Cromhout, "Identity Formation in the New Testament," *HTS* 65 (2009): 1–13; Bengt Holmberg and Mikael Winninge, *Identity Formation in the New Testament* (Mohr Siebeck, 2008); Jacobus Kok et al., eds. *Sensitivity towards Outsiders: Exploring the Dynamic Relationship between Mission and Ethics in the New Testament and Early Christianity*, WUNT 364 (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014).

[53] Raimo Hakola, "Social Identities and Group Phenomena in Second Temple Judaism," in *Explaining Christian Origins and Early Judaism: Contributions from Cognitive and Social Science*, ed. Petri Luomanen, Ilkka Pyysiäinen, and Risto Uro (Brill, 2007), 259–76; Hakola, "The Burden of Ambiguity: Nicodemus and the Social Identity of the Johannine Christians," *NTS* 55 (2009): 438–55; Kok et al., *Sensitivity towards Outsiders*; Rosell Nebreda, *Christ Identity: A Social-Scientific Reading of Philippians 2,5–11* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011).

[54] Such conclusions result from many social psychology theories, such as terror management theory, research into dehumanisation or an essentialistic view of social categories.

[55] Walter Brueggemann, "Stereotype and Nuance: The Dynasty of Jehu," *CBQ* 70 (2008): 16–28; Duncan Macpherson, "The Politics of Preaching the Promised Land for the Canaanites," *PTh* 10 (2009): 71–84.

[56] Alicia Batten, "The Letter of Jude and Graeco-Roman Invective," *HTS* 70 (2014): 1–9; Raimo Hakola, "Social Identity and a Stereotype in the Making: The Pharisees as Hypocrites in Matt 23," in *Identity Formation in the New Testament*, ed. Bengt Holmberg and

The issue of stereotypical biblical discourse is, in my opinion, one of the most critical issues of contemporary exegesis and is essential for assessing the authenticity and historical credibility of selected biblical narratives.[57] Furthermore, the identification of psychological mechanisms, probably responsible for mutual religious antagonisms (Jewish-Christian or attitudes towards gentiles and the apostates), could help to develop an ecumenical dialogue between representatives of Judaism and Christianity or indicate the relevant sources for religious antagonisms and intolerance.[58]

The analysis of the social worldview of biblical authors from the perspective of the social psychology theory creates particular opportunities in conjunction with psycholinguistics and social cognition, which offer their research tools. Their use allows not only a theoretically and methodologically coherent analysis of biblical discourse but also enables comparison and incorporation of the obtained results into the whole tradition of empirical research and ways of thinking about the social world both today and in history (as the representatives of cultural-historical psychology would favor). This trend includes quantitative and qualitative research on the linguistic image of the world, cognitive styles, and stereotypes, which can be successfully studied using frequency quotients, Gun Semin's and Klaus Fiedler's linguistic category model and attribution processes.[59] The linguistic representation of the world can, of course, be studied in many ways, including through the structural analysis of biblical narratives (with the protagonist, the enemies, the target, obstacles).[60] Combining the linguistic image of the world with the principles of either social identity theory or other theories of social psychology could significantly enrich our knowledge of the social cognition of biblical authors. It also seems promising to include the achievements of narrative social

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Mikael Winnige, WUNT 227 (Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 123–39; Jeffrey Lamp, "Is Paul Anti-Jewish? Testament of Levi 6 in the Interpretation of 1 Thessalonians 2:13–16," *CBQ* 65 (2003): 408–27.

[57] According to the rule: the more stereotypical, the more typical for the realities of the time (and thus more authentic), but at the same time, they are not necessarily historically credible (for example, the negative stereotype of the Jews reflects antagonism and conflict but not necessarily historical facts).

[58] Philip Esler, "Intergroup Conflict and Matthew 23: Towards Responsible Historical Interpretation of a Challenging Text," *BTB* 45 (2015): 38–59; Andrew Kille, "Unconsciously Poisoning the Roots: Psychological Dynamics of the Bible in Jewish/Christian Conflict," *PaP* 53 (2015): 291–301.

[59] Amadeusz Citlak, "Problem nadróżnicowania językowego w dokumentach historycznych," *SPs* 52 (2014): 40–56; Citlak, "Linguistic Image of the Non-Christian Jews in Early Christian Narratives as a Function of Inter-Group Conflict," *SR* 52 (2019): 165–176, 251–64.

[60] Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (University of Toronto Press, 2002); Algirdas Greimas, *Structural Semantics: An Attempt at a Method* (University of Nebraska Press, 1983).

psychology in psychological biblical criticism, and with it categorical content analysis,[61] which is related to the rich tradition of linguistic cross-cultural research on keywords and conceptual categories organising the mental space of language users.[62] The categorical analysis of keywords and the analysis of semantic fields have been at the heart of reflection on the Bible since antiquity. In ancient times, Jewish rabbis and early Christian writers worked on detailed juxtapositions of terminology and the concepts for the central themes of the Old and New Testaments, and nowadays, the study of semantic fields is based on detailed exegesis, classical philology and even the findings of philosophical hermeneutics. Modern biblical dictionaries very often present the results of many years of analysis of selected words and their semantic networks, etymologies and contexts. Incorporating this tradition into social cognition and research on the linguistic representation of social beliefs creates a real opportunity to reach the world of the mental experiences of the authors of biblical books and incorporate them into contemporary psychological knowledge.

In recent years, very valuable results have been acquired through the analysis of the biblical text in the light of cognitive science and especially the cognitive science of religion. This results not only from earlier research conducted in the paradigm of social identity theory, of which the cognitive aspect is an important element, but also from the heuristic value of this new discipline, which religious and biblical scholars increasingly clearly perceive.[63] The assumptions of cognitive science open up a substantive discussion on such weighty issues as the nature of religious beliefs, the image of God, the religious worldview and mentality, and their evolution and relations with socio-cultural conditions. Representatives of the cognitive science of religion not only offer valuable conceptual instruments but also interesting results of research on religion conducted by psychologists,

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[61] Paul Anderson, "The Suffering Servant of Isaiah in Cognitive-Critical Perspective," in *Psychological Hermeneutics for Biblical Themes and Texts: A Festschrift in Honor of Wayne G. Rollins*, ed. Harold Ellens (T&T Clark, 2014), 173–96; Janos Laszlo, "Narrative Language as an Expression of Individual and Group Identity: The Narrative Categorical Content Analysis," *SAGE OPEN* 3 (2013): 1–12; James Liu and Laszlo, "A Narrative Theory of History and Identity: Social Identity, Social Representations, Society, and the Individual," in *Social Representations and Identity: Content, Process, and Power*, ed. Gall Moloney and Iain Walker (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 85–107.

[62] Anna Wierzbicka, *Understanding Cultures through Their Key Words: English, Russian, Polish, German, and Japanese* (Oxford University Press, 1997).

[63] Todd Tremlin, *Minds and Gods: The Cognitive Foundations of Religion* (Oxford University Press, 2010); Gerd Theissen and Petra von Gemünden, eds., *Erkennen und Erleben: Beiträge zur psychologischen Erforschung des frühen Christentums* (Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2007).

linguists, anthropologists and historians.[64] This also provides an opportunity for interdisciplinary research in terms of the social conditions of literary genres (their *Sitz im Leben* and *Formgeschichte*) and the historical effect (*Wirkungsgeschichte*). Many of the issues present in biblical discourse can win a new perception and a new place in religious research in general. One of the most interesting heuristic proposals is the theory of the mind, which is the evolutionary ability to perceive and understand other people's motivations or goals and the ability to go beyond one's own cognitive perspective and accept other people's perspectives. The research of the theory of mind has shown that it is subject to species and individual evolution.[65] This is directly related to the manner in which ethics are understood, collective responsibility, sense of community, the division between in- and out-group members, the meaning of empathy and group emotions.[66] The application of the achievements of the cognitive science of religion has enabled us to better understand the meaning of early Christian rituals as well as the formation of social networks and the development of Christianity.[67] A promising area of research is also the analysis of biblical characters in the light of cognitive theories, which, compared to psychoanalytical interpretations,[68] seem far less speculative and more convincing.[69] In short, from a cognitive perspective, fundamental issues of the religious reality of the biblical world can be reinterpreted,

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[64] Leonardo Ambasciano, "What Is Cognitive Historiography, Anyway? Method, Theory, and a Cross-Disciplinary Decalogue," *JCH* 4 (2019): 136–50; Czachesz, *Cognitive Science and the New Testament*; Petri Luomanen, "Cognitive Science in Biblical Studies: An Overview," *CB* 15 (2011): 15–32; Luomanen, Pyysiainen, and Uro, *Explaining Early Judaism and Christianity*; Paul Robertson, "Shadows in the New Testament: Cognitive Approaches to Early Christian Literature," *JCH* 4 (2019): 199–222; Robertson, "Writing as Thinking in Paul's Letters: Neurological and Cognitive Approaches to Understanding the Conceptual Differences of Paul and His Audience," *JCH* 6 (2022): 41–64.

[65] Jesse Bering, "The Existential Theory of Mind," *RGP* 6 (2002): 3–24; Kurt Gray, Liane Young, and Adam Waytz, "Mind Perception Is the Essence of Morality," *PI* 23 (2012): 101–24.

[66] Czachesz, *Cognitive Science and the New Testament*; Luther Martin, "The Promise of Cognitive Science for the Study of Early Christianity," in Luomanen, Pyysiainen, and Uro, *Explaining Early Judaism and Christianity*, 95–114; Theissen and von Gemünden, *Erkennen und Erleben*.

[67] Equally interesting are, for example, the attempts to explain the expansion and development of Christianity based on the evolution of the mind or the developmental theory of epidemics. Luomanen, "Cognitive Science in Biblical Studies"; Istvan Czachesz, "Network Analysis of Biblical Texts," *JCH* 3 (2016): 43–67; Czachesz and Uro, *Mind, Morality and Magic*.

[68] Hanna Wolff, *Jesus der Mann: Die Gestalt Jesu in tiefenpsychologischer Sicht* (Radius, 1984).

[69] Paul Anderson, "The Origin and Development of the Johannine Egō Eimi Sayings in Cognitive-Critical Perspective," *JSHS* 9 (2011): 139–206; Luther Martin and Jesper Sorensen, eds. *Past Minds: Studies in Cognitive Historiography* (Equinox, 2011).

provided that the researcher has the appropriate empirical background (material, behavioral, linguistic, textual).[70]

3.1.3. Cross-Cultural Psychology

From the very beginning, psychological-biblical criticism has faced the problem of the adequacy of theories that are attempted to be applied for research on biblical discourse. However, they were generally developed in European and Western culture in the twentieth and twenty first centuries. Although most psychologists are aware that their theories do not have to be universal, historically or culturally, in practice there is—not so rarely—an uncritical transfer of twentieth century psychology to the ancient Semitic world. However, it is assumed that the procedure of using theories should be preceded by their appropriate modification and adaptation to the social world of the Bible, both at the level of concepts and methodology. *Sitz im Leben* of the ancient text simply forces such modifications.

The selection of adequate theories facilitates the dynamically developing current of cross-cultural psychology, the task of which is to empirically verify their universality and identify psychological diversity in various world cultures. It has been shown here many times that the theories of contemporary psychology are limited geographically and even with regard to time;[71] therefore, they should be applied selectively or after appropriate modification. For example, the cultural universality (as originally thought) of Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance[72] proved to be much lower in so-called collectivist societies (for example Japan, China) than in the individualistic societies (for example USA, England) in which this theory was developed; furthermore, there are doubts about the impact of certain psychological rules in history.[73] Cross-cultural psychology allows us to move from the level of individual description to the level of cultural description. Such a perspective was not previously provided by social psychology. Moreover, this trend tries to identify such variables that determine the psychological diversity of

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[70] Matt Rossano, "The Religious Mind and the Evolution of Religion," *RGP* 10 (2006): 346–64.

[71] Paweł Boski, *Kulturowe ramy zachowań społecznych* (PWN, Academica Wydawnictwo SWPS, 2009); David Matsumoto and Linda Juang. *Culture and Psychology: People around the World* (Cengage Learning, 2017); Richard Nisbett, *The Geography of Thought* (Free Press, 2004).

[72] Festinger, *Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*.

[73] A typical example is the interpretation of the behavior of people of different cultures in the light of classical psychoanalysis (for example, the Oedipus complex). The universal versus local character of the assumptions of psychoanalysis has already been described by Bronisław Malinowski, who studied the tribes of Oceania (Bronislaw Malinowski, *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* (Routledge, 2001); also Matsumoto and Juang, *Culture and Psychology*).

representatives of particular cultures and ethnic groups. The human mind—the product of many variables, mainly biological and socio-cultural processes—is subject to different rules in different parts of the world, obtaining a different way of organising psychological processes. In the context of the biblical social world discussed here, two issues are important in the empirical part: Shalom Schwartz's *map of cultural values* and Geert Hofstede's *psychological cultural dimensions*.

The usefulness of the heuristic advantage of Schwartz's map for the biblical or historical discourse stems from the fact that it indicates such values that play a dominant role and organize the psychological functioning of people in different cultures of the world. Schwartz,[74] after examining over seventy-five thousand people in sixty countries of the world, distinguished values from the individual and cultural functioning level. The distribution of cultural values has a circular structure and consists of forty five values grouped in seven dimensions (or types of values): rootedness (including respect, obedience, family, tradition, piety, courtesy), hierarchy (modesty, power, strength, wealth), mastery (ability, ambition, success, influence, independence), affective and intellectual autonomy (pleasure, joy of life, exciting life/freedom, curiosity, creativity), egalitarianism (equality, justice, honesty, loyalty) and harmony (unity with nature, world peace, environmental protection). Dimensions that are adjacent to each other in this circular structure are positively correlated with each other, and dimensions that are opposite each other correlate negatively; for example, egalitarianism correlates negatively with hierarchy, as does autonomy with rootedness and harmony. The whole system is crossed by three lines: culture of autonomy versus culture of rootedness, hierarchy versus egalitarianism and mastery versus harmony. The first refers to the conceptualisation of the individual and his place in the group, the second to the understanding of power, and the third defines the attitude toward the world and nature. Interestingly, modern Israel and Palestine, as well as Muslim countries, are quite high up in hierarchy and rootedness. On the opposite dimensions, namely, intellectual and affective autonomy, are Switzerland, Sweden, Germany, and England.

The above juxtaposition probably makes it possible to place the Semitic world on this map with a high degree of accuracy, although this is a research question which requires separate analyses. The values of rootedness seem to very clearly define the world of biblical Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Perhaps it is a characteristic feature of religion as a whole that stabilises the traditional moral and social order. Huismans's research[75] is also consistent with this, although it

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[74] Shalom Schwartz, "A Theory of Cultural Values and Some Implications for Work," *APIR* 48 (1999): 23–47; Shalom Schwartz and Lilah Sagiv, "Identifying Cultures Specifics in the Content and Structure of Values," *JCCP* 26 (1995): 92–116.

[75] Sipke Huismans, "The Impact of Differences in Religion on the Relations Between Religiosity and Values," in *Journeys into Cross-Cultural Psychology*, ed. Anne-Marie Bouve et al. (Swets & Zeitlinger, 1994), 255–67.

concerns the present rather than ancient times. The ancient world of Jewish and Christian culture (and even of seventh century Islam in its Quranic version) also seems to remain close to the dimension of hierarchy, although more so because of the importance of power and authority than an extensive or developed system of power. On the opposite side of the hierarchy (according to the circular construction of the model) is egalitarianism, which in this context should be theoretically a minor or poorly identified value. However, paradoxically, the component of egalitarianism played a key role in the teaching of the Old Testament prophets, Jesus of Nazareth and the apostles (and Muhammad). After all, all three religions' claims of equality and social justice were the central messages, ensuring their extraordinary vitality and missionary success. To some extent, they went beyond and even overturned the social order of the time, which in practice led first to internal conflict, then crisis, and finally to the breakdown of the culture of the time. Egalitarianism versus hierarchy, I believe, indicate a certain duality of the Jewish and Arab-Muslim worlds of the time and moreover, suggest two parallel orders: the real (socio-cultural) order, in which a new ideology was born, and the new ("ideal") order, the representatives of which being the founders of these religions.

There is no need to prove that even a general identification of the above-mentioned values in the biblical discourse could significantly help in assessing the usefulness of selected psychological theories in exegetic work. Schwartz's findings (and cross-cultural psychology in general) also make it necessary to look a little bit critically at the use of such theories in biblical scholarship that are individualistically oriented and explain psychological variability exclusively or mainly in the light of individual processes, which in the case of biblical tradition are usually subordinated to group processes.

The above-mentioned cultural dimensions of Hofstede are also of great heuristic value.[76] It includes the power distance index (including the degree of social hierarchy, the number of levels of power or the distance between the two sides of the relationship), masculinity versus femininity (concerning soft versus hard psychological characteristics, masculinity: assertiveness, strength, domination, masculinisation of the self, a higher degree of socially accepted aggression), collectivism versus individualism (collectivism is characterized by a sense of integration and strong ties between the two sides of the relationship, loyalty, a strong family position, traditional division of roles and values, a lack of division into private and public sphere) long time orientation (referring to such a constellation of behavior and features as perseverance, austerity, ordering) and the

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[76] Gerd Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions and Organizations across Nations* (Sage, 2001); Boski, *Kulturowe ramy.* As in the case of Shalom Schwartz, this was a multicultural study carried out in the 1970s, which was later continued in the international GLOBE project.

avoidance of uncertainty (such a type of organization of the cultural environment that minimizes the subjective sense of complexity of the world and reduces the resulting mental tension). There is no need to discuss these in detail, but the first three dimensions seem important from the perspective of biblical tradition.

The biblical social world is very much reminiscent of Hofstede's definition of the distance of power, and this applies to quite a high degree; the disparity between master and servant was significant at the time, and gerontocracy was not criticised. The biblical phrase "You shall rise up bevor the grayhaeded and honor the aged, and you shall revere your God" (Lev 19:32) is a typical example. The real power was held by the elders or the council of elders, even in the first centuries of our era. Moreover, the power distance seems to be increasing with time, as the state apparatus develops and new forms of social hierarchy appear. In the existence of the tribes, the number of power levels was small, but the position of a leader, very often understood in terms of election and divine anointing, increased that distance enormously. The culture of former Israel was very similar or reflected the democratic order. It was also a male, patriarchal world. The group's survival depended exclusively on military strength and the defence capabilities of the tribe and the state; women played a secondary role and were practically irrelevant in the political or cultural world. The key role was played by "hard" stereotypical male characteristics, including the acceptance of domination and even certain forms of aggression. Although there were significant changes in early Christianity in relation to women, in general, it is still patriarchal.

The Semitic biblical world is also undoubtedly an example of a collectivist culture with a whole spectrum of associated mental functioning characteristics. In a collectivist culture, what counts above all is the social good and community. Loyalty and obedience are the overriding values, and the individual's own aims give way to those of the group. The community defines and determines an individual's mental life, offering him/her support and protection, which is highly conducive to building lasting group ties and a sense of belonging. An important feature of collective culture is, of course, gerontocracy. Elders enjoy great recognition and position in the group and often have real power in it. Collectivism also determines the concept of self—it is thus immanently and organically linked to the social space created on its own and, at the same time, clearly cut off from strangers. It is the so-called interdependent self, "perceived as interdependent with the surrounding context … self in relation to the other person."[77]

The ability to build relationships with others indicates that the subject has reached social maturity, which results in perceiving oneself as an element of a broader interpersonal relationship and not as an independent being. The most important characteristics of the self are transferred to the community and public

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[77] Hazel Markus and Shinobu Kitayama, "Culture and the Self: Implications for Cognition, Emotion, and Motivation," *PR* 98 (1991): 227; Hazel Markus and Shinobu Kitayama, "Culture, Self, and the Reality of the Social," *PI* 14 (2003): 277–83.

sphere, shared with the community. Personal opinion and one's own point of view ceases to play a key role, and therefore, one's own opinion—crucial from the point of view of individualistic culture—gives way to that of the general public. In other words, the interdependent self is sociocentric, collective, contextual, and relational, and its constitutive feature becomes situational variability. It does not have its separate place outside the community. For such people, relationships with others are most important; they want to find a place in the community and gain its acceptance, while rejection and social condemnation are the greatest failures.

Collectivism directly impacts group ethics, which, in this case, is a collectivist ethic. An unquestionable value and ethical good is the community and everything that serves its integrity or survival.[78] The actions against these values are treated as a betrayal, a threat to the community, and therefore as a moral evil, and in appropriate conditions, a religious evil, that is a sin. Conformism and, above all, collective responsibility become desirable values. The social world of the Old and New Testaments is a very clear example of this, although (as I mentioned earlier) the idea of collective responsibility was systematically denied by the activities of prophets and later by Jesus and Paul.[79] Community values are nonnegotiable, religious values become absolute, ethical and religious orders apply to everyone (often even "strangers"), and exceeding them has resulted in severe punishments, including the death penalty. In such a world, the criminal is seen as an enemy of the community and its values who does not deserve respect. What is more, in the case of criminals, it was even advisable to show them contempt, hostility or even hatred or overt aggression. It was a natural protective measure for the sustainability of the community.[80] This can frequently be found in biblical books: hatred and contempt shown to Jesus on the cross, the procedure of public stoning, use of the language of hatred (or at least hostility, dehumanization). Collectivism influenced the emotional patterns prevailing in the community; it determined the emotions supporting the bonds and relationships within the group, such as respect and humility towards the elders or authorities, love and fraternity between members, but also shame and remorse, which confirmed awareness of the moral canon (and hatred and contempt towards criminals

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[78] Harry Triandis, *Individualism and Collectivism* (Westview, 1995); Isaac Young et al., "A Multidimensional Approach to the Relationship between Individualism-Collectivism and Guilt and Shame," *Emotion* 21 (2021): 108–22.

[79] The remnants of the idea of collective responsibility are, however, visible in the New Testament, including The letter of Paul to the Romans, which proclaims the fall of all people in the first Adam and the redemption of humanity in the second Adam. Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 28 nn.

[80] Bogdan Wojciszke, "Parallels between Competence versus Morality: Related Traits and Individualistic versus Collectivistic Values," *EJSP* 27 (1997): 245–56; Paul Spicker, *Thinking Collectively: Social Policy, Collective Action and the Common Good* (Bristol University Press, 2019).

or infidels). The social identity theory leads to the same conclusion: the stronger the group ties and the strong sense of identity, the easier it is to have prejudices and negative emotions about the threat.

As collectivism and the sense of collective responsibility have changed in the history of Israeli culture, the nature of social relations and the emotional patterns in communities have also changed. An interesting, sociological-psychological interpretation of such changes in the Judaeo-Christian communities was proposed as early as the 1970s by the German biblical scholar Gerd Theissen (although his theory is not from the area of cross-cultural psychology[81]). He combines changes in social relations with changes in the religion of Judaism at the turn of the era. According to him, the impossibility of expressing rebellion and aggression against the Roman invader and, at the same time, the growing religious-ethical radicalism of various Jewish groups in the first century created an ideal environment for the development of the new ethos proclaimed first by Jesus of Nazareth and then by his followers. One of the significant changes in the existing ethos was the function of aggression. The new religious movement initiated by him contributed to the reformulation of aggression and its expression in a new way for the following purposes: (1) to eliminate aggression by intensifying opposing emotions, (2) to shift the object and subject of aggression, (3) to internalise aggression, (4) to symbolise aggression. The first was to radicalise the commandment of loving thy neighbour, which had not previously been applied to foreign enemies. Aggressive tendencies were directed in the opposite direction: "Elimination of aggression means here: to condone, forgive and reconcile.… So the energy that was previously at the disposal of the impulses of revenge should now serve the opposite impulses."[82]

In the second case, changing the object of aggression meant moving it to another object, so it would be a classic transference according to Freud's theory. Thus, for example, aggression against the Romans could be transferred to demons and forces against God—the Romans now appeared to be tools of their insidious plan. Changing the subject of aggression was expressed in giving up acts of self-aggression and transferring it to, for example, the person of Jesus or other "executors" of God's will, who would express such aggression in acts of judgment or condemnation (or example in Christ at the final judgement). In the third case, aggression against enemies becomes a quest for self-perfection. In addition to the activities of the prophets calling for repentance, this can also be seen in the teachings and life of Jesus (renouncing violence, praying for enemies). According to Theissen, "self-criticism" in the early Christian ethos became an element of handling the aggression inflicted by strangers and Christians' aggression against these

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[81] Gerd Theissen, *Soziologie der Jesusbewegung: Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Urchristentums* (Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1997); Theissen, *Die Jesusbewegung: Sozialgeschichte einer Revolution der Werte* (Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2004).
[82] Theissen, *Soziologie der Jesusbewegung*, 139.

strangers. The fourth case points out the scapegoat as a symbolic accumulation of individual or group aggression (expressed as crimes or offences). The scapegoat obviously became Christ, who

> consciously took on the role of sacrifice for many.… The goat takes over the aggression of the group, its offences against the norms; but the Crucified One also takes over the aggressiveness of the norms, the law and the conscience: the curse of the Law, as Paul says.[83]

The reference to Freud's theory by Theissen is somewhat debatable, but the idea of changes in expressing aggression seems interesting and generally consistent with changes in social relations. I will come back to this point in the empirical part—it allows us to draw a few conclusions that coincide with the theory of cratism.

To summarize, the dimensions of culture and the values associated with them are crucial in trying to identify the basic psychological characteristics of the Semitic biblical world. They can be a valuable tool for researching both specific features of mentality and the specific social relations of ancient Judaism or Christianity. They can be helpful for representatives of psychological-biblical criticism to make an initial assessment of the values or cultural dimensions in which the biblical discourse was created before applying selected psychological theories. Often, a researcher assumes that a theory or law of psychology fits into the realities of the Semitic world, and that is where it ends. Such a practice has often proved effective, but sometimes, it has led to discrediting or rejecting laws and theories of psychology among biblical scholars or historians. These theories have limitations and can only be applied if they are adequate for the assumed empirical realities.[84] Unfortunately, cross-cultural psychology is not yet explored on the ground of the biblical books, although, in my opinion, it seems to be only a matter of time.

To some extent, this gap is filled by the theory or, rather, the theoretical concept of honor-shame cultural code. It has been widely used for many years to analyse the social world described in the Bible. The basic assumptions of honor-shame code have already been discussed in section 2.2.4; therefore, it will not be presented here. It should only be added that it uses the concept of honor, which seems to be parallel to the concept of cratism understood as power-dominance.

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[83] Theissen, *Soziologie der Jesusbewegung*, 151–52.
[84] Maciej Dymkowski, "O uniwersalności teorii psychologii społecznej," *PS* 2 (2007): 49–61.

3.2. The Biblical Social World and Its Transformations

3.2.1. From Tribe to State

Werner Schmidt[85] distinguishes five periods in the history of Israel: nomadic pre-history (fifteenth–thirteenth centuries BCE), pre-state times (twelfth–eleventh centuries BCE), the time of monarchy (1000–597 BCE), the exile–Babylonian captivity (587–539 BCE) and postexilic times (539–64 BCE), although the last two periods can be treated as one. John Bright,[86] on the other hand, distinguishes the period of patriarchs and semi-nomads (eighteenth–thirteenth centuries BCE), the period of tribal community formation (twelfth–ninth centuries BCE), the time of monarchy and the national formation (tenth–eighth centuries BCE), the period of state crisis (eighth–sixth centuries BCE), the exile and postexilic times (sixth–fifth centuries BCE), and the period of Judaism (fifth–second centuries BCE). Similarly, Michael Grant,[87] who mentions the period of patriarchs and judges as the history of semi-nomads and the formation of tribes (eighteenth/seventeenth–ninth centuries BCE), the period of monarchy (tenth century BCE), the demise of the state and the two kingdoms (ninth–sixth centuries BCE), the period of Babylonian and Persian rule (sixth–fifth centuries BCE), the Greek period and the independence of the Israelites (fourth–second centuries BCE), and the Roman period (from 63 BCE). However, Mario Liverani considers the periodisation of Israel to be somewhat different,[88] He underlines the discrepancy between biblical records and "ordinary history" (facts), against which all old Israeli reports should be assessed. He claims that much of Israel's history described in the Old Testament is a kind of confession of faith and a politically legitimate vision of history. Although similar conclusions can be found in most studies on the subject, Liverani treats Israel's history mainly as a result of the global changes in the Middle East, strongly abstracting from the Old Testament vision of Israel's history. Therefore, he distinguishes the transition period connected with the social and political crisis in the eastern part of the Mediterranean basin (thirteenth–twelfth centuries BCE), the period of creation of new forms of tribal settlements and organizations (twelfth–eleventh centuries BCE), the period of creating the state (tenth century BCE), the period of two kingdoms (end of the tenth century–end of the seventh century BCE), the period of Assyrian and Babylonian rule (seventh–sixth centuries BCE), and finally, the transition period of Israel connected with the Babylonian captivity, diaspora and reconstruction of statehood after the captivity. A considerable proportion of the Old Testament narratives, such as the history of

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[85] Werner Schmidt, *Einfuhrung in das Alte Testament* (De Gruyter, 1995).
[86] John Bright, *A History of Israel* (Westminster John Knox, 2000).
[87] Michael Grant, *Dzieje dawnego Izraela* (PIW, 1991).
[88] Mario Liverani, *Nie tylko Biblia: Historia starożytnego Izraela* (Wydawnictwu Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2010).

the conquest of Canaan, the description of the institution of the king and the function of the law, would take shape during the exile and postexilic period. The period of several centuries also included a process of changes that could be described as a transition "from hunter-gatherer society … to the advanced agrarian phase," and the early form of Israel's existence "as a frontier society, as a way of describing the balance between the tendency of tribalization and monarchy in Israel."[89] Consequently, this led to profound changes in the social functioning of Israel, which I will mention later.

Regardless of the above-mentioned differences in the periodisation of the history of Israel, the belief that there is a slow transition from nomadic and semi-nomadic groups to tribal formations with increasingly complex organization and subsequent transformation of the tribal organization into a state with the institution of the king in the tenth century BCE remains common to all authors, not only those mentioned above.[90] Later in history, the state of Israel was politically collapsing, and passing under the rule of foreign states with impressive cultural achievements and a much more complex organization of social life. These were mainly Assyria, Babylonia (seventh and sixth centuries BCE), Persia (end of sixth and fifth centuries BCE), and from the fourth century BCE, the Greece of Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic world. It is especially important from the point of view of this research that the vast majority of Old Testament texts were written in the late period of tribal organization and mentality and later in the times of monarchy and its demise (from eleventh/tenth centuries BCE to sixth century BCE).[91]

The patriarchs of Israel, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and his sons, therefore, represent nomadic and semi-nomadic groups. They were most likely clan leaders, usually wandering from the desert area with their families in search of better living conditions. According to Bright, the clans under the command of the patriarchs,

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[89] Philip Esler and Anselm Hagedorn, "Social-Scientific Analysis of the Old Testament: A Brief History and Overview," in *Ancient Israel: The Old Testament in Its Social Context*, ed. Filip Esler (Fortress, 2008), 27. Esler refers to the works of Gerhard and Jean Lensky, *Human Societies: An Introduction to Macrosociology* (McGraw-Hill, 1996), Norman Gottwald, *Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel, 1250–1050 BCE* (Sheffield Academic, 1999), among others.

[90] Gösta Ahlstrom and Diana Edelman, *The History of Ancient Palestine from the Paleolithic Period to Alexander's Conquest* (Sheffield Academic, 1993); Joseph Callaway, "Osiedlenie się w ziemi Kanaan: Okres sędziów," in *Starożytny Izrael: Od czasów Abrahama do zburzenia Jerozolimy przez Rzymian*, ed. Hershel Shanks (Czytelnik, 1994), 89–132; Kyle McCarter, "Okres patriarchów: Abraham, Izaak, Jakub," in Shanks, *Starożytny Izrael* (Czytelnik, 1993), 23–60.

[91] If the deuterocanonical books are considered, this period should, of course, be postponed to the second century BCE.

and later their descendants, were a significant part of the *'Apiru*/*Hapiru*, that is a certain

> Social group of people without citizenship, who lived on the fringes of the existing social structure, without roots or fixed place in it. At times pursuing a pastoral existence.… Or they might, when driven by need, dispose of themselves as clients to men of station, or even sell themselves as slaves … in Egypt, numbers of them were impressed as labourers.[92]

The clan organization significantly influenced the nature of the practised religion, which was, in a sense, a clan religion. The ritual practices were not closely linked to one place of worship because the deities acted as the guardians of the tribe, accompanying the tribe during its constant migration. Indeed, significant changes in the character of the religion appeared under Mount Sinai after the exodus from Egypt, although the changes had already occurred during the period of patriarchs in the territory of Canaan. "Through trade, when changing pastures or pilgrimages to temples, and especially as a result of settling, the half-nomads met indigenous Canaanites and identified the gods of their fathers with the gods of El of the civilised country, such as El Bet-El in Betel or El Olam in Beersheba."[93] As a consequence, Bethel, Shechem, Beersheba and Hebron, for example, were indicated as the seat of the deity. One of the central elements of the tribal "religion of the fathers" was the divine promise of holding one's own land and having numerous offspring.[94] God, as the guardian of the clan, was to provide—in exchange for loyalty and obedience—protection, fertile land, and male offspring. Changeable and difficult living conditions favored exposing such deity features as strength, warfare and power over natural forces or the deities of other hostile tribes. This was also supported by the exodus, the stay in the desert, Sinai and above all, by the period of struggle to take control of Canaan.

A common form of tribal coalition at the time was the amphictyonies, which were confederations of tribes united around the cult of a deity. In the case of the Israelites, it was an amphictyony around the worship of the God Yahweh,[95] with whom most tribes had already formed a covenant during the *exodus*, and to which other tribes probably joined during the covenant in Shechem (Josh 24). The amphictyony—not just blood ties or just religion—explains the coherence and

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[92] Bright, *History of Israel*, 95. This is one of the more popular interpretations of *'Apiru*/*Hapiru*, in the light of contemporary research as one of the five possible approaches (as the name of the nation, the name of the social group, the legal name of the Israelites in the period before captivity, the name of the larger ethnic group to which the Israelites also belonged). See *HALOT*, 733.

[93] Schmidt, *Einfuhrung in das Alte Testament*, 19.

[94] Gerhard Von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, vol. 1 (Keiser, 1969).

[95] Martin Noth, *Das System der Zwölf Stämme Israels* (Kohlhammer, 1930); Otto Bächli, *Amphiktyonie im Alten Testament* (Reinhardt, 1977).

continuity of the new ethnic creation that Israel was then becoming.[96] However, the tribal system clearly presented in the book of Judges was relatively unrestrained; it had no superior authority or coordinating body, and it is difficult even to find a capital recognized by everyone (Shechem, Bethel, Shiloh, and Gilgal appear in the texts from that period)—there was neither administration nor bureaucracy. Tribal cohesion was guaranteed by an alliance with the law proclaimed then. The patriarchal system was indivisibly dominant, and the elders performed the function of leaders/authorities. The judges played a special role, namely, the people with exceptional character traits, considered to be an expression of divine power and a sign of divine choice. The judges appeared at times of real danger from non-Israeli tribes and mobilised the people to fight together for territorial independence or simply for survival.

> Battle strength [of the Israeli tribes] rested solely on the rally of the clans. The clans could not be compelled to respond, but they were obligated to do so and were roundly cursed if they did not (Judg 5:15–17, 23), for the call to arms was the call to fight the divine Overlord's wars. Though his victories won him prestige, the judge was in no sense a king. His authority was neither absolute, nor permanent, nor in any case hereditary; it rested solely in those personal qualities of leadership (the *charisma*) that gave evidence to all that Yahweh's Spirit was upon him.[97]

The tribal structure was therefore simple, with clans made up of patriarchal families. The clans and the tribes had their representatives, but their leader and superior was the God of Yahweh himself, who could be directly represented from time to time by one of the judges, anointed with his Spirit. The survival of the tribes was determined primarily by the number and strength of men capable of fighting. However, since settling down in Canaan, it was equally important to master the art of shepherding and agrarianism.[98] According to Joseph Callaway, the Israelites initially occupied uninhabited highland forest areas suitable for

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[96] Grant, *Dzieje dawnego Izraela*. Whether it was amphictyony like other tribal groups of that time remains debatable (skeptical Liverani, *Nie tylko Biblia*; acceptable Bright, *History of Israel*).

[97] Bright, *History of Israel*, 166. Paula McNutt, referring to archaeological data, states that we do not find "an explanation of how the notion of tribe was conceptualised, what the composition of tribes was, how the tribes related to one another on the economic and political levels, or the structure of society in general." Paula McNutt, *Reconstructing the Society of Ancient Israel* (SPCK, 1999), 75.

[98] "As the population of the Highlands region increased during the early Iron Age, the total production demanded of the agricultural-pastoral system multiplied.… New social relations were forged in this shift to a village-based, predominantly agricultural subsistence system." David Hopkins, *The Highlands of Canaan: Agricultural Life in the Early Iron Age* (Almond, 1985), 272.

grazing animals. Still, over time, they started to cultivate land suitable for farming.[99] The change of attitude towards land forced the Israeli tribes to adapt their way of life to the cycles of nature and thus to develop those elements of the fathers' religion which somehow related to the forces of nature and fertility. Holidays such as Passover, Pesach, the First Fruit festival, Shavuot, and the Feast of Weeks, all of which were of agricultural origin and character, quickly began to play an important role.[100] The similarity of the lifestyle to the Canaanite tribes also "tempted" them to take over some aspects of their religion, strongly connected with the cult of fertility. The religious practices of the Palestinian people seemed to provide a greater sense of control over nature and—to use the words of Adler or Witwicki—to increase the sense of power. And since this was a significant problem, it can be seen, for example, in the constant struggle of the Old Testament prophets to preserve the purity of Yahweh's cult against pagan religions, towards which the people of Israel were drawn.[101]

According to Paula McNutt, early Israel formed a society in a flexible segmented system consisting of many such units/segments. Segments at different levels of the organization had a similar structure, at the family and clan levels as well as the tribe level. Tribal members could be members of different segments of the system simultaneously through political, religious and economic affiliations, although these did not have to be consistent. In such a system, there was usually no overriding permanent power, and internal conflicts were, to a large extent, governed by common values shared by all, such as the honor of the tribe.[102] While the tribal order clearly defined the boundaries between one's own and outsiders, the boundaries within the tribe were not always clear. According to Robert Cooke, "The tribal structures and identities are fluid, even as specified by members, they may have little relations to actual social interaction."[103]

The tribal organization could be said to have fulfilled its role as long as the threats and internal difficulties remained local.[104] However, this definition proved

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[99] Callaway, "Osiedlenie się w ziemi Kanaan."

[100] Bright, *History of Israel.* For example, Passover probably "goes back to nomadic times. It used to be a rite (anointing the entrances to houses and tents with sheep's blood, eating meat), thanks to which shepherds protected themselves and their flocks from the 'destroyer', desert demon (Ex 12:23, cf. Heb. 11:28)" (Schmidt, *Einfuhrung in das Alte Testament*, 21).

[101] Josef Schreiner, *Teologia Starego Testamentu* (PAX, 1999).

[102] McNutt, *Reconstructing the Society*; Robert Coote, "Tribalism: Social Organization in the Biblical Israel," in *Ancient Israel: The Old Testament in Its Social Context*, ed. Philip Esler (Fortress, 2006), 35–49.

[103] Coote, "Tribalism," 40.

[104] "Early Iron Age was very much a transitional society.… The challenges which characterised its agricultural subsistence systems and the strategies selected to achieve them did not remain altogether valid for monarchical times" (Hopkins, *Highlands of Canaan*, 274). However, it is worth noting that the very process of transition from a tribal organization to

to be too weak at the end of the eleventh century, especially in view of the domination and threat posed by the Philistines.[105] The league of tribes governed by judges and elders had to give way to a new organization of authority and power. The Elders of Israel, therefore, decided to choose a king who would unify all the tribes, lead to victory (1 Sam 8) and ensure the stability of the country. The king's choice was, of course, typical of the tribal world: instead of a palace, Saul had a tent set up "near the border of Gibeah under a grenade tree or in Gibeah, where he sat under a tamarisk on a hill with a spear in his hand, and surrounded by his servants."[106]

This is certainly not a typical image of a Philistine or Ammonite king, not to mention the kings of other large countries. However, he became king by a decision of God revealed by a prophet and then by the people's approval. He had the characteristics of a rather charismatic leader and, in practice, was more like a judge than a king. In the first years of the monarchy, the social and political order in Israel remained unchanged. Saul did not introduce any transformation in the domestic state structure, while administration and bureaucracy did not develop. "The fierce independence of the tribes, moreover, prevented the exercise of any real authority.… Saul could never build a dependable fighting force and keep it in the field."[107] Real royal power and the restriction of the independence of the tribes would only happen in the period of the monarchy of David and Solomon.[108]

David was named the king of the Judah tribe, but no longer on the basis of a prophetic choice and without a decision of the tribal confederation. It was not until a few years later that the northern tribes, strongly associated with the Saul family, were incorporated into his kingdom. The king's position and authority were strengthened by his military successes, which also helped to maintain national ties. David took care to maintain the identity and religious community of the tribes and conquered the city of Jebus, which later became the political and religious

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a monarchy, in Hopkins's view, is the subject of criticism. Thomas Thompson, *Early History of the Israelite People: From the Written and Archeological Sources* (Brill, 1994).

[105] "Now no blacksmith could be found in all the land of Israel.… So all Israel went down to the Philistines, each to sharpen his plowshare, his mattock, his ax, and his hoe.… So it came about on the day of battle that neither sword nor spear was found in the hands of any of the people who were with Saul and Jonathan, but they were found with Saul and his son Jonathan" (1 Sam 13:19–22).

[106] Andre Lamaire, "Zjednoczone królestwo," in Shanks, *Starożytny Izrael*, 141.

[107] Bright, *History of Israel*, 192.

[108] Israel Finkelstein even claims that "the genuine exceptional event in the highlands of the southern Levant in the late-second to early-first millennium BCE was not the 'Israelite Settlement', but the emergence of the United Monarchy—the unification of the entire region." Israel Finkelstein, "The Great Transformation: The 'Conquest' of the Highlands Frontiers and the Rise of the Territorial States," in *The Archeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. Thomas Levy (Leicester University Press, 1995), 362.

capital of the new state as Jerusalem. He brought the Ark of the Covenant to the new capital with the intention of establishing a central worship for all the tribes there—he gained full dominance in Canaan, and he expanded the borders of the country. Ultimately, it led to the creation of a large and strong organism that had to go much further beyond the order of a tribal confederation than under Saul. Such a developed state required the creation of an administration that had not existed before. It is possible that David initially modelled himself on the Egyptian administration, which he saw reflected in the organization of the city-states of the Canaanite states. The foundation of refuge cities (for the fleeing from the blood avenger) was also of great importance for the new social order; it was a significant step towards abandoning the practice of clan revenge and putting in order the years of internal disputes. He also carried out the first census in Israel's history, which then allowed him to introduce new administrative, tax, and military regulations. Finally, the importance of the new practice of inheritance of the throne should be emphasized. The choice of king was no longer determined by personal predisposition, an anointing by a divine messenger or a charism but by the origin of the royal family. From then on, the king was to be the guarantor of the preservation of God's will, and the presence of priests played a key role in the continuation of the temple ritual. Equally important was the role of prophets— guardians of religious faithfulness. The former confederation of tribes, based on the covenant with the God Yahweh, was a strong foundation for the introduction of theocratic rule, which soon followed.[109]

David's achievements were used by his son Solomon, who focused on consolidating and strengthening the state. His strength was largely based on foreign policy, and numerous alliances with neighbours, usually sealed with marriage to the daughter of a foreign king or prince. Solomon reorganized the army, built numerous military bases, developed barter trade and imports of cedarwood from Lebanon, and began to import horses from Cilicia and chariots from Egypt on a large scale, which made Israel a strong state in this part of the Middle East. Taking advantage of David's achievements, he took control of all traffic and trade, the routes of which intersected with the geographical outskirts of Palestine. International trade became one of Solomon's main assets. This included activity in the Red Sea, trade relations with Arabia using caravan routes, and trade with Phoenicia, Egypt and even the aforementioned Cilicia in Asia Minor. Solomon also decided to extract and export copper, the mines of which were most likely located in southern Israel. There was an extraordinary development of cities, and not only because of Solomon's building initiatives. The development of trade, industry, and cultural life forced, in a way, the demand for new craft skills and new professions and specialisations. In the villages, after the introduction of new ways of cultivating the land (for example, the use of an iron plough) the productivity of

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[109] Jan Łach, "Powstanie monarchii," in *Księgi historyczne Starego Testamentu*, ed. Janusz Frankowsk, vol. 2 (Wydawnictwo UKSW. 2006), 121–62.

the land increased significantly, which contributed to an increase in population concentration. The second half of the tenth century was also a period of lively writing activity, with the ancestors' past being written down and the oral tradition being perpetuated. The history of judges and kings began to be written down, and the first attempts were made to describe the oldest religious and legal traditions of Israel.[110]

Solomon's rule entailed many profound changes in the organization of the state, the efficient management of which had to be based on an extensive network of administrators and administrative apparatus. The cost of maintaining state authority, especially of the royal court, increased from year to year to such an extent that Solomon decided to give part of the northern territory to king of Tyre (1 Kgs 9:10–15). The country was divided into twelve districts, which partly overlapped with the former tribes of Israel and also included the Canaanite population with a completely different mentality accustomed to the feudal order. The difficulties in maintaining the apparatus of state forced Solomon to introduce forced labour not only for "aliens" but also for Israelites themselves. The administration, the bureaucracy and the tax collectors quickly began to create a professional space of unprecedented size. All institutions were subordinated to the royal authority, including the cult (the temple of God Yahweh in Jerusalem was merged with the king's seat and his palace complex—1 Kgs 7–10). Although this did not mean that traditions and tribal ties disappeared completely, the power of their influence was drastically reduced.

> The tribal system was broken; the effective basis of social obligation was no longer Yahweh's covenant, but the state.… Moreover, the absorption of the Canaanite population had brought into Israel thousands of people of feudal background and with no notion of covenant law, to whom class distinctions were a matter of course.[111]

The result of political, religious and economic centralization

> Was a transformation of Israelite society. This had begun already in the United Monarchy, of course, but it crystallised early in the Divided Monarchy and only intensified that. This transformation under the onslaught of urbanisation and nationalisation resulted in an Israelite and Judean society that … must have been highly stratified.… One result was a society and economy that gradually became more diverse, more specialised, and finally more segregated.… With increasing

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[110] John Burton, *The Old Testament: Canon, Literature and Theology; Collected Essays of John Barton* (Routledge, 2007).
[111] Bright, *History of Israel*, 223–24.

competition between various elements of society economic inequalities resulted and tended to become endemic.[112]

Israel, until the time of Jesus (like the other tribes of Palestine), formed an agrarian society "composed predominantly of peasant populations, that have clearly demarcated social hierarchies."[113]

It was a world in which social inequalities still played a major role and were treated as something natural, much like the dominance and power of one social group over another. The Israelites, despite progressive socio-political differentiation, are still a people with a so-called strong group orientation, which in practice meant that loyalty to the family, clan or tribe was among their fundamental values.[114]

3.2.2. Hellenization and the Origins of Christianity

With Solomon's death in 932 BCE, the united monarchy ended, and the history of two conflicting Israeli states—Judah and Israel—began. In 722 BCE, the Assyrians conquered the State of Israel and deported the population to Assyria, and in 587/6 BCE, the Babylonians defeated Judah, taking the captives to Babylonia. Assyrian slavery irretrievably destroyed the northern state, which was hardly ever rebuilt again, and the Samaritan state was later initiated on its ruins. However, Babylonian captivity was different. Many Israelites were given a lease of land in Babylonia, could work for their masters, and at the same time, enjoyed quite a lot of freedom. The Babylonians did not forbid the practice of their fathers' religion, they allowed them to cultivate land, have vineyards and even slaves—some of whom returned after the end of captivity in 539, when the Persians defeated the Babylonians in the time of Cyrus II the Great. The time of captivity brought significant changes in the social and religious awareness of the Israelites. In Babylonia, an institution of the synagogue was established, as well as a thriving center of rabbinical thought, where the religious law was studied as the fundament of religious-national identity. The period of exile forced the reinterpretation of their own history, the meaning of religion and the place of the individual in the life of the community.[115] New and important theological traditions of the Old Testament[116] emerged at that time. The idea of collective responsibility as the basis of many social and religious practices in Israel, which had dominated for many

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[112] William Dever, "Social Structure in Palestine in the Iron II Period on the Eve of Destruction," in *The Archeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. Thomas Levy (Leicester University Press, 1995), 419.

[113] Kenneth Hanson and Douglas Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus: Social Structures and Social Conflicts* (Fortress, 2008), 7–8.

[114] Hanson and Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus*.

[115] Liverani, *Nie tylko Biblia*.

[116] Burton, *Old Testament*.

centuries, began to be questioned. Israeli prophets played a unique role here, proclaiming the idea of personal responsibility, the first manifestations of which could already be seen before Babylonian slavery.[117] This was to be of great importance in the future, shaping traditional Judaism as a Torah-based religion (according to the principle of *lex post prophetas*), which was later to be promoted by the reformer Ezra in the fifth century BCE.[118]

The necessity to live in the Babylonian, Assyrian or Egyptian diasporas forced their distinctness to be confronted, which ultimately liberated extraordinary intellectual potential among the Jews and led to profound cultural, social and religious changes.[119] The Jews in the Egyptian diaspora developed the only synthesis of Judaism and Hellenism in the history of ancient Israel. Its most famous representative, Philo of Alexandria, contributed to, among other actions, the combining of the tradition of Judaism with the Greek Logos. In Alexandria, Jewish rabbis translated the Hebrew books of the Old Testament into Greek in the third century BCE, passing on the religion of Moses in the form of Septuagint to non-Jews. In the Egyptian diaspora, the canon of holy books was also extended by seven books written in Greek.[120] For the Israelites, whose religion and social life were closely linked to the cult of the temple, a special role was played by the demolition of the Jerusalem temple in 587/6 BCE and the introduction of the aforementioned synagogue institution. It was not a place of ritual practices; no sacrifices were made there—only prayers were said, holy books were read, and services were held during holidays. After the demolition of Jerusalem, it had to be recognised that the key to national and religious identity was not so much the rituals as the moral universalism, such as the Decalogue or ethical laws. It was in the diaspora that new forms of expression of religiousness and new ways of understanding it began to be sought. Slowly, there was a shift from a traditionally conceived identity, linked to belonging to the holy land and temple worship, to an identity based on the universal message of the prophets and law. As Hugo Gressmann underlines (and probably rightly so),

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[117] Jurrien Mol, *Collective and Individual Responsibility: A Description of Corporate Personality in Ezekiel 18 and 20* (Brill, 2009).

[118] The reform of Ezra will lead to the radicalisation of religious life and also to a new conceptualisation of the believed Israelites based on the Torah. As Liverani stresses, it will be a period of proselytism, exclusivism, ritual and ethnic purity (Liverani, *Nie tylko Biblia*, 2007).

[119] Robert Coote and Keith Whitelam, *The Emergence of Early Israel in Historical Perspective* (Sheffield Phoenix, 2010).

[120] These are 1–2 Maccabees, Wisdom, Sirach, Tobit, Judith, and Baruch. Written in Greek, they show both the cultural influence of Hellenism in the third/second century BCE on Judaism and the fight against political oppression.

> There is no more important event in the history of the religion of Judaism, and in general the history of the religion of the time, than the appearance of the synagogue next to the temple.[121]

Living in a diaspora and being enslaved also made it necessary to ask a question about the link between punishment and guilt, and thus about the importance of justice and collective responsibility. What was the point of believing that a son or daughter—born outside the borders of the land of the God Yahweh, the defiled land of the pagan-goyos—is punished for the guilt of their ancestors? The experience of slavery, exile and the demand for personal moral renewal formulated by the prophets of Israel led in practice to the collapse of some of Israel's sapiential traditions. This can be seen very clearly in the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Job, where the relationship of "pious life = blessing from God," which had been recognised for centuries, falls into the shadows.[122] However, in the Hellenic period and during the persecution, questions about the importance of divine justice became particularly important when the religious tradition of Judaism, inspired by the Greek dualistic anthropology (as opposed to the generally monistic Jewish anthropology), began to include the idea of the immortality of the soul and hope for life immediately after death, regardless of faith in the future resurrection.[123] It seemed unacceptable that the persecutors were now suffering no consequences and the martyrs could not receive the reward they were entitled to. The brutal death of believers, and the helplessness against acts of desecration of holy places or the bodies of martyrs was a powerful catalyst for believing in the idea of immediate posthumous retribution, that is hell, or paradise.[124] The vision of life after death (and the change of meaning of important eschatological concepts[125]), developed the then vibrant apocalyptic literature,[126] which, although alleviating the existential pain of believers, at the same time favored the shift from the culturally-political engagement to work on spiritual life or improve moral character, and thus

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[121] Hugo Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im spathellenistisches Zeitalter* (Mohr Siebieck, 1966), 118.

[122] Mol, *Collective and Individual Responsibility*; Walter Wolff, *Athropologie des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2010).

[123] Wolff, *Athropologie des Alten Testaments*; Claus Westermann, "Nefesz," *THAT* 2:71–94.

[124] Philip Johnston, *Shades of Sheol: Death and Afterlife in the Old Testament* (InterVarsity, 2002); Wolff, *Athropologie des Alten Testaments*.

[125] For example, a new definition of "gehenna, understood as a pre-eschatological and temporary place of punishment, meant an open break with the existing tradition … and thus, Sheol has also lost its autonomous meaning. It was no longer referred to as such … but, alongside gehenna, it ceased to be something significant and became its own weaker synonym." Hermann Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. 3 (Beck, 1986), 1023.

[126] For example, the book of Enoch; the Apocalypse of Baruch; the Fourth Book of Ezra.

promoted a kind of social alienation and the creation of radical religious en-claves.[127]

The changing cultural conditions and social context also directly affected in-dividual and community relations. These conditions altered to such an extent that the traditional model of strong community ties began to lose its impact. Even dur-ing the monarchy period, the strength of the clan and tribe, the organic *Sitz im Leben* of every Israelite, weakened. Shortly afterwards, the demise of the state forced both the group and the individual to designate new sources of socio-reli-gious identity. The established rituals were slowly being overshadowed, and if they were recognised, often as abstract ideas, their practical implementation would first require the restoration of independence and freedom. This process was further accelerated by the impact of Greek culture after the conquest of Alexander the Great. While many similarities can be drawn between Israel and the gentile world, such as the relationship between the individual and the group, social col-lectivism, and the honor-shame cultural code,[128] the differences between the two were significant. The clash with Greek culture was a great challenge for the Jews. A different, new definition of the state, democracy, the meaning of the individual, or the concept of truth, although difficult to reconcile with the prophetic and the-ocratic model of community, forced the Jews to redefine their social basis.[129] Jewish and Greek culture had a different understanding of the social nature of man. "Ancient Israel is an aggregate of groups rather than a collection of individ-uals, and apart from the family, the individual is scarcely a viable entity—socially, economically or juridically."[130]

The Greek-Roman world (and previously also Egyptian and Babylonian) rep-resented a greater diversity of social structures, carried a different vision of the world with a different network of concepts and values, a different political order and a different vision of man. The social stratification and the richness of profes-sions and social groups reflected the great hierarchy of the state whilst simultaneously forcing an ideological complexity in the religious-ethical sphere. Judaism of the third/second century BCE, both in Palestine and in the diaspora,

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[127] Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*.

[128] Bruce Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (West-minster John Knox, 2003).

[129] Johann Maier, *Zwischen den Testamentem: Geschichte und Religion in der Zeit des zweiten Tempels* (Bechter, 2002).

[130] Robert Di Vito, "Old Testament Anthropology and the Construction of Personal Iden-tity," *CBQ* 61 (1999): 221. According to Marian Filipiak, the Greek thought "is aimed at the inclusion of a human as an individual, because it understands them as a more separated entity from others. In contrast, the Hebrew thought sees a person as an individual in a group, in a collective.… This person develops in a community, gains and loses with it, is rewarded and punished." Marian Filipiak, *Biblia o człowieku: zarys antropologii Starego Testamentu* (Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1979), 42.

was eventually transformed into Hellenistic Judaism, although to a lesser extent among Palestinian Jews.[131] "Jerusalem could no longer remain isolated from the outside world—and many of its inhabitants did not want that. The attractiveness of a more open culture and the opportunities it provides could not be denied."[132]

The exchange of ideas, beliefs and achievements of civilisation has become a kind of standard of the era. In the first century CE, the Roman Empire developed a road network and communication system, thanks to which the Greek-Roman heritage could soon become a part of the entire Mediterranean region. The beginning of our era was marked by cultural syncretism, in which Jews from Palestine and the diaspora also had to find themselves. Jewish society at the turn of that time was becoming increasingly diverse. Palestinian Judaism was then distinguished not only by the multiplicity and complexity of social groups but also by the coexistence of not always consistent doctrines and religious communities.

> The development of such groups was a direct result of the religious revolution initiated by Ezra. With the collapse of the prophetic institution and the establishing of the Torah as the basis of Jewish life, Judaism achieved a high degree of democratisation. God's word was no longer the sole domain of a charismatic personality. Now every Jew could give their own interpretation of the Torah, and if they had supporters, their group would *de facto* form a sect within the Jewish community.[133]

In Jesus's day, the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, Therapeutae, Zealots, Sicarii and others[134] were already active, as well as many ethnic and national groups, including the Edomites, Samaritans, the descendants of the Canaanite tribes, the Greeks, the Romans and the Arabs.

In this context, the religious movement started by Jesus of Nazareth, was only one of the alternative forms of Judaism. Jesus's teachings reached a heterogeneous audience, all the more so because the dividing lines were not only in the area of religious identity but equally clearly in the area of education, economics, social position, and political identification. The missionary success of the apostles of

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[131] Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (Wipf & Stock, 2003); James VanderKam, *An Introduction to Early Judaism* (Eerdmans, 2001). "Im ganzen zeigt sich, dass der Hellenismus auch als geistige Macht schon früh und nachhaltig im jüdischen Palästina Fus gefasst hat.… Das gesamte Judentum ab etwa der Mitte es 3. Jh.s v. Chr. müsste im strengen Sinne als 'hellenistisches Judentum' bezeichnet werden" (Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, 192–93).

[132] Lee Levine, "Okres hellenistyczny. Aleksander Wielki: Powstanie i upadek dynastii hasmonejskiej," in Shanks, *Starożytny Izrael*, 249.

[133] Levine, "Okres hellenistyczny," 275.

[134] According to the Jerusalem Talmud, there were twenty-four heretical groups during the temple's demolition. Luis Feldman, "Judaizm palestyński i diaspory w I wieku," in *Chrześcijaństwo a judaizm rabiniczny*, ed. Hershel Shanks (Vocatio, 2013), 45.

Jesus depended to a large extent on the nature of the religious/ethical message itself, and more specifically, on the universalism of early Christian teaching, which was clearly abstracted from social divisions.[135] After all, the core of the teaching of Jesus's disciples was the good news of salvation through the faith of all people, regardless of origin, wealth, sex or ideology. It seems particularly interesting that, despite the Jewish origin of the Christian religion, it found followers above all in pagan circles. The representatives of traditional Judaism condemned Jesus's teachings and excluded his disciples from the synagogue community. Of course, the shift in the apostles' missionary interest towards non-Jewish circles was the result of many factors, including the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE and the decisions of the rabbinical council of Jamnia in 90/95 CE,[136] but the Christian message (good news) played a significant role. The books of the New Testament are filled with concepts from the Greek and Hellenistic worlds. This can be seen clearly in the tradition of John, in Luke's texts, and especially in Paul's letters to Jewish and pagan communities, set in the realities of the Greco-Roman world. Jesus's followers' communities are much more open to the pagan world than traditional Jewish communities.

In conclusion, Israel underwent a profound transformation over twelve hundred years. The people of Israel settled in a politically sensitive region: all the great kingdoms of the region, sooner or later, tried to take over the land of Canaan, which in practice meant that Israel passed from one hand to another. The influence of foreign forces and new circumstances forced them to reorganize their social environment. It evolved from a traditional union of families/clans, through the league of semi-nomadic tribes to the creation of a state. Despite the fall of the monarchy and the subsequent enslavement, the process continued, although during the Hellenistic period, it was more concerned with religious, ideological and cultural diversity. As a nation and a state, Israel, in order to survive in the face of systematically emerging threats, was forced to seek new forms of social organization constantly. On the one hand, there is the natural evolution of the tribal state as a result of intensive *relations* with the more politically developed powers of the Middle East. On the other hand, there is the evolution resulting from the permanent *tension* between Israel and the surrounding nations. Two traditions were born based on the Judaism of the first century CE: orthodox Judaism, radicalised at the Council of Jamnia and Christianity initiated by Jesus of Nazareth[137] and characterized by the universalisation of the Mosaic religion.

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[135] Theissen, *Die Jesusbewegung*.

[136] James Dunn, *The Parting of the Ways: Between Christianity and Judaism and Their Significance for the Character of Christianity* (SCM, 2006); Martin Hengel and Kevin Barrett, *Conflicts and Challenges in Early Christianity* (Trinity International, 1999).

[137] This is obviously a generalization; Jesus represents primitive Christianity (German *Urchristentum*—Fischer, *Das Urchristentum*), or, as Geza Vermes claims, "Jesus of Nazareth

The early Christian shift in the emphasis from ritual law to moral law led to a profound religious and social change. Jesus himself rejected violence against enemies, recommended love of enemies, and finally consented to death on the cross (according to the gospels). This attitude did not particularly belong to the religious ethos of Israel at the time. The books of the Old Testament contain descriptions of a holy war against the gentiles (waged by Joshua, the judges, and David), which often ended in their extermination and which was still being waged in the time of the Maccabees. The political conditions and the psychological atmosphere favored the idea of a holy war—a religious war. However, these conditions did not apply to Israel and primitive Christianity during the Roman occupation in the first century CE. The message of Jesus and the apostles thus found fertile ground. In comparison with Judaism, primitive Christianity revealed a stronger (in my opinion) tendency to conquer one's own sinful heart and especially the sinful body, which already in the texts of the New Testament became a synonym for human sinful nature. This tendency was also fostered by the rich apocalyptic literature that emerged in the inter-Testamental period, according to which the world immersed in sin was on the brink of a moral abyss, and it was therefore, necessary to prepare for the day of final judgement and the end of the world. The religiosity of the last three centuries BCE was filled with harsh criticism of kings, empires and worldwide idolatry, from which only God could liberate in an act of great judgment on the nations. Even Yahweh's chosen Israel and its most important religious institutions, such as the temple, the cult and the priesthood, were not spared criticism.

The universalisation of Judaism directly influenced the attitude towards the gentiles. In biblical Judaism, the idea of converting the gentiles was of little importance. The Jews sought to build their state, and their religion was rooted in a historical tradition closely connected with the holy land. Therefore, the chosen people guaranteed The permanence of Judaism, not by proselytes. Proselytism was a secondary phenomenon, accompanying the Jews as if by chance to express their national-religious identity. The circumstances differed from primitive Christianity, which was far less dependent on Jerusalem and the temple. The survival of the new religion, rejected by rabbis and priestly circles, mainly depended on attracting new followers. The mission thus became one of its key objectives. Ultimately, therefore, the existential conditions at the turn of the era and the emergence of the great figures of Christianity were not only conducive to changes in the articulation of religiosity or in the pursuit of moral perfection, but it also had a significant impact on the attitude towards the gentiles and the shape of the religious community, which was becoming increasingly distant from the Jewish world.

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belonged to pre-orthodox Judaism and not to Christianity." Geza Vermes, "Wprowadzenie," in Shanks, *Chrześcijaństwo a judaizm rabiniczny*, 16.

3.2.3. The Septuagint and the New Testament: Greek Language, Different Social Context

The origins of the Septuagint are largely shrouded in mystery and despite much research throughout biblical history, the only information to be found is rudimentary and in many cases, hypothetical. The most widespread is the semi-legendary version[138] relayed by Josephus Flavius in the *Antiquities of the Jews*, in which he cites an Epistle of Aristeas, probably dating from the second century BCE. Arysteas, residing at the court of King Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283–246 BCE) in Egypt, is sent to Jerusalem at the king's behest to persuade the high priest Eleazar to translate the Hebrew Torah into Greek. The need for such a translation was supposedly brought to the king's attention by the administrator of the Alexandrian library, Demetrius, convincing him that the work was so unique and valuable that Alexandria should have it in its collection. According to the letter, the high priest sends seventy-two outstanding translators, well versed in the Greek culture and coming from the best families (six from each tribe of Israel). They are received by Ptolemy II with great honors, amaze him with their wisdom and then complete the translation of the Torah in seventy-two days. The translation was presented to the Jewish community in Alexandria, which officially approved it.[139]

The reliability of the above account remains a matter of dispute and, in the absence of other historical sources, many questions are yet to be answered. Regarding the time of composition of the Septuagint as a whole, most biblical scholars accept a period between 280 BCE and 150 CE.[140] Parts of the Septuagint were already known by 200 BCE, as confirmed by extant papyri containing quotations from this book (or slightly later quotations from the second century BCE such as Papyrus Rylands 458 and Papyrus Fouad 266). A sizable portion of the prophets and sapiential texts were probably translated in the following decades in the late third/early second century BCE, while the deutero-canonical books (Tobias, Judith, Baruch, Wisdom, Wisdom of Sirach, 1–2 Maccabees) were not written until the second century BCE. The letter of Aristeas served more of an apologetic role. It was probably intended as a form of justification for the fact that the holy books of Israel, written in divine Hebrew, were translated into the language of the gentiles.[141] Although it was used by the Jews of the Alexandrian

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[138] Johann Cook, "Recent Developments in Septuagint Research," *HTS* 74 (2018): 1–8.

[139] This applies, of course, only to the Torah and not to the entire Old Testament. However, such a view appears, for example, as early as the middle of the second century CE in Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 68.6–7.

[140] Thomas Evans, "The Potential of Linguistic Criteria for Dating Septuagint Books," *BIOSCS* 43 (2010): 5–22.

[141] Cook, "Recent Developments in Septuagint Research"; VanderKam, *Introduction to Early Judaism.*

diaspora, including Philo of Alexandria and Josephus Flavius, the fact that it was translated into the language of the gentiles was highly problematic for many Jews of Palestine. The objections to the Septuagint came to a head during the period of emerging Christianity, whose predominantly Greek-speaking representatives tended to refer to this version of the Old Testament rather than the Hebrew text in doctrinal polemics with the Jews. As a result, the Jews made a new translation into Greek in the second century CE, known today as the translation of Aquila, a proselyte from Pontus, although it was so dependent on the original Hebrew that it was difficult for non-Jews to understand. Other Greek translations appeared relatively quickly, such as Theodosius of Ephesus and Symmachus of Samaria. The Hexapla of Origenes, a five-volume compilation of the original Hebrew and Greek translations (the LXX, Aquila, Theodosius, Symmachus and the Greek transcription by Origenes), had a major role in shaping the Greek version of the Septuagint. The history of LXX, its final linguistic form, its editorial influences, and the different versions of some biblical books (Joshua, Judges, Tobias) are complex and beyond the scope of this monograph. This text, although written later than the now defunct Hebrew original, nevertheless represents a pre-Masoretic version, and it is of absolutely unique significance, especially as it also played a key role in the formation of the New Testament.[142]

It is worth highlighting a few issues related to the specificity and quality of the Greek translation. "Most, though not all, books of the Septuagint are written in an unpretentious form of the standard Koine Greek of the post-classical period."[143] However, individual books show varying degrees of accuracy about the original and varied stylistic devices. While the Pentateuch and the historical books are characterized by a reasonably good translation, the book of Daniel can be regarded as a kind of a paraphrase of the Hebrew text, and the difficulties in rendering the Hebrew thought can also be seen in the book of Job.[144] A similar problem concerns the Minor Prophets and the book of Isaiah. A rather slavish/literal translation is shown by the book of Psalms and the book of Qoheleth. In the introduction to the Polish translation of the Septuagint, Polish

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[142] Jan Joosten and Peter Tomson, eds., *Voces Biblicae: Septuagint Greek and its Significance for the New Testament*, CBET 49 (Peeters, 2007).

[143] Evans, "Potential of Linguistic Criteria," 6. See also James Aitken and Marieke Dhont, "The Septuagint within the History of Greek: An Introduction," *JSJ* 54 (2021): 432–49.

[144] However, it seems that the specifics of the translation of the book of Job are rather more complex. Noteworthy is Marieke Dhont's 2016 doctoral dissertation *The Language and Style of Old Greek Job in Context*. Using Polysystem Theory, Marieke argues that "Job was not translated in a vacuum, but at a point in time when Greek-speaking Jews had already developed their own traditions for translating biblical books as well as for composing new texts. The corpus of Jewish-Greek literature to which Greek Job belongs is conceptualized as a polysystem. Such a comprehensive approach will help to properly contextualize and understand the translation technique and the style of LXX translations." Marieke Dhont, "The Language and Style of Old Greek Job in Context," *JSCS* 49 (2016): 117.

biblical scholars draw attention to "the difficulties in the use of the correct grammatical tense or mood, modal verbs, numerals, and particles." As Popowski writes, if the Jewish translators of the text did not know the Greek equivalent, then

> They introduced a transliteration of the Hebrew word or simply an unjustified ellipsis. They unexpectedly change words between singular and plural forms or grammatical gender. They cannot use subordinate sentences and cannot use the appropriate conjunctions in parataxis. They change the syntactic order of words. They overuse the preposition 'en'.… They create semantically and syntactically intricate sentences.[145]

These objections are consistent with the comments of other biblical scholars around the world that have been reported for a long time.[146] The specifics of LXX translation are, of course, more complex.[147] There are numerous Arameisms in the text, the translators avoid anthropomorphisms in the descriptions of God, make semantic shifts in the terminology of emotions, and so on. The contemporary biblical literature provides an extensive presentation, so there is no need to

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[145] Remigiusz Popowski, "Wstęp," in *Septuaginta, czyli Biblia Starego Testamentu wraz z księgami deuterokanonicznymi i apokryfami*, ed. Remigiusz Popowski (Vocatio, 2012), 20–21.

[146] Christopher Fresch, *Discourse Markers in Early Koine Greek: Cognitive-Functional Analysis and LXX Translation Technique* (SBL Press, 2023); Deborah Gera, "Translating Hebrew Poetry into Greek Poetry: The Case of Exodus 15," *BIOSCS* 40 (2007): 107–20; Emanuel Tov, "Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings," in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*, VTSup 72 (Brill, 1999), 109–28; Theo Van Der Louw, "Linguistic or Ideological Shifts? The Problem-Oriented Study of Transformations as a Methodological Filter," in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Sep-tuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*, ed. Jutta Jokiranta and Anssi Voitila (Brill, 2008), 107–25.

[147] "The language of the Septuagint may be 'bad Greek' in the sense that it is non-literary, but in places it is surprisingly idiomatic.… The Greek translators often understood Hebrew words of their source text in light of Aramaic.… In some cases it is impossible to say whether the Seventy confused Hebrew and Aramaic, or whether they confused classical and post-classical Hebrew" (Jan Joosten, "The Aramaic Background of the Seventy: Language, Culture and History," *BIOSCS* 43 [2010]: 55, 62). The author also raises a very interesting hypothesis about a link between the Septuagint and the Egyptian diaspora as late as the Persian period, which would have a fundamental impact on the evaluation of the Greek translation. A syntactic Aramaism in the Septuagint: ἰδού in temporal expressions. See Wolfgang Kraus and Glen Wooden, eds., *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, SCS 53 (Society of Biblical Literature, 2006); Fresch, *Discourse Markers.*

describe them in detail.[148] In terms of faithfulness to the original, LXX is, therefore, a patchy, varied translation, and the presence of the original linguistic expressions raises the question of whether the translators' intention was a faithful translation or perhaps an original form of interpretation of the Hebrew original.[149]

It may be asked, therefore, whether these differences between the Septuagint and the Hebrew Bible will be an obstacle to the comparisons of LXX with the New Testament text and to treating LXX as a text reflecting the Jewish social world described in the Hebrew Bible. Obviously, this is a certain obstacle, although I think it would primarily pose a greater difficulty in comparisons of a qualitative nature. In the case of quantitative comparativism, this problem is not so acute since the object of the comparison would be the words that are fairly common in both text types as well as the concepts which have a strong tradition in the Hebrew text and automatically in the Septuagint. Moreover, despite these difficulties, the Septuagint precisely and not the Hebrew text justifies the possibility of mutual quantitative comparisons. There are two corpora written in Koine Greek, written mainly by Hellenised Jews[150] and representing different social-religious orders.

The text of the New Testament is preserved in Koine Greek, although some books may have originally been written in Aramaic (for example, the Gospel of Matthew). Compared to the Septuagint, the New Testament is far better documented in terms of the quantity and quality of surviving papyri, parchments, codices and ancient translations. However, while the origin of LXX is closely linked to the Egyptian diaspora, whether from the Hellenistic period or going back to the Persian period, the books of the New Testament were written in various regions of the Mediterranean, including Syria, Asia Minor, Greece and Italy. More can also be said about the authors of the New Testament books than the translators of LXX, who were an unspecified group of Alexandrian Jews (perhaps supported by the Palestinian Jewish community). The authors of the New Testament are the apostles and their disciples, although the final form of the text was also heavily influenced by later editors. The New Testament books mainly reflect the beliefs of the apostles and followers of Jesus, the early Christians, while LXX represents

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[148] Apart from the rich German literature in this field, I refer primarily to the *Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, which has been published for nearly fifty years, and the Septuagint and Cognate Studies publishing series affiliated with the Society of Biblical Literature in the United States.

[149] Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "In A Mirror Dimly: Reading the Septuagint as a Document of its Times," in Kraus and Wooden, *Septuagint Research*, 15–32; Marieke Dhont, "Septuagint Translation Technique and Jewish Hellenistic Exegesis," in *T&T Clark Handbook of Septuagint Research*, ed. William A. Ross and W. Edward Glenny (T&T Clark, 2023); Jan Joosten and Eberhard Bons, eds., *Septuagint: Vocabulary, Pre-History, Usage, Reception* (Society of Biblical Literature, 2011).

[150] James Aitken and Marieke Dhont, "The Septuagint within the History of Greek: An Introduction," *JSJ* 54 (2021): 432–49.

(with varying accuracy) the vision of the world contained in the Hebrew Bible, which was influenced by the mindset of the Hellenised Jews in Egypt.[151] Furthermore, the writing of the New Testament falls within a shorter time frame, from the second half of the first century CE to the beginning of the second century CE. Although it is impossible to give precise time caesuras today, even if a complex or several-stage editorial process of the individual books, involving corrections, modifications, and additions, is accepted, this does not significantly change the assumed dating. The source of the New Testament textual tradition, especially the gospel tradition, which is based on Jesus`s sayings (*logia*), is however a different matter. This is because they (*logia*) were already carefully passed on in the period before the first New Testament texts were written. However, in this case, it was also in the first half of the first century CE. Despite the great diversity of the New Testament discourse, it seems to give way to the extraordinary complexity of the LXX discourse since there is not only a smaller textual corpus and fewer books but also a much more quantitatively scarce group of authors. The historical narrative,[152] comprising the gospels and Acts, is also minor compared to the historical literature of the Old Testament or to the prophetic tradition of the Apocalypse.

The books of the New Testament represent the world of primitive Christianity of the first and early second century CE, which although derived from Judaism, was in the form given to it by Jesus, the post-paschal community and the apostolic milieu, including the disciples. They are also those who either indirectly (as was the case with Jesus) or directly authored these texts. The apostles were generally men without a thorough education. Exceptions, albeit outside the twelve, included the apostle Paul (a Pharisee convert to Christianity) and Luke, the author of the gospel and (probably) Acts, who contributed nearly half of the collection of the New Testament texts available to us. Given that the New Testament was shaped in the second half of the first century, the vast majority of it was written under the conditions of intense contact with the Greco-Roman world outside the environment of Palestine. The typical *Sitz im Leben* of its epistolary literature was the urban environment and the gentile Christians derived from it.[153] This is

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[151] James Aitken, "The Origins and Social Context of the Septuagint," in Ross and Glenny, *T&T Clark Handbook of Septuagint Research*, 11–25; Joosten and Bons, *Septuagint.*

[152] I use the word *historical* conventionally at this point; the gospels can be treated as a separate genre, and Acts of the Apostles is not a typical historical narrative. Richard Thompson, "Luke–Acts: The Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles," in *The Blackwell Companion to the New Testament*, ed. David Aune (Blackwell-Wiley, 2010); 319–43; Ben Witherington, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-rhetorical Commentary* (Eerdmans, 2007).

[153] David Fiensy, *The Social History of Palestine in the Herodian Period: The Land Is Mine*, SBEC (Mellen, 1991); Ekkehart Stegemann and Wolfgang Stegemann, *The Jesus Movement: A Social History of Its First Century* (Fortress, 1999).

different for the gospels, which are set in the realities of Palestine and the agrarian environment.[154] Both the move beyond Palestine and the formation of the early Christian tradition was a fairly complex process, which can be reconstructed by analyzing the older and younger textual layers of the New Testament. The collection of the New Testament books is a relatively coherent expression of the self-consciousness of this particular group of people living in new socio-cultural conditions. The change of these conditions and also the activities of Jesus and the apostles lead to the conclusion that in the case of LXX and the New Testament, there is a different context for the two religious discourses.[155] The essential elements of this difference are quite aptly exposed by, inter alia, the assumptions of social-scientific criticism.

The Israelite society in the Mediterranean was, first, organized theocratically (especially in the times of radical change such as under Moses, Joshua and Ezra), and second, organized around patron-client relationships. As mentioned in chapter 3, these relationships determined the social life of Israel, including master-disciple, master-servant, ruler-subject, God-human and father-son relationships. They were informal and independent of officially formulated law. They were also distinguished by the asymmetry between the parties, that is, one party always stood above the other, enjoying higher authority and honor. Very often, due to the great distance between the parties, such a relationship could only be realised with the involvement of an intermediary. Participation in the patron-client relationship was voluntary but it enabled partaking in the honor and prestige of the patron. At the same time, the relationship was obliging in the sense that both parties offered mutual benefits: on the part of the patron, care and support; on the part of the client, devotion, care for the patron's honor and availability. This was the natural order of the world of the Old Testament and Semitic culture, and it also formed

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[154] William Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes: Galilean Conflicts and the Setting of Q* (Fortress, 2014); Douglas Oakman, *Jesus and the Peasants* (Cascade, 2008); Llewellyn Howes, "The Agricultural Background of the Harvest Logion in Matthew 9.37–8 and Luke (Q) 10.2," *NTS* 69 (2023): 57–75.

[155] This does not mean that the Old Testament literature represents a uniform social order. Political and social changes had led to profound revolutions in the history of Israel, shaping an entirely new order (see chapter 3). Even such stable institutions as the priesthood were not spared. Stephen Cook, "The Levites and Sociocultural Change in Ancient Judah: Insights from Gerhard Lenski's Social Theory," in *Social Theory and the Study of Israelite Religion: Essays in Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. S. M. Olyan, RBS 71 (Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 41–58. It is also difficult to prove a unified social order in the New Testament (as seen through the eyes of the author of Luke-Acts, the author of Revelation and in epistolary literature). Jerome Neyrey, ed., *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation* (Hendrickson, 1991); Mark Keown, "The Christ-Pattern for Social Relationships: Jesus as Exemplar in Philippians and Other Pauline Epistles," in Porter and Land, *Paul and His Social Relations*, 301–31; Tucker and Kuecker, *Social Identity Commentary on the New Testament*.

the typical pattern of early Christian communities, especially as they systematically moved away from their native Judaism and into the Greco-Roman world, preferring exactly these rules of social life.[156] The patron-client arrangement performed the regulatory function of the dynamics of honor and shame, hierarchising interpersonal relations, stabilising social inequalities and incorporating a competitive and agonistic aspect. But it is here that a certain novelty emerges, initiated by the activity of Jesus of Nazareth. Indeed, throughout the New Testament discourse, from the activity of Jesus to the apostolic letters, the patron-client arrangement collapses.[157] On the one hand, it is still a feature of the relationship between Christians and public authority, and it is also a feature of the human-God relationship in whose honor believers participate and between which Jesus and the Holy Spirit mediate.[158] On the other hand, the community of believers is deprived of the agency of the priests and the elements that sustained the earlier hierarchy of relations in the community (temple, cult, priesthood and regulations of ritual purity). The authority and position of Israel's religious leaders are challenged, and with the destruction of the temple in 70 CE, the idea of limited goods reserved for the faithful and the pure also collapses. The need for priests to mediate access to the honor of Yahweh God was already becoming problematic during the activity of John the Baptist, but the death of Jesus (which was quickly given soteriological significance)[159] together with the collapse of the sacrificial system in 70 CE sealed this process.[160]

Jesus initiated a new type of community, in which access to limited goods was virtually unlimited, and which at a later time (after Jesus's death) anyone could join regardless of ethnicity. It was a community of the table, open to sinners condemned by the scribes, unworthy and unclean under the ritual laws.[161] It was a community especially open to those who, by their origin (as illegitimate children), disability and illness, were marginalised and deprived of full access to the sphere of the sacred, and thus participation in honor of the God of Israel.[162]

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[156] Marshall, *Jesus, Patrons, and Benefactors*; DeSilva, *Despising Shame*.

[157] Van Eck, "Mission, Identity and Ethics in Mark"; Van Eck, *The Parables of Jesus the Galilean: Stories of a Social Prophet*, Matrix: The Bible in Mediterranean Context (Cascade, 2016).

[158] Bruce Malina, *The Social World of Jesus and the Gospels* (Routledge, 1996).

[159] Craig Evans, "Prophet, Sage, Healer, Messiah and Martyr: Types and Identities of Jesus," in *Handbook of the Study of the Historical Jesus*, ed. Thomas Holmen and Stanley Porter, vol. 2 (Brill, 2011), 1217–44.

[160] Timothy Wardle, *The Jerusalem Temple and Early Christian Identity* (Mohr Siebeck, 2010).

[161] Narry Santos, "Family, Patronage and Social Contexts: Narrative Reversal in the Gospel of Mark," *SI* 2–3 (2008): 200–24.

[162] Bin Kang, *Honor and Shame in 1 Samuel 1–7* (Langham, 2022); Douglas Oakman, "The Biblical World of Limited Good in Cultural, Social, and Technological Perspective:

While it is difficult to find all these elements in *ipsissima verba et facta Jesu*, it is already evident in the final form of the gospel narrative and the apostolic letters.[163] The early Christian community thus also contests basic assumptions about the inheritance of honor, abstracting strongly from the notion of το ἔθνος (nation) or τό αἷμα (blood). In terms of horizontal-social relations, it is not entirely rejected (the importance of family and community is not questioned), but there is a change in priorities.

In the New Testament tradition, the key role is played by the honor inherited through belonging to God; this is hardly surprising given that in the first phase of the Jesus movement, the vast majority was formed by the groups coming from the social lowlands, the poor, slaves and social outcasts ("the poor in spirit," "thirsting for justice").[164] Thus, the boundaries between own and strangers inevitably change, the idea of chosenness and notions of purity/impurity change.[165] The change in the rules of belonging is evident in the New Testament epistolary literature, especially since Christian communities no longer include only marginalised groups but also the socially and economically more advantaged.[166] The dividing line between one's own and strangers no longer followed an ethnic, gender, cultic or economic trajectory. The believers were distinguished by new forms of expression and activity such as communal meals, baptism, the laying on of hands, the exchange of kisses and the sharing of possessions.[167] Christian communities did not form a calque of the Jewish or Greco-Roman world, they were to a great extent qualitatively new formations.[168] While in terms of differentiation, they increasingly mirrored the social profile of the Greek or

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In Memory of Bruce J. Malina—Pioneer, Patron, and Friend," *BTB* 48 (2018): 97–105; Rick Talbott, "Nazareth's Rebellious Son: Deviance and Downward Mobility in the Galilean Jesus Movement," *BTB* 38 (2008): 99–113.

[163] Howes, "Agricultural Background"; Oakman, *Jesus and the Peasants*; Sarah Rollens, *Framing Social Criticism in the Jesus Movement: The Ideological Project in the Sayings Gospel Q* (Mohr Siebeck, 2014).

[164] Jesus himself and most of the apostles also represented a rural environment. William Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes: Galilean Conflicts and the Setting of Q* (Fortress, 2014).

[165] Halvor Moxnes, *Putting Jesus in His Place: A Radical Vision of Household and Kingdom* (Westminster John Knox, 2003).

[166] Wayne Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (Yale University Press, 2003).

[167] Robert Banks, *Paul's Idea of Community: The Early House Churches in Their Cultural Setting* (Baker Academics, 1994); Porter, "How Do We Define," 7–33.

[168] Richard Horsley, "Paul's Assembly in Corinth: An Alternative Society," in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, ed. Daniel Schowalter and Steven Friesen (Harvard University Press, 2005), 371–96; David Scholer, ed. S*ocial Distinctiveness of the Christians in the First Century: Pivotal Essays by E. A. Judge* (Hendrickson, 2008); Stegemann and Stegemann, *Jesus Movement*.

Roman city over time and the nature and specificity of internal contacts diverged very far from them.[169]

The death of Jesus of Nazareth was of exceptional importance for the reformulation of social relations. For this moment, in the perception of honor, there is a complete reversal of the prevailing value system. Here is a man condemned by the men of honor, convicted and crucified by the legal-political authority, exposed to public disgrace before the chosen people, is finally elevated as the saviour of the world. This is, of course, the perspective of his disciples, but from the very beginning, it was immanently inscribed in the worldview and doctrine of Christians. The gospel narratives describe the trial of Jesus as an attempt to strip him of his honor, which turns against his opponents. Jesus not only defends his honor but denies the honor of his oppressors. Importantly, Jesus's acceptance of humiliation, his rejection of antagonism and hostility, marked a new ethos for Jesus's disciples, according to which, the path to glory (honor, dignity) involves a renunciation of violence and the use of force, and in certain circumstances requires a willingness to suffer humiliation or social disgrace. This aspect of the Christian ethos has become a significant part of community and individual life.[170] Mark Keown, analyzing the social relationships in Paul's letters, notices a consistent pattern in them: "Social relations are to be built on the pattern seen in the life of Christ … Paul lays out Christ`s example, particularly his self-giving, humility, obedience, service, suffering and death."[171]

This pattern is contained, according to him, in Phil 2:6–11 and serves as a "demonstration of true power in contrast to political and military force."[172] It is to determine the relationship between the believers and God, between the believers in the church and also between the church and the world. The participation in Jesus's way of life involves the participation in future glory and elevation. Christ-pattern in the life of Christians "is seen in a variety of ethical attitudes formed around obedience, love, humility, service, sacrifice, suffering, and even death."[173] The Christ-pattern is not limited to salvation but includes "social relationships, ethics, and all of life." Keown notices the same pattern of social relationships as

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[169] "The kinds of characteristics that often led to social stratification in the ancient world—such as race, status, and gender distinctions—were to be overcome within the Pauline churches" (Porter, "How Do We Define," 22).

[170] Maia Kotrosits, *Rethinking Early Christian Identity: Affect, Violence, and Belonging* (Fortress, 2015).

[171] Keown, "Christ-Pattern for Social Relationships," 331.

[172] Keown, "Christ-Pattern for Social Relationships," 312.

[173] Keown, "Christ-Pattern for Social Relationships," 331.

an ideal preached by Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, 1–2 to the Corinthians, 1–2 to the Thessalonians, and Romans.[174]

The emergence of a new community based on the principle of fraternity and mutual equality, perfectly exemplified by Jesus washing the disciples' feet, called into question not only such acts as retaliation and aggression (also denied by him). It also called into question the agonistic attitude in general as a norm regulating human relations. This had a direct impact on the perception of social reality, both within and outside the community. However, it is easy to overestimate this fact when assessing it from the perspective of a modern scholar as it should be remembered that the New Testament world remained constantly collectivist, even including the remnants of the idea of collective responsibility (see Rom 5). As a fundamental dimension of social life, it also regulated the dynamics of honor. Thus, the changes in the concept of the new community, its boundaries and the new rules of belonging did not mean the disappearance of group divisions or the introduction of the idea of tolerance as it is known nowadays. The social changes in question introduced a new quality but had to confront the existing order, which in practice meant the interpenetration of the old and the new.[175] Particularly because there was no ideological monolith in the body of pre-Christianity, Jesus was perceived differently by the representatives of the numerous religious groups of Judaism at the time. His teachings and death were interpreted differently by disciples coming from Pharisaic, priestly, Sapiential or prophetic-apocalyptic backgrounds. Itinerant preachers with a charismatic influence on the life of the communities also began to play a dominant role at a very early stage. Already Gerd Theissen, analyzing pre-Christianity from a sociological perspective, viewed it as a form of integration of an environment of itinerant charismatic preachers and communities seeking stability.[176]

The outflow of the early Christian communities beyond the borders of Palestine forced interaction with the pagan world and weakened links with traditional Judaism. The influx of pagans into the church encouraged the diversification of the inner world of these communities. Irrespective of the

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[174] In 1 Cor "the emphasis in chapters 1–4 is internal relationships, which must be patterned on the cross.… The pattern of the cross in terms of social relations is seen in Galatians at several points.… It not only marks relationships within the community of faith, but relationships with all people (Keown, "Christ-Pattern for Social Relationships," 331). This pattern had a great impact on the future Christian–non-Christian relationships, and is seen in the Christian martyrdom. See Amadeusz Citlak, "Suicide among Monotheistic Religions: Between Sacrifice, Honor and Power," *JORH* 67 (2023): 3709–38; Paul Middleton, "Early Christian Voluntary Martyrdom: A Statement for the Defense," *JTS* 64 (2013): 556–73.

[175] Steve Mason and Philip Esler, "Judaean and Christ-Follower Identities: Grounds for a Distinction," *NTS* 63 (2017): 493–515; Meeks, *First Urban Christians.*

[176] Gerd Theissen interprets the Jesusbewegung as a result of the ethos of itinerant charismatic preachers and the ethos of communities. Theissen, *Die Jesusbewegung;* Theissen, *Die Jesusbewegung: Sozialgeschichte.*

fundamental (formative) principles of apostolic doctrine, there was space for differing worldviews, attitudes, ethos and behavior.[177] The direct collision with the Greco-Roman world and the admission of its representatives into the circle of the followers was unprecedented, going beyond the experience of the typical Jewish diaspora; however, it was always hermetic, all the more so because one of the most important features of the new religion was its universalism, strongly abstracting from many of the provisions of the Torah. Ultimately, therefore, the New Testament discourse was born under conditions of greater social, cultural and ideological complexity.[178] It should be mentioned that the "partner" of interaction with the church was the uniquely diverse Mediterranean world of the first and second century CE and not that of a thousand or five hundred years ago. In the light of sociology, for example, a natural consequence of such transformations was a progressive differentiation of social roles and, consequently, a change in social relations and relationships,[179] requiring new interactional competencies increasingly based on cooperation and collaboration.[180]

   In brief, there are many indications to identify different social orders in the corpora of the Old and New Testamentsthat are different enough to expect their different expression in both semantic and quantitative layers. Of course, the fact that the subject of comparison is the Septuagint text and not the Hebrew Bible prompts the minimization of the expected differences to some extent. Still, the Septuagint is a translation of an earlier text and not solely an expression of the beliefs of the Egyptian diaspora of the third or second century BCE.[181] The following chapters will indicate how far and to what extent quantitative comparisons capture the suggested differences.

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[177] Hanson and Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus*; Albert Harrill, *Slaves in the New Testament: Literary, Social, and Moral Dimensions* (Fortress, 2006); Collin Petterson, *Time of Troubles: A New Economic Framework for Early Christianity* (Fortress, 2017).

[178] Still and Horrell, *After the First Urban Christians*; Esler, *First Christians and their Social Worlds*; Edwin Judge, *The First Christians in the Roman World: Augustan and New Testament Essays*, WUNT 229 (Mohr Siebieck, 2008).

[179] Hanson and Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus*; Znaniecki, *Social Relations*.

[180] Christopher Cook, "Psychiatry in Scripture: Sacred Texts and Psychopathology," *The Psychiatrist* 36 (2012): 225–29; Lee Johnson, "Social Stratification," *BTB* 43 (2013): 155–68; Pilch and Malina, *Handbook of Biblical Social Values*.

[181] I think that even if the Septuagint was regarded as a work expressing only the views of the Jews of the Egyptian diaspora, there would also be significant differences compared to the New Testament. The religious-cultural contexts are admittedly too diverse to go unnoticed in the discourse.

Part 2

4. Method, Preliminary Research, Hypotheses

4.1. The Main Goal and Research Questions

The main aim of the research presented here is to reconstruct the selected features of the linguistic image of the social world shown in the Old and New Testaments. Using the terminology of Twardowski, it is *an analysis of psychophysical products.*[1] These products are written works of ancient Israel and pre-Christianity of the first century CE representing the experiences and mental contents of the members of this culture. Such research belongs to the field of biblical-psychological criticism, or more broadly, social-scientific criticism, in which the social reality of the biblical world is usually analyzed in terms of sociological or psychological theories.[2] In this case, the theoretical context is set by the psychological tradition of the Lvov-Warsaw School, and above all by the theory of the striving for a sense of power (and a few theories derived from social sciences). The theory of the striving for a sense of power originated from the psychological analysis of ancient texts and was initially applied to interpret the social life of ancient Greece and Israel using the examples of Socrates and Jesus of Nazareth.[3] There have also been recent attempts to use this theory in the analysis of religious documents in Polish studies in 2016 and 2019. Based on these, it is possible to conclude that the conclusion that the theory of striving for a sense of power indicates one of the key socio-psychological variables of the biblical world, the intensity of which was closely related to the organization of the socio-religious life of the Old and New Testaments (and even the Quran[4]). The social world can be understood in a rather

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[1] Twardowski, "Actions and Products."

[2] Coleman Baker, "Social Identity Theory and Biblical Interpretation," *BTB* 42 (2012): 129–38; Elliot, "From Social Description to Social-Scientific Criticism"; Luomanen, Pyysiainen, and Uro, *Explaining Early Judaism and Christianity*.

[3] Witwicki, "Wprowadzenie, komentarze,"1909/1999; Witwicki, "Wprowadzenie, komentarze," 1918/1999; Witwicki, *Gorgiasz* (Księgarnia Polska B. Połonieckiego, 1922); Witwicki, *Dobra Nowina*.

[4] Citlak, *Relacje społeczne świata antycznego w świetle teorii kratyzmu*; Citlak, "Group Conflicts"; Citlak, "Psychology of the Pursuit for a Sense of Power."

broad sense as the relations between people and between human beings and God. The reconstruction of the linguistic representation of the biblical social relations includes the following:

- an analysis of the linguistic worldview of the society in terms of force-power-dominance and their variability against the background of the socio-cultural changes in Judaism and Christianity at that time;
- an analysis of the linguistic worldview of the society in terms of force-power-dominance in different types of religious discourse (historical, prophetic, epistolary);
- an analysis of the linguistic expression of the concept of emotion in the religious discourses of Judaism and Christianity (historical, prophetic, epistolary);
- an analysis of the subjects and the objects of emotions in the social relations of biblical Judaism and Christianity;
- an analysis of the evangelical image of Jesus of Nazareth in light of the concept of power-domination and preferred emotions.

The completion of these tasks will enable the identification of the essential features of the social order of early Judaism and Christianity. The results will constitute an important contribution to the tradition of social-scientific criticism research and, at the same time, will provide answers to certain questions posed in the current of cultural-historical psychology,[5] which include:

- Is there a possibility for empirical research on the historical variability of different variables and the correlations between them in cultural-historical psychology and social-scientific criticism?
- Is there a possibility of conducting research in cultural-historical psychology and social-scientific criticism using basic statistical analyzes like modern psychological science?
- Can the study of linguistic products such as texts provide adequate and reliable material for the reconstruction of the psychological experiences of their authors?
- Are socio-cultural changes linked to changes in the use of language?
- Do the different types of religious discourse (historical, prophetic, epistolary) influence the different representations of the concept of power-domination and the expression of emotions?
- Do the psychological variables indicated by one of the most important theories of the Lvov-Warsaw School allow a better understanding of the dynamics of the social world of the Bible?

A positive answer to these questions would enable social-scientific criticism to be viewed from a new perspective as a research discipline, the results of which

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[5] Gergen and Gergen, *Historical Social Psychology*; Happ, "Ignace Meyerson."

could be a valuable complement to contemporary psychological or sociological knowledge. This is especially so since the proposed perspective abstracts from strictly theological issues to some extent, treating religious (biblical) texts as a significant source of empirical (linguistic) data for social sciences.

4.2. Method and Procedure

The psychological study of ancient documents currently employs a very diverse and rich methodology. Hermeneutics, exegesis, classical philology, and the historical method have developed distinct, yet often complementary methodological tools that provide the researcher with a deeper and seemingly more complete insight into the nature of the object of study. Typical examples of the complementary research approach are analyses conducted in the historical-critical stream using *Formgeschichte*, *Redaktionsgeschichte* and *Traditionsgeschichte*, or literary analysis combined with rhetorical, structural and narrative analysis.[6] This also applies to social-scientific criticism in which the results of historical-critical research serve (or at least should serve) as a starting point for the anthropological, sociological or psychological theories used in biblical studies.[7] However, the psychological analysis of a text in a sense forces the researcher to adopt a relatively unambiguous methodological perspective, which in my opinion is not sufficiently addressed in the literature. It seems, after all, as Twardowski already noticed when trying to define the object and method of psychology, that it is the object of research that should determine the methodological instrumentarium, never the other way round.[8] Therefore, when dealing with a written text, it is linguistics, or in this case, psycholinguistics and methods of discourse analysis, that should provide an adequate instrumentarium. This is especially true since psychological variables will be evidenced by the language changes identified by the quantitative and qualitative analyses adopted directly from discourse studies.

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[6] Wilhelm Egger, *How to Read the New Testament: An Introduction to Linguistic and Historical-Critical Methodology* (Hendrickson, 1996); Daniel Marguerat and Yvan Bourquin, *How to Read Bible Stories: An Introduction to Narrative Criticism* (SCM, 1999); Michal Dinkler, *Influence: On Rhetoric and Biblical Interpretation* (Brill, 2021).

[7] Rollins, *Soul and Psyche*; Rollins and Kille, *Psychological Insight into the Bible*; Theissen, *Erleben und Verhalten der ersten Christen*; Theissen and von Gemünden, *Erkennen und Erleben.* Psychological studies of biblical texts are methodologically much more advanced than the scattered and relatively incidental psychological interpretations of other ancient texts, for example Aristotle and Plato. See Frank Dumont and Andrew Carson, "Precursors of Vocational Psychology in Ancient Civilizations," *JCD* 73 (1995): 371–79; Peter Buckley, "Ancient Templates: The Classical Origins of Psychoanalysis," *AJPt* 4 (2001): 451–60; Kathleen Evans and John McGrath, "Searching for Schizophrenia in Ancient Greek and Roman Literature: A Systematic Review," *APS* 107 (2003): 323–30.

[8] Twardowski, "O metodzie psychologii."

In the 1990s, the concept of discourse became one of the most vital concepts of social sciences as an indicator and reflection of broader socio-cultural processes or transformations. As Polkowska reports, two approaches have emerged in the stream of social discourse analysis. First, it is a micro-level analysis focused on the specific properties of language and interpersonal communicative acts. Second, it is macro-level analysis focused on historical changes and the relationships between discourse and the social structure and social and political processes.[9] The study of written discourse can concern features of the language used (linguistic dimension), it can be a reconstruction of socially transmitted judgements (cognitive dimension), or it can examine the specific social situation and circumstances in which communication takes place.[10] In the study presented here, the focus is mainly on the "macro" perspective, that is on the relationship between the social situation and the discourse features. At the same time, it is an attempt to reconstruct the linguistically expressed beliefs of religious groups about the social world, as such, it should be classified as historical discourse research.[11]

4.2.1. Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis

Modern psycholinguistics offers many tools for qualitative and quantitative discourse analysis. Qualitative analysis usually focuses on the study of the meaning of the conveyed content, communicative style, discursive strategies, or mental representation of the discourse. Quantitative methods, on the other hand, involve turn-taking analyses based on statistics of the vocabulary of the text under study. Both types of methods provide different data and should be used complementarily, but researchers usually choose predominantly one of them. An example of combining quantitative and qualitative methods is categorial analyses, that is, dominant categories that organize the meaningful space of a text or discourse. They are represented by keywords that usually obtain higher frequency counts.[12] The frequency data on categories are not a substitute for the qualitative data, but they are essential for assessing their place and function in the discourse. In the qualitative approach, the narrative research plays an important role, aiming to

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[9] Anna Polkowska, "Analiza dyskursu w badaniu zjawisk społecznych," in *Psychologiczne studia nad językiem i dyskursem*, ed. Ida Kurcz and Jerzy Bobryk (Wydawnictwo Instytutu Psychologii PAN, 2001), 121–40.

[10] Teun Van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Studies: A Sociocognitive Approach," in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (Sage, 2009), 62–86.

[11] Laurel Brinton, "Historical Discourse Analysis," in *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, ed. Deborah Tannen, Heidi Hamilton, and Deborah Schiffrin, vol. 2 (Wiley & Sons, 2015), 222–43; Ruth Wodak, "The Discourse-Historical Approach," in Wodak and Meyer, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, 63–94.

[12] Anna Wierzbicka, *Emotions across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universals* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

reconstruct the universal structure of the story as proposed by Vladimir Propp[13] or Algirdas Greimas,[14] including the protagonist's story, motivation, mission and enemies.[15] The notion of the narrative has greatly facilitated the application of psychological theories in discourse research. In light of psychology, it was possible to evaluate protagonists (individuals, social groups): their motivations, personality traits, attribution processes, or perception of the world.[16] At the same time, this paved the way for the psychological analysis of grand cultural narratives, such as those present in the Bible.[17] In the following section, the methods used in this study will be discussed, specifically frequency analysis and semantic field analysis.

Frequency analyses provide information on the frequency count of the occurrence of the selected linguistic elements, which can be the subject of statistical calculations. This minimizes the researcher's subjectivity and enables the comparison of the results obtained in different texts by one or more researchers. The method is usually applied in two ways. First, it is applied in the form of frequency dictionaries, where based on the analysis of selected documents in a given language, the statistics of the vocabulary of that language are determined, which can be used, for example, in lexical, morphological and semantic dictionaries. Second, as an analysis of the frequency of words or phrases occurring in texts that are being compared with one another. Frequency dictionaries also include vocabulary indicators (with an alphabetical list of all the words of a text and the frequency of their occurrence) and concordances (with a complete list of words, location and meaning context). Frequency quotients are also of great importance; these include the proportions of words or expressions that are relevant from the point of view of the research to contrasting expressions present in the text. The quotients are always in numerical form.

Although classified as a quantitative method, the use of frequency quotients is also an example of content analysis and is, therefore, indirectly an example of qualitative research. "The result of a content analysis is usually a set of categories annotated with frequency counts or other indicators that can be subjected to

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[13] Wladimir Propp, *Morfologia bajki* (Książka i Wiedza, 1976).

[14] Greimas, *Structural Semantics*.

[15] Claude Levi-Strauss, "Analiza morfologiczna bajki rosyjskiej," *Pamiętnik Literacki 4* (1968): 267–84.

[16] Bal, *Narratology*; Jerome Brunner, "The Narrative Construction of Reality," *CI 18* (1991): 1–21.

[17] Marguerat and Bourquin, *How to Read Bible Stories*; Powell, *What Is Narrative Criticism? A New Approach to the Bible* (Fortress, 1990); James Resseguie, *Narrative Criticism of the New Testament* (Baker Academic, 2005).

further quantitative analyses.… In social sciences, content analysis is used to gain information about individuals, groups, cultures and historical periods."[18]

Content analysis also often proves to be the only possible method of studying individuals and social groups that no longer exist but whose traces remain in the form of written documents, or holy books. Frequency analyses are useful for the study of diaries, letters or biographical texts.[19] Classical analyses of this type are, for example, presented in the works of German psychologists and linguists.[20] Suitbert Ertel, based on frequency dictionaries of French and German, developed six quotients (impersonal references quotient, classification quotient, plural quotient, nominalisation quotient, abstractness quotient and dogmatism quotient based on Milton Rokeach's theory of the closed mind) differentiating linguistically and psychologically distinct types of written discourse: dramas, novels, scientific literature, the press. Ertel's aim was first to identify different mindsets around the world, which could explain the differences in the authors' understanding of the world and cognitive styles that are visible at the level of the text.[21] Second, he aimed to count and statistically analyse appropriately selected linguistic expressions in order to identify significant differences between discourses. His third aim was to measure the text's structural properties, which are somewhat independent of the content it entails.

> The assumption is that in surface structure, in the more frequent use of a certain class of expressions compared to contrasting expressions, certain styles of thinking and apprehending reality, called cognitive styles, are revealed. The sources of this method in psychological research derive from Rokeach's (1960) concept of dogmatic personality and from Schroder, Driver and Steufert's (1967) method of studying cognitive styles.[22]

All of Ertel's quotients included the proportions of diagnostic linguistic items to nondiagnostic items (for example, for the dogmatism quotient, this was the

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[18] Charles Smith, "Content Analysis," in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social Psychology*, ed. A Tony Manstead and Miles Hewstone (Blackwell, 1996), 127.

[19] Runyan, "Evolving Conceptions of Psychobiography"; Also William Runyan, *Life Histories and Psychobiography: Explorations in Theory and Method* (Oxford University Press, 1984).

[20] Suitbert Ertel, "Erkenntnis und Dogmatismus," *PsR* 13 (1972): 241–69; Ertel, "Liberale und autoritäre Denkstile: Ein sprachstatistisch-psychologischer Ansatz," in *Die Krise des Liberalismus zwischen den Weltkriegen*, ed. Rudolf Thadden (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 234–55; Ertel, "Language, Thought and Culture: Towards a Mergence of Diverging Problem Fields," in *Knowledge and Language*, ed. Ida Kurcz, G. W. Shugar, and Joseph H. Danks (Elsevier, 1986), 139–63; Peter Vorderer and Norbert Groeben, eds., *Textanalyse als Kognitionskritik? Möglichkeiten und Grenzen ideologiekritischer Inhaltsanalyse* (Narr, 1987).

[21] Ertel, "Language, Thought and Culture."

[22] Ida Kurcz, *Język a psychologia* (WSiP, 1992), 294.

proportion of dogmatic words *always, everyone, everything, never*, et cetera, to nondogmatic words *some, sometimes*, et cetera).[23]

Another example of such analyses is the linguistic category model by Gun Semin and Klaus Fiedler,[24] which identifies forms of linguistic construction and the transmission of social knowledge by analyzing the frequency of verb and adjective categories. The model determines the extent to which the author of a text or an utterance manipulates the level of abstractness of the description of social entities and the extent to which linguistically transmitted knowledge about the world has a permanent character or is resistant to modification. It has been used repeatedly to identify social and religious stereotypes, as well as group conflicts and discrimination processes.[25] Interestingly, it is also characterized by high reliability in cross-cultural studies,[26] and with appropriate modification, it can also be used to measure the sense of social closeness.[27] A widespread and empirically validated tool for psycholinguistic analysis of text is currently the LIWC (Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count—Pennebaker).[28] It enables a quantitative analysis of linguistic categories describing, for example, cognitive processes, biological processes, emotions and the concept of space and time. The LIWC has proven to

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[23] The most interesting results were provided by Ertel's dogmatism quotient: in Hitler's speeches in the Reichstag, he obtained increasing values from the moment Hitler came to power until the end of the war in 1945; an increase in the quotient was also noted in the German press during the period of the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961, and even in Immanuel Kant's texts during the period of the creation of *the Critique of Pure Reason* (Ertel, "Language, Thought and Culture").

[24] Gün Semin and Klaus Fiedler, "The Cognitive Functions of Linguistic Categories in Describing Persons: Social Cognition and Language," *JPSP* 54 (1988): 558–68; Semin and Fiedler, "The Linguistic Category Model, Its Bases, Applications and Range," in *European Review of Social Psychology*, ed. Wolfgang Stroebe and Miles Hewstone (Wiley, 1991), 1–50; Semin and Fiedler, "The Inferential Properties of Interpersonal Verbs," in *Language, Interaction and Social Cognition*, eds. Gun Semin, Klaus Fiedler (Sage, 1992), 58–78.

[25] Luigi Anolli, Valentino Zurloni, and Giuseppe Riva, "Linguistic Intergroup Bias in Political Communication," *JGP* 133 (2006): 237–55; Bernard Guerin, "Gender Bias in the Abstractness of Verbs and Adjectives," *JSP* 134 (2007): 421–28; Anne Maass et al., "Language Use in Intergroup Contexts: The Linguistic Intergroup Bias," *JPSP* 57 (1989): 981–93.

[26] Anne Maass, Minoru Karasava, and Federica Politi, "Do Verbs and Adjectives Play Different Roles in Different Cultures? A Cross-Linguistic Analysis of Person Representation," *JPSP* 90 (2006): 734–50.

[27] Citlak, "Psychology of the Pursuit for a Sense of Power."

[28] James Pennebaker, Roger Booth and Martha Francis, *Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count: LIWC 2007* (LIWC.net, 2007).

be a valuable tool for identifying psychological changes expressed by different frequencies of selected linguistic categories.[29]

Frequency analyses are now an important part of social psychology and social cognition. The focus is on virtually every linguistic category, the choice of which depends only on the research perspective and the theory adopted. In the study of ideological radicalism, key information is provided by the higher frequency count of noun forms (categories) than verb forms (description of actions), as the main source of explicit knowledge and information in a dynamically changing world.[30] In the study of dominance and social power, the frequency counts of pronouns and prepositions, specifying the subject's place in the social structure and hierarchy, may prove to be useful. In the study of stereotyping and dehumanisation processes, the most important source of psychological data is the analysis of adjectival forms.[31] Frequency data are of great value in the psychological assessment of the personality of the author of a text (a diary, a memoir), their perception of the world, and even their tendency towards mental disorders or emotional problems.[32]

New research opportunities are now being created as a result of access to modern technologies and computer software, for example, corpus-driven and corpus-based approaches.[33] The object of study is the increasingly large text corpora

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[29] For example, in the study of linguistic behavior before and after the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center (disappearance of the subject "I" versus increased presence of the subject "we"—Michael Cohn, Matthias Mehl and James Pennebaker, "Linguistic Markers of Psychological Change Surrounding September 11, 2001," *PS* 15 [2004]: 687–93), in the analysis of lying (Matthew Newman et al., "Lying Words: Predicting Deception from Linguistic Styles," *PSPB* 29 [2003]: 665–75), depression (for example, higher frequencies of personal pronouns "I" and words denoting negative emotions (Cindy Chung and James Pennebaker, "The Psychological Function of Function Words," in *Social Communication: Frontiers of Social Psychology*, ed. Klaus Fiedler [Psychology Press, 2007], 343–59), or in the analysis of poetic texts.

[30] Andrea Carnaghi et al., "Nomina Sunt Omina: On the Inductive Potential of Nouns and Adjectives in Person Perception," *JPSP* 94 (2008): 839–59; Aleksandra Cichocka et al., "On the Grammar of Politics—Or Why Conservatives Prefer Nouns," *PoP* 37 (2016): 799–815; John Jost et al., "Political Conservatism as Motivated Social Cognition," *PB* 129 (2003): 339–75.

[31] Sarah Choi et al., "Automated Analysis of Narrative: NarrCat and the Identification of Infrahumanization Bias within Text," *JLSP* 39 (2019): 237–59; Nick Haslam et al., "More Human than You: Attributing Humanness to Self and Others," *JPSP* 89 (2005): 973–50; Maass et al., "Do Verbs and Adjectives Play Different Roles."

[32] Monika Obrębska and Sandra Nowak, "The Level of Dogmatism in Schizophrenia: A Comparative Analysis of Utterance Texts with the Use of the Suitbert Ertel Dogmatism Quotient," *PLC* 15 (2011): 49–62.

[33] "Corpus-based analyses are the most traditional, employing the grammatical categories recognized by other linguistic theories but investigating their patterns of variation and use empirically.… Corpus-driven approaches are even more innovative, using corpus analysis to uncover linguistic constructs that are not recognized by traditional linguistic theories."

collected over many years, and even the evolution of vocabulary and grammar.[34] More interesting though is that it creates opportunities to identify hidden and previously unknown patterns of linguistic behavior, evolving mentalities and worldviews. However, given that language is always embedded in a unique *Sitz im Leben*, corpus-driven and corpus-based approaches enable access to the symbolic expression of social, cultural and religious changes. In short, turn-taking research reaches far beyond purely quantitative data, providing an opportunity for insight into the nature of social cognition. This approach to working with texts also enables the verification of hypotheses through statistical calculations, thanks to which qualitative phenomena that are difficult to grasp empirically can be studied objectively, at least to some extent.[35]

The aforementioned methodology is now an enduring achievement of social sciences, which can be applied, after sufficient modification, to psychological biblical criticism. Biblical discourse from a quantitative perspective appears more and more in literature, although these studies are pioneering and rather relate to general issues, such as vocabulary distribution, analysis of grammatical categories and syntactic patterns. Nevertheless, their contribution is significant and allows some problems of contemporary biblical studies to be addressed in a new perspective. For example, van Peursen analyzes different types of biblical texts and their syntactic variation with the use of computational methods, thus discovering "new patterns in biblical poetry."[36] Miller-Naude and Naude, using computational analysis of Biblical Hebrew grammar, conclude: "We are now in a phase where there is a re-unification of traditional hermeneutical and exegetical analysis of texts with the electronic discoveries of patterns in texts as part of this general trend."[37]

Douglas Biber, "Corpus-Based and Corpus-Driven Analyses of Language Variation and Use," in *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Analysis*, ed. Bernd Heine and Heiko Narrog (Oxford University Press, 2012), 221. See also Paul Baker, *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis* (Continuum, 2006); Elena Tognini-Bonelli, *Corpus Linguistics at Work* (Benjamins, 2001).

[34] Paul Baker and Rachelle Vessey, "A Corpus-Driven Comparison of English and French Islamist Extremist Texts," *IJCL* 23 (2018): 255–78; Isabeau De Smet and Freek Van de Velde, "A Corpus-Based Quantitative Analysis of Twelve Centuries of Preterite and Past Participle Morphology in Dutch," *LVC* 32 (2020): 241–65.

[35] The notion of meaning need not be something ethereal and intangible; on the contrary, it can be at the center of quantitative methodology.

[36] Wilhelm Peursen, "New Directions in Computational Analysis of Biblical Poetry," in *Congress Volume Stellenbosch 2016*, ed. Louis Jonker, Gideon Kotzé, and Christl Maier, VTSup 177 (Brill, 2017), 378.

[37] Cynthia Miller-Naude and Jacobus Naude, "New Directions in the Computational Analysis of Biblical Hebrew Grammar," *JFS* 27 (2018): 17; Jose Alviar, "Recent Advances in Computational Linguistics and Their Application to Biblical Studies," *NTS* 54 (2008): 139–59; Hajime Murai, "Exegetical Science for the Interpretation of the Bible: Algorithms

There is no need to cite the growing number of such publications, suffice to add that they already have a permanent place in contemporary biblical studies and form an important network with the current of cognitive science of religion.[38]

The sociolinguistic approach in biblical studies also has a rich research tradition in this field. "Language is the principal means of communication between the individual and his social environment and a major tool for conveying socio-cultural information. Consequently, language usage always interacts with its social context"[39] and it is this interaction that sociolinguistics studies. The analysis of discourse or text corpora, treated as a "speech community,"[40] enables the identification of the complexity and structure of the community, and the specificity of different social groups (women, men, hierarchy of priests, authorities).[41] Moreover, the stylistic and syntactic features of the selected corpora provide insights into the link between the development of language and the development of the community,[42] allowing the perception of the socio-cultural context underlying the textual tradition, which is largely responsible for its specificity.[43] Sociolinguistics also has a close connection with the sociology of knowledge, thus providing a

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and Software for Quantitative Analysis of Christian Documents," in *Software Engineering, Artificial Intelligence: Studies in Computational Intelligence*, ed. Roger Lee (Springer, 2013), 67–86. Cody Kingham has also made an interesting proposal for an "empirical approach to Hebrew verb semantics" using "vector spaces" analyses. Cody Kingham, "Toward a Distributional Approach to Verb Semantics in Biblical Hebrew: An Experiment with Vector Spaces" (Master's thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2018). Frequency and statistical analyses obviously play a key role.

[38] Czachesz, "Network Analysis of Biblical Texts"; Czachesz, *Cognitive Science and the New Testament*. An analysis of social relationships in Paul's letters, based on syntactic and lexical analysis, was also presented by Stanley Porter. However, it is not based on statistical summaries and ultimately should be classified more as a content analysis method. The author describes Paul's original linguistic techniques of maintaining the relations of subordination, equality, and dependence in the church (Porter, "How Do We Define"; see also the doctoral dissertation he cited). James Dvorak, *The Interpersonal Metafunction in 1 Corinthians 1–4: The Tenor of Thoughness* (Brill, 2012).

[39] Frank Polak, "Sociolinguistics: A Key to the Typology and the Social Background of Biblical Hebrew," *HS* 47 (2006): 116.

[40] Dell Hymes, *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974).

[41] Laura Hare, "Gendered Speech: A Sociolinguistic Study of Conversations between Men and Women in Biblical Narrative" (PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 2018).

[42] Robert Rezetko and Ian Young, *Historical Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew. Steps Toward an Integrated Approach* (Society of Biblical Literature, 2014).

[43] Hughson Ong, *Sociolinguistic Analysis of the New Testament* (Brill, 2022); Polak, "Sociolinguistics"; Frank Polak, "The Book of Samuel and the Deuteronomist: A Syntactic-Stylistic Analysis," in *Die Samuelbücher Und Die Deuteronomisten*, ed. Christa Schäfer-Lichtenberger (Kohlhammer, 2010), 34–73; William Schniedewind, "Prolegomena for the Sociolinguistics of Classical Hebrew," *JHS* 5 (2005): 1–33.

convenient space for research in cognitive linguistics that considers the mental perspective of the authors of the studied sources.[44] The biblical discourse developed over hundreds of years, documented by coherent collections of texts, is a mine of knowledge in this field.[45] However, it should be acknowledged that sociolinguistic analysis, similarly to psychological analysis, is usually limited to the application of selected theoretical models in order to understand the specifics of biblical discourse in a fuller way.[46] By contrast, it is difficult to find any research conducted by biblical scholars with the aim of attempting to integrate their findings into sociolinguistics as a scientific discipline. Empirical data could, after all, provide a basis for the (at least partial) verification of postulated laws in this field, for example, concerning the evolution of language reflecting social evolution or social order (just as psychological-biblical criticism could provide results verifying the laws of cultural-historical psychology).

One of the more interesting proposals of sociolinguistics is the concept of anti-language,[47] which effectively describes the linguistic specificity of many biblical narratives. Anti-language refers to the features of a language a community uses within another (usually larger) social organism. Such a community finds itself in conflict with the environment, over which it has little influence. As a minority group with less power, it is also in opposition or is defensive and treats the dominant status quo of the environment as an object of contestation or criticism. To face threats, the group focuses on its value system, unique relationships and ethos, presenting them as an alternative to the threatening environment. It does not matter whether the threat is objective or subjective; what matters is the perspective of its members and their attitude towards what is happening outside.[48] The group then functions as an anti-social entity, and its anti-language plays a crucial role in maintaining identity and survival. Language "provides an alternative social structure, with its system of values, of sanctions, of rewards and

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[44] Gitte Kristiansen and René Dirven, eds., *Cognitive Sociolinguistics: Language Variation, Cultural Models, Social Systems* (De Gruyter, 2008); Powel Cian, *The Significance of Linguistic Diversity in the Hebrew Bible Language and Boundaries of Self and Other* (Mohr Siebeck, 2022); See also Ronit Nikolsky et al., eds., *Language, Cognition, and Biblical Exegesis. Interpreting Minds* (Bloomsbury, 2022).

[45] Studying the social history of ancient Israel using Hebrew also has severe limitations due to the limited amount of linguistic data (Schniedewind, "Prolegomena").

[46] Hughson Ong, *The Multilingual Jesus and the Sociolinguistic World of the New Testament* (Brill, 2016); Ong, *Sociolinguistic Analysis of the New Testament*.

[47] Michael Halliday, "Anti-languages," *AA* 78 (1976): 570–84.

[48] Raimo Hakola, "The Johannine Community as a Constructed, Imagined Community," in *Social Memory and Social Identity in the Study of Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Samuel Byrskog, Raimo Hakola, and Jutta Jokiranta, NTOA/SUNT 166 (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 211–40.

punishments; and then becomes the source of an alternative identity for its members, through the patterns of acceptance and gratification."[49]

Anti-language is distinguished by a sharp dichotomisation of the world, radicalism, giving original meanings (typical for in-group members) to traditional concepts and emphasizing the boundaries between in-group and out-group reality. In descriptions of enemies, harsh, critical assessments, epithets, irony, satire, and hyperbole become common. Anti-language has often been identified in biblical literature, especially in narratives created by marginalised groups, threatening or contesting the current social status quo. It is typical of the prophets[50] and early Christian communities and is visible, for example, in the linguistic tradition of the Gospel of Matthew,[51] the Johannine Community,[52] late-epistles, and the texts from Qumran.[53] Anti-language provides information about the group's position and identity construction. Still, it can also be an essential source of data about perceiving reality, categorizing social entities, and generally thinking about the world. I will return to this topic when analyzing selected Old and New Testament corpora. A vital research trend is also socio-rhetorical interpretation (SRI), which combines rhetorical analysis with social sciences (sociology, anthropology, psychology) and cognitive science. It has developed in biblical studies with increasing momentum in the last thirty years.[54] The results allow us to look at old problems of exegesis in a new light and include new variables that have not been considered. Socio-rhetorical analysis is embedded in the broader context of

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[49] Halliday, "Anti-languages," 575.

[50] William Domeris, "Shades of Irony in the Anti-Language of Amos," *HTS* 72 (2016): 1–8; Domeris, "Jeremiah and the Religion of Canaan; a Sociolinguistic Approach," *OTE* 7 (1994): 7–20.

[51] Jurie Le Roux, "Andries van Aarde's Matthew Interpretation," *HTS* 67 (2011): 1–10.

[52] Bruce Malina, "John's: the Maverick Christian Group the Evidence of Sociolinguistics," *BTB* 24 (1994): 167–82; Fiorenza Schüssler, *The Power of the Word: Scripture and the Rhetoric of Empire* (Fortress, 2007); David Reed, "Rethinking John's Social Setting: Hidden Transcript, Anti-Language, and the Negotiation of the Empire," *BTB* 36 (2006): 93–106.

[53] William Schniedewind, "Qumran Hebrew as an Antilanguage," *JBL* 118 (1999): 235–52.

[54] Especially Vernon Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts: A Guide to Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation* (Trinity International, 1996); Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse: Rhetoric, Society and Ideology* (Routledge, 1996); Vernon K. Robbins, Robert H. von Thaden, and Bart B. Bruehler, eds., *Foundations for Sociorhetorical Exploration*, RRA 4 (SBL Press, 2016); Duane F. Watson, ed., *Miracle Discourse in the New Testament* (Society of Biblical Literature, 2012); Martin Troy, ed. *Genealogies of New Testament Rhetorical Criticism* (Fortress, 2015); Randolph Tate, "Socio-rhetorical Criticism," in *Interpreting the Bible: A Handbook of Terms and Methods* (Hendrickson, 2006), 342–46. Developments of the research in the world see also Vernon Robbins, "From Otago, Africa, and India to Asia, Australia, and Oceania," in *Welcoming the Nations: International Sociorhetorical Explorations*, ed. Vernon K. Robbins and Roy R. Jeal (SBL Press, 2020), 19–32.

communication theory and classical and contemporary rhetoric. One of the critical tasks is to answer how (using linguistic means/techniques) the author of the text creates his narrative to influence the reader. The text is not passive but—especially in the biblical literature—actively affects the reader/listener, evoking emotions, beliefs or behavior. The text is also a space for implementing linguistic behaviour that reflects a certain way of perceiving the world and cognitive representation of reality. Rhetorical analysis is not treated as a separate method. "SRI is a heuristic or interpretive analytic that enables interpreters to select from a variety of interpretive strategies and methods … like semiotics, sociolinguistics, literary studies, rhetoric, ethnography, social sciences, cognitive science, and ideological studies."[55]

Compared to sociolinguistics, which emphasizes the relationship between language and social space, the relationship between linguistic behavior and the mental sphere of language users plays an important role here. The networks of language connections are treated comprehensively, and representatives of sociorhetorical analysis take into account the social, religious, ideological and even geographical aspects. Each change in one of the mentioned aspects is closely related to a different conceptualization of the world and, therefore, to a different linguistic representation. Each text is saturated with a specific network of topics/topoi that

> Are landmarks in the mental geography of thought which themselves evoke networks of meanings in their social, cultural.… The configuration of language in a text evokes a particular view of the world (specific social topics), participates in general social and cultural attitudes, norms, and modes of interaction known to people at the time of composition of the text.[56]

An essential function in SRI is played by the concept of rhetorolect, which is defined as "An elision of 'rhetorical dialects' that refers to emergent modes of discourse like those created by early Christ-believers, who shaped and reshaped language so that they could articulate their new faith … in their communities (the ekklēsia) and in Mediterranean societies."[57] The authors distinguish six rhetorolects (wisdom, prophetic, apocalyptic, precreation, priestly, miracle discourse), a unique "belief system or forms of life" for Christians that emerged from the Mediterranean milieu of that time.[58] Socio-rhetorical analysis uses original conceptual instruments, which ensures high consistency of the obtained results.

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[55] Duane F. Watson, "Retrospect and Prospect of Sociorhetorical Interpretation," in Robbins and Jeal, *Welcoming the Nations*, 11–17.

[56] "Glossary," in Robbins, von Thaden, and Bruehler, *Foundations for Sociorhetorical Exploration*, 23–24.

[57] "Glossary," 15.

[58] Vernon K. Robbins, *The Invention of Christian Discourse*, RRA (Deo, 2009).

SRI is close to the analysis presented in this monograph in many respects. What they have in common is the interest in the mental space of the authors of biblical discourse and the connections between language and the socio-cultural world. In quantitative research, keywords, which can be identified (or related) as topoi/topics, also play an essential role. Topoi and keywords are landmarks in historical discourse research and the reconstruction of the authors' cognitive maps. However, the difference is that we will focus on something other than the impact of the text or the author's rhetorical devices, which were important in transmitting religious content to the reader. In our analysis, the key will be the saturation of the language with terminology that was (we believe) closely related to the perception of the world in terms of power-strength-domination, as well as the correlation between this dimension of the world perception and the preference for various constellations of emotions. Combining both ways of analyzing biblical discourse would prove exciting and provide congruent conclusions. However, due to the extensive area of linguistic analyses, this would require a separate study, for example, the identification of topoi and their meaning and place in the cognitive space of the authors of biblical books (written in various socio-cultural conditions).

Sociorhetoric and sociolinguistics also seem to be excellent theoretical and methodological complements to the dynamically developing cognitive linguistics in biblical studies. Following the basic assumption of cognitive linguistics, language is treated as an expression of cognitive and thinking processes.[59] It provides empirically confirmed knowledge about how the human mind structures the reality it learns and what cognitive tools, strategies, and heuristics it uses. The most common and basic ones include categorising, evaluating, and constructing meanings. A particularly interesting field of research are the mechanisms governing semantics, syntax and the development of linguistic structures at the ontogenetic and phylogenetic levels. Although cognitive linguistics is closely related to experimental study on the brain and human cognition, language is treated here as a complex dynamic system. In practice, this means "that linguistic meaning is dynamic and flexible, and able to change in order to accommodate new experiences and situations."[60] As an "intersubjective, historically and socially variable tool, language transcends the individual."[61] In the light of cognitive linguistics, we are not talking about an objective but about embodied cognition.

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[59] Dagmar Divjak, Natalia Levshina, and Jane Klavan, "Cognitive Linguistics: Looking Back, Looking Forward," C*L* 27 (2016): 447–63; Ewa Dąbrowska and Dagmar Divjak, *Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics* (De Gruyton Mouton, 2015); Vyvyan Evans, *Cognitive Linguistics: A Complete Guide* (Edinburgh University Press, 2019).

[60] Jacobus Van der Merwe, "Biblical Hebrew and Cognitive Linguistics: A General Orientation," in *New Perspectives in Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew*, ed. Aaron Hornkohl and Geoffrey Khan (University of Cambridge; Open Book, 2021), 644.

[61] Dirk Geeraerts, "The Sociosemiotic Commitment," *CL* 27 (2016): 528.

> This means that when humans interact with (and/or talk about) the world that they live in, the "reality" that they represent linguistically is always the outcome of their bodily experiences as both individuals and members of a social group in specific situations.… Language therefore does not reflect the world objectively; it represents an embodied perspective on the world. Furthermore, these mental representations do not emerge from, or exist in, a vacuum. They are grounded in the past experiences of the individual and the shared experiences, values, and conventions of the social group.[62]

This is why cognitive linguistics creates opportunities to reconstruct the cognitive map of language users or a given community. There is no need to emphasize how important the research results from this perspective can be for biblical scholars.

It is worth emphasizing two significant weaknesses/difficulties of cognitive linguistics. First, a broader theoretical context is needed for models of cognitive processes later identified in the language and text. Second, there is a need for broader linguistic research in a natural, nonexperimental environment that could reveal naturally constructed meaning and conceptual networks, both in a synchronic and diachronic approach. Such results can be provided primarily by corpus linguistics using quantitative and qualitative data and statistical analyses.[63] I think that contemporary biblical scholarship could be an interesting field of such research, especially since its subject of interest is linguistic corpora written in one language over hundreds of years, created by a more or less uniform ethnic environment (Jews and the Hebrew language), and then an environment sharing a coherent system of Christian values (expressed in Greek or Latin). René Driven distinguished five strands in cognitive linguistics: the gestalt-psychological, the phenomenological, the cognitive sociolinguistic, the cognitive discourse and the psycholinguistic.[64] I am convinced that biblical scholarship can provide unique results for the phenomenological strand, which, together with the cognitive sociolinguistic and cognitive discourse strand, could constitute an original starting point for the psychological or gestalt-psychological strand.[65] The proposal

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[62] Van der Merwe, "Biblical Hebrew," 648.

[63] Laura Janda, "Quantitative Methods in Cognitive Linguistics: An Introduction," in *Cognitive Linguistics: The Quantitative Turn: The Essential Reader* (De Gruyter Mouton, 2013), 1–32; Stefan Gries and Anatol Stefanowitsch, *Corpora in Cognitive Linguistics: Corpus-Based Approaches to Syntax and Lexis* (De Gruyter, 2006).

[64] René Dirven, "Major Strands in Cognitive Linguistics," in *Cognitive Linguistics: Internal Dynamics and Interdisciplinary Interaction*, ed. R. de Mendoza Ibáñez and M. Sandra Peña Cervel (De Gruyter, 2005), 17–68.

[65] Biblical scholars worldwide are already making the first attempts in general cognitive linguistics and the linguistic-cognitive analysis of emotions. See Bonnie Howe and Joel B. Green, *Cognitive Linguistic Explorations in Biblical Studies* (De Gruyter, 2014); Job Jindo, *Biblical Metaphor Reconsidered: A Cognitive Approach to Poetic Prophecy in Jeremiah*

presented in my monograph is very close to cognitive linguistics. We are interested in a cognitive way of perceiving the world through a linguistic grid (including categories, evaluation, and emotions). It also seems to be close to the concept of Gestalt because it means a particular way of understanding and ordering reality by the author of the biblical text, which we will call cratic orientation (the power-dominance orientation—see chapter 4.4).

The socio-cognitive aspect of the linguistic worldview can be captured in many forms. Still, ultimately, it is the identification of keywords, the central conceptual categories that linguistically and psychologically organize the discourse space, that deserves a few words of explanation. Usually, frequency dictionaries of the given language are used to find the significant words in increased frequency counts. Another approach is to identify the common phraseological core for important words in the language or to establish the diversity of vocabulary in a particular aspect of community life. "The structure of vocabulary is a basic indicator of the characteristic features of a culture"[66] and, therefore, represents a different conceptual apparatus. A typical example is Anna Wierzbicka's research, which identified concepts that focalise the consciousness of various ethno-linguistic groups which emerged from different historical experiences.[67] The meaning of keywords can also be reconstructed using an analysis of their semantic field/semantic domain. In her classic work, Regina Robin, referring to French research (Centre for Political Lexicology in Saint-Cloud), defines the semantic field as the meaning of a word or concept, visible in all its connections in the studied text. "Text is not transparent. To find the meaning of a word means to analyse all its uses or contexts."[68]

Thus, the researcher should identify all the opposites of the studied word occurring in the text, then the associations, equivalents, actions of the subject and actions directed at the subject. In this way, a grid of associations of a given category and its detailed characterization is created. In other words, a semantic field emerges. The procedure is relatively easy to apply, but it does not take into account the stylistic or rhetorical procedures of the author of the text. A poorly created grid may include linguistic elements that play a different role than it might seem (for example, a linguistic element may be considered the opposite of a

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1–24 (Brill, 2010); Zacharias Kotzé, "A Cognitive Linguistic Approach to the Emotion of Anger in the Old Testament," *HTS* 60 (2004): 843–63; Paul Kruger, "A Cognitive Interpretation of the Emotion of Anger in the Hebrew Bible," *JNSL* 26 (2000): 155–62; Jacobus Van der Merwe, "Biblical Exegesis, Cognitive Linguistics and Hypertext," in *Congress Volume Leiden 2004*, ed. André Lemaire, VTSup 109 (Brill, 2006), 255–80.

[66] Wierzbicka, *Understanding Cultures*, 35.

[67] Wierzbicka, *Understanding Cultures*; Wierzbicka, *Emotions across Languages*.

[68] Regine Robin, "Badanie pól semantycznych: Doświadczenia Ośrodka Leksykologii Politycznej w Saint Cloud," in *Język i społeczeństwo*, ed. Michał Głowiński (Czytelnik, 1980), 252.

keyword, although it is not). The decision to assign selected text elements depends on the researcher's knowledge and intuition.

It should be stressed that the study of semantic fields is not only an achievement of modern linguistics; in fact, it is a very old tradition, especially in classical philology and biblical studies. Already the Jewish rabbis, and later Christian exegetes and theologians, conducted systematic and detailed analyses of what in modern linguistics is called the keyword. The search for the meaning of the words under study consisted of collating all its occurrences, establishing contexts, and doing so diachronically with consideration to the diversity of sources.[69] Equivalences, associations, oppositions and actions of the subject were also established, adding a detailed etymological analysis. The study of semantic fields for selected keywords present in ancient literature currently relies on in-depth exegesis, philology, history and hermeneutics.[70] This is the nature of modern exegetical or theological dictionaries.[71] Moreover, dictionaries based on semantic field analysis are also available. They provide a completely different insight into the processes of perception and the understanding of reality by the authors of biblical books than traditional dictionaries.[72] There is no doubt, however, that contemporary psycholinguistic proposals are methodologically more advanced and make it possible to obtain such results which are easier to translate into the language of modern psychology or sociology.

In the following chapters, quantitative and qualitative analyses are presented as the primary source of empirical data. First, statistical data on the vocabulary of the Old and New Testaments, as well as frequency quotients. Second, analyses of the semantic fields of the selected concepts or keywords. Both frequency rates and semantic fields semantic fields aim to identify the linguistic representation of the world in terms of force-power-dominance and dominant emotions. As a supplement, the modified Semin and Fiedler's linguistic category model (adapted to the biblical text and the purpose of the study) is used to identify a sense of social closeness. The whole procedure is applied in three stages: (1) in comparisons between the Old and New Testaments, (2) in the canonical gospels presenting the image of Jesus of Nazareth, (3) in the early and late epistolary literature of the New Testament. The construction of the linguistic tools and each stage is presented in detail in the following subsections.

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[69] Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*.

[70] Udo Schnelle, Michael Labahn, and Manfred Lang, eds., *Neuer Wettstein. Texte zum Neuen Testament aus Griechentumund Hellenismus*, 2 vols. (De Gruyter 2001).

[71] Bauer, *Griechisch-Deutsches Worterbuch*; *ThWAT*; *TDNT*.

[72] L&N; James Swanson, *A Dictionary of Biblical Languages with Semantic Domains: Hebrew Old Testament* (Logos Research Systems, 1997); Reinier De Blois, "Towards a New Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew Based on Semantic Domains" (PhD Thesis, Free University of Amsterdam, 2000).

4.3. Corpora Comparison and Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz's Thesis

Comparing text corpora in terms of quantity, however, has certain limitations, which can clearly be seen in the case of the books of the Old and New Testaments. The basic problem concerns two different languages: Hebrew and Greek. Thus, it concerns firstly a different vocabulary, and secondly, a different conceptual apparatus. In the tradition of the Lvov-Warsaw School, the conceptual apparatus and the issue of meaning were dealt with first of all by Ajdukiewicz, one of the most devoted students of Twardowski.[73] According to Ajdukiewicz, the worldview expressed in judgements/convictions recognised by an individual is based not only on the experience and data coming from experience. To a large extent, this image is based on an accepted conceptual apparatus (*Begriffsapparatur*), whose origin reaches far beyond an individual's cognitive processes and is closely related to a socially created system of signs and processes of a cultural nature. He even claims that "not only some, but all judgements … depend on the conceptual apparatus."[74] Judgements may be accepted on the basis of experience, but always with the acceptance of a certain conceptual apparatus. The change of the apparatus may lead to the rejection of a judgment even based on the same experience (it does not change the fact, however, that given experiences have an influence on which concepts will be included in the worldview). The linguistic worldview, therefore, comprises not only a set of concepts and syntactic rules typical of the given language but predominantly a way of assigning meanings to particular words and concepts. This is a key thesis. Ajdukiewicz distinguished three types of meaning directives that affect the way meanings are assigned: axiomatic, deductive and empirical.

> In every language the conceptual apparatus is different, although syntactic rules do not differ much. The process of assigning meanings is very unique, not only for different ethnic languages but also for languages of different social groups within one ethnic language. The same reality can be perceived and understood differently on the basis of a different conceptual apparatus.[75]

Meaning is not a purely subjective phenomenon limited to the individual's cognitive processes; rather, it is an intersubjective phenomenon and process constructed in social space. Thus, it is not only that the ethnic language (or rather the

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[73] Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz, "O znaczeniu wyrażeń: Księga Pamiątkowa Polskiego Towarzystwa Filozoficznego we Lwowie," in *Język i poznanie: Wybór pism z lat 1920-1939*, ed. Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz (Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 2006), 31–77; Ajdukiewicz, "Das Weltbild und Begriffsapparatur," *Erkenntnis 4* (1934): 259–87; Ajdukiewicz, "Sprache und Sinn," *Erkenntnis* 4 (1934): 100–138.

[74] Ajdukiewicz, "Obraz świata a aparatura językowa," in Ajdukiewicz, *Język i poznanie*, 175.

[75] Citlak, "Problem of Mind and Mental Acts," 1068–69.

conceptual apparatus present in it) determines the process of cognition of the world by those who use it but also that within one language, there are always different languages based on the same syntactic rules and the same (or very similar) vocabulary but on different semantic directives, and thus on different conceptual apparatus. "If there has been a change in the language-specific way of assigning meanings, then there has been a change of language."[76]

In light of these statements, it becomes evident that the Old and New Testaments represent different conceptual apparatus based on different historical-cultural experiences and also different systems of meaning. The dictionaries of these apparatuses do not match and comparing them using frequency analyzes seems to be a controversial procedure. It is, in fact, difficult to formulate convincing conclusions about the differences in the way the world is understood expressed in the different statistics of the comparison of Hebrew and Greek vocabularies. This seems much more reasonable with a common linguistic ground, for example, only in Greek or only in Hebrew. For this reason, the quantitative analyses will be conducted in the Greek version of the Old Testament (Septuagint) and the Greek text of the New Testament. The use of the Septuagint automatically introduces a certain change in the research perspective, as it brings us a little closer to the mentality of the Jews at the turn of the eras. Although it is a translation of the Hebrew text, it dates from the third/second century BCE, and therefore represents a linguistic specificity closer to the New Testament. It can be expected that a comparison of the LXX and New Testament would show a greater similarity than if the Hebrew text of the Old Testament was considered (obviously in terms of conceptual apparatus and not just vocabulary). Besides, this text, in a certain sense, narrows the research perspective, that is, the evolutionary perspective, since it represents the Greek language of the third/second century BCE and not, for example, of the tenth century BCE. What is crucial for this study, however, is the vocabulary and concepts that the Septuagint Greek language attempts to express, which are the cultural products of Israel from an earlier period. The linguistic dependence on the Hebrew text can be seen in terms of vocabulary, whole phrases, and even mindsets. However, this feature of the Septuagint makes it such a valuable source of information for proposed analysis. Comparing the two collections, therefore, seems justified, especially since they were written in "the later Greek, the koine—the dialect in general use among Greek-speaking peoples from the 4th century onwards."[77]

However, the reconstruction of the features of the linguistic worldview in both the Septuagint and the Greek text of the New Testament is not equivalent to the reconstruction of the conceptual apparatus of the Jewish scholars (translators

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[76] Ajdukiewicz, "Obraz świata a aparatura językowa," 179.
[77] Henry Swete, *Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge University Press, 1968), 294.

of the Septuagint) or the authors of the New Testament. In both cases, Greek was a secondarily adopted medium for expressing the conceptual apparatus embedded in Semitic culture and also in the Hebrew and Aramaic languages.[78]

4.4. Preliminary Research and Hypotheses

In cultural-historical psychology, experimental schemes are impossible, the researcher has no influence on the independent variables, and causal inference is limited. Although causal explanations in biblical scholarship are common, it must be admitted that according to the methodological demands placed on social sciences, such a procedure is problematic. However, hypotheses on the correlation between variables and the analysis of their historical variability are justified. These hypotheses may also be verified empirically.

The *dependent variable* in this study is the social relations presented in the biblical discourse, conceptualised mainly according to Witwicki's theory of striving for a sense of power (partly also Adler's theory and the concept of honor— see section 2.2). In other words, the *dependent variable* is the linguistic description of social reality in terms of force-power-domination[79] and constellations of emotions. In contrast, depending on the stage of the study, the *independent variable* is:

> 1. The type of religious community, that is a community based on Judaic principles (Old Testament, largely theocratic) and an early Christian community (New Testament);
> 2. The growing antagonism and conflict of the early Christian communities with the pagan and Jewish environment in the first century CE (affecting the linguistic worldview expressed in the early and late New Testament epistolary literature);
> 3. John's versus the synoptic gospel tradition (creating different images of Jesus of Nazareth).

The data gathered at stages 1, 2, and 3 will, at the same time, enable answering of the question of whether and to what extent the type of religious discourse (historical, prophetic and epistolary) is related to the linguistic representation of emotions and the perception of the world in terms of force-power-dominance.

The striving for a sense of power-strength is one of the most popular and constant themes of the social sciences. It is a relatively constant feature commonly found in interpersonal relationships, determining the social life of both individuals and larger social groups. The need for power and the striving for power can be

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[78] It will remain an open question to what extent the vocabulary of the Greek language reflected the key concepts of Judaism and pre-Christianity as expressed in Hebrew and later Aramaic. This is a subject of constant debate among biblical scholars. See Joosten and Bons, *Septuagint*.

[79] The exact definition of this variable is given later in this subsection.

understood as a psychological category, a certain quality that distinguishes the individual from others, which, when too intense, leads to a negative moral evaluation (the need for power as an antisocial personality trait, responsible for violence, oppression, et cetera). It can also be understood—and will be so in this study—in quantitative terms, in terms of a specific continuum on which all people are found, regardless of historical epoch. In other words, it is the intensity of a typical human psychological trait, with the extremes of this continuum signifying either a lack of need for power (possibly its minimum level), or its pathological, antisocial form. The use of Witwicki's theory of cratism to analyze this variable in relation to the Semitic biblical world is of particular importance, and this is not only because the notion of power and domination played a greater role in tribal and ancient culture than it does today.[80] First, this theory was developed largely on the basis of the psychological analysis of ancient works, and has features of grounded theory[81]. Second, it was initially applied by the Polish psychologist in the interpretation of religious sources (biblical and Christian). Third, Witwicki, by attributing different types of cratic desires to the Greek Socrates and the Jewish Jesus, not only presented different personalities but also described them in the context of two cultures with different patterns of social relations.[82]

The preliminary research has shown that the operationalisation of such a variable in the case of the biblical world is a difficult task. This is because it is not just a matter of indicating linguistic equivalents or transferring modern psychological concepts to the ancient world but of a reliable identification of a way of thinking about the world that is important in that culture. An attempt at the linguistic identification of the notion of force-power-dominance according to the theory of cratism was made in Polish research a few years ago within the framework of a grant—*The Lvov-Warsaw School and Selected Problems of Modern Psychology, Semiotics and Philosophy.*[83] The preliminary results were presented in 2016 based on the analysis of the so-called cratic words for Hebrew, Greek and Arabic.[84] The cratic vocabulary (of about 100–130 words) included the most

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[80] The tribal and ancient social order was closely linked to the notion of force and power. The physical strength or number of male members of a community increased its chances of survival. It was one of the most important variables regulating the social, political and religious life of the time. This is evident in many biblical narratives, as is discussed in later chapters.

[81] Citlak, "Oldest Psychobiography"; Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, eds., *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (Aldine Transactions, 2006).

[82] Citlak, "Socrates and Jesus," 149–66.

[83] The Lvov-Warsaw School and Selected Problems of Modern Psychology, Semiotics and Philosophy—a programme of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, called the "National Programme for the Development of Humanities" in the years 2012–2016.

[84] Citlak, *Relacje społeczne świata antycznego.*

important words in these languages relating to the description and perception of the world in terms of the concept of force-power-dominance. The cratic vocabulary—identified by Hebraists, Arabists and classical philologists—included both categories (power, domination), qualities (strong, dominant, great, weak, small), actions (rule, humiliate, worship) and other linguistic expressions (above, below, high, low). The frequencies of cratic vocabulary were counted in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament (*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, 1990), the Greek text of the New Testament (*Novum Testamentum Graece*, Nestle-Aland, 1993) and the Arabic Quran (*The Quran*, 1997). The cratism quotient denotes the proportion of cratic expressions to the number of verses comprising a given text. Methodologically, therefore, it was a classic quotient used in psychological discourse research (although in this case, the number of verses was counted instead of noncratic expressions). The results proved to be interesting: for the Old Testament the value of the quotient was 0.61, for the New Testament = 0.21, for the Quran = 0.32. The quotient was thus the highest in the discourse produced in the tribal environment and early state formation (Old Testament), and the lowest was in the discourse of Christian communities taking their first steps in the Greco-Roman world. The Quran had a score closer to the New Testament, although a greater affinity with the Old Testament tradition had been expected. The differences between the values of the quotients were statistically significant. Furthermore, the preliminary research from 2016 demonstrated that the quotient has different values depending on the type of discourse or the conditions in which the discourse was produced. Thus, in the Old Testament, the value of the indicator for the Psalms is 0.54, for the historical books,[85] it is 0.68, for the prophetic books[86] it is 0.78 (0.69 for early books from the eighth–sixth centuries BCE, and 0.87 for the late books of the sixth and fifth centuries BCE); in the New Testament for historical narratives[87] it is 0.20, for epistolary literature it is 0.24, for the Apocalypse it is 0.54; in the Quran for Meccan (early) suras it is 0.28 and for Medinan (late) suras it is 0.44. As can be seen, the values are highest in the prophetic literature and differ significantly from the other types of religious discourse. Moreover, the value of the quotient is significantly higher in the Medinan suras than in the Meccan suras, which leads to the assumption that there was a change in the nature of religious narrative within a fairly short period of time and in the early stages of the formation of Islam. This change clearly proves that already during the period of the creation of the Quranic texts, the perception of the world in terms of force-power-

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[85] Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah.

[86] Four books of major prophets and twelve books of minor prophets. In the Pentateuch (Torah), the indicator value was 0.44, but it was counted for all narrative parts without distinguishing the type of narrative (historical, legal, et cetera).

[87] The four gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.

dominance became increasingly important.[88] I will recall the results from the preliminary analyses in a later section; on this point, the only point to be emphasized is that the research procedure adopted in 2016 and the preliminary linguistic identification of cratism have yielded promising results. The analysis of worldviews by means of cratic vocabulary also proved promising when analyzing the language of political leaders and, more specifically, the statements of Polish prime ministers between 1945 and 2019, in which higher cratism was found for the prime ministers of the communist period (higher than those of the democratic period after 1989) and the prime ministers from critical years in the country's history (for example, martial law).[89]

The data above and the theory of the striving for a sense of power allow the formulation of several hypotheses. First, in light of the theory of cratism, the way in which the striving for a sense of power is realised depends on the degree of development and the complexity of social life. Recalling one of Witwicki's more important theses:

> If a human did not live in societies, but in a wild state among forests and steppes, surrounded by equal wild individuals, as today unsocialised animals live side by side, the ambition would have them gain physical strength, would have them develop their cunning and dexterity to ensure their independence … and would have them, together with other instincts, subdue weaker surroundings … primitive human would strive to gain recognition for themselves and to arouse fear of their own greatness; in this way human would ensure the freedom to live their own life on the dead bodies and necks of those weaker than themselves.… Today, however, human lives in organized clusters of societies.… Today in society, when human has begun to value the qualities which make that person a valuable element in the human society … ambition raises/elevates this person not as an individual but as a member of humanity; and thus this instinct, originally personal, takes on the role of a social instinct. Thus, human living in society can elevate themselves by fulfilling their social role: by working in some direction for everyone.[90]

Similar claims can be found in his other works, where he describes different ways of achieving a sense of power depending on the social conditions and the historical epoch. A typical example is the evolution of the cult of deities (as a form of

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[88] Perhaps this is a symptom of the more expansive nature of this religion in the last years of Muhammad's life and in the early years of Muslim conquests in the Middle East, or maybe a symptom of the more critical attitude toward other religions (Judaism and Christianity), which is seen in Medinan suras.

[89] Amadeusz Citlak and Pamela Kozioł, "Linguistic Expression of Power in Political Addresses of Polish Prime Ministers from 1945 to 2019 (Quantitative Analysis)," *PLC* 28 (2024): 555–85.

[90] Witwicki, "Psychologiczna analiza ambicji," 47–48.

achieving a sense of power through the union with a higher force) seen in the evolution of sacrificial systems (from brutal and bloody to subtle forms of symbolic sacrifice), or in historical changes in the punishment of criminals.[91] In short, in the process of social development, cratic striving adapts to the prevailing conditions:a new form of organization, new challenges, more complex interpersonal relationships. Physical strength is becoming a less and less adequate means of gaining authority and social position, giving way to new forms of social competence: communication skills, cooperation skills, respect, intelligence, professional competence and moral competence. The validity of such conclusions in the tradition of the Lvov-Warsaw School is also supported by the works of Andrzej Lewicki and Stanislaw Ossowski, concerning the close relationship between human social behavior and the level of organization of social life and the community in which the human being lives (see section 2.1). Almost identical conclusions can also be found in Adler:

> The striving for perfection[92] is an innate fact, existing in every human being. However, none of us knows which path is the only correct one, the cult of the fetish, the lizard, the phallus within a prehistoric tribe, seems to us, from a scientific point of view, unjustifiable. However, we must not overlook the fact that this primitive view of the world favored the co-existence of mankind, its sense of community. We are approaching a state which makes possible a greater contribution on the part of all and a greater capacity for cooperation. There is a multitude of social achievements which are desirable only for a certain time, in a certain situation, only to prove harmful after a certain time.… The development of mankind was possible only because mankind was a community and strove for perfection in the production of an ideal community.… Each epoch shapes this ideal to the measure of its thoughts and feelings. Just as today, we can always find in the past a variable level of human ability in the establishment of this ideal.[93]

Witwicki's and Adler's position seems to be in line with the rather obvious thesis, expressed by, among others, Florian Znaniecki and other sociologists, that the evolving organization of society systematically differentiates social roles and complicates the social structure,[94] as a result of which, the individual is simply forced to gain authority, respect or a higher social position by achieving new and more complex social competences. In conclusion, we can formulate the general hypothesis: *the intensification of cratic orientation (orientation for power-strength) favors social distance, and thus the dominance of emotions supporting*

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[91] Witwicki, *Psychologia*, vol. 2; Witwicki, *Dobra Nowina*.
[92] The *will to power* and the concept of *perfection* were the key words and played a similar role in Adler's early and late works.
[93] Adler, *Der Sinn des Lebens*, 250, 255.
[94] Znaniecki, *Social Relations and Social Rules*.

this distance (anger, fear, hostility, contempt). The weakening of this orientation in turn favors emotions sustaining social proximity (friendship, love, sympathy).

4.4.1. Different Types of Social Order

This has important implications for the study of biblical discourse. The books of the Old Testament were written over a long period of almost a thousand years. The oldest textual layers (eleventh-nineth centuries BCE) still date back to the tribal organization or the period of the slow emergence from tribal structures to the first forms of state organization. The subsequent texts were written during periods of the development of the state and the subsequent Assyrian, Babylonian captivity (eighth-sixth centuries BCE). In the case of the Septuagint, there are also the deuterocanonical books (Tobias, Judith, Baruch, Wisdom, Sirach, 1–2 Maccabees) whose creation dates back to third-second centuries BCE. Altogether, this makes it possible to cover the long process of formation of the Israelite community from a tribe to a state (together with its fall and reconstruction) as well as a period of the more or less clear influence of other states (Assyria, Egypt, Babylonia, Persia). It must be emphasized, however, that although there is a sociopolitical evolution of Israel, it is closely linked to the holy land and Mosaic law as the basis of the social (theocratic) order.

The books of the New Testament were written under the conditions of the deep Hellenisation of the Middle East, which began after the conquests of Alexander the Great at the end of the fourth century BCE. It was also a time of Roman domination, administration, law and cultural influence. The first century CE and the beginning of the second century were a time of intense influence of the highly developed political and cultural Greco-Roman world. The early Christian communities are also guided by a new universalist religious ethos, proclaimed by Jesus and the apostles. The religiosity of these communities in the second half of the first century becomes increasingly separated from the holy land, the temple and many of the commandments of the Torah. The concept of a chosen nation changes, as does the sense of the bond with this nation. A new religious order was created, the expression of which are the New Testament books.

Apart from the political changes and social evolution, however, the formation of the New Testament discourse was primarily influenced by the new ethos preached by Jesus of Nazareth and his disciples. As discussed in chapter 3, Jesus initiated the formation of a community of a new type, a community in which the dynamics of honor had a completely different expression. The meaning of honor—closely linked to social prestige, power and agonistic interpersonal relations—was questioned. Moreover, honor became a dimension independent of the hierarchy of political power and traditional Judaism (based on the agency of priests and the Torah). The New Testament ethos largely excludes honor from the social rules of the Semitic and Mediterranean culture of the time, weaving it into

a new type of human relations, for which the activity and death of Jesus is the model. This is actually a universal feature of the New Testament thought (it refers to both the evangelical and epistolary traditions).

According to the above and to the theory of the striving for a sense of power (Adler and Witwicki), both types of discourse, created in such a different *Sitz im Leben*, represent different social and religious orders. One of the indicators of such a dissimilarity will be a different conceptualisation of the relationships between people and between human and God. To analyse the discourses of the Old and New Testaments, a cratic orientation quotient is used, the construction of which follows the analyses of 2016, but includes new (expanded) Greek vocabulary. The expanded cratic Greek vocabulary was determined by philologists[95] from the University of Warsaw and Maria Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin, in cooperation with the Institute of Psychology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, under a 2018–2019 grant from the National Science Centre.[96] A cratic orientation here means describing (and indirectly perceiving) *the world in terms of power, domination, obedience and asymmetry of social relations*. A typical feature of cratic thinking is thinking in terms of dyads: master-servant, strong-weak, high-low, rule-obey, humiliate-exalt, et cetera. Linguistically, these are the noun forms referring to cratic concepts/categories (for example, strength, dominance), verb forms describing a certain type of cratic actions (for example, humiliate, command, rule, despise, exalt), and adjective forms describing cratic characteristics (for example, strong, weak, small, great). The point, then, is not so much to determine the frequency of words but to identify a certain way of thinking on the basis of the appropriate combination of linguistic elements and their frequency counts. The greater the severity or the greater the tendency towards such a perception of the world, the more frequently the corresponding terminological grid is used in social (here: religious) discourse. This is exactly as in the previously presented frequency indices of Suitbert Ertel, Klaus Fiedler, or James Pennebaker. The numerical value of the cratic orientation quotient represents the proportion of the number of verses containing the cratic word to the number of other verses not containing the cratic word in the text corpus under study. The texts under study are the *Septuaginta* (according to Rahlfs)[97] and the *Novum Testamentum Graece* (according to Nestle and Aland).[98]

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[95] The development of Greek terminology of power and terminology regarding emotions was possible thanks to cooperation with linguists: Ewelina Górka PhD, Daria Keiss-Dolańska PhD, Kamila Mrozek-Kochanek PhD, Anna Szymańska PhD, Dorota Kaczmarek-Samsonowicz PhD candidate, Mateusz Żaboklicki PhD candidate; see Citlak, "Group Conflicts"; Citlak, "Psychology of the Pursuit for a Sense of Power."

[96] Wladyslaw Witwicki's theory of cratism–psychological research on social relations (National Science Centre, Poland, no. 2018/02/X/HS6/00278).

[97] Alfred Ralphs, ed., *Septuaginta* (Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979).

[98] NA[27].

Hypothesis 1 thus reads as follows:

The cratic orientation (power-dominance) achieves higher values in Old Testament discourse than in New Testament discourse. Similarly, a different value of the quotient in different types of biblical discourse (historical, prophetic, epistolary) is expected.

The orientation towards force, domination, obedience and asymmetry in interpersonal relationships entails many other specific features of the social order. One of the most important aspects is maintaining a certain distance between the subjects of the relationship. This distance is closely related to the asymmetry mentioned above and the belief that one of the parties more or less has the right to occupy a superior position, to be a ruler, superior or master. The other party naturally occupies an inferior position, becoming a servant or a slave. The intensification of the cratic relationship automatically intensifies the characteristics typical of the dyads: master-servant, strong-weak, rule-obey, humiliate-exalt. Additionally, as described in chapter 3, distance and the exercise of power over others fosters different constellations of emotions that express and stabilise a certain social order and reflect a particular value system. In agonistic conditions of asymmetries and dichotomies of power, it is more difficult to find emotions that express a sense of closeness, trust, friendship or love. In contrast, the emotions that maintain this social order, such as fear, anger, guilt, hostility or even hatred, are much easier to produce. Of course, such a relationship can be more complicated and even in a situation of despotic power, the subjects may love and adore the ruler and have a strong intimate relationship with them.

These conclusions directly follow from Witwicki's words quoted earlier on the role of physical force and domination as a means of gaining social position. In extreme cases, they may lead not only to the negativity of social life but even to the impairment of interpersonal relationships, controlled by aggression, fear or hatred. However, in situations where physical power, aggression and forms of violence are not so important, the decisive influence on the type of emotions experienced is: (1) our perception and evaluation of the general life force that the person with whom the relationship is maintained has; (2) his/her attitude towards us: hostile or friendly.[99] Thus, if the history of ancient Israel—against which the discourse of the Old Testament is born—is marked by a permanent struggle for the preservation of identity in the face of foreign religions, a struggle for the physical survival of the state, the nation, it seems likely that this discourse will be strongly saturated with the emotions that the theory of cratism predicts towards stronger/equal/weaker enemies (fear, aggression, hatred, anger, derision, contempt).

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[99] Witwicki, "Z psychologii stosunków osobistych"; Witwicki, *Psychologia*, vol. 2.

The same applies to Individual psychology and structural theories. According to Adler, excessive striving for a sense of power (*Machtstreben*) is not conducive to building social bonds. Social interest (*Gemeinschaftsgefühl*), that is, social feeling, the need to bond with others, is even a kind of counterbalance to the excessive striving for a sense of power[100]

> Love, work, and fellowmanship are the concrete requirements of humans living together. Against these indestructible realities the striving for personal power storms and rages, or seeks cunningly to bypass them. This relentless battle is evidence for the recognition of social interest."[101] "The generally unleashed lust for power throttles the immortal social interest of humanity or cunningly abuses it.[102]

According to Kemper,[103] the social structure has a significant influence on the constellation and dominance of experienced emotions. According to the basic principle, individuals positioned high in the social structure experience more positive emotions, while those who are low in the social structure experience fewer of them. The more social inequalities there are, the more pronounced the division and restriction of movement on the social ladder and the more people are deprived of the basis for experiencing positive emotions and, at the same time, exposed to more frequent experiences of negative emotions such as fear, anger, sadness, malice.[104]

Changes in the area of experienced and dominant emotions in early Christian communities also resulted from the new ethos proclaimed by Jesus and the apostles. The renunciation of violence, the command to pray for one's enemies, and the imperative to forgive are in clear opposition to the Old Testament principle of "an eye for an eye." The change of attitude towards aggression and interpersonal hostility is one of the most expressive elements of this ethos. The nature of these changes was described by the aforementioned Gerd Theissen, speaking of the early Christian reformulation of aggression and its symbolization.[105] Moreover, the new religious movement initiated by Jesus quickly became a movement with

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[100] Heinz Ansbacher, "The Development of Adler's Concept of Social Interest: A Critical Study," *JIP* 34 (1978): 118–52.

[101] Adler, *Praxis und Theorie der Individualpsychologie*, 16.

[102] Alfred Adler, *Über den nervösen Charakter. Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Individualpsychologie und Psychotherapie* (Bergmann, 1912), 26; See also Adler, *Superiority and Social Interest: A Collection of Latter Writings*, ed. Heinz Ansbacher and Rowena Ansbacher (Northwestern University Press, 1964).

[103] Kemper, "Predicting Emotions from Social Relations."

[104] Robert Thamm, "Towards a Universal Power and Status Theory of Emotion," *AGP* 21 (2004): 189–222; Jonathan Turner and Jan Stets, eds., *Sociology of Emotions* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[105] Theissen, *Soziologie der Jesusbewegung*.

a universalist character and, reaching beyond the Orthodox Judaism, Christians had to develop a new type of relationship with the pagan world. The previously clear Jew—pagan boundaries and the resulting tensions steadily lost their basis and impact.

The biblical language of emotion changes over time, increasingly emphasizing the affective-subjective aspect, although it remains firmly rooted in physical and behavioral experience.[106] The "embodiment" of the language of emotion is one of its constant features, which is also discernible in the New Testament.[107] The early Christian language is firmly rooted in personal and social experience through interactions, religious practices and situational conditioning. This is clearly demonstrated by the research conducted from the perspective of cognitive linguistics,[108] according to which the language of the community is treated as a medium and a reservoir of beliefs, as a kind of cognitive map of the individual and the group.[109] Following one of the major claims of cognitive analysis of emotion

> That human emotions are largely conceptualised and expressed through metaphor grounded in embodied experience … that there is thus a link between the specific ways people metaphorically conceptualise their emotions and the language they use to express emotions.… Particular expressions for emotions are seen as reflecting deeper conceptual structures, which are in themselves metaphorical in nature and represent a folk theory of emotion.[110]

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[106] Angela Thomas, *Anatomical Idiom and Emotional Expression: A Comparison of the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint* (Sheffield Phoenix, 2014); Ellen Wolde, "Sentiments as Culturally Constructed Emotions: Anger and Love in the Hebrew Bible," *BI* 16 (2008): 1–24.

[107] Frederick Tappenden, *Resurrection in Paul: Cognition, Metaphor, and Transformation* (SBL Press, 2017).

[108] Matthew Schlimm, "Emotion, Embodiment, and Ethics: Engaging Anger in Genesis," in *Bodies, Embodiment, and Theology of the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Tamar Kamionkowski and Kim Wonil, LHBOTS 465 (T&T Clark, 2010); 46–58; Jacobus Van der Merwe, "Biblical Hebrew and Cognitive Linguistics: A General Orientation," in *New Perspectives in Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew*, ed. Andre Hornkohl and Geoffrey Khan, Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures 7 (Cambridge University Press, 2021), 641–96.

[109] Bonnie Howe and Eve Sweetser, "Cognitive Linguistic Models for Analyzing Characterization in a Parable: Luke 10:25–37 The Compassionate Samaritan," *BI* 29 (2021): 467–97; Jose Sanders, "Translating 'Thinking' and 'Believing' in the Bible. How Cognitive Linguisitc Analysis Shows Increasing Subjectivity," in *Cognitive Linguistic Exploration in Biblical Studies*, ed. Bonnie Howe and Joel Green (De Gruyter, 2014), 253–76.

[110] Alec Basson, "A Few Metaphorical Source Domains for Emotions in the Old Testament," *SJBTCH* 100 (2009): 122.

Alec Basson, citing mainly the work of Zoltan Kövecses,[111] points to exemplary *categories of source domains and their linguistic manifestations* in the Old Testament (emotion as the fluid in a container, as an opponent, as a physical object, as a person), through which a network of representations of emotion can be created not only in subjective-affective terms but also in interpersonal connections. However, cognitive analysis is not only about emotions but about cognition in general, referred to in the literature as embodied cognition.[112] Semantic-cognitive methodology thus provides, by means of the linguistic layer and the stylistic and rhetorical procedures present in it, the opportunity to reconstruct the realm of cultural values and interpretive scripts responsible for the way people experience, see and understand the world.[113]

The language and glossary of emotions reflect a complex pattern of behavioral preferences and recognised values. As mentioned earlier, an insight into the emotions of a community is, at the same time, an insight into its ethos. A properly conducted analysis of emotions can help to identify the processes responsible for the construction of group identity or hierarchy. The community more or less consciously sustains emotions that foster bonds between the members (love, friendship, compassion, adoration) and separation from threatening strangers (hostility, anger, aggression, repulsion). This happens not only through upbringing or the instilling of certain attitudes but, for example, through participation in collective rituals. It is simply a process of setting boundaries between the in-group and the out-group. Emotions stabilise the order of the *sacrum* and the relationship with a higher power; they also have an important adaptive and affiliative function, fostering social symbiosis, partnerships and parental relationships.

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[111] Zoltan Kövecses, *Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture, and the Body in Human Feeling* (Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[112] "The 'body is an indispensable epistemic source'.… The body stands central in the cognitive process when the organism is interacting with its environment. Embodied cognition means that a person interacts with his or her environment in terms of his or her sensorimotor capabilities, and continually constructs and construes concepts accordingly. The situations in which the cognitive process is activated can comprise four categories: 'bodily-kinesthetic, visual-spatial, temporal-aural, and emotional.'" Pieter Venter, "A Cognitive Analysis of Proverbs 1:20–33," *HTS* 75 (2019): 2. See also Job Jindo, "Toward a Poetics of the Biblical Mind: Language, Culture, and Cognition," *VT* 59 (2009): 222–43; Jan Rüggemeier and Elizabeth Shively, "Introduction: Towards a Cognitive Theory of New Testament Characters: Methodology, Problems, and Desiderata," *BI* 29 (2021): 403–29.

[113] Martin Lee Roy, "Rhetorical Criticism and the Affective Dimension of the Biblical Text," *JS* 23 (2014): 339–53; Thomas, *Anatomical Idiom and Emotional Expression*; Thomas Kazen, *Emotions in Bilical Law: A Cognitive Science Approach* (Sheffield Phoenix, 2011); Françoise Mirguet, "The Study of Emotions in Early Jewish Texts: Review and Perspectives," *JSJPHRP* 50 (2019): 557–603.

Cultural patterns of experiencing and expressing emotions have a decisive influence on the stabilisation of power hierarchies. This can be observed in the semantic-cognitive analysis of the vocabulary of biblical emotions attributed to women and men. The differences in this respect are clear: women are attributed emotions associated with passivity and submissiveness, while men are attributed emotions associated with activity, strength and aggression. They are closely related to the preferred constellation of virtues typical of men and women. Even love and anger were attributes of the individuals positioned at the higher levels of the social hierarchy.[114] A similar pattern can be evident in the distribution of preferred emotions for subjects (adoration, reverence, fear, loyalty, humility) versus lords and rulers (certainty, aggression, domination), teachers versus disciples. Emotions can serve the purpose of stabilising the hierarchy of power, but they can also, under some conditions, serve to destabilise such an order and become a tool for the deprivation of power. Typical examples are provided by prophetic literature, descriptions of Israel's struggles against invaders and the early Christian narrative describing conflicts with a threatening Jewish or gentile environment. One of the most common means of disempowerment is the attempt to demystify the opponent's power and to divert emotions. One such example is the gentile king-invader, the source of Israel's fear, imposing his will and becoming an object of derision, pity, and his apparent attributes become evidence of weakness. Fear is transformed into contempt, and the community regains a sense of agency and mobilises to resist and fight back.[115]

The creation of emotions as a means of sustaining or destabilising the balance of power reflects exactly what cratism theory describes and predicts. First, emotions can reflect the type of interpersonal relationships viewed from a power perspective. Fear or shame is experienced by the weaker/dependent party rather than the stronger/dominant part, as is admiration or adoration. Mockery and pity, by contrast, are experienced by those who are higher (subjectively or objectively) in social comparisons. Second, pity, derision or revulsion can be an effective procedure for gaining power over someone seemingly more powerful. Consequently (third), changes in the pattern of occurring or dominant emotions in a given social group can be interpreted as an expression of the remodelling of interpersonal relations, as a deconstruction of the existing hierarchy and power. It

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[114] Kazen, *Emotions in Biblical Law*; Ari Mermelstein, "Constructing Fear and Pride in the Book of Daniel: The Profile of a Second Temple Emotional Community," *JSJ* 46 (2015): 449–83.

[115] Joel Atwood, "Ruling the Rûaḥ: Emotional Experience and Expression in Ancient Hebrew," *BA* 12 (2022): 333–52; Mirguet, "Study of Emotions in Early Jewish Texts"; Mirguet, *An Early History of Compassion: Emotion and Imagination in Hellenistic Judaism* (Cambridge University Press, 2017); Wolde, "Sentiments as Culturally Constructed Emotions," 1–24.

is important to note that such transformations can be expected not only under the conditions of changing group ethos but also under new political, cultural and social circumstances. The world of turn-of-the-era Judaism seems an appropriate setting for such observations.

This enables Hypothesis 2 to be accepted:

> In the discourses of the Old and New Testaments, a different constellation of linguistic expressions representing emotions can be expected. The New Testament discourse will contain lower frequencies than the Old Testament discourse of expressions denoting such emotions as, for example, anger, hatred, disgust, and contempt. At the same time, it will contain higher frequencies of expressions denoting such emotions as love, compassion, and mercy.

4.4.2. Social Distance

Interpersonal relationships, in which the sense of power and dominance play an important role, sustain a kind of social distance. As this distance increases, the difference in status between the persons in the relationship becomes greater. Thus, in light of the above inquiries, it seems very likely that the greater the distance, the easier it is to have an emotionally "cool" relationship, and conversely, the smaller the distance, the greater the "warming" of the relationship. The clearest indicator of the temperature of such relationships is an analysis of the emotions that occur between individuals, or equally important, an analysis of the emotions attributed to one of them. In other words, the smaller the distance between individuals, the lower the level of cratic orientation, and the greater the likelihood of warming of these relationships. Moreover, the people in a closer relationship with each other have more opportunities to perceive not only each other's behavior but also reactions, feelings, and emotions. The proximity of the relationship has a significant impact on the perception and description of the person. Furthermore, this is consistent with the research of social psychologists and also with our research, in which Semin and Fiedler's simplified linguistic category model was used to assess the social proximity between the author of a biblical narrative and its protagonist.[116] This model is typically used to measure stereotypicality in the description of members of a foreign group, and it can also be successfully used (with a simple modification) to assess the extent to which the narrative author focuses on the behavior or experiences of the people described. The verb and adjective categories play a key role in this model. Semin and Fiedler distinguish between the verbs describing simple actions (get up, hit), complex actions (hurt, build) and internal states (love, hate, grieve).[117] The identification of the simple

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[116] Citlak, "Problem nadróżnicowania"; Citlak, "Psychology of the Pursuit for a Sense of Power"; Citlak, "Linguistic Image."

[117] Semin and Fiedler, "Linguistic Category Model"; Semin and Fiedler, "Inferential Properties of Interpersonal Verbs."

and complex actions on the grounds of the biblical languages is difficult and often ambiguous; therefore, for methodological reasons, it is better to combine both categories, obtaining ultimately not three but two verb categories: describing actions (complex and simple) and sensations/experiences (inner states). Such linguistic data can also be subjected to quantitative analysis in the form of frequency quotients, calculated as the proportion of the frequency of verbs describing sensations/experiences to the frequency of verbs describing actions or behavior of a given person or social group. Such a simplified model will also be used in the research presented here. This will be the *internal state quotient*. It includes the proportions of two categories of verbs (describing experiences to describing actions) used by the author of the text in describing a given person. Increasing its value means that the author concentrates more on the experiences of the described persons/groups.

Such a juxtaposition of variables can be analyzed in various biblical narratives, yet in quantitative textual analysis, the fundamental problem is the appropriate size (amount) of the material under study. Short, single episodes concerning different persons and other circumstances do not lend themselves to such an analysis. These difficulties seem to disappear in the case of appropriately selected gospel narratives, in which the authors describe the figure of Jesus and, at the same time, are connected to him in a very personal way. In the gospel, the authors do not reveal themselves personally and rarely include data about themselves. Nevertheless, the narratives they create about Jesus, and thus his image, have characteristics specific to each author (or collective author). In contemporary biblical scholarship, much space has been devoted to the analysis of the style typical of the individual gospels. In this case, however, attention should be drawn not to the literary style or stylistics but to the specificity of the image of Jesus in the context of the relationship (social distance) between the author of the gospels and the Jesus described. Taking as a starting point that one of the authors of the gospels is a beloved disciple of Jesus—John, it can be assumed that he had a closer emotional bond with him than the other authors of the synoptic gospels. Paradoxically, it matters little here whether the author was John the Apostle, John the Presbyter, or others. What is important is that the author embodies/personifies the figure of John the Apostle, and therefore adopts a narrative and psychological perspective appropriate to him. The interactions seem very close and, in a sense, intimate. Such proximity is not seen in the synoptic gospels, especially since two of them (the Gospel according to Mark and the Gospel according to Luke) are attributed by Christian tradition and contemporary biblical scholarship to persons other than the apostles. Only the Gospel according to Matthew could have been written by one of the apostles or a circle closely related to him. Theoretically, therefore, it can be assumed that the sense of social distance between the author of the gospels and the figure of Jesus was lowest in the Gospel according to John, higher in the Gospel according to Matthew, and the highest in the Gospels

according to Mark and Luke. Theoretically, the problem is that the Synoptic tradition, as currently understood, is so intertwined and there are such deep and complex relationships between these gospels that it is very difficult to speak of the independence of these texts. It is enough to refer to many years of research on the problem of sources (for example, *Logienquelle*, two-source hypothesis) to finally see the Synoptic tradition as a distinct group of narratives which, due to such complex interrelationships, may not show statistically significant—from the point of view of quantitative analysis—and expected linguistic differences. Thus, it seems reasonable to expect differences in the intensity of the cratic orientation and internal state quotient mainly for the Johannine and Synoptic traditions.

This makes it possible to formulate Hypothesis 3:

> The image of Jesus in the narrative of the Gospel according to John is characterized by a higher level of internal-state quotient than in the synoptic narrative (Matthew-Mark-Luke).

and therefore to formulate Hypothesis 4:

> The image of Jesus in the narrative of the Gospel according to John is characterized by a lower level of cratic orientation and a higher frequency of linguistic elements denoting affinity emotions than in the synoptic narrative.

4.4.3. Inter-Group Conflicts

Another important factor modifying the perception of the world expressed in linguistic behavior is the feeling of threat and group conflicts, which appeared very often in the case of the biblical world. Intergroup relations are one of the better-studied phenomena in the social sciences and make it possible to explain changes in the behavior towards in-group and out-group members (strangers). Based on psychological theories and research (like studies on social identity,[118] dehumanization,[119] stereotype[120]), under threatening conditions, members of groups use various defence strategies. One of these, which is extremely common, is building a negative image of the enemy through negative stereotypes and arousing negative emotions. It is a strategy as old as the world; in fact it is timeless and particularly evident in ancient times and religious discourse.[121] Witwicki did not deal with the problem of group conflict, although it must be admitted that the preliminary

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[118] Tajfel and Turner, "Social Identity Theory"; Tajfel, *Social Identity*.

[119] Haslam, "More Human than You"; Jacques-Philippe Leyens et al., "Infrahumanization: The Wall of Group Differences," *SIPR* 1 (2007): 139–72.

[120] Amy Cuddy, Susan Fiske, and Peter Glick, "Warmth and Competence as Universal Dimensions of Social Perception: The Stereotype Content Model and the BIAS Map," *AESP* 40 (2008): 61–149.

[121] Batten, "Letter of Jude."

research of 2016 suggests that a group threat, a psychological threat, will have a significant impact on the way human relations are perceived and the cratic orientation. This conclusion can be drawn from the results obtained in the Meccan and Medinan suras in the Quran, as well as in the early and late prophetic texts of the Old Testament (written before and after the Babylonian captivity). The related theories(sadomasochistic character by Fromm,[122] authoritarian personality by Adorno,[123] authoritarianism by Altemeyer,[124] or social dominance theory by Prato and Sidanius[125]) allow the formulation of similar conclusions: authoritarian obedience, the acceptance of social inequalities, domination, the justification of hostility and the discrimination of strangers-enemies, intensify under conditions of inter-group conflicts. These phenomena are particularly evident in group/communal behavior,[126] and it should be stressed that in the case of the ancient religious communities—not only Judaism and Christianity—the existence of the individual was immanently intertwined with the existence of the group. "The concept of "I" dissolved in the concept of "We"—the community or tribe."[127] This was also fostered by the dynamics of honor and shame, for shame in particular, as a social, interactional emotion, not only bonded the individual to the community but determined how the environment was perceived. The subject's perspective was often an in-group perspective, which made it difficult to adopt the perspective of out-group members, their motivations or goals. The people who deviate from the accepted vision of the world are much more easily assessed negatively; their behavior is judged as incomprehensible or even dangerous.[128] The dichotomization of the social sphere was one of the most common features of the ancient world, including the biblical world, as has been repeatedly emphasized in social-scientific criticism (see chapter 3). Conflict situations contributed very easily to

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[122] Erich Fromm, *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness* (Holt, Rineheart & Winston, 1973); Głogowska, "On a Sense of Power."

[123] Theodor Adorno et al., *The Authoritarian Personality* (Harper & Row, 1950).

[124] Bob Altemeyer, "Highly Dominating, Highly Authoritarian Personalities," *JSP* 144 (2004): 421–47.

[125] Jim Sidanius and Felicia Prato, *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression* (Cambridge University Press, 1999); Jim Sidanius et al., "Social Dominance Theory: Its Agenda and Method," *PoP* 25 (2004): 854–80.

[126] Baker, "Social Identity."

[127] Citlak, "Group Conflicts"; Wolff, *Anthropologie des Alten Testaments*; Youval Rotman, "The Relational Mind: In Between History, Psychology and Anthropology," *HOP* 24 (2021): 142–63.

[128] Sinem Söylemez, Mehmet Koyuncu, and Sonia Amado, "Evaluation of Shame and Guilt Emotions in the Scope of Cognitive Psychology," *SiP* 38 (2018): 259–88; Sinem Söylemez et al., "How Shame and Guilt Influence Perspective Taking: A Comparison of Turkish and German Cultures," *JCC* 22 (2020): 20–40.

the activation of ready-made cognitive calques and culturally formed emotional or behavioral preferences.

In light of Witwicki's theory of striving for a sense of power, individuals with hostile attitudes elicit negative emotions from others towards themselves. This is especially true for those who are considered a threat to the community. However, as explained in Hypothesis 2, these emotions will vary depending on whether they are experienced towards an enemy who is equal to us, stronger or weaker. Moreover, any situation in which a person is deprived of a sense of power (and this happens at the moment of "repression, persecution, humiliation")[129] triggers a natural tendency to regain it. This can happen in several ways: as the glorification of one's own group (elevating one's self), the criticism of one's own group (humiliating one's self), the glorification of others (admiration for the enemy and submission to him), and the criticism of others (criticism and humiliation of the enemy). In the case of Jewish and early Christian groups—whose sense of belonging to a chosen nation and a salvific mission for the world were constitutive features, and for whom the group threat was perceived as the action of forces opposed to God—it is difficult to expect any other reaction than an intensification of the criticism of the enemy, a negativization of his image,[130] and a striving to regain a lost or threatened social position (and thus to regain a sense of power). In the mental space of the participants in the conflict, the contents typical of the concept of cratism, like power, domination, struggle, victory, exaltation, and humiliation, quite naturally come to the fore.

Consequently, Hypothesis 5 can be formulated:

> In biblical discourse produced under conditions of escalating group conflict and threat, the cratic orientation quotient will obtain a higher value than in discourse produced under the conditions without such a threat;

and Hypothesis 6:

> In biblical discourse produced under the conditions of escalating group conflict and threat, the frequencies of expressions denoting such emotions as anger, hatred, disgust, contempt and derision, for example, will be higher than in the discourse produced under these conditions without such a threat.

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[129] Witwicki, "Z psychologii stosunków osobistych."

[130] Although there is likely to be increased criticism of one's own group in a situation of conflict with a foreign group (as seen, for example, in the behavior of the prophets, who sometimes interpreted such conflicts as punishment for Israel's sins), there can be no glorification of Israel's enemy as a typical response to a threat.

5. Between Old and New Testaments: Orientation for Power and Emotions

5.1. Orientation for Strength and Power

5.1.1. A Significant Dimension of the Biblical World

A significant part of the discourse of the Old Testament was written in conditions of danger and even struggle for the survival of the Israelite community. The brutality of life and the challenges faced by the Israelites of the time forced them to band together and also contributed to the exposure of specific values. The ancient Semitic world of the Middle East is patriarchal and strongly focused on the notion of a life force. This applies not only to socially and ethically desirable qualities; it is also closely related to the image of the worshipped deities. Strength, power and authority became typical elements of human relationships and the relationship between human and God. The socio-religious space naturally acquired a certain asymmetry, in which there were the stronger and the weaker, masters and servants, and patterns of behavior or emotions characteristic for them began to appear among them. Obedience, respect for authorities and sacred laws, submission and fear became key elements of mutual relationships. Yahweh God appears very often as a ruler, the Lord of all things, and a warrior; he is a defender of his people, he leads the wars of Israel, being a mortal enemy of the godless and the enemies of the chosen people. Despite the profound historical and cultural changes that occurred in the later period, these features also became an important element in the discourse of the New Testament, although in decreased intensity. The perception of the world in terms of power or force is reflected in a rich network of language. The concept of cratism referred to here is directly derived from ancient Greek literature and has its place in biblical literature as well. In the Septuagint, the noun τό κράτος appears as many as 55 times in the sense of force or power, while the verb κρατέω appears as many as 153 times. The authors of the New Testament use it equally often (τό κράτος–twelve times mainly as the power and might of God, κρατέω–forty-four times, mainly meaning to take possession, seize, hold, wield). In the Septuagint, the word most closely related in meaning to the

concepts of strength and power ἐξουσία occurs eighty-one times (of which ten times are in the apocryphal books), and δύναμις, 569 times (of which twenty-nine times are in the apocryphal books[1]). Their position in the discourse is further strengthened by derivatives and the terminological grid associated with them (ἐξουσιάζω, ἐξουσιαστής, δύναμαι, δυναμόω, δυναστεία, δυναστεύμα, δυνάστης, δονατέω, δυνατός, δυνατῶς). Similarly, in the New Testament discourse the word ἐξουσία occurs 103 times, δύναμις 120 times, and the associated word grid is also highly varied (ἐξουσιάζω, δύναμαι, δυναμόω, δυνάστης, δονατέω, δυνατός). The high occurrences clearly prove that δύναμις and ἐξουσία are among the keywords organising the linguistic and mental space of the biblical authors. Behind such frequent use of these words stands a certain way of thinking about the religious and social worlds. It is a world in which strength and power play an important role. At the same time, it is a world in which obedience, submission or docility are socially desirable traits as a natural consequence of the asymmetry mentioned above. There is always someone stronger and higher in the hierarchy who is to be worshipped (or feared as an expression of reverence), and someone weaker, standing below, who is to do the worshipping. The Israelites of those times seem to have thought in such categories, which is evident not only in the frequent reference to the notion of strength and power but, above all, in the cognitive ordering of social relations.

In the discourse of the Old and New Testaments, the authors very vividly highlight the asymmetry between the social position or authority of the two parties. This is a widespread way of thinking in Israel at the time. It applies to virtually every type of human relationship, for example:

- between brothers:

Shall you indeed **reign over us**? Or shall you indeed have **dominion over us.** (Gen 37:7–8)

Judah, you are he whom your brothers shall praise.… Your father's **children shall bow down** before you. (Gen 49:8)

- priests and people of Israel:

Then I will raise up for myself a faithful priest … and **everyone will come and bow down to him** … (1 Sam 2:35–36)

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[1] 1 Esdras, 3–4 Maccabees, Odes, Psalms of Salomon, Epistle of Jeremiah, Susannah, Bel.

- kings of Israel:

… even so may He be with Salomon, and **make his throne greater** than the throne of my lord King David. (1 Kgs 1:37)

- Israel and gentiles:

The LORD will make you **the head and not the tail**, and you only will be **above, and you will not be** underneath, if you listen the commandments… (Deut 28:13; see Deut 15:6; 28:44; Ps 18:43–45; Jer 27:11–12)

- believers and nonbelievers or enemies:

The Lord said to my Lord, "Sit at my right hand, till I make Your enemies Your **footstool**" (Matt 22:44; John 3:31);

Your hand shall be **on the neck** of your enemies. (Gen 49:8)

You also **lift me up** above those who raise against me. (Pss 18:48; 49:15; Isa 3:4)

I will make those of the synagogue of Satan.… I will make them come and worship **before your feet**. (Rev 3:9)

This way of thinking can also be seen in the predictions of a future (or eschatological) social order:

Kings shall be your foster fathers, and their queens your nursing mothers; They shall **bow down to you** with their faces to the earth, and **lick up the dust** of your feet. The you will know that I am the LORD. (Isa 49:23; see Isa 29:4; 45:14; 58:14; Dan 7:27; Mal 3:21)

And I saw **thrones, and they sat on them**, and judgment was committed to them. Then, I saw the souls of those who had been beheaded for their witness to Jesus and for the word of God.… And they lived and **reigned** with Christ for a thousand years. (Rev 20:4; also Rev 1:17; 20:6)

Now the salvation, and **the power**, and the kingdom of our God, and the authority of His Christ have come. (Rev 12:10)

For He must reign till He has put all enemies **under His feet**. (1 Cor 15:25; see Rom 9:5; 15:12; 16:20; Eph 1:20–22; 1 Cor 15:28; Phil 2:9; Jude 25)

Finally, the cratic dichotomy (domination/authority versus submission/obedience) seems to be at the center of the religious-ethical thinking, for example, as a

punishment for sins or a desirable arrangement of the relationship between God and man:

> … **if you diligently obey** the voice of the Lord … the LORD your God will set **you high above all nations** of the earth. (Deut 28:1)

> And whoever exalts himself will be humbled, and he **who humbles himself will be exalted**. (Matt 23:12; see Luke 18:14; Pss 55:20; 147:6; Isa 25:10)

> … but he **stiffened his neck** and hardened his heart against turning to the LORD. God Israel (2 Chr 36:13b)

This is also the main motive of sin (as the unauthorized pursuit of power—Babel):

> For you said in your heart: I will ascent **into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars** of God.… I will be like the Most High. Yet you shall be brought down to the Sheol, to the lowest depths of the Pit. (Isa 14:13–15; Dan 11:36–37; Zeph 2:10)

> … the man of sin is revealed, the son of perdition, who opposes and **exalts himself above** all that is called God. (2 Thess 2:3b–4)

> … showed Him all the kingdoms of the world and their glory.… All this things I will give You **if You will fall down and worship me**. (Matt 4:8–9)

The cratic dichotomy (humiliated versus exalted) even seems to be the main motive of soteriological thought:

> For as through the **one man's disobedience** the many were made sinners, even so through **the obedience** of the One the many will be made righteous. (Rom 5:19)

> … **He humbled Himself**, and became obedient to the point of death … Therefore God also has **highly exalted Him.** (Phil 2:8–9)

> Therefore **humble yourselves** under the mighty hand of God, that **He may exalt you** at the proper time. (1 Pet 5:6)

The above quotations demonstrate how important this dimension also was in divine-human relations: the human being is to obey God, he/she should bow down to him and worship him. He/she should also fear him, which is a natural consequence of the awareness of his omnipotence. Fear is often one of the primary emotions expressing respect for God (Deut 10:20; Josh 4:24; Jer 10:7; Rev 14:6–7). The opposite of these relations is "stiff-neckedness," "rebellion," "arrogance,"

and "disobedience" (2 Kgs 17:13–14; Jer 19:14–15; Neh 9:16)—terms that are used frequently, especially in the Old Testament corpus. By contrast, the New Testament, mainly the epistolary tradition, exposes the dichotomy disobedience versus obedience, or humiliation/punishment versus elevation as a universal motive for condemnation versus salvation, Adam's disobedience versus Jesus's obedience (Rom 5), or obedience and humiliation until death on the cross versus exaltation above the heavens (Phil 2:8–9).

The juxtaposition of the soteriological ideas expressed in Phil 2:5–11 seems to be of particular interest, as it allows the conclusion that the asymmetry and hierarchical arrangement of relations between the parties, associated with the notions of authority and power-strength, went far beyond interpersonal relations. By its very nature, soteriology is an ideal construct, referring to a perfect divine plan, the realisation of which ensures salvation, happiness and peace. Moreover, it applies to soteriology in every religion, not just the religion of Israel. In our case, an early Christological hymn focuses, as if through a lens, on the essential elements of early Christian identity and theology.[2] However, slightly apart from the strictly theological layer, it is apparent that the whole concept of salvation is woven into a pattern of relationships between God, Jesus and human beings. The construction of the hymn is based on the dynamics of the relationship and hierarchy between the various entities. Jesus was in divine form, but he became a man, a servant, who humbled himself and was then elevated so that every knee bends before him in heaven, on earth and under the earth. Ultimately, he becomes Lord. The picture is clearly asymmetrical and dichotomous. Using elementary expressions, it would say that there is a strong subject and a weaker subject, there is a master and a servant, there is the elevated and the humiliated. Moreover, the hymn has a structure typical of Hebrew poetry: it is built on the principle of parallelism (mainly synthetic parallelism combined with antithetical parallelism), which further emphasizes the dichotomy of the positions of the different parties to the relationship and the differentiation of their dignity.[3] The soteriological pattern involves a journey from humiliation to elevation.[4] At the same time, a kind of paradox is the deconstruction of the traditional order of honor and shame implicit in this hymn, for it is Jesus's humiliation and death (shame) that become the source and

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[2] Walter Hansen, *The Letter to the Philippians*, The Pillar New Testament Commentary (Eerdmans, 2009); Jack Sanders, *The New Testament Christological Hymns: Their Historical Religious Background* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[3] Barbara Eckman, "A Quantitative Metrical Analysis of the Philippians Hymn," *NTS* 26 (1980): 258–66.

[4] Mark Keown, "The Christ-Pattern for Social Relationships: Jesus as Exemplar in Philippians and Other Pauline Epistles," in Porter and Land, *Paul and His Social Relations*, 301–31.

beginning of his elevation (honor).[5] The same relational model is found in Rom 5 (humiliation versus elevation, obedience versus disobedience), only instead of a hymn, it takes the form of a theological treatise.[6] It very clearly exposes the sovereignty of God and his will, which Adam opposed, while the other Adam fulfilled this will, opening the way of salvation for humanity. Interestingly, in the narrative of Rom 5–8, humanity is portrayed as a subject living in the bondage of sin or in the grace of God. According to Paul, human beings are either under the law (ὑπὸ νόμον) or under grace (ὑπὸ χάριν). The use of the Greek preposition ὑπὸ reflects the adopted here way of thinking: a certain hierarchical system applies and human, whether saved or condemned, is always under someone else's authority (sin or grace).[7] It is an evidently cratic perspective, which is also perfectly illustrated by the ethical recommendations cited earlier, expressed by Jesus and the apostles (for example, "Therefore humble yourselves under the mighty hand of God"—1 Pet 5:6), or by the examples of the prophetic visions of the end times (relations between Israel and the gentile nations). It will not be an exaggeration to say that this was a common model of the relations prevailing in everyday life at the time.

God Yahweh embodies all the qualities of an absolute ruler, which in the biblical tradition is expressed not only by the idea of an almighty God but also by a transcendent God. It is possible to contact him through angels, prophets, or by means of visions and dreams. The relationship with God is mainly asymmetrical. God is a lord, a king, a warrior, albeit merciful to those who love and obey him (Exod 20:5–6). Sin, though it may be defined in various ways, is here closely associated with the denial of God's unquestioned authority and the attempt to make oneself equal to him.

Some of the above passages can probably be analyzed according to the *honor-shame code*, or more precisely, according to the concept of honor understood as social status. However, I think such a cliché is, in many cases, secondary to the primary fact, which is the evidently forceful and asymmetrical character of the biblical relationships. Their common denominator is status, power and domination, as presented by Collin Petterson,[8] suggesting that the *honor-shame code* can

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[5] Joseph Hellerman, *Reconstructing Honor in Roman Philippi: Carmen Christi as Cursus Pudorum* (Society for New Testament Studies, 2002); Joseph Marchal, *Hierarchy, Unity, and Imitation: A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Power Dynamics in Paul's Letter to the Philippians* (Society of Biblical Literature, 2006).

[6] Thomas Schreiner, *Romans*, Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament (Baker Academic, 2018). James Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, Word Biblical Commentary (Thomas Nelson, 1988).

[7] Although it should be added that in the Epistle to the Galatians, Paul has already linked the Old Testament life "under guard by the law" (ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα—3:23), "under guardian tutor" (ὑπὸ παιδαγωγόν—3:25), "under the guardians" (ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους—4:2) with bondage and a curse (3:10; 4:2) and contrasts them with sonship through faith in Jesus (υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ—3:26; 4:5).

[8] Petterson, "World of Honor and Shame."

be interpreted as a specific expression of a more universal drive for social domination. However, in order to establish the exact connections between the cratic type of social relations and the concept of honor, separate, complementary analyses would have to be conducted.

5.1.2. Analysis

In addition to the frequent use of the words ἐξουσία and δύναμις, or overtly expressed views on the importance of strength or power in relationships between people, this understanding of social reality can also be captured through the identification of an appropriately chosen terminological grid. In section 4.4, this way of thinking is called cratic thinking or *cognitive strength-power orientation and the preference for social relations in terms of asymmetry and dominance*. At the discourse level, it includes Greek linguistic elements relating to the concepts of strength, power, and the asymmetry of social relations found in the Old and New Testaments (see appendix 1). The cratic vocabulary was developed in three stages: first by Hebraists and classical philologists in 2016, then by classical philologists in 2019 and in the final stage it was supplemented with the Greek vocabulary indicated in the *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament based on Semantic Domains.*[9] The terminology included in it referring to the domain of force-power-dominance in biblical Greek was used, namely, items: 37—Control, Rule, 76—Power, Force and 74—Able, Capable (if this vocabulary was not present in the previously established list of cratic words and played a significant role in biblical discourse). The word list eventually covered three groups of expressions: categories (strength, dominance, power), actions (humiliate, exalt, bow down), and characteristics (weak, strong, powerful, great). All the expressions were identified in the *Septuagint*[10] and *Novum Testamentum Graece*[11] using a concordance to the Greek text and with the help of the *Bible Works 7* program. The most important aids for the Septuagint vocabulary analysis were *A Concordance to the Septuagint Vol. 1–2*,[12] and the *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint.*[13] The *Word Study Concordance*,[14] *Statistik des neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes*[15] and the *Greek-*

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[9] L&N.

[10] *Septuaginta*, ed. Alfred Rahlfs (Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979).

[11] NA[27].

[12] Edwin Hatch and Henry Redpath, eds., *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, 2 vols. (Clarendon, 1892).

[13] Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, eds., *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003).

[14] George Wigram and Ralph Winter, eds., *The Word Study Concordance* (Tyndale House, 1978).

[15] Robert Morgenthaler, *Statistik des neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes* (Gotthelf, 1958).

English Concordance to the New Testament[16] proved to be of great help in deter-
mining the meanings of the words used in the text under study. In many cases, the
counting of word frequency was performed "mechanically," that is, the context in
which the word occurs was not checked. This concerned such words for which
meaning is always or almost always diagnostic for the study (for example, ὁ
δοῦλος—slave, ἡ δύναμις—power, strength, ἡ ἰσχύς, ἰσχύω—be strong,
προσκυνέω—to bow, kneel, δυνατός—strong, having power/authority). In other
cases, the context of word use was important (ἡ ἀσθένεια as disease or infirmity,
λατρεύω as serve or worship). The numerical value of the quotient below (for a
given book or set of books) represents the proportion of the number of verses
containing the cratic word to the number of other verses not containing the cratic
word.

5.1.2.1. Old Testament
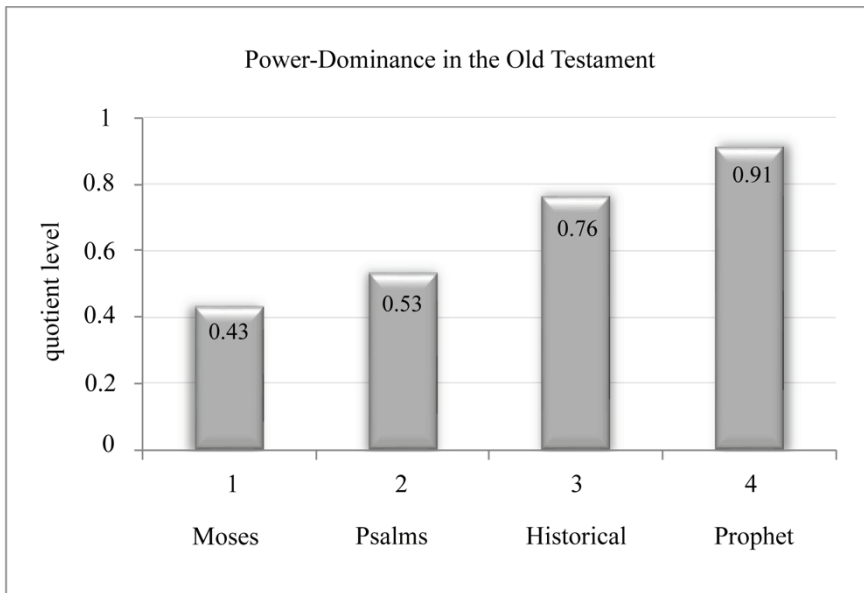
Chart 1. Orientation for Power in the Old Testament

Chart 1 shows the results obtained for the four major narrative groups of the Sep-
tuagint. *Moses* here represents the Pentateuch (Torah); *Psalms* is the book of
Psalms; *Historical* includes the historical books (Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, 1–

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[16] Jacob Smith, ed., *Greek-English Concordance to the New Testament, a Tabular and
Statistical Greek-English Concordance Based on the King James Version with an English-
to-Greek Index*, English and Greek Edition (Herald, 1955).

2 Kings, 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah); and *Prophetic* includes Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the twelve minor prophets, and the Daniel. These represent different types of religious discourse rooted in the different *Sitz im Leben* of the community of ancient Israel. In such various circumstances, the linguistic grid of the community reflected a somewhat different reality, and many essential concepts acquired different meanings and attendant constellations. This is a classic example of linguistic changes reflecting the differences of particular social groups.[17]

A few points, however, require a brief comment. First of all, the selection of the books for a given corpus is somewhat arbitrary. Each corpus has books written at different times; for example, Amos, Jeremiah or Daniel in the prophetic corpus, or Judges and Chronicles in the historical corpus. Moreover, the origin of some of them was strongly staggered in time, like Proto-, Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah, or the theological traditions of the Pentateuch (Yahwistic, Elohistic, Priestly, Deuteronomic). Some books cannot be easily classified if the ideological dependencies and theological intentions of their authors/editors are in question. Such is the case with the book of Joshua, which following the work of Martin Noth,[18] is usually categorised by biblical scholars as part of the Deuteronomistisches Geschichtswerk (together with Deuteronomy, Judges, 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings), which is supposed to have been written in multiple stages between the seventh and sixth centuries BCE[19] In such a perspective, it even becomes problematic to include Deuteronomy exclusively in the Pentateuch.[20] Nonetheless, the above result seems significant insofar as it concerns corpora that are not uniform in literary terms either.

The first of these, the Pentateuch, contains four distinct theological traditions (Yahwistic, Elohistic, Priestly, Deuteronomic) written over four hundred years from the tenth to the sixth century BCE. On the one hand, each is characterised by a different writing style and vocabulary; on the other, it uses similar literary genres and forms. The Yahwist, for example, is associated with the south of Israel and prefers narratives, figurative language, and expressions that are more concrete than abstract, with vivid descriptions appealing to the imagination. The Elohist,

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[17] Whorf, *Language, Thought and Reality*; Wierzbicka, *Understanding Cultures*.

[18] Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien. Die sammelnden und bearbeiten Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament* (Niemeyer, 1957).

[19] Norbert Lohfink, "Was There a Deuteronomistic Movement?," in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists. The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism,* ed. Linda Schearin and Steven McKenzie (Sheffield Academic, 1999), 36–66.

[20] Raymond Person, *The Deuteronomic School: History, Social Setting and Literature* (Society of Biblical Literature, 2002); Enzo Cortese, "Theories Concerning Dtr: A Possible Rapprochement," in *Pentateuchal and Deuteronomistic Studies*, ed. Christianus Brekelmans and Johann Lust (Leuven University Press, 1990), 179–90.

associated rather with the northern region and perhaps the prophetic milieu of that region, includes legal parts and focuses on the covenant (Decalogue Exod 20:1–17; Exod 20:22–23:33) but also commonly uses narratives, describing history from the patriarchs to Moses. The priestly source—probably created during the Babylonian captivity—does include narrative parts, but the core of the tradition is the ritual regulations concerning sacrifices, priests and festivals. The style is matter-of-fact, even dry, abounding in technical terminology, with numerous lists and genealogies. Finally, the Deuteronomist, identified here with the fifth book of Moses, is a composite work containing narrative parts, legal parts, and sets of different laws. The four traditions include sagas, stories, legends, speeches, genealogies, prayers, letters, blessings, curses, various laws (moral, religious), casuistry and even poetic parts. Nevertheless, the result derived for Moses is clearly different from the other corpora and seems to form a separate entity.[21]

Similarly to the case described above, the corpus of Psalms includes the linguistically rich poetry of the Old Testament. Biblical poetry exploits a wide range of expressive devices, among which the most predominant are mainly parallelisms (synonymous, antithetical, chiasms—see Pss 2:4–5; 8:5), which are invaluable aids in defining many concepts of the Hebrew language.[22] The division of psalms mainly includes prayers and religious songs related to specific Judaic festivals (Ps 70; Ps 99), pilgrimages, prayers and worship (Pss 120–134). They are usually (royal, enthronement) hymns, thanksgivings, supplications-lamentations. The diversity of psalms is great, and their *Sitz im Leben* is rooted in worship, festivals, historical events, et cetera. Importantly, it is not only the Psalms that contain poetic texts; they are also common in historical and especially prophetic literature, together with a wealth of stylistic devices typical of Hebrew poetry.[23] However, it is in this corpus that, despite their internal diversity and the occurrence of similar literary forms in the historical and prophetic corpus, the Psalms are clearly distinct from them.[24] They are a separate, independent body of texts, indicating a different conceptualization of reality.

The same problem (of differentiation yet similarities) applies to the prophetic corpus, comprising of the early and late prophets, and the historical corpus,

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[21] Erich Zenger and Christian Frevel, eds. *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Kohlhammer, 2015); Norbert Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch: Themes of the Priestly Narrative and Deuteronomy* (Fortress, 1996); John Van Seters, *The Pentateuch: A Social-Science Commentary* (T&T Clark, 2015).

[22] The construction of chiasms favors the accumulation of close or related denotative words.

[23] Peter Craigie and Marvin Tate, *Psalms 1–50*, Word Biblical Commentary (Nelson, 2004); Charles Briggs and Emilie Briggs, *Psalms*, International Critical Commentary, 5 vols. (T&T Clark, 2000).

[24] However, we also find cultic prophecy and prophetic narrative in the corpus of psalms. Sigmunt Mowinckel, *Psalm Studies*, trans. Mark Biddle, vol. 2 (Society of Biblical Literature, 2014).

including the Deuteronomistic History and Chronistic History.[25] There is no need to repeat that they are similar in many respects, if only because of the numerous narrative parts describing historical events that the Israelite historians and prophets living in the same period may have witnessed (or wanted to mention). The similarity also relates to the linguistic means of expression and literary forms available to them, such as sagas, legends and etymologies.[26] The historical books contain extensive sections on the activities of prophets such as Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha. However, prophetic literature also varies from historical literature, being primarily rooted in the experience of the prophet's calling and mission. The authors of these books use literary forms generally absent from the historical narrative, such as prophetic stories, apocalypses or prophetic speeches (including predictions of the future, threats, and oracles against the nations),[27] while their language is full of images, symbols, and metaphors.[28]

The studied corpora are thus, on the one hand, internally diverse, while on the other hand, they show many common features. If, for example, literary genre, stylistics, tradition or theological intention were taken as a decisive criterion of division, then given such a wide variety of texts, most likely the results presented in chart 1 would not be found. On the other hand, the selected corpora represent relatively coherent religious discourses in terms of perceiving the world in a very basic layer, largely independent of text content or literary form. According to sociologists and psychologists, this layer can only be captured in the linguistic structure, revealed in the selection and frequency of certain words (in the linguistic grid). Of course, the results derived in such large corpora are a certain averaging and necessarily offset the diversity within them, but this in no way negates the final result[29]—on the contrary. Moreover, I think that these data could be the subject of a more detailed analysis in the form of a separate study for selected subgroups in these corpora or in texts divided according to a temporal caesura (nomadic period, conquest of the land, monarchy and the kingdom, after the period of captivity). An example of such an approach could be to ask how the

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[25] Chronistic History like 1–2 Chronicles, the book of Ezra, and Nehemiah (Zenger and Frevel, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*; Schmidt, *Einfuhrung in das Alte Testament*).

[26] Georg Braulik, "Theorien über das Deuteronomistische Geschichtswerk (DtrG) im Wandel der Forschung," in *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, ed. Erich Zenger (Kohlhammer, 2015), 233–51.

[27] David Petersen, "Rethinking the Nature of Prophetic Literature," in *Prophecy and Prophets: The Diversity of Contemporary Issues in Scholarship*, ed. Yehoshua Gitay (Scholars Press, 1997), 23–40; Claus Westermann, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech* (Lutterworth, 1991).

[28] Katherine Hayes, *The Earth Mourns: Prophetic Metaphor and Oral Aesthetic* (Society of Biblical Literature, 2002).

[29] I would add that this does not exclude possible comparisons between different literary genres, distributed in separate corpora of the Old and New Testaments.

results of cratism arrange for the individual theological traditions of the Pentateuch when they were created in a slightly different time and social setting,[30] or what the results would be for different narratives but created in a similar *Sitz im Leben*. It is indeed very probable that we have captured a previously unseen important aspect of a shared (for a given corpus) vision of the social and religious world, which would be helpful in evaluating the theological or linguistic tradition of a given set.[31] Including a social cognitive aspect to the theological or linguistic analysis, beyond the individual perspective of a single author, could be helpful for a fuller understanding of the content of individual biblical books as it provides a broader interpretative perspective.[32]

Thus, first of all, each type of discourse represents a slightly different description of reality with a greater or lesser concentration on the concept of strength-power and a different way of conceptualizing the relations between social entities (both between people and between human and God). In the texts in which the value of the quotient is higher, the authors of the narratives more often refer to such concepts as obedience, strength, submission, service, power. In the descriptions of characters or events, they more often use such features as weak-strong, big-small, submissive-bossy, and more often use categories such as ruler-servant, slave-master. Where the value of the indicator is higher, narrative authors more often refer to such concepts as obedience, strength, submission, service, power. The differences between the quotient values for all four text groups are also statistically significant (see appendix 2), which means that these are quite profound changes concerning important structural properties of the discourse. In short, we are dealing with a genuinely different descriptor and a different way of thinking about the world.

Interestingly, a similar pattern of results is obtained by analyzing only elementary, basic cratic vocabulary such as ἡ βεβαίωσις, ὁ δεσπότης, ἡ δεσποτεία, ἡ διακονία, ἡ δόξα, ἡ δουλοσύνη, ὁ δοῦλος, δύναμαι, δυναμόω, ἡ δύναμις, ἡ ἐξουσία, ἡ ἡγεμονία, ὁ ἡγεμών, ἡ ἰσχύς, ἡ κράτησις, κρατέω, κραταιός, ἡ κρατία, τό κράτος, ἡ μεγαλειότης, ἡ μεγαλωσύνη, ἡ μέγετος, ὁ τύραννος, ἰσχύω, ὑψόω, ὑψηλός, ὕψιστος. For Moses, the quotient is 0.18; for Psalms, it is 0.29; for Historical books, 0.49; and for Prophetic books, 0.34; so compared to chart 1, the only difference can be seen in the historical discourse, which has a higher quotient than the prophetic discourse. In general, however, both basic and extended vocabulary show similar differences between the Old Testament corpora.

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[30] John Van Seters, *The Pentateuch: A Social-Science Commentary* (T&T Clark, 2015).

[31] This type of data may be helpful for the history of influence and tradition history.

[32] An appropriate application of such results or those that are similar could also provide a complementary voice in the discussion concerning the syntactic-stylistic consistency of selected biblical narratives and corpora (see stylistic analyses with quantitative data on the book of Samuel and the Deuteronomist—Polak, *Book of Samuel*).

The results are presented in ascending order and require comment. First of all, they confirm Hypothesis 1 (see section 4.4), in which it was assumed that the cratic orientation would obtain different values in different types of religious discourse. The lowest value for the Torah (0.43) seems understandable in light of the specificity of its content. Although it is not a homogeneous set, the vast majority is made up of religious laws and regulations. It is primarily a static discourse in which the dynamics of human relations, or the relationship between human and Yahweh God, often recede into the background. The authors of the books focus on the legal state, define sin or religious crimes, and describe ritual activities, festivals, or types of sacrifices. Equally understandable is the high value of the indicator for historical discourse (0.76), especially since these are books filled with descriptions of Israel's wars with its surrounding neighbours. From Joshua to the Kings, there was a continuous struggle to maintain Israel's identity and statehood. It was a period of several centuries of conquest and of Palestine being taken over (Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel); there was the creation and disintegration of the state, and there were wars, conflicts and captivity (2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, 1–2 Chronicles), until the attempts to restore statehood after the captivity (Ezra, Nehemiah). The contents of these books are rich in the terminology of force, domination, obedience and submission, so it seems natural.

However, the most intriguing results are those obtained in the Psalms and the prophetic literature. In both instances, there is a rather similar cognitive perspective of the authors of these texts: both the psalmist and the prophet are in relation to Yahweh God. The psalmist prays to him while the prophet talks to him, accepts his commands, and sometimes even argues with him. The sense of real contact with the God of Israel, who was, above all, the creator of the world, its lord and judge, the "God of Hosts," should influence them in a similar way. In both cases, the authors are aware of the presence of an almighty God who deserves absolute obedience and worship. However, a different pattern can be seen at the discourse level. The Psalms present a lower intensity of this orientation (0.53); in the prophets it is very high (0.91), higher even than the historical discourse. The differences become understandable if the perspectives of the psalmist and the prophet are examined more closely. The prophetic discourse and the Psalms are rooted in a different kind of religious experience and, therefore, also in a different psychological perspective.[33] The prophet, in addition to being in the presence of the creator, "Lord of all creation" (in this respect he was no different from the psalmist), he usually received or already had a mission from God, he was a chosen one. The accomplishment of such a mission placed him in an entirely different position. Practically every prophet of Israel had the task of confronting sins and exhorting the people to be faithful to Yahweh. He was to identify sins and

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[33] James Crenshaw, *Prophetic Conflict: Its Effect upon Israelite Religion* (Society of Biblical Literature, 2007).

motivate obedience and submission to the divine will. The prophet created a new reality, his words had the character of an imperative. He would punish, condemn and command, and be full of power and divine inspiration. Thus, he became a religious leader, a defender of divine rights, an enemy of infidels and a fierce opponent of sin. The cognitive perspective of the prophets is thus embedded in a sharp dichotomy of good versus evil, holiness versus sin, and the conflict between divine will and human disobedience. In other words, this is the reality of religious warfare, which was in fact no different from the military conflicts of Israel. And if it differed, then it was most likely by the greater personal commitment and determination of the prophet—the guardian of the sacred laws of the chosen people. A large part of the prophetic discourse consists of speeches and prophecies against the nations (Isa 13–23), which were most probably rooted in Israel's martial traditions, following the example of the neighbouring states of the Middle East.[34] Visions and apocalypses, which were descriptions of Yahweh God's final war against the nonbelievers, also played an important role in the prophetic narrative (Isa 24–27).[35] This had a significant impact on their perception of the social environment and further, on the choice of appropriate linguistic categories and devices.

What is more, prophets very often experienced a strong tension related to the process of their calling and the lack of a sense of personal competence to carry out the mission entrusted to them. Most of them, speaking out against the *status quo*, became the object of criticism and opposition to princes, kings, or a large part of society (although, of course, many of them also enjoyed social recognition). The prophetic experience is marked by conflict, opposition, a sense of permanent tension and, at the same time, by a sense of election and of belonging to an omnipotent God to whom the prophet owes absolute obedience and submission.[36] The act of calling itself was often rather dramatic, the descriptions of callings being marked by something like the impact of an overwhelming force which the prophet is unable to resist and must succumb to (Jer 20:9; Am 3:8). The

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[34] Stephen Cook, John Strong, and Steven Tuell, *The Prophets: Introducing Israel's Prophetic and Apocalyptic Writings in Introducing Israel's Scriptures* (Fortress, 2022); Ed Sanders, "The Genre of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypses," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism*, ed. D. Hellholm (Mohr Siebeck, 1983), 447–59.

[35] Hugh Williamson, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 1–27*, 3 vols. (T&T Clark, 2006); Hans Wilberger, *Isaiah 28–39*, A Continental Commentary (Fortress, 2002).

[36] The conflict between the prophet and the status quo at that time is emphasized in a very original way by Serge Frolov, "1 Samuel 1–8: The Prophet as Agent Provocateur," in *Constructs of Prophecy in the Former and Latter Prophets and Other Texts*, ed. Lester Grabbe and Martti Nissinen (Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 77–86. See also Mark Leuchter, "Cult of Personality: The Eclipse of Pre-exilic Judahite Cultic Structures in the Book of Jeremiah," in Grabbe and Nissinen, *Constructs of Prophecy in the Former and Latter Prophets and Other Texts* (Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 95–116.

prophet often feels defeated (Jer 20:7).[37] It is needless to mention that this is a highly cratic perspective[38] which should achieve values higher than that seen both in the Psalms and in the historical narrative, exactly as demonstrated by this analysis. The attitude of the praying psalmist is different: he praises God, thanks him for his blessings or simply participates in the liturgical prayer of the community. It is the perspective of a monologue (sometimes a dialogue) in which the experiences of a community or an individual come to the fore. A typical example of this attitude is expressed in the words:

> Out of the depths I have cried to You, O Lord …
> I wait for the Lord, my soul waits. (Ps 130:1, 5)

or

> You are my God, and I will praise You. (Ps 118:28)

as opposed to the experience of the prophet:

> Then the word of the Lord came to me saying …:
> I ordained you a prophet to the nations …
> Do not be afraid of their faces …
> See, I have this day set you over the nations and over the kingdoms,
> To root out and to pull down,
> To destroy and to throw down,
> To build and to plant. (Jer 1:4, 5, 8, 10)

The results, therefore, seem not only to be in line with the general characteristics of the biblical prophecy but also enable us to notice an essential underlying psychological aspect of the mentality: on the one hand, the experience of a deep asymmetry in the relationship between the omnipotent God and his obedient servant-prophet, on the other hand, the feeling of permanent tension between good and evil, and between him and the social environment. The prophet-God asymmetry and the prophet-world dichotomy also played an important role in apocalyptic literature, whose thematic axis is, among other things, the eschatological struggle against evil and the crackdown on unbelievers. Interestingly, Daniel, included in the apocalyptic literature of the Old Testament, obtained an even higher level of cratic orientation (as high as 7.44!), although it should be remembered that in the case of a short text material (which is the case of this book), the

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[37] Cook, Strong, and Tuell, *Prophets.*
[38] For this reason, among others, Witwicki attributed cratic motivation to the biblical prophets (Witwicki, *Psychologia*, vol. 2; Witwicki, *Dobra Nowina*).

results should be treated rather indicatively. Revelation also scores higher than the books of the prophets (2.65), which will be discussed later.

The differences in prophetic discourse certainly reach much deeper. It is conceivable that even on the level of quantitative comparisons, they would be apprehensible between speeches against the nations, against the ungodly (their own or foreign), in visions of judgment, or simply in various forms of prophecy and apocalypticism, which never constituted a unified discourse.[39] This is all the more so because Israel's prophetic literature[40] underwent a significant evolution from the classical prophets such as Amos and Hosea, through the prophecy of the captivity period (especially the Babylonian period) and after the captivity. Significant is the fact that the development of Jewish apocalypticism was influenced by the events of the Maccabean period (and crisis) in the second century BCE. It was then that Daniel, the textual tradition of the Ethiopian book of Henoch and the subsequent rich apocalyptic-apocryphal literature presumably originated.[41] Political conditions and the current circumstances were crucial to the linguistic specificity of a given prophetic book. The inclusion of such a variable in quantitative analyses could prove very interesting, demonstrating how far even accepted literary forms were modified according to the social or political situation. The participation of the prophets in the political life of Israel was, in fact, significant.[42] Viewing the prophetic literature holistically, that is, treating it as a single textual corpus, also has the advantage of providing an opportunity to go beyond the individual perspective in the psychological analysis of selected books. These are very often attempts at a psychological evaluation of the prophet (for example, Ezekiel,

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[39] Cook, Strong, and Tuell, *Prophets*; Marvin Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39: With an Introduction to Prophetic Literature* (Eerdmans, 2008). See also Westermann, *Grundformen prophetischer Rede*; Schökel, *Die stilistische Analyse bei den Propheten*.

[40] Apocalypticism should not be identified with prophetic literature, it is a subdivision of prophecy. See M. Michael, "The Genre of the Apocalypse: What Are They Saying Now?," *BTB* 18 (1999): 115–26; Andreas Köstenberger and Richard Patterson, *Invitation to Biblical Interpretation: Exploring the Hermeneutical Triad of History, Literature, and Theology* (Kregel Academic & Professional, 2011). The differences between both types of discourse are also confirmed by the results obtained in our study.

[41] Klaus Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic*, Studies in Biblical Theology 22 (Allenson, 1972). John Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Hermeneia (Fortress, 1993).

[42] Furthermore, the prophetic books, even if they were subject to successive editing, were primarily linked to the prophet or a prophetic milieu. A more in-depth statistical analysis of the vocabulary for the separated prophetic units could shed more light on the relationship between the socially situated prophetic milieu (or the prophet in question) and the way the world is perceived. This is especially relevant for larger narrative portions such as Isaiah, Jeremiah, or Ezekiel (Thomson, *Book of Jeremiah*). Similar relationships can also be found in the corpus of the minor prophets. See John Kessler, *The Book of Haggai: Prophecy and Society in Early Persian Yehud* (Brill, 2002).

Jeremiah), which according to the limited source data, do not lead to convincing conclusions about their personality.[43] This problem can be clearly observed when using the theories of Jungian or Freudian psychoanalysis, in which the range of possible speculations is extensive.[44] The perspective on Israel's religious discourse as an expression of the community's beliefs, an expression of their linguistic representation of the world, has a much stronger empirical basis.

In light of our quantitative analysis, the prophetic discourse is, in fact, very similar to the historical discourse. The historical literature of ancient Israel played an important ideological role. It served as a tool for creating socio-religious consciousness, gave meaning to events in the history of the chosen people or indicated its place in the world.[45] As I mentioned earlier, Martin Noth.[46] showed that the historical books from Joshua to 2 Kings form a coherent textual tradition (*Deuteronomistisches Geschichtswerk*), dominated by a specific vision of history and theological concept: to show Israel's history with an emphasis on its sins, indicating the source of its failures and the lack of blessing. A regular pattern is repeated: moving away from Yahweh—threat from enemies—cry for help to Yahweh—rescue—moving away again.[47] This scheme was later supplemented in the work of the chroniclers (comprising 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah) by the principle of *Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhang*, that is the principle indicating the close relationship between action and consequence (sin and punishment).[48] What emerges is a vision of history which is the realisation of a divine plan of a cratic character: the rebellion of Israel became the cause of their captivity and humiliation on the part of the gentiles, while the casting off of the yoke or the renewal of the country—usually inspired by the prophet—was carried out by a judge, a leader or a king in a series of battles or wars. The author of the history books is, therefore,

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[43] The prophetic experience itself remains largely intangible. Based on the textual data, it is impossible to conclusively answer to what extent particular aspects of the experience played a greater or lesser role. Garrett Best assesses it in his dissertation as the result of psychological phenomena, visionary experience, and literary creativity. See Garret Best, "Imitatio Ezechielis: The Irregular Grammar of Revelation Reconsidered" (PhD thesis, Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, 2021).

[44] James Charlesworth, "Psychobiography: A New and Challenging Methodology," in Ellens and Rollens, *Psychology and the Bible*, 4:21–58; Christopher Cook, "Psychiatry in Scripture: Sacred Texts and Psychopathology," *The Psychiatrist* 36 (2012): 225–29; Rollins and Kille, *Psychological Insight into the Bible*.

[45] Claus Westermann, *Grundformen prophetischer Rede* (Kaiser, 1991)*.

[46] Matin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien: Die sammelnden und bearbeiten Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament* (Niemeyer, 1957).

[47] Werner Schmidt, *Wprowadzenie do Starego Testamentu* (Augustana, 1997), 129.

[48] This principle also plays an essential role in the sapiential literature of Israel. Georg Freuling, *"Wer eine Grube gräbt …": Der Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhang und sein Wandel in der alttestamentlichen Weisheitsliteratur*, WMANT (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004).

not so different from the writing prophet: both want to influence the socio-religious order and motivate the Israelites to obey God. However, they differ in the way they exert their influence: the former indicates failures through historical reflection, the latter denounces sin and is part of the dynamic and tense relationships within the community. However, while prophetic books more often highlight the relationship between God and man, historical books devote more space to interpersonal relationships.

5.1.2.2. New Testament
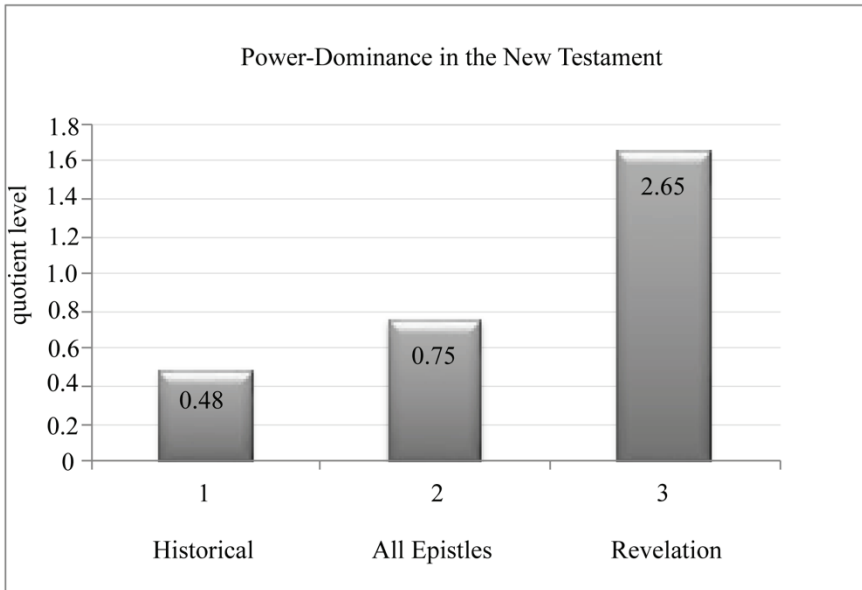
Chart 2. Orientation for Power-Dominance in the New Testament

In the case of the corpus of the New Testament, there is a much smaller collection of books, which was written in a relatively short period: from the middle of the first century CE to the first decade of the second century. This, therefore, leads to slightly different conclusions. The whole corpus was divided into two larger collections, the *Historical* books (comprising the four gospels and the Acts of the Apostles) and the *Epistles*, that is, the epistolary literature of the New Testament,

the core of which is *Corpus Paulinum*[49] and Catholic letters.[50] Revelation forms a separate textual corpus, although it is only one book. As can be seen, the highest score was given to Revelation, which seems perfectly understandable in the light of the earlier analysis of the results for the prophetic books in the Old Testament. However, it should be remembered that apocalypticism is governed by slightly different laws than prophetic literature. The leitmotifs, the main thematic axis, and its conceptualization are typical of cratic thinking. The authors of apocalyptic texts describe the world in terms of strength, power and conflict between the forces of good and evil, in which obedience and submission to God play a fundamental role, thinking in terms of a deep dichotomy between social subjects (human/God/Satan). The result in Revelation can only be compared to the apocalyptic and not the prophetic literature of the Old Testament.

The epistolary literature, however, scored very highly, higher than the historical narrative (although, of course, the gospels are not a typical historical narrative, nor is Acts of the Apostles). The differences between the three corpora are also statistically significant (see appendix 2), meaning that each corpus represents a different linguistic grid underpinned by a slightly different conceptualisation of the social world. Leaving aside the Revelation, the letters in particular require further comment. Such a high score (0.75) is comparable to the historical literature of the Old Testament (0.76), and yet this is not the literature whose thematic axis was conflict or war. So where does the similarity between the two corpora lie if it is not the main thematic line? I think this is precisely the cognitive perspective their authors adopted in specific circumstances.

First, the letters of the New Testament were written by the apostles or their disciples. They represent a milieu with a clear sense of mission to their community and the world around them. They were strongly convinced that God called them to preach the good news to others and save others from condemnation. Like the prophets, they became the chosen ones, at risk of being misunderstood or rejected. An atmosphere of tension and conflict is often visible within the community or in their relations with the world around them. This can be evident in many statements, such as:

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[49] Traditionally, these have included Romans, 1–2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Ephesians, Colossians, 1–2 Thessalonians, 1–2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews (the latter has always been the most controversial, as are other epistles today, like Ephesians, 2 Thessalonians). Schnelle, *Einleitung ins Neue Testament*; Craig Koester, *Hebrews: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Doubleday, 2001); Harry Gamble and Matthew Novenson, "Letters in the New Testament and in the Greco-Roman World," in *The Biblical World*, ed. Katharine Dell (Routledge, 2021); Hans-Josef Klauck, *Ancient Letters and the New Testament: A Guide to Context and Exegesis* (Baylor University Press, 2006).
[50] James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, Jude.

> But there are some who trouble you and want to pervert the Gospel of Christ …
> if anyone preaches any other gospel to you than what you have received, let him
> be accursed. (Gal 1:7b, 9b)

> For there are many insubordinate, both idle talkers and deceivers, especially
> those of the circumcision, whose mouths must be stopped. (Titus 1:10–11a; see
> also 1 Cor 3:4–9; 1 Tim 1:3–11; 1 John 2:18–19; 4:1)

From the very beginning, the early Christian community viewed itself as an
oasis of light in a morally bankrupt world. It was the "light of the world" and the
"salt of the earth." It clearly stood apart from its social environment, as the differ-
ences between the church and the world were evident at many levels of interaction
and daily life.[51] The doctrine of the apostles as the basis for the identity of the
communities did not, for example, create an opportunity for coexistence with the
polytheistic religions of the Mediterranean culture. The doctrine, theology, reli-
gious practices and ethos were different. Monotheism could not be accommodated
with polytheism; the existence of pagan deities was questioned,[52] and worship
seemed superfluous. Often, religious practices derived from these religions were
seen as a denial of the divine will and even a manifestation of the forces of dark-
ness. Some Christians in Corinth, for example, abstain completely from eating
meat simply because they fear being defiled with meat sold in temple shops (1
Cor 11).[53] Both epistolary literature and the Acts of the Apostles describe numer-
ous examples of the clash of two incompatible worlds and the resulting not only
misunderstandings but also strong antagonism. The sense of apostolic mission to
preach the gospel to the pagans, on the one hand, necessitated contact with the
outside world, and on the other hand, gave rise to strong tensions and conflicts. In
the earliest phase of the Christian community, the problem of relations with pa-
gans seemed almost insoluble and, as the example of the Jerusalem and Antioch
communities prove, going outside the borders of Palestine was a major obstacle
for the apostles. An excellent example of this is the attitude of Peter the Apostle
and his vision in Caesarea Maritime (Acts 10–11; Gal 1:6–24). It seems to have
been the belief of the apostles (or some of them) that it was the pagans who should
come to Jerusalem and the holy land to learn the gospel, rather than the apostles
going to the defiled land of pagans.[54] Although contacts lead to a change in

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[51] Meeks, *First Urban Christians*; Mason and Esler, "Judaean and Christ-Follower Identi-
ties"; Stegemann and Stegemann, *Jesus Movement*.

[52] Tobias Nicklas and Herbert Schlögel, "Mission to the Gentiles: The Construction of Chris-
tian Identity and Its Relationship with Ethics according to Paul," *HTS* 68 (2012): 1–7.

[53] Wolfgang Schrage, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (Neukirchener, 1991); Margaret
Froelich, "Sacrificed Meat in Corinth and Jesus Worship as a Cult Among Cults," *JECH*
10 (2020): 44–56.

[54] This issue was the subject of numerous tensions among the apostles and Christian com-
munities. It repeatedly appeared in various discussions and polemics in the Acts of the

attitudes, this did not eliminate mutual tensions. A different worldview, ethos and customs often pushed both sides to opposite ends of the pole of possible dialogue. The systematically deepening alienation of the communities, misunderstanding and stereotypes, ultimately led to prejudice and persecution. This is why the apostles will write:

> Do you not know that friendship with the world is enmity with God? Whoever therefore wants to be a friend of the world makes himself an enemy of God. (James 4:4)

> Do not marvel, my brethren, if the world hates you. We know that we have passed from death to life. (1 John 3:13–14a; see also Heb 13:28; 1 Cor 1:22–24; 4:13; 2 Cor 4:8–10; 1 John 2:15–16)

A certain change of mood is discernible at the end of the first century, but this relates more to the reflection found in the Acts of the Apostles, in which the author (a converted pagan) exposes the fact that Christians and pagans coexisted, which required them to reach some form of agreement. He creates a somewhat different, less negative, picture of the Roman authorities and portrays the Christians as those who, faced with the distant parousia of Jesus, do not share the radical eschatological sentiments noticeable in late epistolary literature. Indeed, if the Catholic epistles (2 Peter, 1–3 John, James, Jude) are examined, it is easy to observe the radicalism and sense of alienation of the communities in the world around them. The authors of the letters are embedded in a highly dichotomised religious and social reality that is sustained and radicalised by their belief system derived from Judaism and Jesus's teachings. While the Master's teachings provided an opportunity to ease tensions between the community and the world, allowing the community to move beyond Jewish exclusivism, they did not eliminate the inevitable clash of different religious identities: Christian and pagan. Radicalism, a natural consequence of this, was reported in the literature and also in analyzes of the language of the letters.[55]

Second, although the epistolary literature of the New Testament is heterogeneous and can hardly be considered a classic example of epistolography known from classical works,[56] personal, parenetic and theological strands are always intertwined in it. In addition to the soteriological-ethical axis, they are often

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Apostles and the epistles. Charles Dodd, *The Gospel in the New Testament* (Fontes, 2021); Dunn, *Parting of the Ways*; Bruce, *Book of the Acts.*

[55] Batten, "Letter of Jude"; Hans-Josef Klauck, *Der erste Johannesbrief*, Evangelish-Katholisher Kommentar (Neukirchener, 1991); David Lamb, *Text, Context and the Johannine Community: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of the Johannine Writings* (T&T Clark, 2013).

[56] Hans-Josef Klauck, *Ancient Letters and the New Testament: A Guide to Context and Exegesis* (Baylor University Press, 2006).

intertwined by these tensions and conflicts, which unfortunately spread to the interior of the communities. These include internal divisions, struggles for purity of faith or simply for authority with the representatives of different groups. In the pastoral epistles (1–2 Timothy 1; Titus 1)[57] the Epistle of Jude,[58] 1 John (1:19; 2:22; 4:2–3),[59] Colossians (2:4–23), Galatians (1:6–24),[60] 1–2 Corinthians (1 Cor 1–3; 2 Cor 10)[61] the communities struggle with gnostic influences, Judeo-Gnosticism, Docetism, the desire to restore the practices of Judaism (festivals, circumcision), et cetera.[62] In other words, an atmosphere of tension was a permanent feature of the religious landscape of the communities of the second half of the first century.

Thirdly, the atmosphere of psychological tension is further enhanced by the eschatological aspect, which is one of the most significant aspects of early Christian literature in general.[63] There is not enough space here for a detailed analysis of the content of the individual letters, but it is clear that the soteriology of the New Testament letters—like that of the entire early Christian message of the first century CE—is closely intertwined with eschatology. The Good News requires decisions, changes, and a new way of life. In the first century, many Christian writers were deeply convinced of the imminent Parousia of Jesus Christ, which would perhaps happen while they were still alive (1 Thess 4:13–18).[64] What is meant here is something more than eschatology as is traditionally understood (parousia, resurrection, final judgement), namely, the eschatological tension arising from the sense that from the time of Jesus a new period, a new aeon, began in the history of humanity. This aeon represents a new religious and ethical awareness. It is about a realised eschatology,[65] according to which Christians believed that

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[57] William Ounce, *Pastoral Epistles in Word Biblical Commentary* (Nelson, 2000); Georg Hafner, "Die Gegner in den Pastoralbriefen und die Paulus Akten," *ZNW* 92 (2001): 65–77.

[58] Anton Vögtle, *Der Judasbrief / Der 2 Petrusbrief*, Evangelish-Katholisher Kommentar (Benziger, 1994).

[59] Klauck, *Der erste Johannesbrief.*

[60] Schreiner, *Galatians.*

[61] Schrage, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther.*

[62] Amadeusz Citlak, "Chrześcijańska wspólnota w pogańskim świecie: O zderzeniu chrześcijan z pogańską odmiennością w I w. n.e.," in *Interpretacja Tekstu Biblijnego: Wokół Problemów Wspólnoty*, ed. Amadeusz Citlak (Nomos, 2019), 87–122.

[63] Dodd, *Gospel in the New Testament.*

[64] Christopher Rowland, "The Eschatology of the New Testament Church," in *The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology*, ed. Jerry Walls (Oxford Academic Press, 2009), 56–72.

[65] Realized eschatology is most often linked to the Johannine tradition. Still, it reflects a relatively common religious trend of Christianity in the second half of the first and early second century. David Aune, *The Cultic Setting of Realized Eschatology in Early Christianity* (Brill, 1972). Rowland, "Eschatology of the New Testament Church"; Dodd, *Gospel in the New Testament*; Georg Richter, "Präsentische und futurische Eschatologie im 4. Evangelium," in *Gegenwart und kommendes Reich: Schülergabe Anton Vögtle zum 65.*

the fulfilment of the divine messianic promises, the ideal of the Kingdom of God, is realised right now and not in the indefinite future. This had a profound effect on Christians' ethical self-awareness and radicalism, the drive for personal transformation, and the conviction of the judgement currently happening on them and the world (Rom 8:24; 1 Cor 10:11; Heb 1:2; 1 Pet 1:5). The Christian was thus engaged in an inner struggle, internally divided between good and evil, the heart was becoming a battleground of supernatural forces and also a battleground against the Christian's own limitations, unbelief, body, desires (2 Cor 10:4; Eph 6:12; Col 2:1; 4:12; Tim 6:12). Neither could the Christian be neutral, always standing on someone's side as a subject/servant/slave of God or Evil. In the face of tensions with the representatives of Judaism and conflicts with the pagan world, the eschatological perspective, on the one hand, sustained the identity of Christians and, on the other, radicalised and polarised religious attitudes, fostering a vision of the world in which a real war was being waged (Eph 6:12; Col 1:13). It can be said that what is known from the historical literature of the Old Testament as descriptions of wars and conquests here takes the form of "wars" at the level of beliefs and morals.

In general then, it was an atmosphere highly conducive to the kind of cognitive attitude found in the prophets, reflecting a cratic orientation. The conceptuality and linguistic grid typical of it must have become an immanent part of this (epistolary) textual tradition. The authors of the letters prefer categories such as battle, obedience, submission, power, weakness, divine power and dominion, victory, or the dichotomy of master/ruler vs. servant/slave, weak vs. strong, great vs. small, submissive vs. master, in their descriptions of persons or social relations. Only seemingly then does the epistolary literature, filled with issues of a theological and ethical nature, seem distant from the cratic perspective. In fact, it is saturated with it, as is not only the historical tradition of the Old Testament but also the prophetic tradition (although the quotient is lower).

The above features of epistolary literature explain the lower cratism quotient for the gospels and Acts (0.48, with 0.52 for the gospels and 0.37 for Acts). The corpus is quantitatively dominated by the gospel narrative, the focal point of which is the life and work of Jesus of Nazareth. A large part of each gospel consists of miracles, healings, helping the sick and suffering. Against the backdrop of specific events of this kind, Jesus delivers his teachings, which do not have a systematic form but are rather a collection of various statements on occasional topics. Even the so-called Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5–7) was presumably compiled from isolated speeches of Jesus by the gospel author/editor.[66] Jesus's

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speeches in the form of delivered teachings or polemics form a substantial part of the gospel corpus. They are complemented by descriptions of Jesus's passion, which in John, for example, almost halves the entire gospel. Thus, despite the emerging tensions between Jesus and the priests or Jews in general, the content of the gospels reflects to a lesser extent than in the epistles what is called a cratic perspective.[67] This aspect, arguably present in Jesus's polemics, greatly subsides into an overall narrative perspective focused on his life, activities and passion.

In contrast to the above, the subjects change in Acts, whose content covers the missionary activity of the apostles and the problems of the Christian communities confronting the different Jewish and pagan worlds. Thus, on the one hand, there is a typical narrative reporting on the development of the church, and on the other, there are topics similar to those found in the epistolary literature (confrontation with the Jewish and pagan environment). The very low count for the Acts (0.37) is, therefore, rather unusual; the cratism similar to that obtained in the epistles would have been expected. It is not the purpose of the analysis the Acts text in detail, but perhaps this is the result of a less confrontational perspective of Luke/the editor of the text. The commentators relatively agree that the author's attitude towards the Roman authorities and non-Christians in general[68] was reasonably positive and may have played a key role in the way the events of the communities in the Mediterranean were presented.[69] The author constructs the narrative of the book in such a way as to illustrate the chances of coexistence of the church in the Greco-Roman world.[70] Certainly, the fact that the author of the Acts is a pagan, educated in Greek culture and is writing to Theophilus, presumably his patron,[71] is also significant. This explanation seems logical and allows the assumption (as suggested earlier) that the cratic perspective is related to a confrontational attitude, the author's embedding in an awareness of conflict and

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[67] Some differences can be expected when comparing the synoptic gospels and Gospel of John, which differ (from our point of view) in their attitude towards the Jews. We will return to this topic in chapter 6.

[68] Ben Witherington, analyzing the Acts, notices: "The lack of broadscale polemics against either Jews or Romans, thought both are portrayed as persecuting or causing the problems for Christians at various points in the narrative.… He refuses to stereotype people simply because they are not yet the followers of 'The Way'" (Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*, 29).

[69] "Luke is, in fact, one of the first Christian apologists. In that particular type of apologetic which is addressed to the secular authorities to establish the law-abiding character of Christianity he is absolutely a pioneer" (Bruce, *Book of the Acts*, 24).

[70] Especially Ernst Plumacher, "Apostelgeschichte," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Georg Müller, vol. 3 (De Gruyter, 1987), 483–528; see also Kavin Rowe, "Luke-Acts and the Imperial Cult: A Way through the Conundrum?," *JSNT* 27 (2005): 279–300.

[71] Author "is following ancient Greek historiographical conventions.… He knows the conventions of Greco-Roman rhetoric. His knowledge of rhetoric indicates that he had progressed to the higher-levels of Greco-Roman education" (Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*, 7, 52).

tension. Not only descriptions of wars but also of disputes or rivalries—in line with Witwicki's theory—favored a cratic orientation. Moreover, the mental attitude of the author reporting such events plays an important role. This seems consistent with the results for the epistolary literature (0.75) and Apocalypse (2.65), in which the confrontational attitude comes much more strongly to the fore.[72]

In the end, therefore, the historical corpus has the lowest cratic orientation[73] quotient of the entire New Testament, with all corpora illustrating rather well some evolution of pre-Christianity:

- the gospels describing the beginnings of the new ethos (lowest quotient)
- the epistles describing the application of the new ethos in the clash with paganism and in the conflicts with Judaism (higher quotient)
- Revelation with themes of God's ultimate victory over evil (highest quotient).

It seems very probable that these results reflect a relatively important aspect of the transformations of pre-Christianity at the time. First: the initiation of new etos (social relationships) by Jesus of Nazareth, which was different from the cratic relationships in the culture of Judaism (lowest quotient). Second: the attempt to apply this ethos by the Christian communities formed in a world dominated by honor culture (Israel and the Mediterranean culture). Unfortunately, conflicts and threats to religious/social identity intensified the cratic attitude (higher quotient in the epistles). This would imply that Jesus introduced (or attempted to introduce) a radical, revolutionary change in social relations, but this was not fully possible due to the cultural conditions. This issue is addressed again in chapters 6 and 7.

The results unequivocally demonstrate that the notion of cratism differentiates discourses within the Old and New Testaments. The differences appear consistent and logical. All indicators suggest a different way of conceptualising reality within each corpus. This brings us back to the fundamental question, and

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[72] The differences between the gospels, Acts and the epistles seem to be a strong argument in favor of the thesis that a confrontational attitude plays an important role in dichotomizing the image of the social world and seeing it in terms of power-dominance. I think that the detailed comparisons of selected biblical and non-biblical corpora of the ancient period would be a valuable addition.

[73] This does not mean that the gospel authors adopt the same perspective in their descriptions of the same or similar events in the life of Jesus. The differences between them are evident in many aspects, examined qualitatively and quantitatively (see Lamb, *Text, Context and the Johannine Community*). Similar quantitative analyses have also been conducted in Polish—Amadeusz Citlak, "*Problem nadróżnicowania językowego grupy własnej i obcej w dokumentach historycznych*," *SPs* 52 (2014): 40–57; Citlak, "O możliwościach psychologicznej analizy tekstów antycznych," *Meander* 70 (2015): 79–96.

at the same time, Hypothesis 1 from chapter 4. Are the two internally diverse discourses (the Septuagint and the New Testament) different? The answer is actually contained in chart 1 and chart 2, but a holistic view enables a more complete answer, as is presented in chart 3.

Power-Dominance (LXX and New Testament Comparison)
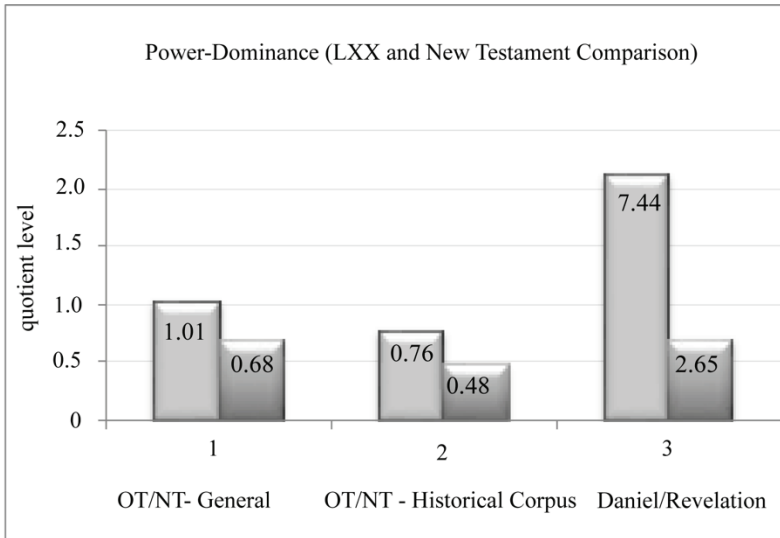
Chart 3. Orientation for Power-Dominance in the Old Testament (OT) and New Testament (NT)

Hypothesis 1 assumes that profound historical and cultural changes affect the social order and, therefore, the perception of that order, which changes over time. These changes are reflected in a slightly different conceptualisation of the world, evident at the linguistic level. The transition from tribal structures to the emergence of the state, followed by socio-cultural evolution and the influence of large states with a high degree of social development, contributes to changes in the meaning of the concept of power and strength in human relations, and the main line of change is towards the reduction of the asymmetry of social relations. The entry of Christian communities into the world of the Greco-Roman culture and the divergence from the culture of Palestinian Judaism as well as the Diaspora Judaism played a major role (although it was a slow and complex process).[74] The

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[74] It is worth quoting here the classic analyzes of Edwin Judge: "While Christianity originated in Galilee, it flourished in the great cosmopolitan cities of eastern Mediterranean. The New Testament is itself the product of this shift.… Even the original Christian group at Jerusalem, though certainly not typical of early Christianity, is to be sharply marked off from other Palestinian religious movements." The early Christianity "was drawn from a

transformation of the dynamics of honor, which was profoundly modified by the activity of Jesus of Nazareth, was probably significant. The contestation of the social and religious sources of honor, based on the theocratic order and the patron-client relationship, led to a narrowing of the distance in the hierarchy of mutual relations. The prediction, partially evident in the previous two charts, is confirmed by chart 3. First, there is a difference between the average results for the Septuagint as a whole—1.01 (Moses, Psalms, Historical, Prophetic, Deuterocanonical books) and the averaged results for all the books of the New Testament—0.68.[75] Second, there is a difference between their historical corpora and between the results for the two apocalyptic books—Daniel and Revelation (although the latter result should be seen rather as a supplement). In all three cases, these are statistically significant differences (see appendix 2), which allow the assumption that the New Testament discourse represents a different vision of the social world than the Septuagint discourse. The cratic terms mentioned earlier concerning categories, actions, or qualities are used less frequently than in the Septuagint. They are probably less adequate and less helpful for expressing the prevailing relationships. Thus, a different description is presented, which reduces asymmetry between social entities. However, the above analysis of the text does not enable answering exactly how human relationships changed here and how the relationship between human being and God changed. Certainly, the results obtained in the historical corpus relate more to human relations, whereas in the psalms and prophetic literature (including apocalyptic), they relate more to the relationship between human and God. In other words, not only is there a different conceptualization of the social world in the Septuagint and New Testament corpus, but also a differentiation within each. These changes do not simply imply differences in the frequencies of particular expressions and are not solely due to the different subject matter of a given corpus. They are changes in how social space is perceived and understood.

Separate qualitative analyses showing changes and differences between the meanings of selected terms and the linguistic grid behind them would be a valuable addition to these data. As an example, consider a simple analysis of the use of the phrase "Spirit of the Lord/Holy Spirit" in two historical books: Judges and Acts. In both of them, the pattern of events is similar: Judges shows the mission of the Israelites in the land of Canaan and their relations with the gentiles after the

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population with broad international links, imposing social conditions on it that were very different from those governing either the Galilean peasantry or the secluded community in the Dead Sea hills." Edwin Judge, "The Social Pattern of the Christian Groups in the First Century," in *Social Distinctives of the Christians in the First Century: Pivotal Essays*, ed. David Scholer (Hendrickson, 2008), 4–5.

[75] For the elementary, basic cratic vocabulary, the quotient for the whole Septuagint is 0.52; for the New Testament it is 0.27.

death of Joshua, while the Acts describes the mission of the apostles in Palestine and in the Greco-Roman world after the death of Jesus. However, while Judges describes the mission of conquest, the Acts describes the mission of preaching the Good News. The Israelites and the apostles pursue the mission, believing that this is only possible with the help of the divine Spirit (Spirit of Yahweh / Holy Spirit). The comparison consisted of identifying all the passages in both books in which the word τό πνεῦμα, occurs and categorising these passages concerning the semantic context. This was a simplified semantic field analysis, but without evaluating equivalents or associations. In both books, the Spirit is the source of power, but power is understood quite differently. In the first book, when the Spirit of the Lord descends upon a pious person, he gives him, first of all, the power to fight against the ungodly; he releases physical strength in him, helping him to kill his enemies:

> The Spirit of the LORD came upon him, and he judged Israel. He went out to war, and the LORD delivered Cushan-Rish-a-tha`im king of Mesopotamia into his hand. (Judg 3:10)

> Then the Spirit of the LORD came upon him mightily, and he went down to Ashkelon and killed thirty of their men. (Judg 14:19)

Leaving aside a few instances in which "spirit" refers to the internal states of the characters described (8:3; 9:23; 15:19), it is generally associated with manifestations of physical strength and the ability to defeat the enemy (3:10; 6:34; 11:29; 13:25; 14:6; 14:19; 15:14). In the Acts, the situation changes radically: almost half of all sentences containing the word τό πνεῦμα in the sense of the Holy Spirit, are associated with descriptions of the preaching of the gospel, and almost a third are descriptions of supernatural events or a change of heart, for example:

> … and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and they spoke the word of God with boldness. (Acts 4:31b)

> … the Holy Spirit came upon them, and they spoke with tongues and prophesied. (Acts 19:6b; see also Acts 4:8, 12)

The association with physical strength and the ability to wage a victorious war ceased to play a crucial role and gave way to a new meaning. This is just one possible example to capture the changes within the basic concepts present in the Septuagint and the New Testament that lose or change their cratic nature.

In summary, the results presented in charts 1, 2, and 3 are also consistent with those obtained in 2016 and 2019. In 2016, the Hebrew Old Testament was analyzed in an attempt to make a preliminary identification of cratic vocabulary (and thinking) in the biblical books. The pattern of results for the different text groups was almost the same as in the present study: Moses—0.44; Psalms—0.54;

Historical—0.68; Prophetic—0.78. However, there were no statistically significant differences between the Historical and Prophetic at that time.[76] Of course, it is difficult to compare the values of the quotients from the two analyses because, first, they involve two different languages (Hebrew and Greek), and second, the way the quotient was counted was slightly different in 2016 (cratic-word frequencies were set against the total number of verses composing the text corpus). However, similar linguistic changes are important. In 2019, two analyses were conducted, although at that time, the additional terminology relating to the strength-power-dominance domain identified in the *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament based on Semantic Domains* (entries 37, 74, 76) and now included was not taken into account. The first analysis[77] compared the frequency of cratic vocabulary in the gospels, Acts, and also Revelation, obtaining a low score of 0.45 in the gospels and the Acts, and a high score of 1.25 in the Revelation. The second analysis[78] compared the Septuagint with the New Testament, obtaining a high score of 0.46 in the Old Testament historical books and a low score of 0.26 in the New Testament historical books, as well as a high score of 0.49 for the Septuagint as a whole and a low score of 0.35 for the New Testament as a whole. Thus, these were the same relationships and differences, although of course, the values of the quotients are different.

If, therefore, the description (and the perception) of social relations is changing towards greater symmetry and the meaning of power and authority is changing, the natural consequence should be a reduction in social distance, expressed on the emotional level.

5.2. Emotions

5.2.1. Theoretical Problems

The concept of emotion in the biblical narrative requires some clarification since its conceptualisation is not the same as in the twenty first century. First of all, the modern definition of emotion is closely related to the historical emancipation of the subject and the development of psychological scientific discourse.[79] Psychologists usually define emotions as the process of subjectively experiencing certain states, the essence of which is feeling. Anger, joy, or sadness are states of arousal in which a person internally experiences something. Such emotions can become motivations, triggering a series of reactions or behavior aimed at achieving, for

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[76] Citlak, *Relacje społeczne świata antycznego*.
[77] Citlak, "Group Conflicts in Light of the Cratism Theory."
[78] Citlak, "Psychology of the Pursuit for a Sense of Power."
[79] Norman Fairclough, *Analyzing Discourse: Text Analysis for Social Research* (Routledge, 2003).

example, balance, gaining a reward, or avoiding punishment. The main sources of emotions are physiological processes, activities/behavior and cognitive processes.[80] Emotions can be interpreted as a form of evolutionary and biological adaptation, but they also represent a way of interpreting reality which is original to a given community. These are, of course, some generalisations, as the research and theoretical possibilities are currently very diverse (for example, anthropological, linguistic, evolutionary, biological or neuro-science, strictly psychological positions) and ultimately lead to slightly different conclusions.[81] However, analyzing the biblical narratives, it is easy to see that the above reasoning is somewhat simplified and does not take into account important features of the mentality of the authors of the biblical discourse.

The analysis of emotions is currently of great interest to biblical scholars, as evidenced by an increasingly diverse and rich literature whose authors favor an interdisciplinary approach. Typical examples are thematic issues of *Biblical Interpretation* such as "Emotions in Ancient Jewish Literature: Definitions and Approaches" published in 2016, and "Epistolary Affects" published in 2022, which present the analysis of the biblical emotions from the perspective of current social empirical science. The research momentum in this area has been exceptionally large for at least a dozen years,[82] and there is no indication that the topic of emotions is about to sideline.[83] International projects and the work of

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[80] Paul Ekman and Richard Davidson, *The Nature of Emotion: Fundamental Questions* (Oxford University Press, 1994); Roger Giner-Sorolla, "The Past Thirty Years of Emotion Research: Appraisal and Beyond," *CM* 33 (2019): 48–54; Demian Whitting, *Emotions as Original Existence* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

[81] Ian Burkitt, "The Emotions in Cultural-Historical Activity Theory: Personality, Emotion and Motivation in Social Relations and Activity," *IPBS* 55 (2021): 797–820; Carroll Izard, "Emotion Theory and Research: Highlights, Unanswered Questions, and Emerging Issues," *ARP* 60 (2009): 1–25; Richard Lazarus, *Emotion and Adaptation* (Oxford University Press, 1991); Jaak Panksepp and Lucy Biven, *The Archeology of Mind: Neuroevolutionary Origins of Human Emotions* (Norton, 2012); Whitting, *Emotions as Original Existence.*

[82] Stephen Barton, "Eschatology and the Emotions in Early Christianity," *JBL* 130 (2011): 571–91; Renate Egger-Wenzel and Jeremy Corley, *Emotions from Ben Sira to Paul* (De Gruyter, 2012); Matthew Elliott, *Faithful Feelings: Rethinking Emotion in the New Testament* (Kregel Academic, 2006); Jennifer Koosed, "Moses: The Face of Fear," *BI* 22 (2014): 414–29; Paul Kruger, "On Emotions and the Expression of Emotions in the Old Testament: A Few Introductory Remarks," *BZ* 48 (2004): 213–28; Matthew Schlimm, "Emotion, Embodiment, and Ethics: Engaging Anger in Genesis," in Kamionkowski and Wonil, *Bodies, Embodiment, and Theology of the Hebrew Bible*, 146–58; Thomas, *Anatomical Idiom and Emotional Expression*; Wolde, "Sentiments as Culturally Constructed Emotions," 1–24.

[83] Fiona Black and Jennifer Koosed, eds., *Reading with Feeling: Affect Theory and the Bible,* SemeiaSt 95 (SBL Press, 2019); Elizabeth Boase and Christopher Frechette, eds., *Bible through the Lens of Trauma*, SemeiaSt 86 (SBL Press, 2016); Renate Egger-Wenzel and Stefan Reif, *Ancient Jewish Prayers and Emotions*, DCLS 26 (De Gruyter, 2015); David Janzen, "Claimed and Unclaimed Experience: Problematic Readings of Trauma in the

research teams such as the American Society of Biblical Literature's Bible and Emotion Consultation, the American Academy of Religion's Religion, Affect, and Emotion Group, and the European Association of Biblical Studies' Emotions and the Biblical World Research Group have also played an important role. The interest in the issue of emotions in biblical studies is largely the result of the accumulation of empirical research from evolutionary psychology, neuropsychology and, most importantly, cross-cultural psychology. This last discipline has provided a new conceptual framework that enables moving beyond the mindset of the Western man of the twentieth to the twenty-first century and approaching the sphere of mental experiences of the representatives of the Semitic or, more generally, the Mediterranean culture of the ancient period.

The links between biblical studies and the anthropology and psychology of emotions also have a broader context. This relates to the new interpretive possibilities and a fuller understanding of the ethical issues of the culture of ancient Israel and emerging Christianity. Sarah Ross aptly states this:

> Recent interest in the study of Judaism and the emotions is first of all a result of an explosion of reports on emotions in fields of research that investigate the social and cultural aspect of sensory concepts in world cultures and religions from various theoretical perspectives (e.g. from the perspective of cultural anthropology, phenomenology, psychology). In addition, a revived interest in the topic of virtue ethics in general influenced the study of Jewish ethics and led to discussions of the connections between emotions and the moral life.[84]

Emotion covering subjective feelings, physiological arousal, motor expression, expressive behavior and cognitive processes "represents a realm where our 'self' is inseparable from our individual perceptions of value and judgement towards ourselves and towards others."[85]

Obviously, these processes in the biblical collectivist society had a much stronger social component than in contemporary (the self was more firmly embedded in the networks of interactions and relationships with others), which also means that the ethics of Israel at that time had a strong connection to the area of the socially experienced emotions. This is a fairly obvious point, given that emotions have always been a form of valuing an event, behavior, or other people. An insight into the emotional sphere of a community is, therefore, automatically

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Hebrew Bible," *BI* 27 (2019): 163–85; Mirguet, "Study of Emotions in Early Jewish Texts"; Scott Spencer, ed., *Mixed Feelings and Vexed Passions: Exploring Emotions in Biblical Literature* (SBL Press, 2017).

[84] Sarah Ross, "General Introduction: Reflexions on Judaism and Emotion," in *Judaism and Emotion: Texts, Performance, Experience*, ed. Sarah Ross, Gabriel Levy, and Soham Al-Suadi, Studies in Judaism (Lang, 2013), 6.

[85] Ross, "General Introduction," 8.

an insight into the specifics of its preferred ethics and interpersonal relations, both intergroup and intragroup. Before turning to the actual analysis, however, a few more general problems need to be highlighted.

First, emotions have strong historical and cultural roots, and their definition is the result of the different social experiences in which the community partici- pates.[86] It is difficult to understand, for example, that feelings of guilt or shame have the same definition in British society and Japanese society. Both have devel- oped different patterns of social relations and different ways of regulating them. Shame may lead to various reactions and self-perceptions in both cases.[87] There may also be completely different sources of the shame experienced. The same problem can easily be seen in societies organized according to religious norms, like in medieval Muslim societies (Arabia, Egypt) or ancient Israel. Emotions ex- press a certain cultural script, a pattern of experiences-reactions, unique and specific to a given cultural tradition.[88] This is closely related to the social con- struction of emotions, over which the individual does not have much influence, and by experiencing emotions, he or she usually simply follows this socially con- structed script. According to Richard Schweder, emotions should even be considered as a special form of the interpretation of events or behavior.[89]

Second, this pattern cannot be limited to only a state of internal, subjective arousal. It is a pattern of socially developed behavior, experiences, evaluations and reactions to specific stimuli. These patterns may vary in different cultures and change over time. Whether viewed from a cross-cultural or historical-cultural per- spective, the concept of emotion is much more capacious than a narrowly defined *internal sensation*. The world of the Old and New Testaments is a perfect example of this. When referring to emotions, a certain spectrum of experiences, behavior, and even attitudes towards an event or person is involved. This was very aptly expressed by Francoise Mirguet when describing biblical hatred:

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[86] Anthony Ellis, "The Rot of the Bones: A New Analysis of קנאה ('Envy/Jealousy') in the Hebrew Bible," *JBL* 142 (2023): 385–408; Ari Mermelstein, "Love and Hate at Qumran: The Social Construction of Sectarian Emotion," *DSD* 20 (2013): 237–63; Wolde, "Senti- ments as Culturally Constructed Emotions."

[87] Nisbett, *Geography of Thought*.

[88] Rom Harre, *The Social Construction of Emotions* (Blackwell, 1986); Anna Wierzbicka, "Emotions, Language, and 'Cultural Scripts,'" in *Emotion and Culture: Empirical Studies of Mutual Influence*, ed. Shinobu Kitayama and Hazel Markus (American Psychological Association, 1994), 130–62; Wierzbicka, *Emotions across Languages*.

[89] Richard Schweder, "You're Not Sick, You're Just in Love: Emotions as an Interpretive System," in *The Nature of Emotion Fundamental Questions*, ed. Paul Ekman and Richard Davidson (Oxford University Press, 1994), 32–44; Richard Schweder and Jonathan Heidt, "The Cultural Psychology of the Emotions: Ancient and New," in *Handbook of Emotions*, ed. Michael Lewis and Jeanette Haviland-Jones (Guilford, 2000), 397–414.

In fact, the different uses of the verb outline a spectrum, from meanings close to what we refer to as the emotion of hate, to contexts where a more bodily repulsion seems to be at issue, and finally to passages where the verb makes best sense when read as an action (which can be legal) or even as delimiting a kind of relationship—without strict distinction of these different realms of experience.[90]

The same applies to biblical joy:

In Hebrew, joy does not primarily mean a feeling, an emotion, or an attitude but joy that is visibly expressed, i.e., a congregational act. Now, because options for the verbal and gestural expression of joy are highly varied, one has difficulty precisely translating many Hebrew terms.[91]

Third, the terminology expressing emotions was subject to differentiation as social structures continued to develop and become more complex.[92] According to the assumptions of linguistic determinism,[93] language reflects the social life of a community on the one hand and determines the reasoning of its members on the other. Vocabulary becomes richer or poorer in the different sectors of a given language; the Inuit use an elaborate terminological grid for the concept of snow, as did the biblical Israelites for the concept of sin. Social evolution is one of the key factors determining the diversity of attitudes and relationships and, consequently, of emotions experienced together. An expression of these changes is the development of vocabulary and new linguistic expressions. In the world two or three thousand years ago, the precision of language with regard to emotional terminology would have been different from that known today. Again, the biblical world shows this very clearly. Some words expressing emotions here are closely related to words expressing similar emotions, which from our modern perspective, are already entirely different emotions. Hatred can not only express exactly the hatred known to us from our experience but also goes a bit further, such as disgust, or some forms of aggression. The typology of emotions that is known to us nowadays will not easily be applicable to the biblical world. Can this mean, for example, that it is possible to talk about positive versus negative emotions and

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[90] Francoise Mirguet, "What Is an 'Emotion' in the Hebrew Bible? An Experience that Exceeds Most Contemporary Concepts," *BI* 24 (2016): 450.

[91] Patty Van Cappellen, "Rethinking Self-Transcendent Positive Emotions and Religion: Insights from Psychological and Biblical Research," *PRS* 9 (2017): 259.

[92] Job Jindo. "Toward a Poetics of the Biblical Mind: Language, Culture, and Cognition," *VT* 59 (2009): 222–43; Kurtis Peters, *Hebrew Lexical Semantics and Daily Life in Ancient Israel : What's Cooking in Biblical Hebrew?* BibInt 146 (Brill, 2016); Anna Wierzbicka, "The Biblical Roots of English Love," *IJLC* 6 (2019): 225–54.

[93] Laura Ahearn, *Living Language: An Introduction to Linguistic Anthropology* (Wiley & Sons, 2022).

divide them according to the classifications known in those times? Not necessarily. For example, hatred served an important social role—it protected the individual and the community from danger. A person who violated the sacred laws of Israel was subject to socially acceptable hatred and exclusion (Deut 17:2–7; Ps 139:21–22).[94] Fear, by contrast, was desirable in the realm of religious experience, an expression of respect for God and authorities.

> Indeed, our current typology of emotions is not directly translatable or found in other languages or cultures.… English tends to organize emotions around subjective feelings (e.g., joy, fear, sadness). Biblical Hebrew tends to put less emphasis on the subjective feeling and more on the outward expression of the emotion, or in modern terms, its embodiment. The two languages emphasize different aspects of what an emotion is.… Within the biblical texts themselves, two implications arise from the greater emphasis on the visible expression of an emotion. First, by manifesting an emotion (instead of keeping it private in one's mind) others can recognize what is happening. In the Hebrew Bible, it seems important that emotions are acted and communicated toward the community and toward God. By modulating voice, posture, behaviors, or facial expressions, emotions indicate status and attitudes that are relevant to the community as a whole. Second, expressions of positive emotions influence people nearby and facilitate affect contagion. The social sharing and spreading of positive emotions is central to the Psalms, for example, where the joy of an individual (Ps 1) becomes the joy of all the creation (Ps 150).[95]

Finally, as mentioned in chapter 3, the social world of the Old and New Testaments was firmly embedded in distinct intergroup divisions. The community set moral canons, social norms and indicated the place of the individual in the group. Home, clan and tribe had clear boundaries of belonging, clearly indicating who was one's own and who was a stranger.[96] What was good should serve the community, its security and survival, while anything that posed a threat was evil. This principle played a particularly important role in religious communities and theocratic societies. This had a direct impact on the emergence of collectivist ethics and on the distribution of emotions in inter- and intra-group relations.[97] Of course, over time, Israel's social world underwent profound changes; nevertheless, these primordial and fundamental features of intra- and inter-group relations were dominant. One of these was a clear asymmetry in the evaluation of in-group and outgroup members (strangers). One's own is a brother, a neighbour, a member of the chosen people or the church; strangers are pagans, unclean, or simply godless.

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[94] Mirguet, "What Is an 'Emotion.'"

[95] Van Cappellen, "Rethinking Self," 259.

[96] Esler, *First Christians and Their Social Worlds*; Travis, *Good Works in 1 Peter*; Tucker and Baker, *T&T Clark Handbook to Social Identity*.

[97] Petterson, "World of Honor"; Coleman Baker, "Social Identity Theory and Biblical Interpretation," *BTB* 42 (2012): 129–38.

The need to protect the group and its identity had a great impact on building community ties through, among other things, closer relations, respect and trust. This fostered emotions of affinity (like love, friendship, pity) towards one's own and, simultaneously, emotions of distance towards strangers (like hostility, anger, fear, contempt). Despite exceptions to this general rule (respect towards strangers, the principle of love of enemies, et cetera), it can be said that emotions maintaining social affinity were experienced primarily towards one's own, while emotions maintaining distance were more frequent towards strangers. On the other hand, those who departed from the community and broke its sacred laws deserved an exceptionally negative judgement and became the object of extremely negative emotions, often even contempt, hatred, derision, including a wish for death.[98]

The essential feature of emotions described in biblical books is thus the close connection between personal experience and the sphere of socially shared acts and visible expressions. It is also a natural consequence of the relationship of the subject/individual to the community, and the connection between the action and its consequences, which is referred to in biblical scholarship as *Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhang.*[99] The actions and emotional attitudes towards other people are rooted in a certain set of events and always have their consequence or aftermath (understood more broadly than just punishment or reward). Precise identification of emotions in biblical discourse is therefore not an easy task and requires considering the problems mentioned above. Some of the emotions described in the Bible are not very different from their basic meaning in other cultures. For example, hatred usually means deep resentment combined with hostility towards certain persons or social groups, and anxiety/fear denotes a state of inner restlessness associated with a sense of threat, whether in Semitic or Greco-Roman culture. In such cases, the differences mainly concern what happens around the core of a given emotion, and therefore concern the whole spectrum of accompanying emotions and the way they are expressed. In many cases, it is difficult to clearly indicate where hatred ends and repulsion or contempt begins, and where the borderline between shame and guilt, and trust and faith lies.[100] The problem of category clarity is further complicated because of the metaphorical language

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[98] David Bromley and Bruce Busching, "Understanding the Structure of Contractual and Covenantal Social Relations: Implications for the Sociology of Religion," *SA* 49 (1988): 15–32.

[99] Eliza Pieciul-Kaminska, *Językowy obraz Boga i świata: O przekładzie teologii niemieckiej na język polski* (Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2007).

[100] Anthony Ellis, "Rot of the Bones"; David Lambert, "Mourning over Sin/Affliction and the Problem of 'Emotion' as a Category in the Hebrew Bible," in Spencer, *Mixed Feelings and Vexed Passions*, 139–60; Robert Seesengood, "Not Grudgingly, nor under Compulsion: Love, Labor, Service, and Slavery in Pauline Rhetoric," in Black and Koosed, *Reading with Feeling*, 141–56; Johann Stiebert, *The Construction of Shame in the Hebrew Bible: The Prophetic Contribution* (Academic, 2002).

used for expressing emotions.[101] However, because the expressiveness of emotions is different in different cultures or does not have a comparable linguistic grid, it is sometimes necessary to combine them into pairs or larger groups, depending on the type of analyzed relationships between social subjects.

This differentiation of emotions and decisions to combine them also seem to be consistent with one of the most widespread models of emotions, Robert Plutchik's psycho-evolutionary theory of emotions.[102] According to him, emotions are the result of evolutionarily developed adaptive behavior such as reproduction, inclusion, rejection, reintegration, exploration, environment orientation, destruction and protection. Each of these behaviors has its opposite (protection versus destruction, inclusion versus rejection) and at the same time is responsible for shaping different emotions; for example, rejection is responsible for repulsion and disgust, reproduction for joy and ecstasy, and protection for fear. This is a circular model in which each of the eight basic/simple emotions has an opposite emotion (joy–sadness, acceptance–disgust, fear–anger, surprise–anticipation) and at the same time, a related emotion (disgust—anger, surprise–fear). Primary emotions, combined with each other, form secondary/complex emotions: contempt as a result of anger and disgust, and horror as a result of fear and surprise. An evolutionary perspective on the development of adaptive behavior— especially in societies of two or three thousand years ago—provides a better understanding of the different intensity and expressiveness of emotions in a given culture and, above all, of the interdependencies between emotions and, at the same time, of the aforementioned lack of clear boundaries between some of them.[103]

Therefore, the interpretation of emotions in the biblical discourse cannot consist of translating the modern vocabulary of emotions into the Semitic reality of two or three thousand years ago. This usually leads to over-generalizations or simply a misinterpretation of the events described. Mirguet presented an interesting example in an analysis of the story of Joseph and the brothers in Genesis. The contemporary reader (as well as the biblical scholar) can easily perceive in it a narrative of forgiveness, reading into it concepts such as regret or forgiveness and linking them to the process of the inner transformation of the protagonists. However, the text itself does not expose such content. The reconciliation of the brothers is set in a different relational space; other cultural scripts in which reconciliation and forgiveness have different characteristics that

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[101] Alec Basson, "A Few Metaphorical Source Domains for Emotions in the Old Testament," *SJBTCH* 100 (2009): 121–28; Philip King, "Metaphor and Methodology for Cross-Cultural Investigation of Hebrew Emotions," *JT* 8 (2012): 9–24.

[102] Robert Plutchik, *Emotion: A Psychoevolutionary Synthesis* (Harper & Row, 1980); Plutchik, *The Psychology and Biology of Emotion* (Harper Collins College Publishers, 1994).

[103] Carter Warren, *The Roman Empire and the New Testament: An Essential Guide* (Abington, 2006).

are far less related to an affective or emotional transformation. First and foremost, Joseph creates a new kind of relationship between the two. He "is no longer the vulnerable young brother, who should have been protected: he now has power, both in Egypt and within the family. He is in charge of ensuring his brothers' survival."[104]

The same aspect of the language of biblical emotions is emphasized by Philip Lasater, quoted by him in his analysis of the concept of shame (which is related to the issue of the loss of social status and reputation rather than to the inner affective sphere), or by David Lambert in claiming that the Hebrew biblical dictionary takes into account the inner, subjective aspect of emotional experience only marginally, as he also tries to prove with the example of the Hebrew תשובה and the Greek μετάνοια and even the words לב–heart or תאוה–desire.[105] However, the shifts in meaning towards the affective-subjective sphere can be observed in the Jewish culture as early as the Hellenistic period.[106] This is evident in the deuterocanonical, apocryphal literature, also in Philo of Alexandria and the Septuagint, which bear witness to the changes in the Semitic anthropology that slowly distanced itself from a monistic to a dualistic perspective.[107] However, it should be remembered that the systematic separation of the subject and the sphere of personal experiences from social/tribal dependencies is primarily a consequence of Israelite prophetism, promoting the idea of personal responsibility over collective responsibility, which, combined with the influence of the Hellenic culture, led to profound modifications in Jewish anthropology and ethics.

The change in cognitive-linguistic expression of emotions in the Septuagint was also the subject of research by Angela Thomas, presented in her 2008 doctoral dissertation and the 2014 monograph *Anatomical Idiom and Emotional Expression: A Comparison of the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint*. It compares the Hebrew vocabulary of emotions with their Greek translation in the Septuagint and with the English translation in the modern edition of the Bible. The results illustrate these changes, or rather certain trends partly visible in the Septuagint and clearly visible in English. Specifically, there is a loosening of the link between the concept of emotion and physical experience and the body (so characteristic of

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[104] Mirguet, "Study of Emotions in Early Jewish Texts," 561. The author even claims: "In the Hebrew Bible, however, regret is rare, and it is in fact absent where modern readers would most expect it—after Adam and Eve's expulsion from paradise (Gen 3), after Saul's indictment by the ghost of Samuel (2 Sam 28), and after David`s reproach by Nathan (2 Sam 12)."

[105] Phillip Lasater, "The Emotions in Biblical Anthropology? A Genealogy and Case Study with ירא," *HTR* 110 (2017): 520–40; Lambert, "Mourning over Sin."

[106] Egger-Wenzel and Corley, *Emotions from Ben Sira to Paul*; Egger-Wenzel and Reif, *Ancient Jewish Prayers and Emotions*.

[107] Wolff, *Athropologie des Alten Testaments*.

the biblical Hebrew) and a subtle shift towards the sphere of subjective experiences.

> In the process of translation into Greek, with some exceptions, the vivid colour of the MT [Masoretic Text] does seem to have faded at times.… As Weiss says, "To say that … the soldier will 'grow faint with fear' instead of 'melt' diminishes some of the potential power, complexity and artistry of the narrative."… In more than 90% of examples the association of parts of the body with distress, fear, anger and gladness is very similar, the picture is much more complex and where the 'colour' of the biblical imagery has faded in translation.[108]

Douglas Mangum's text, *The Biblical Hebrew Idiom 'Lift the Face' in the Septuagint of Job*, leads to similar conclusions, with the author outlining the Greek translator's linguistic devices to achieve the appropriate theological effect (for instance he "uses a verb meaning 'honour' [θαυμάζω], not the one meaning 'lift up'").[109]

The efforts of the translators of the Hebrew text were largely due to the idiomatic nature of the language and the means of expression used. In many cases, a literal translation would have been unintelligible in the cultural and mental conditions of the time, as Jan Joosten observes in *Translating the Untranslatable: Septuagint Renderings of Hebrew Idioms*. Ultimately, however, it is this feature of the Septuagint, which takes a somewhat greater account of the sphere of subjective experience that gives emotions a meaning closer to our modern conceptualisation of emotions. The ancient translators of the text had already made some interpretation of the vocabulary beyond the Semitic mentality, making it intelligible to speakers of Greek alone. On the one hand, this makes it possible to notice a common (similar) conceptual platform for the Septuagint and the Greek New Testament. On the other, it makes identifying biblical emotions more justifiable within contemporary theories and definitions.

5.2.2. Analysis

In this analysis of emotions in the Septuagint and the New Testament, the focus is on the frequencies of those emotions that are expressive, that is those that obtain

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[108] Thomas, *Anatomical Idiom*, 361.

[109] Douglas Mangum, "The Biblical Hebrew Idiom 'Lift the Face' in the Septuagint of Job," *HTS* 74 (2018): 5. Also Claude Cox, in the analysis of the Greek translation of Job, concludes: "Another noticeably large number of G's [Greek translator] additions introduces thought, will, capability, inner life, and psychology into the translation (17x). If some of these dimensions of the speeches could be said to be implicit in the imperfect aspect of Hebrew verbs, G makes them explicit." Claude Cox, "'Ipsissima Verba': The Translator's 'Actual Words' in Old Greek Job and What They Tell Us about the Translator and the Nature of the Translation," *JSCS* 49 (2016): 76.

relatively high frequencies in the textual corpora (and thus play an important role in the social relations of the time), and that enable the relatively unambiguous establishment of the fact that their presence is associated with a sense of distance between the parties of the relationship. For example, the concept of love or friendship is central to close interpersonal relationships for at least one of the parties. Both concepts are also very prominent in biblical discourse—they obtain high frequencies, and their presence leaves no doubt whether or not the described relationship is positive and close. The situation is similar in the case of concepts such as fear or anger, the linguistic equivalents of which obtain high frequencies in both textual corpora. The saturation of the relationship between, for example, God and human with the concepts of fear and anger, means that the author emphasizes the mentioned distance between the parties. Although this may result from different conditions (anxiety as respect or as a feeling of threat), it is ultimately an important indicator of asymmetry and distance. The division into the emotions of distance and affinity adopted in this study raises no major objections and seems to fit well with the realities of the time. The division into so-called positive and negative emotions has been abandoned here because it is inadequate in relation to the biblical world. As mentioned earlier, some emotions nowadays regarded as so-called negative, played a positive role in the ancient culture, and vice versa. Their evaluation is beyond such divisions and requires a different perspective. Fear, shame and hatred may have had an important and religiously and socially desired function, thanks to which the community protected itself from danger or maintained its internal balance. When, for example, a community or an individual confesses in prayer to God (by singing a psalm) that he hates the wicked with all his heart, this would be by all means desirable and good (Ps 139:21–22).

Yet while the identification of emotions that sustain social distance or bridge seems relatively straightforward, the linguistic identification of these emotions is not an easy task. As I explained in chapter 5.2.1. the problem lies mainly in the terminological grid, whose semantic field only sometimes coincides with the concept of emotions as they are currently known. Their original conceptualization was born out of the historical experience of Israel and the specificity of the *Sitz im Leben* of the time. Thus, although fear, shame, hatred, contempt and anger as emotions that reinforce social distance or asymmetry, and love, friendship, compassion, and mercy as emotions of affinity have become the subjects of our frequency analyses, they require detailed discussion.

The Eerdmans Analytical Concordance[110] lists over forty words occurring in the original Greek version of the Bible that are translated in *the Revised Standard Version of the Bible* as fear, frighten, scare, terror, anxiety, the vast majority of which are φοβέω, φόβος, φοβερός. The other Greek words play a marginal role

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[110] Richard Whitaker, ed., *The Eerdmans Analytical Concordance to the Revised Standard Version of the Bible* (Eerdmans, 1988).

and are translated as fear rarely or very rarely. An analysis of the term fear/anxiety with the help of other dictionaries, such as *the Griechisch-deutsches Worterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der fruhchristlichen Literatur*, as well as an analysis of the Hebrew vocabulary in *the Theologisches Handworterbuch zum Alten Testament*, leads to the same conclusions, also indicating several other, less important terms like δειλιάω, πτοέω, πτόη, μεριμνάω, and εὐλαβέομαι. This example demonstrates the difficulty of linguistically identifying the the concept of a given emotion that this study attempted to identify in the studied corpus of text. By analyzing the vocabulary of fear and anxiety, it is not always possible to determine whether the author means the subjectively experienced state or whether the author means the more broadly dangerous, threatening situation in which the subject finds themselves. In other words, it is sometimes difficult to indicate the focus and, as it were, the location of fear or anxiety.[111] However, while it is quite distinct despite these difficulties, in some cases the boundaries of the concepts of emotion are so fluid that they overlap. This is the case with contempt and disgust. *The Eerdmans Analytical Concordance* indicates twelve Greek words for the concept of contempt/scorn/disdain, of which ἐξουδενέω ἐξουθενέω καταφρονέω are used most often as keywords, while for the concept of loathing/abhorrence it indicates βδελύσσω βδελύσσομαι στυγέω.[112] However, the two terms (contempt and disgust) are very close in meaning and it is difficult to draw a line between them. Moreover, the word στυγέω can also mean hatred. Disgust can also be expressed by the noun βδέλυγμα, which does not describe an emotion as such but rather refers to something that arouses disgust or abhorrence, something unclean, defiled, or even sin (see Deut 17:4, 7; 18:12). A similar problem arises when analyzing the concept of shame, the meaning of which goes beyond the realm of experiences and is associated with various social sanctions.[113] Shame in a collectivist society has a much weaker connection with the concept of guilt, understood as the inner voice of conscience, and a stronger connection with the concept of public shame.[114] Shame also played an important role in the dichotomy of honor versus shame, which in Semitic culture, as mentioned earlier, was one of the key dimensions that organized the social space. In other cases, the difficulty is the previously mentioned lack of a clear boundary between an emotion understood as

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[111] Other biblical scholars report similarly in their analyses of biblical emotions, e.g., Schlimm, "Emotion, Embodiment, and Ethics"; Spencer, *Mixed Feelings*; Lasater, "Emotions in Biblical Anthropology"; Mirguet, *Early History of Compassion*; Mirguet, "Study of Emotions in Early Jewish Texts" (see chapter 5.2.1).

[112] See also *Griechisch-deutsches Worterbuch*, edited by Walter Bauer, and *TDNT*, edited by Gerhard Kittel.

[113] Stiebert, *Construction of Shame*.

[114] Daniels, "Engendering Gossip in Galatians 2:11–14"; Malina, *New Testament World*.

an experience or an action,[115] which can be seen in the concept of mercy. The Greek terminological grid of mercy is not only extensive/rich but often refers to acts or manifestations of mercy (even almsgiving as an act of pity/compassion). This is also exactly the sense Jesus makes in Gospel of John when he speaks about the greatest commandment and true love (John 15); for him, love has to do with the behavioral/ethical rather than the affective sphere.[116] Mercy can be expressed by the noun τό σπλάγχνον and the verb σπλαγχνίζομαι, the meaning of which is also associated with an inner-physical sensation.[117]

The Greek of the Old and New Testaments also lacks some noun forms for expressing emotions such as hatred and contempt. Most likely, such categories were not linguistically identified, and verbs served as the forms for describing experiences or interpersonal behavior. The authors of biblical books are far more likely to describe behavior than to use categories to express emotions. The same is true for traits: both verb and adjectival forms are used just as often (to be obedient versus obedient), as can especially be seen in the Hebrew Old Testament.[118] This is, on the one hand, a typical feature of the evolution of language and of a more complex reflection on the social world (from the perception of behavior to the identification of abstract features and categories). On the other hand, it is an expression of the personal involvement of the biblical authors in the dynamics of the social world, which significantly hindered—or even prevented—a cool analysis of the observed events. It is also the result of a different conceptualization of reality, where analytical and conceptual thinking did not play such a dominant role as, for example, in Greek culture, often giving way to metaphor or images.[119]

The emotions of distance and affinity selected in this study are treated as two groups of emotions which significantly determined the character of the social

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[115] Lambert, "Mourning over Sin"; Lasater, "Emotions in Biblical Anthropology?"; Mirguet, "Study of Emotions in Early Jewish Texts"; Anke Inselmann, "Emotions and Passions in the New Testament: Methodological Issues," *BI* 24 (2016): 536–54.

[116] Elliott, *Faithful Feelings*; Urban Wahlde, *The Gospel and Letters of John*, Eerdmans Critical Commentary (Eerdmans, 2010).

[117] Mirguet, *Early History of Compassion*; Kruger, "On Emotions and the Expression of Emotions."

[118] Michal Dinkler, "Reflexivity and Emotion in Narratological Perspective: Reading Joy in the Lukan Narrative," in *Mixed Feelings and Vexed Passions*, 265–86.

[119] King, "Metaphor and Methodology"; Cynthia Miller-Naudé and Jacobus Naudé, "A Reexamination of Grammatical Categorization in Biblical Hebrew," in *From Ancient Manuscripts to Modern Dictionaries: Select Studies in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek*, ed. Tarsee Li and Keith Dyer (De Gruyter, 2017), 273–308; Kurtis Peters, *Hebrew Lexical Semantics and Daily Life in Ancient Israel: What's Cooking in Biblical Hebrew?* BibInt 146 (Brill, 2016); Vernon Robbins, "Conceptual Blending and Early Christian Imagination," in Robbins, von Thaden, and Bruehler, *Foundations for Sociorhetorical Exploration: A Rhetoric of Religious Antiquity Reader*, 329–66.

relations of that time. Their main advantage is a relatively clear terminological grid and relatively high frequencies. However, these groups have a completely different status and cannot be treated as a mutual, objective counterbalance, in other words, one cannot contrast the frequency of emotions of affinity with the frequency of emotions of distance. These frequencies do not balance each other; they have a different "weight" of meaning, which cannot be established. The distance emotions are crucial for these investigations, while the emotions of affinity are treated as a supplement and additional information. It should also be emphasized that the proposed combination of emotions is a procedure that can be modified and extended with new linguistic elements related to the discursive way in which the authors of the biblical books express social affinity or distance. The analysis presented here focuses on selected emotions, but this distance can be expressed in many other ways. Moral categories, religious categories, characteristics of Yahweh God, social actors and ritual practices also play an important role.[120] The authors of these books do not need to use the terminology of emotions to describe the nature of the relationship between the parties. A perfect example of this is the story of the woman caught for adultery and brought by the Pharisees to Jesus (John 8:1–11), in which the terminology of emotions does not actually appear. The author builds up the tension between the parties using the concepts of condemnation, accusation and conscience. Similarly, in the parable of the prodigal son, where the father's emotional relationship with his son is expressed, for example, by the phrases "fell on his neck and kissed him," "let us eat and be merry," "my son was dead and is alive again," "had compassion" (Luke 15:11–32). None of these expressions cover the chosen emotions of distance or affinity (apart from "had compassion"–ἐσπλαγχνίσθη in v. 20) and yet this is one of the most emotionally expressive stories in the Bible. In some cases, the atmosphere of emotional tension is created through the linguistic means that extend far beyond the terminology denoting the emotion in question, as can be seen very well in one of the most linguistically rich biblical texts—Wis 17. The fear experienced by Israel's enemies is described in a remarkably vivid way, which was most likely the result of the influence of the Hellenic culture on the linguistic expression of emotions in Judaism.[121] In the everyday life of Israel at that time, there were various ways of conceptualising social distance versus social affinity, which, firstly,

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[120] Kimmo Ketola, "A Cognitive Approach To Ritual Systems in First-Century Judaism," in Luomanen, Pyysiäinen, and Uro, *Explaining Christian Origins and Early Judaism. Contributions from Cognitive and Social Science*, 95–114; Ross, "General Introduction."

[121] The author of Wisdom is also "the only Old Testament writer to use the noun friendship (*filia*) to describe God's relationship with people. Until now, the only word reserved for describing it was covenant (hebr. *berit*; gr. *diatheke*)" (Bogdan Poniży, *Księga Mądrości: Wstęp, przekład, komentarz* [Edycja Świętego Pawła, 2005]; see also James Reese, *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequenses* (Biblical Institute, 1970); Mirguet, *Early History of Compassion.*

may also have had a different linguistic expression, and secondly, may have been expressed in ways that are currently little understood. A detailed analysis of such a problem, however, would require quite different and extensive sociological-anthropological analyses, which unfortunately go beyond the volume of this monograph. This should be kept in mind, and therefore, the analysis of social relations in the light of selected emotions must be considered as one of the possible proposals for capturing their specificities and changes, as well as one of the possible dimensions of these relations. The aim of our analysis is primarily to try to capture selected features of social relationships largely abstracting from the overtly expressed beliefs and attitudes of the authors of the biblical books, while focusing on certain linguistic tendencies and preferences expressed in the structural properties of the discourse and in its saturation with appropriately chosen vocabulary.

The list of Greek words from the Septuagint and New Testament denoting the aforementioned emotions was already established in 2016 and 2019 by Polish classical philologists in more comprehensive analyses of the linguistic expression of emotions in ancient Greek, Hebrew and Arabic. Therefore, the study presented here is mainly based on those findings but is supplemented by the new data. It concerns the few instances of Greek vocabulary for a given emotion as indicated by the authors of *The Eerdmans Analytical Concordance*, to an extent that did not previously appear in the 2019 study. It should be added that the vocabulary proposed by Polish philologists and the vocabulary indicated by American biblical scholars are remarkably similar and the differences concern words that occur rarely and do not affect the overall results. The expressions were identified in *the Septuagint* (1979) and *Novum Testamentum Graece* (1993) using concordances to the Greek text *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, volumes 1–2 (1892), *the Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (2003), *The Word Study Concordance* (1978), *Statistik des neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes* (1958), and by means of the *Bible Works 7* program. The details of the linguistic expression of each emotion are provided in appendix 1. It includes mainly noun forms, denoting the category of emotion (like love, fear) and verb forms, denoting the experience or act associated with the emotion (like to love, to fear). The value of the distance or affinity quotient was determined according to the same principle as the cratic orientation (power-dominance): as the proportion of verses containing a linguistic element denoting a given emotion. However, since these frequencies are much lower than in the case of the cratic orientation, all the obtained numerical values were multiplied by ten for greater readability and clarity (this is purely a technical procedure, statistical calculations were conducted on the original data).

Since emotions such as fear, shame, hatred, contempt and anger play a key role in maintaining social distance, it was mainly them that were focused upon, complementing the results with data on opposite emotions such as love, friendship, compassion and mercy. The results are as follows:
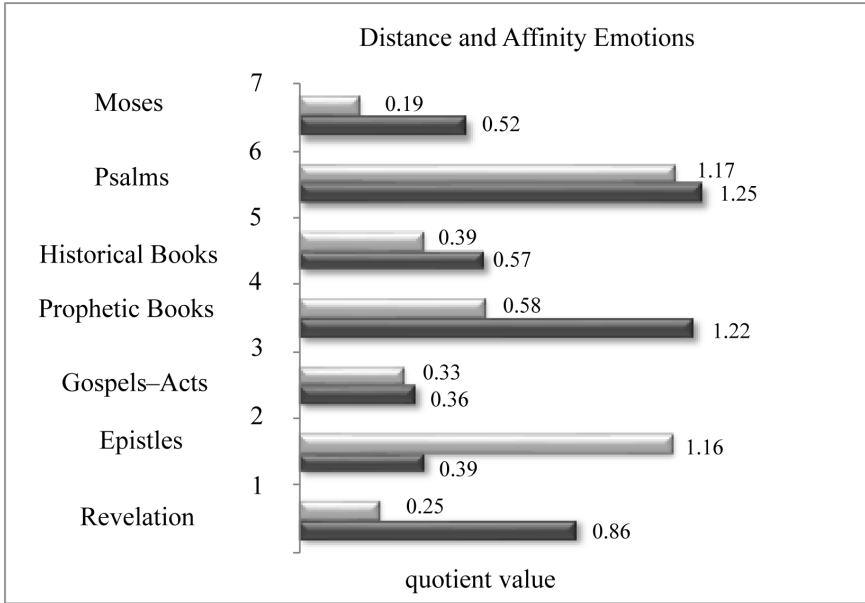
Chart 4. Distance Emotions (bottom line) and Affinity Emotions (upper line) in Septuaginta and New Testament

Chart 4 shows an overall summary of distance emotions (bottom line/quotient for each corpus) and affinity emotions (upper line/quotient), for the Septuagint and New Testament text corpora. However, it does not distinguish between the subject and object of the emotions, namely, who experiences them and in relation to whom. It is not possible on this basis to determine what exactly the relationships are between people or between people and God. Regardless of this, the results provide very important information about the general nature of the relationships described in the holy books. A high score for the emotion of detachment—no matter who it relates to, humans or God—clearly indicates that the relationship between these entities is strongly imbued with such emotions and attitudes.

If, for example, it is considered that the Psalms are primarily the liturgical prayer of a community or an individual, it becomes obvious that such a high score for distance emotions (1.25) indicates a significant saturation of the relationship between human and God with such emotions (although it can also indicate to a lesser extend the relationships between pious person and sinners). In prophetic books focusing primarily on the relationship of Yahweh God to human (Israelite or pagan), it can also be assumed that these relationships were heavily saturated with distance emotions (1.22). Interestingly, Psalms and prophetic corpus have the highest scores. Furthermore, the two corpora are characterized by a completely

different saturation of the emotion of affinity—in Psalms, it is twice as high as in the Prophets (1.17 and 0.57). This result is an important complement to the results obtained for the cratic orientation. Both text corpora, although written by individuals in a relationship with Yahweh God, clearly differ in their sense of distance between human and God; the emotion composition proposed in this study enables drawing the conclusion that the prophetic discourse presents a greater distance between them. After all, the religious experience of the prophet was different from that of the psalmist, as the results for the cratic orientation also clearly showed. The result for Revelation is also consistent with this. This only prophetic book of the New Testament has a similar pattern of results for the emotions of distance and affinity (0.86 and 0.25) as the prophetic books of the Septuagint (1.22 and 0.57). In Revelation, this distance between God and the human world is maintained and seems to increase. It is also consistent with the results for the cratic orientation. The historical books of the Septuagint (0.57 and 0.39) and the New Testament (0.36 and 0.33) also show an interesting pattern of results. Importantly, however, in the New Testament historical corpus, the emotion of distance not only has a significantly lower result than the Septuagint historical books, but is virtually no different from the emotion of affinity. It seems very likely, therefore, that social relations in the New Testament history books are characterized by less social distance. However, it is difficult to unequivocally say whether this applies to the intra-community relations (between one's own) or to the relations between one's own and strangers (for example, between the Christian community and pagans). Equally interesting results are presented by letters, in which there is a very high quotient of emotions of affinity and a relatively low quotient of emotions of distance. This is significant to the extent that in the case of the letters, the subject matter concerns either the inner life of the community (and thus relates to relations between its members) or ethical laws in general. Thus, it primarily concerns Christian standards and social relations within the community. A relatively similar corpus to the letters are Psalms, although in the former, the internal problems of the community and the theological reflections of the author are presented, while in the latter, the community is praying. It is difficult to compare such different corpora, but the results are very significant. The results for Moses, on the other hand, conform quite well to the overall picture of the data—the indicator for the emotion of distance is relatively high compared to the emotion of affinity, and it is the lowest in the Old Testament, as it is for the cratic orientation. Against the background of the Old Testament literature, it is simply the least saturated with emotions (especially affinity emotions).

Considering the results for distance emotion as a whole, there is a strong similarity with the results obtained for the cratic orientation. According to chart 1 and chart 2, this orientation also increases from Moses to the Prophetic, and from the Historical to Revelation. This consistency is only disturbed by the Psalms, the result for which is exceptionally high, although it cooccurs with an unusually high

saturation with emotions of affinity, which is unique among the Old Testament books. This ambiguity could, I think, be clarified by a detailed analysis of the emotions in Psalms in terms of not only the subject of the emotions, but above all the object of the emotions, whether it is God, the Israelite, or the infidel (the enemy), or perhaps they are part of general beliefs about human behavior. An equally valuable addition would be a detailed assessment of the subjects and recipients of emotion in the Prophets and Revelation, or emotional distance between God and the faithful or the infidel? However, at this stage of the research, a detailed analysis of emotions in all textual corpora is not necessary. Regardless of additional analyses, this general distribution of emotions allows two important conclusions to be drawn. First, the picture of results largely coincides with the results for cratic orientation (the higher level of cratic orientation, the greater distance or the higher level of distance emotion). Second, it is evident that there is a greater saturation of the emotion of distance in the Old Testament corpora (only when counterbalanced by the emotion of affinity in the Psalms) than in the New Testament corpora.

The comparison between the Septuagint (Moses, Psalms, the Historical, the Prophets) and the New Testament (the Historical, Epistles, Revelation) shows considerable differences in terms of the saturation of distance emotions (LXX–1.04; New Testament–0.37) and these differences are statistically significant. A similar result (statistically significant) is found for distance emotions in comparing the historical books of the Septuagint (0.57) and the New Testament (0.36), and for Daniel (1.25) and Revelation (0.86). However, the comparison of the Septuagint and the New Testament in terms of the saturation of emotions of affinity (LXX–0.72; New Testament–0.60), as well as the analysis of only the historical corpora (LXX–0.39; New Testament–0.33), shows similarity and the apparent differences are insignificant. These are only small differences in the quotient values and are not statistically significant (see appendix 2). Thus, both discourses present different saturations of social relations with emotions of distance, but they do not differ in terms of saturation with emotions of affinity. The difference concerns only one pole of the relationship—distance. It is as if the early Christian discourse adopted a certain aspect of the social bonds of ancient Judaism, but at the same time, it seems to distance itself from it, eliminating the emotion of distance. At this point, the key question is whether the above relationships are reflected in interpersonal and divine-human relationships. After considering these two types of relationship, the following result is obtained:

LXX and New Testament: Distance Emotions
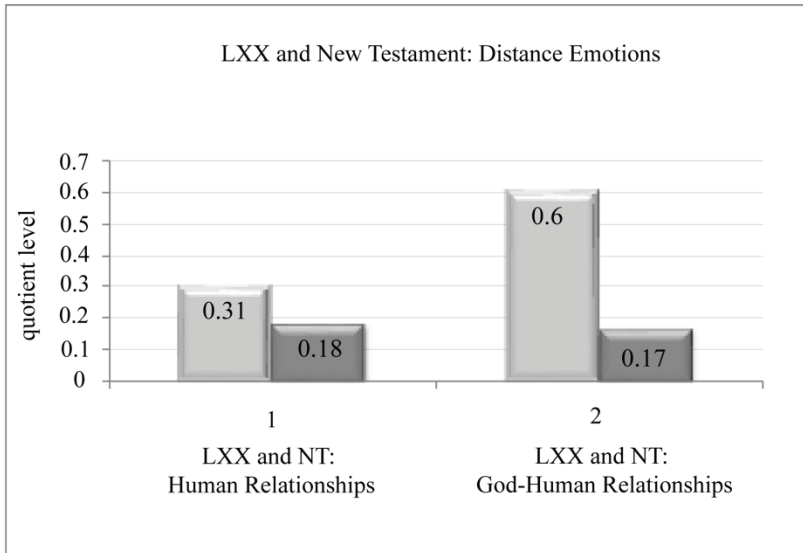
Chart 5. The Old Testament and the New Testament: Two Types of Relationships

In the above classification, the words denoting an emotion were assigned to relationships between people if the subject or object of the emotion was human. If one of the parties was Yahweh God (as the subject or object of the emotion), they were included in God-human relations. In the New Testament, the person of Jesus was included in divine-human relations, assuming that he is a representative of the divine world, with which the human world establishes some kind of relationship. Of course, such a procedure was unnecessary, but it seems fully justified. It should be added that the inclusion of the person of Jesus in human relationships would only contribute to a slight increase in the value of the quotient for the whole New Testament in human relationships and a slight decrease in the value of the quotient for the New Testament in God - human relationships. As can be observed, the human relationships described in the Septuagint (0.31) and the New Testament (0.18) differ significantly in terms of distance emotions—in the New Testament, these relationships are less saturated with fear, anger, contempt, hatred and shame. The same pattern of results is found for God—human relations, with the difference between the Septuagint (0.6) and the New Testament (0.17) being surprisingly significant. The distance between Yahweh God and human decreases here by several times.

Summing up the quantitative data relating to emotions, a clear conclusion emerges—social relationships, as depicted in the Septuagint and New Testament corpora, are described by a different saturation of emotions of distance and a very similar saturation of emotions of affinity (for the whole LXX–0.72 and New Testament–0.60; for only the historical corpora LXX–0.39; New Testament–0.33). This applies to both human and God–human relationships. In short, the two discourses have different conceptualizations of social relationships, as predicted by Hypothesis 2 (see section 4.4). Although the variation in frequency in the different textual corpora within the Septuagint and the New Testament is reasonably high, when viewed as a whole, they represent different social orders. This result is also consistent with the results for the cratic orientation, based on which the changes in social relations were predicted to be visible in the area of emotions. One of the more interesting issues, which deserves a broader explanation in a separate analysis, is the change in the area of one pole, specifically, in only distance emotions. I think this is because the discourse of the New Testament was created with a strong dependence on turn-of-the-era Judaism, was firmly rooted in the Septuagint tradition of thought and language, and went beyond its socio-ethical tradition. The results presented here thus show the social world of the New Testament as being in a process of change and slowly becoming independent of the social order of Judaism at the time. A detailed analysis of emotions in selected textual corpora could prove to be a valuable supplement to the above data, the subject of which would not only be the emotions of distance versus closeness but the broader context of their application. However, this would require separate, advanced analyses and comparisons that go beyond the basic purpose of the monograph.

A different function of power-dominance orientation, visible in the quantitative changes presented above, is also evident in the correlation between power-dominance and distance emotions and affinity emotions. In the Old Testament, it correlates positively with the distance emotions (0.22) and negatively with the affinity emotions (-0.18), although these correlations are not high. In the New Testament, the correlation with the distance emotions is positive and very high (0.87), and with the affinity emotions, it is more negative than in the Old Testament (-0.23). We obtained similar results in earlier analyses of the biblical corpus, in which power-dominance did not yet include selected terminology from the *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains* (1988). In 2021, we compared the Septuagint and the New Testament:

> The different meanings of power orientation in both traditions also show correlations between variables, especially between power and emotions. In the Old Testament community, the concept of power correlates positively with emotions 2 [admiration, friendship, trust, compassion], although it is a low correlation of 0.34—this indicates that the concept of power and domination was a kind of positive value in the Old Testament community. However, in early Christian

documents, one can see a kind of re-evaluation of the power orientation: it correlates strongly with emotions 1 with a correlation coefficient of 0.59 [fear, hatred, anger, hostility]. There is no relationship with emotions 2.[122]

In 2020, we only analyzed the language of the New Testament: "The attempt to establish a correlation between variables … showed a significant positive correlation between the cratic orientation level and the intensity of negative feelings ($r = 0.575$, $p < .05$)."[123] This clearly shows that power-dominance orientation coexists and correlates mainly with distance emotions. When the orientation weakens, the frequency of these emotions decreases. However, in the presented research, the power-dominance orientation is more closely related to this type of emotion and social distance.

5.3. The Problem of Hatred: A Classic Example of the Evolution of Social Relations[124]

These changes in emotions preferences are evident on a quantitative level, but as mentioned earlier, the changes in social relations can be assessed in many ways. One of the more recognizable indicators of human or divine-human relationships is the love and hate function. Since this analysis focuses mainly on distance emotions, there is a need to look not only at how the word frequencies for hate change but also how its meaning changes in the space of biblical discourse.

In the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, the noun שִׂנְאָה–*hatred* and the verb שׂנא–*to hate* are used to express hatred.[125] The root שׂנא occurs 164 times in the Old Testament[126] and has a somewhat broader meaning encompassing dislike, disgust, enmity and even contempt. In the Septuagint, the main equivalents of שִׂנְאָה and שׂנא are μισέω, μῖσος, μισητός, as in the Greek New Testament, although hatred does not have a noun form here—it is expressed by the verb form μισέω, occurring forty times in the New Testament. Μισέω has the same meaning in ancient Greek literature: ἡ μισανθροπία–hatred of men, or ἡ μισαδελφία–hatred between brothers. Less frequently used is the verb στυγέω–to hate, to feel revulsion (Matt 6:24), or the nouns ἡ ἔχθρα, ὁ φθόνος, but the meaning of the last is close to envy, jealousy, zeal.[127] By comparison, the Hebrew root אהב (to love) occurs 251 times in the Old Testament, and the Greek ἀγαπάω (to love) and ἡ

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[122] Citlak, "Psychology of the Pursuit for a Sense of Power," 4005.

[123] Citlak, "Group Conflicts," 122.

[124] The content of this paragraph is similar to the part of the chapter: Amadeusz Citlak, "Biblijna nienawiść – przejawy, funkcje i uwarunkowania," in *Nienawiść w przestrzeni publicznej*, ed. Urszula Jakubowska and Piotr Szarota (PWN, IP PAN, 2020), 33–71.

[125] *HALOT*, 788.

[126] *THAT* 2.

[127] Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Worterbuch*, 425.

ἀγάπη (love) 259 times in the New Testament. This means that the issue of hatred is not a side topic and plays an important role in biblical discourse.

Reconstructing the concept of hatred by referring to linguistic equivalents in the original biblical text obviously has some limitations. First, the Hebrew שׂנא and the Greek μισεῖν mean something more than hatred; they refer to dislike, hostility, even loathing and contempt. Second, the word μισεῖν (or Hebrew שׂנא) does not appear in some descriptions of human relationships dominated by hostility, hatred and contempt. It suffices to mention the story of Cain and Abel, the Israelites' holy wars, or the first Christians' relations with the Roman occupiers. A large part of the prophetic speeches addressed to sinners are hostile words of condemnation, which from our point of view, seem to be the closest to what is contemporarily called hate speech.

As discussed in chapter 3, the social reality of ancient Israel was constituted by a tribal structure, which began to disappear from the tenth century BCE slowly, and real power was assumed by the king. The social-ethical order corresponded to the reality of community life (קהל), and it was the community that formed the organic nucleus of social life, regulating relations between people. Clans were constantly exposed to threats from outside by pagans or from within in the form of tribal conflicts. By the time of King David (tenth century BCE), the principle of revenge and the institution of the avenger of blood were widely accepted.[128] The division between one's own and outsiders was both obvious and necessary for the survival of the community. For example, usury against an Israelite (a member of one's own group) was not allowed, but permissible in the case of a stranger; a neighbour was a God-faithful member of the chosen people but not a pagan.[129] The religious precepts primarily embodied the aspirations of the community and protected it from danger. They were usually absolute and nonnegotiable, and deviations from them were severely punished, including with the death penalty.[130]

It was this religious and social ethos of the Old Testament, as a community-protective ethos so firmly rooted in *Sitz im Leben* of the Canaanite tribes of the time, that also underpinned the early Christian morality described in the New Testament. In many respects, the social world of the New Testament, despite the passage of time, was very similar to the social world of the Old Testament.[131] For example, the punishment of stoning, applied long before CE for religious offences, was no different in brutality from the punishment of crucifixion applied at the turn of the era. What they had in common was the public humiliation of the guilty person and depriving them of dignity and a sense of belonging to a

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[128] Bright, *History of Israel*; Robert Coote, "Tribalism: Social Organization in the Biblical Israel," in *Ancient Israel: The Old Testament in Its Social Context*, ed. Phlilip Esler (Fortress, 2006), 35–49.

[129] Coote, "Tribalism."

[130] Wolff, *Athropologie des Alten Testaments*.

[131] Neyrey and Stewart, *Social World of the New Testament*.

community. The religious offender shattered the order established by God, and was therefore treated as a threat, an enemy and an evil. When the scribes and Pharisees considered Jesus's activity as deceptive and inspired by the devil (Matt 12:24), they concluded: "If we let Him alone like this … the Romans will come and take away both our place and nation" (John 11:48). The blasphemer/religious offender did not deserve respect, evoked the most extreme negative attitudes including hatred and contempt, and should be punished and the evil should be removed from among the people. The provisions of the Mosaic Law were unequivocal in this regard: "that man shall die. So you shall put away the evil from Israel" (Deut 17:2–7:12). However, it was not only about the supreme penalty of death but also about the exclusion from the community of the faithful, condemnation and exclusion from the sphere of the sacred, which is most clearly exemplified by the dramatic words of Jesus on the cross: "My God, why have You forsaken Me?" (Matt 27:46). As mentioned in chapter 3, one of the features of the mentality of the biblical authors was a strong collectivism.[132] It was this, inter alia, that fostered the radicalisation of beliefs and attitudes towards criminals and enemies in general, all the more so because the concept of the subject's self was organically fused with the concept of *we*, that is with the community.[133] The strength of the emotions of contempt or hatred experienced increased in proportion to the strength of group bonds and the sense of identification with the community. Moreover, anger or hatred shown to enemies, even in public, was often included in not only the social but also in the religious ethos.

The Old and New Testaments provide plenty of examples of the language of hostility, hatred, and contempt, all the more so because the boundary of social sensitivity ran quite differently from today. Contempt and hatred were part of the canon of social behavior.

> Invective was pervasive throughout the world of Mediterranean antiquity.… It was expected that rivals would hurl insults against one another, and political leaders were proud, to some extent, of their ability to withstand brutal criticism and abuse. Thus invective was not particularly surprising or shocking; rather, it was an anticipated form of expression that the public noticed.[134]

The language of hostility and hatred appears in the Bible in many forms, for example, in the form of epithets, insults, mockery, derision or outright contempt. In the sacred books, the enemy, who is usually an impious or infidel (someone who denies God's laws), often becomes the object of severe criticism and even dehumanization. In the public discourse of that time, metaphors, symbols, and

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[132] Kuhn, *Insights from Cultural Anthropology*.
[133] Malina, *New Testament World*; Markus and Kitayama, "Culture, Self, and the Reality"; Rotman, "Relational Mind."
[134] Batten, "Letter of Jude," 1.

images played an important role, deeply reaching the listeners' imagination. The pagan kingdoms which threatened Israel were described as beasts (Rev 13:1, 6), animals (Dan 7:3, 17–18), and harlots (Rev 17:1–3:5), although Israel itself was not spared such images (Isa 1:21; Ezek 16:30–32; Hos 2). Although hatred was usually attributed to enemies or the ungodly, a closer reading reveals that it was a condition shared by both sides of the "conflict," saints and the ungodly alike. The Persians hated the Jews, and the Jews hated the Persians (Esth 9:1, 5), the pagans hated David (2 Sam 22:40–41; Ezek 35:5), and David hated the pagan enemies (1 Kgs 19:6). Moreover, the boundary between the ungodly and Israel's enemies was often blurred. In many cases, it is difficult to say unequivocally whether a particular statement by the author of a biblical text referred to a specific enemy or was a generalisation referring to the infidel/ungodly, such as in King David's prayer:

> Do I not hate them, O LORD, who hate You? And do I not loathe those who rise up against You? I hate them with perfect hatred; I count them my enemies. (Ps 139:21–22)

Hatred towards the enemies of the chosen people—even expressed in prayer or religious song—could take an even more drastic form:

> O daughter of Babylon, who are to be destroyed …, Happy the one, who takes and dashes your little ones against the rock! (Ps 137:9)

The above shocking words, however, fit in with the ideas of retribution and retaliation common in the Middle East among the Semitic tribes, testifying at the same time that the sacred books of Judaism were written by the men whose mentality was a product of *Sitz im Leben* of their time. Hatred is not only natural for parties in conflict (Deut 30:7; 2 Sam 22:41; Ps 83:3; 105:25), but even desirable in the case of a pious Israelite against a godless one (see Ps 139:113). Such a state of affairs contradicts the popular belief, supposedly present in biblical tradition, that God hates sin but does not apply to the sinner. In fact, however, this belief is rooted in a specific interpretation of Augustine's words in the fifth century CE and not in the books of the Bible.[135] Augustine, speaking on the disciplinary order among nuns, wrote that they should be guided by love for mankind and hatred of sins (*cum dilectione hominum et odio vitiorum*). In the biblical tradition, the separation of the person from his deeds is generally absent. In such an interpretation, the thought of Augustine, well educated in classical culture, is definitely closer to our contemporaries than to the Israelites of biblical times. The anthropology of the Old Testament—and to a large extent of the New Testament—does not know such a division; on the contrary, the act is always connected to the person, and the evaluation of the act is the evaluation of the person. Reading into the books of the

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[135] Erven Park, "'Hate the Sin But Love the Sinner': Not Scriptural, Not Catholic Doctrine," *NOR* 73 (2006): 41–42.

Old Testament, it is clear that it does not speak only of hatred of an act or an abstractly conceived sin but also of hatred of the subject-person who performs it. This is evidenced by many statements from different periods, for example:

> Yet Jacob I have loved; But Esau I have hated. (Mal 1:2–3)

> The Most High himself hates sinners. (Sir 12:6)

> The LORD abhors the bloodthirsty deceitful man. (Ps 5:7)

> Equally odious to God are the evildoer and his evil deed. (Wis 14:9)

The object of hatred is the person and not merely their evil act; moreover, the subject experiencing hatred is Yahweh God. In the New Testament, God as the subject of hatred (μισεῖν/μισέω) appears very rarely, and if it does, it is with a clear indication of the act and not the person, which is a certain novelty against the background of biblical literature. It is worth adding that these are late passages of the Bible, from the end of the 1st century CE, for example:

> Your throne, O God is forever and ever.… You have loved the righteousness and hated lawlessness. (Heb 1:8–9)

> You hate the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate. (Rev 2:6)

The novelty introduced by the New Testament discourse, however, is more complex and reaches deeper. On the one hand, it remains close to the Old Testament's thought regarding the importance of community, which predominantly determined the nature of interpersonal relationships and the attitude towards strangers or the ungodly. On the other hand, the conditions of existence differed in that the community's survival did not depend on physical or military victory over the enemy. In the perspective of Christians, the sense of connection with the holy land, the chosen people and its institutions (including the temple) was changing.[136] The boundaries between the unclean world of the pagans and the community of believers were slowly evolving, which had a direct impact on changing attitudes towards the pagans and strangers themselves (Acts 10:1–11:18; John 18:15–16, 28). Although the problem of the existence of the early Christian community remained a central issue in the face of tensions with the Greco-Roman world and traditional Judaism, the axis of conflict shifted towards the defence of the community's identity and professed beliefs. The early Christian communities continued not only the ethical but also the social thought of the Old

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[136] Tucker and Baker, *Handbook to Social Identity*; Ascough, "Jesus, Patrons"; Wardle, *Jerusalem Temple*.

Testament, although these links were weakened and transformed. The function and meaning of hatred and enmity were also changing, as at certain moments, they seem to have a similar function to that in the community of ancient Judaism, but in other circumstances, they lose their regulatory significance as a method of protecting the community from danger.[137] This similarity can be seen above all in the situations in which there was a conflict between Jesus or the apostles and the Jewish or pagan environment. Christian authors frequently express very hostile attitudes, using language full of epithets and pejorative expressions, negatively judging opponents or enemies on moral, religious, social or psychological dimensions.[138] To cite a few examples.

Paul, during his mission to Cyprus, addresses his adversary Elimas, who prevented him from preaching the good news, with the words:

> "O full of all deceit and all fraud, you son of the devil, you enemy of all righteousness, will you not cease perverting the straight ways of the Lord." (Acts 13:10)

In the Epistle of St Jude from the end of the first century CE, the author describes the ungodly as follows:

> These are spots in your love feasts … late autumn trees without fruit, twice dead, pulled up by the roots … raging waves of the sea, foaming up their own shame. (Jude 9–13)

And a little further:

> … but others save with fear, pulling them out of the fire, hating even the garment defiled by the flesh. (Jude 23)

In the Pastoral Epistles, the author comments on those who profess a doctrine different from the Christianity he preaches. These are the people

> speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their own conscience seared with a hot iron (1 Tim 4:2)

or

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[137] Slabbert, "Coping in a Harsh Reality"; Van Eck, "Mission, Identity and Ethics in Mark."
[138] Batten, "Letter of Jude"; Hakola, "Social Identity and a Stereotype in the Making"; Amadeusz Citlak, "Faryzeusz jako obcy (w ramach komentarza do Mt 23 w świetle social-scientific criticism)," in Marcinkowski, Citlak, and Grodzki, *Religijne obrazy obcych—żydzi, chrześcijanie, muzułmanie*, 6–26.

> If anyone teaches otherwise … he is proud, knowing nothing, he is obsessed with disputes … from which come envy, strife, reviling, evil suspicions, useless wranglings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth. (1 Tim 6:3–5)

Similarly, with reference to the Cretans:

> Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, lazy gluttons. This testimony is true. Therefore rebuke them sharply. (Titus 1:12–13)

It is no different about the Jews. According to Matthew, Jesus calls the Pharisees and the scribes "hypocrites," "sons of hell," ascribes to them "all uncleanness," "full of extortion," and announces damnation in hell (Matt 23:13–36). In the Gospel of John, Jesus says to the Jews "You are of your father the devil" (John 8:44). Similarly, in the apostolic letters: those are the people "who killed both the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they do not please God and are contrary to all men" (1 Thess 2:15). "They profess to know God, but in works they deny Him, being abominable, disobedient, and disqualified for every good work" (Titus 1:16).[139]

Homosexuals, whose behavior was considered contrary to God"s traditional order ("be fruitful and multiply," Gen 1:28), were also included among the ungodly and, therefore, enemies of the community. These acts were regarded as directly undermining the stability of the family and the community, unworthy of a man and a woman. They had to be condemned and severely punished, which is exemplified not only by the story of Sodom (Gen 19:4) but also by the explicit commandment of the death penalty (Lev 20:13; 18:22–25). Harsh condemnation of homosexuality is also found in the books of the New Testament, where it is described as "uncleanness," "dishonor of body," "vile passions," "against nature," "lust," "shameful," "error" (Rom 1:24–27). Such individuals are ascribed a set of the most morally negative characteristics, categorising them as enemies of all good (Rom 1:29–32; 1 Tim 1:10).

The New Testament language of criticism of enemies or the ungodly thus shows a very negative attitude on the part of their authors. It is full of pejorative formulations, categories and hostile slogans. It is a language of prejudice that is even characterized by a form of dehumanization.[140] The godless and enemies are "mindless animals," "people with a stigmatised conscience," "warped mind," et

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[139] The presence of stereotypical language in the New Testament narrative is confirmed by many biblical scholars. See Esler, *Intergroup Conflict and Matthew 23*; Lamp, "Is Paul Anti-Jewish?"; Judy Siker, "Anti-Judaism in the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, and Mel," *PaP* 53 (2005): 303–12.

[140] Esler, "Intergroup Conflict and Matthew 23"; Hakola, *Social Identity and a Stereotype in the Making*; Jacques-Philippe Leyens et al., "Infrahumanization: The Wall of Group Differences," *SSPR 1* (2007): 139–72.

cetera. It is not particularly necessary to prove that there is an attitude of dislike, hostility, and sometimes even disgust. This seems obvious. But is there hatred of the godless? No New Testament author claimed (at least *expressis verbis*) that he hated the ungodly, nor did he recommend such an attitude. Possible hatred can be found in the above-quoted epistles or gospels, but this is the point in which, I believe, a problem arises, because in the tradition of the New Testament, the status of hatred is completely different.

In many cases, the message of the biblical narratives seems to go beyond the canon of the accepted tradition of the time, and their characters break the socio-ethical *status quo*. They behave in unconventional ways, disobey established norms, or stand in opposition to tradition. One of the common features shared by this type of behavior was going beyond socially "justified" hostility and hatred. This is a certain phenomenon of monotheistic religions in general, which, despite ethical-religious norms directly derived from the *Sitz im Leben* of the time,[141] also propagate content that goes beyond or even contradicts the then accepted stand-ards of behavior. Such transgression of tradition and common ethos, especially on the social-ethical level, can be seen very clearly in the activities of the prophets and founders of Christianity, like Jesus of Nazareth and Paul.[142]

The Old Testament prophets above all contributed to negating the idea of collective responsibility based on organic ancestral ties.[143] Collective responsibil-ity almost magically cemented a community whose members perceived their conduct and current situation as, on the one hand, the result of the actions of their ancestors and, on the other, as an essential determinant of blessing or curse for posterity. This way of thinking (Exod 20:5–6; Job 22; Prov 3:1–6) began to col-lapse from the seventh to the sixth centuries BCE in particular.[144] The experience of the Babylonian captivity—the senseless death of innocent devout people—forced the Israelites to reinterpret the notion of guilt and punishment, as well as mutual ethical relations. The conviction that a son or daughter born in the land of the pagans is punished for the guilt of his/her ancestors lost its meaning, all the more so because it weakened the motivation for an active public life in the dias-pora. Collective responsibility began to subside in favor of individual

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[141] Dereck Dashke and Andrew Kille, *A Cry Instead of Justice: The Bible and Cultures of Violence in Psychological Perspective* (T&T Clark, 2010); Mermelstein, "Love and Hate"; Schmidt, *Einfuhrung in das Alte Testament.*

[142] Pilch and Malina, *Handbook of Biblical Social.*

[143] Janusz Frankowski and Tadeusz Brzegowy, eds., *Wielki świat starotestamentalnych proroków* (Wydawnictwo UKSW, 2006); Viktor Matthews, *The Hebrew Prophets and Their Social World: An Introduction* (Baker Academics, 2012); Richard Freund, "Individ-ual vs. Collective Responsibility: From the Ancient Near East and the Bible to the Greco-Roman World," *SJOT* 11 (2007): 279–304; Wilson, *Prophecy and Society.*

[144] The problem of guilt and punishment in terms of collective responsibility is still present in the books of the New Testament, showing that this idea persisted for a long time along-side the principle of personal responsibility (see Matt 3:9; John 8:2–3; Rom 5).

responsibility and a new moral consciousness. The prophets are aware of these transformations and create a new ethical and social reality in which the ultimate responsibility lies with the individual and not with the community as a whole. They are also largely responsible for the emergence of new social relations based on equality and social justice. Israel was subject to a process of stratification and institutionalisation of various forms of power and coercion since the establishment of the monarchy, namely, since the tenth century BCE, which often adopted the form of "justified" oppression. For the prophets, one's position in the social hierarchy did not matter or influence the assessment of human conduct. Moral criticism of princes, kings and priests, as well as of ordinary believers, were among the central categories of Hebrew prophecy. Criticism of collective responsibility and social injustice also fostered a greater focus on ethical universalism, especially since Israel, whether during captivity (Babylonian, Assyrian) or occupation (Greek, Roman), was in a direct and prolonged confrontation with an alien cultural world. Survival in the world of the gentiles depended on the ability to dialogue and communicate with them. Although the history of biblical Judaism shows that universalism was not always successful (during the reform of Ezra and Nehemiah in the fifth century BCE, or in apocalyptic-eschatological groups[145]), it ultimately had a profound impact on Israel's ethical and social consciousness, leaving space for entirely new relationships with the pagan world, as well as within the Jewish community.

The prophetic social ethos became a particular feature of the activities of Jesus of Nazareth and Paul. The former publicly negated the negative image of strangers, not only by speaking positively about them but by initiating direct encounters, which is particularly evident in his attitude towards the Samaritans.[146] Jewish-Samaritan relations, as we know, were bad—both sides were deeply disliked and hated each other. At the turn of the centuries, the antagonism was so strong that the Jews, on their way from Galilee to Judea, chose to cross the Jordan River to the east in order to avoid passing through Samaritan lands (John 4:9; Luke 9:52–53). Nevertheless, Jesus passes provocatively through Samaria, having a conversation with a Samaritan woman that results in a rather open dialogue and discussion on very sensitive subjects, and above all, in a mutual rapprochement (John 4:1–43).

In the same vein, Jesus utters the parable of the merciful Samaritan, which is his answer to the question of the expert in the law "who is my neighbour?" (Luke 10:29). As is well known, neither the priest nor the Levite showed any help. This was done, after all, by a Samaritan—a hated stranger. As if this was not enough,

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[145] Liverani, *Nie tylko Biblia*; Mermelstein, "Love and Hate"; VanderKam, *Introduction to Early Judaism*; Rowland, "Eschatology of the New Testament Church."
[146] Gary Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans: The Origins and History of Their Early Relation* (Oxford University Press, 2013); see also Luke 8:51–56; John 8: 48.

the Samaritan "had compassion," "bandaged his wounds," "took care of him" (Luke 15:33–34), thus manifesting qualities that the Jews in the parable lack (mercy, sensitivity). The image of the stranger is as surprising as the expert's response to Jesus's question "Which of these three do you think was neighbour to him?" (v. 36). In answering, he avoids the word Samaritan, saying "He who showed mercy on him" (v. 37). It is worth adding that in the light of the Old Testament and rabbinic tradition, a neighbour was first and foremost a faithful Israelite to God, a brother within the community of practice and faith.[147] He was neither a Roman nor an Egyptian. The pagans were an entirely separate group. The popular belief of the time, "thou shalt have an enemy in hatred" (Matt 5:43), though not a literal quotation from the Old Testament, expressed the meaning of many of the statements present therein (also quoted above). Jesus forbids such— (or any) hatred; moreover, he commands love of enemies (Matt 5:44).[148] The image of the Samaritan motivated by noble motives also appears at the healing of the ten lepers, only one of whom came to thank him personally. "And he was a Samaritan.… Were there not any found who returned to give glory to God, except this foreigner?" (Luke 17:16–17). To point to a stranger, someone from outside one's own group, as a model of morality is unusual for those times, an example of the negation of prevalent prejudices of the time and, in relation to the Samaritans, an example of hatred.[149] Jesus's stance, however, was very risky. In the light of the gospel narrative, he quickly came into conflict with the rabbis who accused him, "You are a Samaritan and you have a demon" (John 8:48), which in the light of the psychology of group conflict was quite natural behavior for members of his own group to treat him as an enemy and representative of the interests of the hated group.

In this respect, the story of Jesus is one of the most tragic examples of the counteraction of prejudice, hostility and hatred, which, together with other accusations, made him a traitor to a people deserving of condemnation and death. All the more so since the core of his activity was supposed to be brotherly love and forgiveness. Love of enemies (Matt 5:43–48), renunciation of violence (Matt 5:38–42), the golden rule (Matt 7:12), or the prayer "Forgive them, for they do not know what they do" (Luke 23:34) are the most characteristic features of this

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[147] Hermann Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Das Evangelium nach Markus, Lukas und Johannes und die Apostelgeschichte*, vol. 2 of *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 10th ed. (Beck, 2009); Erhard Gerstenberger, "Sensitivity towards Outsiders in Old Testament Theologies," in Kok et al., *Sensitivity towards Outsiders*, 27–40.

[148] Andries G. van Aarde, "Righteousness: Paul and Matthew," in Kok et al., *Sensitivity towards Outsiders*, 133–50.

[149] Representatives of social-scientific criticism particularly emphasize the aspect of hatred and going beyond traditional ethnic boundaries: Daniel Aryeh, "Social-Scientific Interpretation of the Parables of Jesus in Luke: A Review of Some Works of Ernest van Eck," *Neot* 55 (2021): 171–91; Marshall, *Jesus, Patrons, and Benefactors*; Pilch and Malina, *Handbook of Biblical Social Values*; Neyrey and Stewart, *Social World of the New Testament*.

message. The example of Jesus as portrayed in the gospels shows more clearly than in any Old or New Testament books that the deed primarily deserves condemnation and not necessarily the person (John 8:11). This distinction came slowly to the fore in the process of socio-ethical change in ancient Israel,[150] and for a long time to come, even later in early Christian literature, it will still be a distinction *in statu nascendi*.

The question that arises here is to what extent the gospel narratives convey the *ipsissima verba et facta Jesu*, and to what extent they convey the beliefs of the Christian community. Is the Jesus in question the historical Jesus, or more the Christ of faith?[151] For given the voices of biblical scholars, the image of Jesus full of gentleness and mercy who formed exclusively peaceful relationships is quite debatable.[152] Nevertheless, regardless of the final answer, the very presence of such narratives in the books of the New Testament says a great deal about the perception of social relations in early Christian communities and the different meaning of hatred.

The change in the attitude towards socio-ethnic divisions and the ensuing hostility or hatred can also be seen in Paul. As mentioned earlier, first century Christian communities were not so different from those of Judaism in terms of their sense of group belonging, collectivism, or awareness of the demarcated boundaries between one's own and the stranger. Nevertheless, especially in the letters attributed to Paul or his disciples, there are statements of a universalist nature that are difficult to find in other books of the Bible. For example, in an attempt to solve the problem of the tension-ridden and hostile coexistence of Jews and pagans in the church, he explains that their new religious identity abolishes the previous hostility based on ethnicity:

> For He Himself [Christ] is our peace, who has made both one, and has broken down the middle wall of separation. (ἐχθρα; Eph 2:14)

Moreover, this new religious identity should abolish intra-group discrimination in general:

> There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus. (Gal 3:28; see Col 3:11)

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[150] Condemnation and hatred of evil deeds but not necessarily of the ungodly man can be seen, among others, in sapiential literature influenced by the Greek philosophy (Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*; Wis 12:1, 8; Prov 8:13).

[151] Gnilka, *Jesus von Nazareth*.

[152] Donald Capps, "Jesus as Power Tactician," *JSHS* 2 (2004): 158–89; Harold Ellens, "That Tough Guy from Nazareth: A Psychological Assessment of Jesus," *HTS* 70 (2014): 1–8.

The author thus rejects the validity of group divisions based on ethnic, social and gender identification. For the time, these were revolutionary claims, especially when considering the fact that for a long time to come in the tradition of Judaism, it will be entirely natural to pray "Lord, I thank you that you did not make me a pagan, a slave or a woman."[153] The equality of a Jew and a pagan on a religious level was problematic according to the assumptions of Judaism, just as the equality of a man and a woman. Against the background of the widespread and deep ethno-social divisions of the first century CE, Paul's words seemed unrealistic, more like a pious wish.

Although there is not enough opportunity here for a more detailed analysis, it should be added that the universalism of Paul's letters had its limitations. First of all, it is unknown to what extent these words practically applied in the communities (1 Cor 11:14, 34; Eph 6:5). Early Christian communities were deeply entrenched in social divisions, not only then but long afterwards. Besides, this universalism was, as it were, narrowed down to the new religious category that "Christ" and "Christianity" had become. In other words, Paul tries to reduce the old divisions by pointing to a new overarching category. It was thus a universalism limited to those cultural realities.[154] However, even in this form, it had a unique value and went far beyond the social reality of traditional Judaism, from which Paul himself and many of his disciples had originated.

The question about the place of hatred in the biblical discourse is a question about the nature of the social relations in which that discourse arose. The notion of hatred, described in such different ways in the biblical tradition, suggests an interesting correlation. The meaning of and attitude towards hatred remains connected with the type of social relations represented by the community. The formation of a new kind of community in the historical process created conditions for new, qualitatively different relationships in which hostility and hatred systematically lost their regulatory capacity in the social world; if they maintained it, it was only based on upholding the old order. In other words, social relations determined the ethics expressed first by the outstanding figures of biblical history and then by their followers. The social consciousness and sensibility of these figures ran far beyond traditional and increasingly inadequate conventions. It seems, therefore, that this was a process of the interpenetration of social relations with ethics, but on the principle: *from human relations to ethics*, and then *from ethics to human relations*. If so, this would be consistent with the general view of the transformation of morality in history suggested by, among others, psychologists,

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[153] Abraham Cohen, *Talmud* (Cyklady, 2012).
[154] "Contrary to the long-held proposition that Christianity was supra-ethnic, a slate of recent publications has demonstrated how early Christian authors thought in explicitly ethnic terms and developed their own ethnic discourse even as they positioned Christianity as a universal religion." Todd Berzon, "Ethnicity and Early Christianity: New Approaches to Religious Kinship and Community," *CBR* 16 (2018): 191.

according to whom, one of the most important factors is social perception and interpersonal relationships.[155]

5.4. Conclusions

The compilation of the results in the three areas of comparison allows several important conclusions to be drawn. There is no doubt that despite their internal differentiation, the discourses of the Septuagint and the New Testament represent two different types of social relations. The basic difference concerns the different meanings of the concepts of strength, power and also the asymmetry of social relations. The primary quotient of this difference is the cratic orientation, which obtains a lower intensity in the New Testament corpus, in line with the prediction made in Hypothesis 1. Interpersonal as well as divine-human relations are described as having less saturation of features, actions and categories relating to strength–power—asymmetry. These differences can also be observed on the level of the distance emotions: the discourse of the New Testament is no longer so saturated with emotions expressing or sustaining such distance. This is true for human and human—God relationships, although the individual corpora within the Septuagint and the New Testament are quite diverse and governed by somewhat different patterns of relations. This pattern of results is not only consistent with Hypothesis 2, but also with the lower level of cratic orientation in Christian communities: the less the strength, power and domination in social relations, the less the distance and the disappearance of typical emotions (fear, shame, hatred, contempt and anger). Thus a different social reality is represented by the communities of biblical Israel and biblical Christianity. The former developed on a tribal order and then on a more or less theocratic organization of public life; the latter was far from theocracy and was strongly intertwined with the Greco-Roman world in the Mediterranean.

In addition to confirming the assumed hypotheses, there is also an interesting variation in the results for the individual/separated corpora, which can be seen as a supplement or development of the overall result. It is no coincidence that the distinguished four Old Testament corpora (Moses, Psalms, Prophetic Literature, and Historical Literature) obtained different cratism values. I have tried to explain that this is closely related to the purpose of these corpora and the different cognitive perspectives of their authors. They cover divergent subject matter and were written under conditions that seem different considering the notion of cratic orientation—it plays the smallest role in the corpus with a legal character and the most significant role in the prophetic corpus. The Old Testament discourse also reached a high value in the historical corpus; its subjects are much related to the

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[155] Kurt Gray, Liane Young and Adam Waytz, "Mind Perception Is the Essence of Morality," *PI* 23 (2012): 101–24; Mermelstein, "Love and Hate."

descriptions of wars, conflicts, and the social relations of then (often still tribal) Israel. Similarly, the New Testament discourse demonstrated the lowest cratism quotient in the historical narrative (gospels and Acts), higher in the epistolary literature, and the highest in Apocalypse. What is particularly important is that the intensity of the cratic orientation is in line with the corresponding distance emotions profile. The principle predicted in theory and then in the hypotheses that a high level of cratism (typical of dichotomous relations, power-strength preferences, inequalities) co-occurs with an increased presence of the distance emotions (anger, fear, hatred) was generally confirmed. It is difficult to determine at this stage whether there is a cause-and-effect relationship here (cratism stimulates the distance emotions or vice versa), but it is a significant relationship that sheds new light on the specificity of social life as described in the Old and New Testaments. Moreover, these correlations seem to be in line with the tradition of research in social-scientific criticism, mainly concerned with the analysis of emotions and social relations. However, the presented correlations and parallels should undoubtedly be the subject of an additional and more detailed study, whether in the light of cognitive-linguistic or traditional exegesis.

Quantitative analysis, although it appears to be an analysis at the level of words, nevertheless allows—after appropriate adaptation—approaching the biblical text from a macro perspective, enabling going beyond the detailed perspective from the level of semantics of words, sentences or pericopes, as it refers to the structural properties of the text.[156] Such a view may be necessary for a fuller understanding of the changes occurring in the ethnic community, that is the culture of Israel at the time. This is especially so when the two levels of discourse analysis (qualitative and quantitative) complement each other, which seems to be the case here.

Quantitative discourse analysis is always limited and even simplistic as it focuses only on selected linguistic elements, to some extent neglecting the semantic layer. In this case, however, the overall picture of the quantitative analyses is also consistent with the image of the transformation of social relations that can be observed in the various statements of the biblical authors, namely, in the semantic layer. The officially propagated social order reflects the linguistic properties of this discourse that are captured in this study. Such consistency also applies to the 2016 and 2019 results.[157] Moreover, the assessment of interpersonal relations in

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[156] I agree with Cynthia Westfall: "Much linguistic study has been interested in how language functions at the sentence level and below.… However in the last half of the twentieth century discourse analysis emerged as a specialized field that is interested in language above the sentence level." Cynthia Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews: The Relationship between Form and Meaning*, LNTS (T&T Clark, 2006), 12. However, the quantitative approach provides unique research opportunities for the biblical scholar, especially when incorporated into a macro-analysis.

[157] Citlak, "Group Conflicts"; Citlak, "Psychology of the Pursuit for a Sense of Power."

the Septuagint and New Testament is very similar to the results obtained by Carol Popp and her team.[158] Their research aimed to identify in detail the patterns of social relationships in the Bible. Among other things, they conclude that "relationships in the New Testament often appeared more positive than in the Torah … God's relationship with Jesus was more positive than God's relationship with Moses."[159] According to them, the description of Jesus's behavior indicates a higher level of acceptance, cooperation and willingness to help than Moses's behavior. They notice similar differences in the relations of Jews and Christians with the pagan environment: "Results were that God's … relationships were negative with people in the Torah who were non-Israelites … while relationships were positive with people in the New Testament who were not Jewish."[160]

The results correspond very well to the adopted theoretical context, namely, the evolution of social relations (see chapter 2 and section 3.2) in the light of honor, Witwicki's and Adler's theory of striving for a sense of power: the progressing evolution of social structures, increasingly complex systems of interpersonal relations, require new competencies and force the development of new, more adequate ways of achieving social position, which is not ensured by strength and domination, especially when they are understood in a literal way (as physical strength). This is also followed by changes in the area of experienced emotions, predicted not only by Witwicki and Adler but also by Kemper. The books of the Old and New Testaments cover a long period of this evolution, spanning almost one thousand five hundred years, although in this case, a comparison was made between the text corpora assigned to only two social orders: biblical Judaism and early Christianity. It is probably reasonable to say that it was possible to capture important differences between them, expressed at the level of social arrangements and relationships between people, abstracting from the theological layer. The biblical discourse can thus be regarded as a valuable source of information on the transformations of human relations, analyzed in the light of the quest for a sense of power (social power). It seems, moreover, fully in line with the tradition of social dominance research that exists in the biblical literature under the term *honor-shame codes*.[161] This type of research has repeatedly shown

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[158] Carol Popp et al., "Relationships between God and People in the Bible: A Core Conflictual Relationship Theme Study of the Pentateuch/Torah," *The Psychiatrist* 65 (2002): 179–96; Popp et al., "Relationships between God and People in the Bible: Part II. The New Testament, with Comparisons with the Torah," *The Psychiatrist* 66 (2003): 285–307; Carol Popp et al., "Relationships between God and People in the Bible, Part III: When the Other is an Outsider," *The Psychiatrist* 67 (2004): 26–37.

[159] Popp et al., "Relationships between God and People in the Bible: Part II," 285.

[160] Popp et al., "Relationships between God and People in the Bible, Part III," 26.

[161] Crook, "Honor, Shame"; Malina, *New Testament World*; Neyrey and Stewart, *Social World*.

(despite objections) that the biblical world was closely linked to the mental and cultural dichotomy of shame and honor, which is simply another term for social status and the underlying drive for social dominance.[162] This study provides empirical support not only for this research tradition, but shows that this principle (understood, of course, in the light of theories of the pursuit of a sense of power like strength, authority and social dominance) has a different application in the communities of biblical Judaism and Christianity. It enables an indication of the essential dimensions regulating life in these communities, as well as differentiation of the two types of discourse regarding the organization and perception of the social world. Not only a description of the social world but also the way it is understood by the authors of the biblical books, which prompts this study to treat the results as a complement to the knowledge of cognitive historiography[163] and the cognitive science of religion.[164]

The question can or should be asked about other possible causes of this evolution. Or rather, is it really a case of the evolution of social relations? Although the evolutionary perspective has been adopted, it cannot be entirely excluded that other factors also impacted the aforementioned changes, primarily the influence of the founders of Christianity, like Jesus or Paul. Jesus's message went beyond the social ethos of Judaism at the time (the command to love one's enemies, the negation of hatred, and the washing of the disciples' feet at the Last Supper). I think thatthe social changes and the message of the founders of Christianity both played an equally important role, although it would probably not have been possible to propagate the new teaching of Jesus so successfully in the first century CE if suitable conditions, that is the new social order, had not existed. This is all the more so because the novelty and change evident in the narratives of the Christian community are not unique or isolated in the history of Judaism. Adler's theory of the striving for a sense of power, for example, has also been used to explain the changes that Judaism underwent from biblical times to the rabbinic period.[165] In this perspective, the rabbinic tradition appears as a further stage in the humanisation of certain aspects of Judaism and its natural evolution, visible at the level of social behavior, and more precisely in the area—proclaimed by Adler—of social interest, which this religion cultivated and continues to cultivate. In light of the above, I believe that the rabbinic tradition, as well as early Christianity, can be considered as two branches of the social evolution of Judaism, and not only as

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[162] Petterson, "World of Honor."

[163] Leonardo Ambasciano, "What Is Cognitive Historiography, Anyway? Method, Theory, and a Cross-Disciplinary Decalogue," *JCH* 4 (2019): 136–50.

[164] Czachesz, *Cognitive Science*.

[165] Steven Kaplan and Lynn Schoeneberg, "Personality Theory: Rabbinic and Adlerian Paradigm," *IP* 43 (1987): 316–21; Guy Manaster, "Individual Psychology and Judaism: A Comparative Essay," *JIP* 60 (2004): 420–29.

two mutually exclusive theological traditions.[166] It may be that they have more in common than has so far been thought, but this would require additional comparative studies concerning social relations more than strictly theological issues.

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[166] Richard Watts, "Biblical Agape as a Model of Social Interest, Individual Psychology," *JATRP* 48 (1992): 35–40.

6. The Psychological Image of Jesus and His Social Relations

6.1. The Psychological Image of Jesus: Over One Hundred Years of Analysis

6.1.1. The Quest for the Historical Jesus

The psychological picture of Jesus has been debated by biblical scholars and psychologists for over a century. The analyses of his personality have become particularly popular since the development of scientific psychology and psychiatry at the beginning of the twentieth century. However, it was preceded by an extremely important polemic among German biblical scholars concerning the self-awareness of Jesus, especially the messianic consciousness, known as the First Quest for historical Jesus.[1] The breakthrough moment was the publication of a book by Hermann Reimarus in 1778 with the controversial thesis that Jesus did not consider or proclaim to be a religious messiah at all, but only a political messiah. The planned revolution failed, and his disciples, disappointed by their master's death, created an ideology secondary to the facts around his person and the myth of the resurrection. The key role here was played by the representatives of the historical school (like Ernst Renan, David Strauss), as well as the later scholars such as Wiliam Wrede[2] and even Rudolf Bultmann.[3] The First Quest gave rise in biblical scholarship to the doubt, or rather the conviction, that Jesus's self-consciousness did not include a sense of messiahship. It was also accepted that the picture of Jesus in the gospels had little in common with the historical Jesus. The gospels present a Christ of faith, namely, a religiously interpreted historical figure who was to meet the essential needs of believers after his death. The reconstruction of a historical figure became a practically impossible task, biblical

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[1] Anthony Giambrone "Schweitzer, Lagrange, and the German Roots of Historical Jesus Research," *JSHJ* 17 (2019): 121–44.

[2] William Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien: Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Markusevangelium* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901).

[3] Bultmann, *Jesus Christ and Mythology*.

scholars did not have the tools to break through the religious interpretations of the pre-Christian community. Bultmann wrote, for example, that for the Christian faith, the historical Jesus is not necessary—the key role has always been played anyway by the Christ of faith, as depicted in the gospels.[4]

The First Quest usually finishes with the figure and work of Albert Schweitzer's *Geschichte der Leben Jesu Forschung* (1906), but a new interest in the historical Jesus emerged mainly after the Second World War with the application of new methods in the study of the gospels, such as Formgeschichte, Traditionsgeschichte and Redaktionsgeschichte.[5] An important role was played by one of Bultmann's disciples, Ernst Käsemann,[6] who in 1953 challenged such deep research pessimism by emphasizing that the gospel narrative is rooted in the historical Jesus. It cannot be deprived of its historicity and be satisfied with an abstract idea of the Christ of faith. Another student of Bultmann, Hans Conzelmann, argued that the gospels lose their meaning and become incomprehensible if historical Jesus is denied his eschatological message about his messiahship. According to Conzelmann, Jesus never spoke explicitly about his messiahship; it only became evident and understandable after his death.[7] In the middle of the twentieth century, a new phase of research into the life of Jesus began in biblical studies, known as the Second Quest.[8] This period attempted to demonstrate to what extent Jesus continued Judaism and to what extent he departed from it.

> The advocates of the New Quest find themselves in a situation in which they are fighting at the same time against the theological renunciation of historical-Jesus research and against the picture of a consistency Jewish historical Jesus. The emphasis of the difference from Judaism and the stronger coherence with Christianity is thus no surprise.[9]

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[4] Craig Evans, "Assessing Progress in the Third Quest of the Historical Jesus," *JSHJ* 4 (2006): 35–54.

[5] Alrand Hultgren, "Form Criticism and Jesus Research," in *Handbook of the Study of the Historical Jesus*, ed. Thomas Holmen and Stanley Porter, vol. 1 (Brill, 2011), 649–72; Gnilka, *Jesus von Nazareth*.

[6] Ernst Käsemann, "Das Problem des historischen Jesus," *ZTK* 51 (1954): 125–53.

[7] Manfred Uglorz, *Teologia zwiastowania i czynów Jezusa* (Chrześcijańska Akademia Teologiczna, 1999).

[8] "J. M. Robinson, who gave the New Quest its name, points out that "in the scholarly tradition carried on in French or English … the life-of-Jesus research of the 19th century has continued almost without interruption until present. Similarly, H. K. McArthur presents what he calls the 'British viewpoint' which had never adopted Bultmann's radical views, rejected the label 'New Quest' and spoke instead of a Quest that had been 'resumed' or 'continued'" (Theissen and Winter, *Quest for the Plausible Jesus*, 113).

[9] Theissen and Winter, *Quest for the Plausible Jesus*, 118.

One of the major achievements of this period of research is the development of the first criteria of *ipsissima verba et facta Jesu*.[10]

Since the 1980s, there has been a certain shift towards particular interest in the socio-cultural context of Jesus's activities.[11] The picture of everyday life in Galilee and Palestine at the time has also emerged into new light through archaeology.[12] While the First and Second Quest were dominated by European biblical scholars, during this period, biblical scholars from all over the world, especially the United States, have contributed to the study. One of the most critical problems became the problem of historical memory.[13] The reconstruction of historical Jesus was based on the memory of the community; however, the memory of the community—determined by its needs and its current *Sitz im Leben*—was governed by its own laws and did not merely convey dry historical facts. Consequently, a clear distinction between the historical and the nonhistorical—the authentic and the inauthentic in the case of Jesus—became problematic. There was considerable attention devoted to sociological analyses of both the social context of Jesus's activities and the 1st century early Christian communities.[14] The problem of the psychological assessment of Jesus's personality, abandoned at the end of the First Quest following A. Schweitzer's devastating critique in 1913, returned in a new theoretical context. In the English-language literature, a group of (mainly American) biblical scholars forming the so-called Jesus Seminar, founded by the biblical scholar Robert Funk in 1985 and active at the Westar Institute until his death in 2015, was also frequently included in this line of research. In many respects, it reflected the typical characteristics of the Third Quest, although it must be

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[10] Jonathan Bernier, *The Quest for the Historical Jesus after the Demise of Authenticity: Toward a Critical Realist Philosophy of History in Jesus Studies* (T&T Clark, 2016); Stanley Porter, "The Critieria of Authenticity," in Holmen and Porter, *Handbook of the Study of the Historical Jesus*, 695–714.

[11] John Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*, 4 vols. (Yale University Press, 1991–2001); Ed Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Fortress, 1987). Geza Vermes, *Jesus the Jew: A Historian's Reading of the Gospels* (Fortress, 1981).

[12] James Charlesworth, "Should Specialists in Jesus Research Include Psychobiography?" in *Jesus Research: New Methodologies and Perceptions; The Second Princeton-Prague Symposium on Jesus Research*, ed. James Charlesworth, Brian Rhea, and Petr Pokorny (Eerdmans, 2014), 436–68.

[13] Gerhardsson Birger, *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity* (Eerdmans, 1998); Byrskog, Hakola, and Jokiranta, *Social Memory and Social Identity in the Study of Early Judaism and Early Christianity*.

[14] Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (Harper, 1991); Theissen, *Studien zur Soziologie*; Theissen, *Die Jesusbewegung*.

acknowledged that it faced severe criticism from the biblical community world-wide.[15]

6.1.2. Mentally Ill versus the Healthiest Mind of All

The development of psychology and psychiatry significantly impacted the interest of biblical and religious scholars in the personality of Jesus. The beginning of the twentieth century brought numerous such publications written by biblical scholars, psychiatrists, and psychologists. Despite the great diversity of these publications, they can be divided into two groups. The first includes interpretations in which Jesus is a seriously disturbed man,[16] the second sees him as a fully healthy man or even a model of a perfect psyche.[17] In many cases, the authors were not interested in the results of the biblical scholars' research on the self-awareness of Jesus, and treated the gospel texts according to their discretion. Albert Schweitzer criticised these works in 1913 in *Die psychiatrische Beurteilung Jesu. Darstellung und Kritik*, indicating that the gospel material, due to its specificity and limitations, makes it impossible to formulate a psychological and psychiatric diagnosis. He accused the authors of a lack of basic knowledge of the Semitic world, as well as uncritical reading into the gospels of the conceptual cliches of contemporary psychiatry. Walter Bundy[18] also took a critical stance, ascribing to them a lack of exegetical sensitivity, treating the gospels as biographies and the biblical characters as if they were social subjects of the twentieth century. The authors, with unjustified optimism and without the awareness of

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[15] John Miller, *The Jesus Seminar and Its Critics* (Polebridge, 1999); Philip Esler, "The Context Group Project: An Autobiographical Account," in Lawrence and Aguilar, *Anthropology and Biblical Studies*, 46–61; See also Anthony Le Donne, "The Third Quest in Retrospect," *JSHS* 14 (2016): 1–5; Craig Evans, "Assessing Progress in the Third Quest of the Historical Jesus," *JSHS* 4 (2006): 35–54.

[16] Binet-Sanglé, *La folie de Jésus*; George De Loosten, *Jesus Christus vom Standpunkte des Psychiaters* (Handels-Druckerei, 1905); William Hirsch, *Religion and Civilization: The Conclusions of a Psychiatrist* (Truth Seeker, 1912); Emil Rasmussen, *Jesus: Eine Vergleichende Psychopathologische Studie* (Zeitler, 1905).

[17] Stanley Hall, *Jesus the Christ in the Light of Psychology* (Page, 1917); Albert Hitchcock, *The Psychology of Jesus. A Study of Development of His Self-Consciousness* (Pilgrim, 1908); Hal Childs, *The Myth of the Historical Jesus and the Evolution of Consciousness* (Society of Biblical Literature, 2000); Francoise Dolto and Gerard Severin, *The Jesus of Psychoanalysis: A Freudian Interpretation of the Gospel* (Doubleday, 1979); Edward Edinger, *The Christian Archetype: A Jungian Commentary on the Life of Christ* (Inner City, 1987); Quentin Hyder, "On the Mental Health of Jesus Christ," *JPT* 5 (1977): 3–12; Carl Jung, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious: Collected Works*, vol. 9 (Princeton University Press, 1959).

[18] Walter Bundy, *The Psychic Health of Jesus* (Macmillan, 1922).

cultural diversity, used the classifications of mental illnesses from the textbooks of Kraepelin,[19] Bleuler,[20] and then Kretschmer.[21]

The interpretative dichotomy (healthy versus ill) dominated the twentieth century, and the representatives of both positions generally distrusted or even disliked each other. A clear breakthrough came with the aforementioned Third Quest, according to which the figure of Jesus was perceived not against the background of psychiatric classifications or early twentieth century psychology but predominantly against the background of a broader socio-cultural context while applying new achievements of social sciences such as anthropology and sociology. The perspective on the psychological evaluation of Jesus changed radically when the patterns of behavior and social relations dominant in Palestine and Judaism at the time were reconstructed. If, for example, a prophet appeared in a community, it was expected that his attitude, behavior and reactions would reflect a socially developed pattern, as in the case of a king or a priest. This pattern constituted something of a legitimising schema. Thus, if Jesus acted as a prophet or Messiah, he automatically occupied the position of someone who had to fulfil a canon of socio-religious rules and expectations, embodying the religious myth of the prophet-messiah. This phenomenon was recently described by the anthropologist Pieter Craffert, who used the concept of *shamanic figure* and *shamanic complex* to analyse the personality of Jesus.[22] This concept enables a better understanding of why many of his actions or words (despite being outside the social canon accepted by the majority of people) did not raise any major objections but instead aroused interest and appreciation. Visions, ecstatic states, a sense of greatness, and mission legitimised Jesus mainly as a divine messenger, not an ill man. Similarly, Donald Capps uses the notion of *a fictive personality* and *ideas of reference*. Ideas of reference relate to the beliefs of an ill person (for example, with paranoid schizophrenia) that certain facts from his/her environment (coincidences, events, news read) have some special meaning confirming his/her mission or unique personality. And while this is a common symptom of the illness, the situation becomes quite different when the culture supports and stimulates thinking in terms of ideas of reference, and this was the case with the messiah-prophet in Judaism.

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[19] Emil Kraepelin, *Psychiatrie: Ein Lehrbuch für Studierende und Ärzte*, Klinische Psychiatrie (Barth, 1904).

[20] Bleuler, *Lehrbuch der Psychiatrie*.

[21] Kretschmer, *Geniale Menschen*.

[22] Pieter Craffert, *The Life of a Galilean Shaman: Jesus of Nazareth in Anthropological-Historical Perspective* (Cascade, 2008). For a critical stance on this proposition, see Christian Strecker, "The Duty of Discontent': Some Remarks on Pieter F. Craffert's The Life of a Galilean Shaman; Jesus of Nazareth in Anthropological-Historical Perspective," *JSHS 11* (2014): 251–80.

> What makes Jesus' case different from contemporary diagnoses of paranoid schizophrenia and delusional disorders, however, is that ideas of reference were prevalent in Jesus' sociocultural milieu. If the sociocultural milieu itself promoted ideas of reference, what effect does this have on the psychiatrists' claim that Jesus was delusional because he believed that he was the coming Messiah referred to by the prophets?… Ideas that may appear to be delusional in one culture (for example, sorcery and witchcraft) may be commonly held in another. In some cultures, visual and auditory hallucinations with a religious content may be a normal part of religious experience (for example, seeing the Virgin Mary or hearing the God's voice).[23]

The presence of religious myth and the associated notion of *a fictive personality* or *ideas of reference* in the life of Jesus is indisputable. Moreover, it is difficult to link them to personality disorders, as Jesus displayed exceptional cognitive abilities and, very importantly, exceptional social skills,[24] quite unlike those of ill people.

6.1.3. Jewish Peasant, Illegitimate Son and the Desire for Social Status

The Third Quest opened a new chapter in the study of the life of Jesus, within which several new proposals have emerged. Above all, previously present dichotomies, such as Jesus of history versus Christ of faith or mentally ill versus perfect mind, receded into the background.[25] According to the social-scientific criticism, the personality of Jesus has emerged in a new (in my opinion convincing) interpretation, for which the notions of honor and shame seem to be a rather good framework. There is no need to discuss this cultural code again (it has been described in section 3.2), just a reminder that in the culture of Judaism, these were important dimensions of everyday life.[26] An honor-shame culture sustains a certain social order in which a given arrangement of social asymmetry or inequality is accepted as natural. There are the stronger and the weaker, the entitled and the ineligible, et cetera. Honor, dignity and social status are basic values that determine relationships within and between groups. Shame, in turn, eliminated

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[23] Donald Capps, "Beyond Schweitzer and the Psychiatrists: Jesus as Fictive Personality," in Ellens and Rollins, *Psychology and the Bible*, 4:116–17.

[24] Evan Murray, Miles Cunningham and Bruce Price, "The Role of Psychotic Disorders in Religious History Considered," *JNCN* 4 (2012): 410–26.

[25] Jens Schröter, "New Horizons in Historical Jesus Research? Hermeneutical Considerations Concerning the So-Called "Third Quest" of the Historical Jesus," in *The New Testament Interpreted: Essays in Honour of Bernard C. Lategan*, ed. Cilliers Breytenbach and Johan Punt (Brill, 2006), 71–85.

[26] Pilch and Malina, *Handbook of Biblical Social Values*; Crook, "Honor, Shame"; Lawrence, *Ethnography of the Gospel of Matthew*; Petterson, "World of Honor"; Richard Rohrbaugh, "The Social Location of the Markan Audience," in Neyrey and Stewart, *Social World of the New Testament*, 143–62.

undesirable behavior, mainly the violation of the divine and community laws. The code of honor-shame also allowed for a better understanding of the specificity of the personality of the Israelite of those times, which was dominated by the notion of the collective self. The subject remained in a close relationship with the social group (family, synagogue, tribe, nation). "Dyadic personality" is relational, constantly making social comparisons, which are necessary in the dynamics of relationships with other people in order to maintain an appropriate status and a proper place in the group.

In 1993, Dominic Crossan presented an interpretation of the person of Jesus against the background of the Mediterranean culture of the time using sociological and anthropological theories. According to Crossan, the key to understanding Jesus is the social background and the right combination of source texts (including the Apocrypha, the Gospel of Thomas). His life was set in the period of the Roman occupation and complex social hierarchisation. The order of power and the patronage system generated various forms of oppression and strong socio-psychological tensions which had to be relieved regularly in the form of revolts or uprisings. Crossan sees a similar balance of forces in Israel, with the Jews also reacting through forms of more or less armed resistance (the Zealots, the Sicarii), passive opposition from rural communities, or through the activity of bandit groups. The internal social divisions and inequalities were further experienced through the influence of the religious system and hierarchy (priesthood, temple). According to Crossan, Jesus abandons apocalyptic visions and his message develops a sapiential character. He gathers his disciples, creating the environment of an open community, a common table, and the Kingdom of God that he proclaims is a negation of the patriarchal kingdom and hierarchical patronage. It is a kingdom of nobodies, the poor, children, the homeless, social outcasts. He himself is simply a Mediterranean Jewish peasant who struggles against inequality by preaching ideals flagrantly contrary to those found in Palestine. Crossan sees in him *a peasant Jewish cynic*, following the example of the cynics-philosophers in the Greco-Roman world, who with their appearance, views and way of life expressed their opposition to what was at the heart of Mediterranean culture as well as their contempt for the ideology of honor-shame, the institution of patronage and clientelism. He also sees in him a magician who, with his ability to heal and perform miracles, proclaims full egalitarianism and equality of all people. Commenting on Crossan's work, John Meier writes: "Jesus joined this shocking behaviour to the practice of magic, which is to religion what banditry is to politics. As banditry challenges the ultimate legitimacy of political power, so magic challenges of that spiritual power."[27]

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[27] Johann Meier, "The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant," *America* (1992): 198–99.

Thus, Jesus, growing up in the rural environment of Galilee, experiencing permanent oppression and poverty, promotes a controversial social order, rapidly conflating it with the *status quo*. He does so in a provocative and "loud" way, which inevitably leads to his exclusion and death.

The rural context of Jesus's Galilean life is also used by Donald Capps in *Jesus: A Psychological Biography* from 2000. While citing analyses by Crossan, Meier, Sanders, and others, he focuses on the dynamics of Jesus's psychological experiences, which he evaluates mainly from a psychoanalytical perspective. Central to Capps's entire argument is the claim that Jesus was an illegitimate child. He did not know his physical father, while Joseph never fully accepted him, which had serious religious, social and psychological consequences: he lost the right to participate fully in the temple or cultic life, he could not inherit as the firstborn, he could not marry a Jewish woman (or this was at least complicated). Both he and his mother, Mary, became the victims of social ostracism and stigmatization. His sense of moral defilement, of being an outcast isolated from the community, and above all, his sense of rejection by his father (physical and adoptive), gave rise to his need for adoption and purification. Jesus achieves this by creating an alternative form of personal religiosity. His true father becomes Yahweh God (Abba), and the very act of adoption is performed at baptism, which also becomes an act of purification from the curse of the illegitimate son. Jesus then adopts a new identity (fictive identity), which seems to have a double dimension. On the one hand, he reveals fatalistic and utopian thinking, expressed in the belief in the kingdom of God and the coming of a better world. On the other, he is imbued with a melancholy resulting from a "loss of self" through the longstanding social status of being an illegitimate son. According to Capps, Jesus's new identity, based on the Sonship of God, is more important for understanding his message and identity than the apocalyptic tradition. Jesus is not an apocalyptic prophet or reformer. However, leaving aside the psychological complexities and the difficulty of verifying Capps's indicated psychological problems of Jesus,[28] it seems quite clear that in light of the societal assessment that he was an illegitimate child or bastard, one of the most difficult challenges he had to face was his struggle to overcome the sense of alienation, negative evaluation of the community and his quest to regain a sense of honor/status.

From this perspective, the motivational force could be formed in Jesus's childhood firstly as the "utopian-melancholic personality" and secondly as (presumably unconscious) desire to overcome the sense of social rejection, which in Adler's psychology is considered a model of striving to overcome inferiority feelings and pursuit of superiority and a sense of power. In light of Witwicki's psychology, it can be considered an expression of the cratic desire, namely, self-uplifting.

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[28] See Paul Anderson, "Capps' Jesus: A Psychological Biography," *PP* 50 (2002): 415–23; Richard Hutch, "Review and Critique of Jesus," *PP* 50 (2002): 469–74.

The illegitimate child is also a crucial category for Andries van Aarde,[29] although he distances himself from the psychoanalytic explanations since they are implausible and speculative. In his analysis of Jesus's personality, he uses a hypothetical ideal type: *the fatherless child*, which seems relevant to the Mediterranean culture and Palestine of the time and allows a better understanding of Jesus's identity. *The fatherless figure* is not the actual Jesus but a descriptive category. It is "a heuristic explanation of Jesus' behaviour of being the 'saviour' of impure outcasts, such as abandoned women and children, and of being a 'destroyer' of patriarchal values and, at the same time, calling God his father."[30]

Jesus did not have a positive relationship with his father, who was virtually absent from his life. As an illegitimate son (Hebrew: mamzer), he did not have full access to religious institutions, he was not even among the legitimate Israelites who passed on the covenant heritage to the next generation. Van Aarde additionally used the concept of *status envy*, which refers to a son's envy of his father's social status.[31] In the natural family order, the son, who spent most of his time with his mother, at some point came under his father's control, was subjected to initiation rites, and became a man and a member of the male community. Since Jesus did not have a proper relationship with his father, he did not go through this process. This left an indelible mark on his personality, which can be seen in his traits that do not conform to the stereotypical male: he is merciful, compassionate, serves others, takes the last seat at the table. Jesus's masculine identity was most likely not formed in the process of growing up, and he replaced relationship with the father by a relationship with Yahweh God, who as Abba, became his true father. And although he was socially ascribed as a fatherless son, he felt that he was Abba's son, the defender of the dignity (honor) of outcasts, abandoned women and children.[32]

While Capps and van Aarde explain Jesus's desire to change social relations by pointing to the deep layer of his psychological experiences rooted in childhood, Jay Haley tries to explain the very process of Jesus's psychological influence on the social environment. Haley, an American psychiatrist, in a work with the significant title *The Power Tactics of Jesus Christ* (1986), uses his own psychological theory applied to family therapy. The basic thesis is that both animals and humans form hierarchically organized communities and that one of the most essential aspirations of its members is to attain the highest possible positions in the power structure. Everyone uses more or less complex techniques of social influence and control. His definition of power is also the ability to influence other people and

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[29] Andries Van Aarde, *Fatherless in Galilee: Jesus as Child of God* (Trinity International, 2001).

[30] Andries Van Aarde, "Social Identity, Status Envy and Jesus' Abba," *PP* 45 (1997): 453.

[31] Van Aarde, "Social Identity," 451–72.

[32] Van Os, *Psychological Analyses*.

the course of events. Such interpretation also applies to Jesus of Nazareth, who was not only a typical Israelite embedded in the hierarchically organized environment of Palestine, but precisely as a representative of the lower social strata, strongly felt the differences of status. Because he was a man of exceptional social competence, he used various techniques to gain power and control. He was "a man with a passion to determine what was to happen in his environment."[33] One of the more effective approaches was to criticise the current power structures exercised by the religious and political establishment. Thus, he criticised the religious authorities of the time, pointed to his own new interpretation of the Torah, and offered a new type of religious community. Jesus deliberately provoked tensions and conflicts between his disciples and their authorities or families. Jesus's extensive plans to overthrow the religious authorities were to culminate in Jerusalem during the confrontation with the priests and rabbis. According to Haley, this was a well-thought-out tactic, also very common in the world of rival animals, which he called *the surrender tactic*. It resembles the fight of animals for a position within the herd, described by Konrad Lorenz, when a weaker and already defeated individual, just before receiving the final, fatal blow, suddenly exposes his neck or throat in the act of defencelessness. However, this was often a provocative act. As a result, the stronger individual in a sense of complete victory, instead of a fatal blow, usually gave the defeated one life. Haley indicates the remnants and similarities of such behavior in group conflicts, for example, among the Jews of the Roman period, when the defeated, in an act of defiance and yet helplessness, fell to the ground exposing their necks, which often led the Romans to giving life to the Jews. He also notices the analogies in the opposition of the nonmilitary Martin Luther King in the United States, or Mohandas Gandhi in India. *The surrender tactic*, central to Jesus's strategy of seizing power, was however extremely risky. As Capps says:

> [Jesus] did not intend to die but wanted to be arrested because he was pitting himself and the strength of his organization in a final power struggle with the establishment.… It would seem possible to interpret the execution of Jesus as the result of a miscalculation on his part. Who could have guessed the Sanhedrin would condemn him without evidence, that Pilate would happen to ask the crowd for a decision, and that the crown [Jesus] had never wronged would ask for his death? Even a master tactician cannot take into account all the possibilities, including chance occurrences.[34]

The aforementioned picture of Jesus, as outlined by Crossan, Caps, van Aarde, and Haley, is quite consistent and plausible, despite appearances to the contrary. First, this is a person who fulfilled the religious-cultural script assigned

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[33] Jay Haley, "The Power Tactics of Jesus Christ," in *The Power Tactics of Jesus Christ and Other Essays*, ed. Jay Haley (The Triangle, 1986), 50.
[34] Donald Capps, "Jesus as Power Tactician," *JSHJ 2* (2004): 172, 175.

to him, the script of a prophet and messiah-saviour. This script exceeded the standard canons of social behavior but was not necessarily objectionable; on the contrary, it could be evidence of divine preference and mission. Second, Jesus is seen as a representative of the rural environment of Galilee, oppressed not only by the economic conditions of the time but also by the Roman occupation. The world of Palestine generated social inequalities on many levels. These were status differences resulting from a different position in light of Jewish religious law, Roman law, or the pervasive dichotomy of honor and shame. The latter, in particular, placed Jesus (and many others) in a position of inferiority or without the right to fully participate in the religious and social life. Third, it seems very likely that the culture of honor and shame meant that Jesus, as an illegitimate son, must have experienced a sense of rejection and religious stigma in a particularly intense way. This may have significantly impacted his attitude towards religious authorities and the existing religious order, which sustained inequality and exclusion. Jesus became an enemy of this order, trying to establish a new type of social relations in which there would be room for outcasts, bastards or sinners. One can, of course, argue with Crossan's interpretation of whether Jesus was actually some Jewish village cynic, or whether he had an elaborate plan to seize power in Jerusalem, as Haley describes. However, this is not the crux of the problem. These interpretations, I assume, create a relatively coherent picture of Jesus as a person who, as a result of religious, social and psychological circumstances, experiences in his way how inadequate the social system of his time was for a large part of Jewish society; thus, he fought against this system-order. Consequently, it is also not Jesus who exudes mere gentleness or calmness. On the contrary, as Harold Ellens recently wrote:

> Jesus is not gentle, meek, or mild. He is robust, aggressive, uncompromising, incapable of negotiating his perspective on God's ways with humans, argumentative in the uttermost, abusive with people he did not like and with ideas he thought were erroneous or simply false. He was immensely tough minded, and uncompromisingly.… He never backs down, even in the face of his own pitiful demise.… He constantly and intentionally provoked conflict and disruption of the status quo, spiritually and politically.… He was that though guy from Nazareth.[35]

6.2. Power-Dominance: Jesus between the Jewish and Christian Community

The picture of Jesus above is close to the personality viewed from the perspective of cratic desires, as presented in the Lvov-Warsaw School by Witwicki based on his gospels analysis (see chapter 2). First of all, Jesus's motivation, as outlined

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[35] Ellens, "That Tough Guy from Nazareth," 1.5.7. See also James Charlesworth, "Should Specialists in Jesus Research Include Psychobiography?," 436–68; van Os, *Psychological Analyses*.

here, has very clear features of a cratic motivation—a motivation to regain a sense of power (status) to cope with his sense of rejection and his lower social status—this interpretation is similar to the explanation once given by Adler. In the case of Jesus, the striving for a sense of power should not be limited to the category of domination understood as sovereignty or physical power. Jesus with aspirations of political power certainly does not fit the gospel, and the suggestions of Jay Haley, who perceives him as a man with an elaborate plan to seize political power in Israel, are simply extreme. However, it is important to remember that the cultural embeddedness of Jesus does not allow an interpretation of his aspirations as lacking social roots. The very fact of his messianic dignity inscribes him in an arrangement of a certain asymmetry and religious power that was uniquely imbued with notions typical of cratism and such relations were more or less sustained. Moreover, the aforementioned circumstances of his birth and the consequential marginalisation of Jesus seem to have been a significant motivating factor, which may have been realised not in the form of the striving for power through physical or political power but through the striving for a sense of significance. And significance was provided by virtually all the major religious categories—prophet, messiah, saviour, Son of God. The previously described opposition of Jesus to religious authorities—or simply to representatives of the old order, which sustained or even generated social inequalities—has the features of a social cratic motivation. In this way, Jesus wants to restore to himself and others their lost status and rightful place in the community. In other words, to restore their lost sense of power. He opposes the old order, criticises the establishment, fights it, confronts it and even mocks it. Interestingly, Witwicki's psychological portrait of Jesus exposes the motif of Jesus's striving for power and position, even at the expense of other people. In many ways, it resembles Ellens's "tough guy,"[36] who was the enemy of any Israelite who did not share his beliefs, especially when it was a representative of the religious authority. However, examining the gospel narratives more closely, the situation seems more complicated and less obvious. Paradoxically, after all, as an opponent of the old order, he expressed with his views and behavior everything that was the opposite of social inequality, the pursuit of power and domination, and therefore should also be the opposite of the cratic attitude. Viewed from this perspective, a certain inconsistency arises. A similar problem can be seen in the social-scientifi criticism. The conclusions drawn from sociological-anthropological studies by Malina or Crossan concerning the social changes proposed by Jesus, although they are generally consistent with the conclusions that come from the psychological analyses of Capps, van Aarde, Haley, they ultimately seem to me to be in some mutual collision. This collision can be seen when Jesus (overthrowing the old order of power structures, social asymmetries, or oppression) was mentally embedded in the process of socio-psychological revolution, struggling and striving to regain his status. From a

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[36] Ellens, "That Tough Guy from Nazareth."

psychological perspective, Jesus was fighting something that would paradoxically be part of his personality and motivation.

I think that this ambiguity can be explained to some extent by the proposed cratic orientation, that is, to what extent Jesus perceived the world in terms of power-domination and social position (although, of course, the picture being discussed is that of Jesus as perceived by the authors of the gospels, not Jesus himself)—all the more so since the cratic orientation does not refer to the sociological-anthropological or psychoanalytic plane, but in a certain sense to the cognitive plane, since the interest is in the way the world is perceived and its linguistic expression. If the cratic orientation proves to be high, then the image of Jesus will be closer to the interpretations of Capps, van Aarde, and Haley. If not, it may be that the dynamics of his psychic tensions never received such outward expression, or that his vision of the social world was intrinsically more than mere opposition to a then rather oppressive order based on the principles of honor and shame.

In the following section, the focus will be on two issues that arise from the hypotheses adopted in chapter 4. First, on the cratic characterization of Jesus as described in the gospels—the extent to which power and social dominance figure prominently in his activities. Second, whether the cratic image of Jesus is the same in all the gospels.
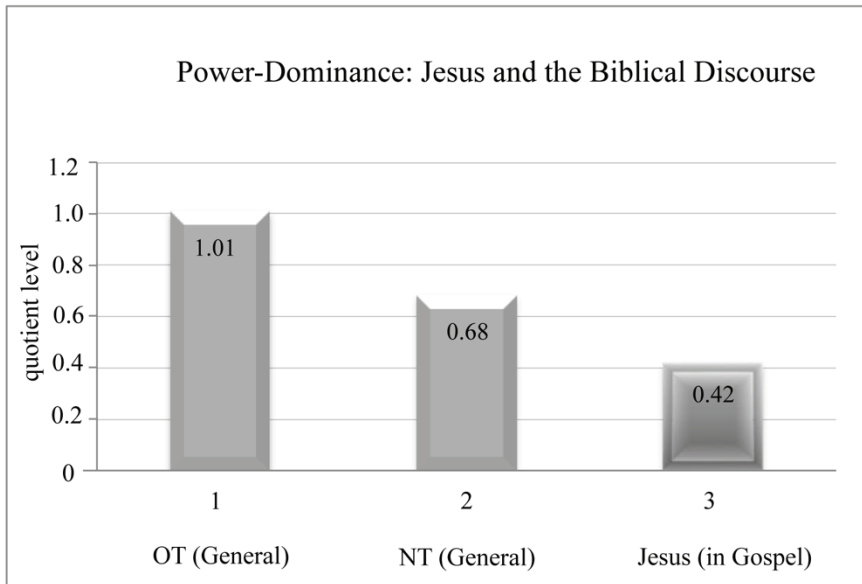
Chart 6. The Image of Jesus and Old–New Testament Discourses

Chart 6 presents the overall results for the Old (1.01) and New Testament (0.68) and also Jesus (0.42). In the case of Jesus, the object of the analysis was all his statements contained in the four canonical gospels of the New Testament, as well as the description of his behavior provided by the author of a given gospel or by others who saw him as a prophet, or messiah. In practice, this accounts for around 70 percent of the entire textual corpus of a given gospel. The remaining parts of the gospels, which are not considered here, include statements of his opponents (Pharisees, Jews), descriptions of passion (behavior of soldiers, Pilate), and descriptions of other people (for example, Mary, Elizabeth, John's baptism, people healed). The results for all four gospels were summarized as one overall result in the form of a quotient calculated in the same way as before (number of lines with a cratic linguistic element to the number of lines without a cratic element). The result is unambiguous: the cratic orientation of Jesus is the lowest, but most importantly—and also most interestingly—lower than the overall cratic orientation score for the New Testament. This means that Jesus's way of perceiving and understanding social relations deviated strongly from the social order outlined by the religious discourse of the Septuagint. The level of the cratic orientation is over twice as low here. Moreover, Jesus's understanding of social relations differs strongly from the patterns of these relations favored by the first century Christian communities and depicted in the books of the New Testament. Considering that Jesus's activity and teaching predate the emergence of the New Testament discourse, it seems clear that his perspective of the social world was revolutionary in relation to the current order in Judaism and only partially reflected in early Christian communities. The language of these communities is more saturated with cratic terminology (the differences between all three results are statistically significant). I believe there to be only one explanation for this: the social order propagated by Jesus differed so strongly from that conveyed in the canonical books of Judaism and reflected so much the ethos of the itinerant contesting preacher, that it could not be fully reflected in the Christian communities after his death. Jesus promoted a certain ideal state, behaved in a way that destabilised the balance of power in Judaism and preached principles that could be practised in an itinerant community, a community of early disciple-apostles and a very narrow circle of followers. However, when they were introduced into urban communities in Palestine or elsewhere in the Mediterranean, the traditional pattern of social relations and power order came into play.[37] The first Christians also lived in Syria,

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[37] To quote Edwin Judge again: "While Christianity originated in Galilee, it flourished in the great cosmopolitan cities of eastern Mediterranean. The New Testament is itself the product of this shift.… Apart from the Jerusalem group, however, the Christians known form the New Testament were practically all drawn from communities living under civil institutions of the republican kind." They "lived under the Hellenistic social institutions and largely shared in the common tradition of civilization" (Judge, "Social Pattern of the Christian," 5).

Asia Minor, and Italy, where social relations directly influenced Christian community relations. In short, Jesus represented and created a type of social relations radically different from the *status quo* of the time. This result is certainly in line with Crossan and Malina's analyses. In a sense, Jesus's social attitude was anti-social; it did not fit very well into the scheme of human relations of the time. It should be remembered that the cratic orientation remains relatively independent from theological issues and involves a certain style of cognitive perception (more precisely: linguistic description) of reality, which in the case of Jesus is no longer so strongly saturated with the dichotomy of master–servant, strong–weak, be above–be below, rule–be subject, humiliate–exalt. It is a far more egalitarian world of less dichotomy, asymmetry, dependence and power relations. The concepts so far central to both the Israelite and the Mediterranean culture, such as power, strength, social position or domination, are relegated to the margins. Evangelical examples of this way of thinking abound in the speeches of Jesus, and this is most clearly reflected in his words to his disciples "No longer I call you servants … but I have called you friends" (John 15:15), or "whoever desires to be first among you, let him be your slave" (Matt 20:27). I think that this result also confirms one of the more frequently repeated claims of Malina and the representatives of the social-scientific criticism, namely, that Jesus with his attitude and teaching stood in opposition to the prevailing *honor-shame code* of the time, or rather, in opposition to the culturally recognised way of upholding honor and avoiding shame.[38]

The individual's social position was determined above all by the family and the community. These took priority, as did its members' dignified, honorable behavior. In the gospels, however, Jesus is seen as someone whose behavior contravened the established order of the hierarchy of power, and even the family order.[39] He healed the sick on the Sabbath, did not perform ritual washing before meals, forgave sins regardless of the sacrificial system and worship in the temple. These actions were often a clear violation of the traditions of the elders, which aroused the opposition of the rabbis and the anxiety of the family. However, Jesus placed himself and his disciples entirely outside the "public court of reputation,"[40] uttering words that were shocking in that culture:

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[38] Rick Talbott, "Nazareth's Rebellious Son: Deviance and Downward Mobility in the Galilean Jesus Movement," *BTB* 38 (2008): 99–113; Watson, *Honour among Christians*; Van Eck, "Mission, Identity and Ethics in Mark"; Bruce Malina and Richard Rohrbaugh, *Social-Science Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels* (Fortress, 1992); Malina and Rohrbaugh, *Social-Science Commentary on the Gospel of John* (Fortress, 1998).

[39] Krecidlo, *Honor i wstyd*; Marshall, *Jesus, Patrons, and Benefactors*.

[40] Crook, "Honor, Shame"; Bruce Malina, "Is There a Circum-Mediterranean Person: Looking for Stereotypes," *BTB* 22 (1992): 66–87.

> Who is My mother or My brothers? And He looked around in a circle at those who sat about Him, and said, Here are My mother and My brothers! For whoever does the will of God is My brother and My sister and mother. (Mark 12:33–35)

Thus, he creates a new community, which will define religious standards and new social relation. Its superior is the Father-God, and its mediator is Jesus. The same motif of opposition to the religious-social *status quo* can be seen in the disputes in the temple. The problem of authority and power is particularly highlighted by the challenge posed to Jesus by the Pharisees "By what authority [ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ] are You doing these things? And who gave You this authority [τὴν ἐξουσίαν]?" (Matt 21:23).

Jesus does not deny the validity of the question of his authority itself, but he publicly discredits his adversaries with a question about the religious authority of John the Baptist. According to the gospel, any answer leads to their public discredit. By claiming that he was self-serving, they will lose authority in the eyes of the crowd. In contrast, by claiming that he was a messenger of God, they should accept his activity, which quite subtly contested the position of the priests, opening space for a new order with an unclear position of the religious establishment and the institution of the temple.

Such examples show that there was a viable basis for creating a new language describing new social relations in vertical and horizontal dimensions. The blessings from the Sermon on the Mount are significant in this context, especially their parallelistic construction. Μακάριοι they do not mean here "blessed." This is not the typical word of blessing known from the Old Testament, in which the blessing בְּרָכָה / εὐλογία usually had to do with the promise of God and, at the same time, the granting of power to human (see Gen 27:22–30; 32:24–30; 2 Sam 6:17–18). Jesus's blessings are not words of power and have no ritual, cultic context.[41] In Luke's version, the opposite of the μακάριοι is the οὐαί ("woe"/"woe to you"):

> Blessed [μακάριοι] are you **poor** … But woe [οὐαί] to you who are **rich**. (Luke 6:20a.24a)

> Blessed [μακάριοι] are you who **hunger** now … Woe [οὐαί] to you who are **full**, for you shall hunger. (Luke 6:21a, 25a; see Luke 6:21b, 25b; 6:22–23, 26)

This οὐαί as the opposite of μακάριοι, is a public expression of disapproval, similar to Jesus's public criticism of the cities of Israel:

> **Woe** [οὐαί] to you Chorazin! Woe to you Bethsaida! For if the mighty works which were done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon they would have

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[41] Neyrey, *Honor and Shame in the Gospel of Matthew*.

repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. And you Capernaum, who are **exalted to heaven**, will be brought **down to Hades**. (Matt 11:21, 23a)

In Luke, the following are simultaneously juxtaposed μακάριοι with οὐαί in the form of an antithesis, whereas in Matthew, μακάριοι is addressed to the disciples of Jesus, a οὐαί to enemies, for example the Pharisees (Matt 23).[42] The recipients of "blessings" are "the poor" (πτωχοί), "the meek" (πραεῖς), "persecuted" (δεδιωγμένοι) (Matt 5:3, 5, 6, 10). They represent social poverty, which will pass in the new kingdom of Jesus, contrary to the current rules governing power relations and hierarchy.[43]

Thus, according to Jesus's teaching, honor could be attained regardless of the order in force at the time. Limited goods, such as a place and recognition in the community, membership of the chosen people, and even a blessing, suddenly became, in his words, unlimited goods to which everyone could have access—even those at the bottom of the social hierarchy: outcasts, the poor, sinners, the excluded from society. "Obviously then the honour granted comes from God, not from the usual social sources."[44] The whole life of Jesus was to be (according to the gospels) the clearest example of that fact, demonstrating the unlimited source of status and honor available to every human being, regardless of the prevailing structures of social or religious authority or tradition. This source is the God full of mercy and forgiveness, the God of the poor, orphans and the rejected.[45]

The reversal of the previous dependencies automatically changed the perspective of self versus stranger, or rather who is self and who is a stranger. If everyone could benefit from these goods, everyone could also become a member of the new community, and everyone should be treated in the same way, that is, as a neighbour. This also had a direct impact on the changing meaning of hate and love. As mentioned in chapter 5, when analyzing the evolution of the concept of hatred and the new meaning of love also directed towards enemies, which made little sense in the light of the Old Testament Judaism and was a practically absent phenomenon. The dichotomy of hatred versus love reflected unambiguous group divisions between self and stranger, and these boundaries became fluid in Jesus's teaching.[46] Jesus forbids retaliation, expresses in imperative form the principle of love of enemies, prays for his tormentors on the cross, and calls his disciples friends. These were qualitative changes, expressed, among other things, by quantitative language changes.

The result presented in chart 6 also captures a somewhat different aspect of the transformations at the interface between the Judaism of the time and nascent

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[42] France, *Gospel of Matthew*; Krecidło, *Honor i wstyd*.

[43] Malina, *Social World of Jesus*.

[44] Malina and Rohrbaugh, *Social-Science Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels*, 47.

[45] Neyrey, *Honor and Shame*; France, *Gospel of Matthew*.

[46] Krecidło, *Honor i wstyd*.

Christianity. If the honor-shame code is still visible in the New Testament narrative (if only in the form of polemics), the accompanying cratic perception of social reality, which has been proposed here, changes radically. While the change that Jesus introduces concerns how to deal with the lost honor and overcome the shame, as Malina, Crossan, Capps, and van Aarde argue, it also concerns a somewhat different dimension—the understanding of social relations in terms of power and domination, and the legitimacy of such relations in general. In other words, it concerns the essence of the social relations of the time. The essence of this change cannot be reduced merely to Jesus's proclamation of an old cliché in a new community of disciples (a new family) in which lost honor can be achieved or regained. If considering that Jesus was creating, for example, a surrogate family that "quickly transcended the normal categories of birth, social status, education, wealth, and power," then although the surrogate family was becoming "a place of refuge,"[47] it was ultimately something more. The new community was a place where completely different social relations were to apply both horizontally (human-to-human) and vertically (human-to-God). These were to be the relations in which the notions of power, force and asymmetry did not play so important role. Other constellations of emotions also dominated these relationships, as we saw in charts 4 and 5. Even if the cliche of basic concepts taken from the religious-social tradition of Judaism remains in the new community, their constellation, intensity and meaning are different. The result of the quantitative analysis is of course concerned with quantitative changes, but it reflects the wider mental perspective noticed in the evangelical corpus, ascribed by the evangelists to Jesus and his disciples. The differences between the social ethos of biblical Judaism and biblical Christianity seem reminiscent of the differences between the ancient and modern world of Mediterranean culture. Although the honor-shame code can be used in both cases, the mental and social differences are such that it is necessary to discuss qualitative changes and, consequently, qualitatively different relationships between people. Based on these conclusions, I also think that chart 6 gives a fuller insight into the differences presented by charts 3 and 5. This is because it allows for the recognition that the differences in social relations between the communities of first-century Judaism and Christianity were not only the result of historical-cultural changes, but were primarily due to the revolutionary influence of Jesus himself. Such a major shift in the perception of horizontal and vertical social relations could not have occurred without making a clear impact upon the shape of the future community of his disciples, as is seen in the remaining books of the New Testament.

The low level of cratic orientation (power-dominance) in the gospel picture of Jesus also shows that the rather rebellious and even belligerent attitude of Jesus towards the authorities and the socio-religious order proposed by Capps, van Aarde and Haley is not visible in the frequency analysis. It is a reminder that a

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[47] Malina and Rohrbaugh, *Social-Science Commentary*, 101.

similar attitude, as observed in the Old Testament prophets, obtained a very clear linguistic expression in the form of high cratic orientation scores in the prophetic corpora. Perhaps, then, Jesus was a religious reformer not so much in the character of a prophet as in the character of a teacher-master, closer to the sapiential tradition (similar to Capps in this respect).[48] It may also be that his social revolution (for that is what it can be called) simply appeals to a different language to describe social reality. It is worth adding here that the vocabulary central to the concept of honor, which is indicated by Louv and Nida in the *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains* (item 87, in particular τιμή, τιμάω, τίμιος, δόξα, δοξάζω, στέφανος, υψόω, ὕψιστος, ἐπάνω, πρῶτος, δυνατός, ἰσχυρός), also does not obtain very high frequencies in the gospel accounts of Jesus; they are generally lower than in the corpus of the Old and, unusually, the New Testament. This is a pretty clear indication that Jesus's social message, although rooted in the mental tradition of the Judaism of the time, diverges from it both in terms of cratic thinking and the meaning of honor and shame. And it must be remembered that a cratic orientation is not the same as honor, since the conceptual core of the former is force, power, domination, and only then the resulting asymmetry of relationships. The concept of honor, however, despite referring to asymmetry, is primarily due to social status and social evaluation. Personally, I think that the reconstruction and creation of new social relations by Jesus, may have later gone in two directions: (1) fostering the negation and rejection of the main concepts expressing relations of power, domination, status, and consequently the marginalisation or social alienation of his disciples in the Judaism or Mediterranean world of the time; (2) paradoxically fostering the stabilisation of these concepts, if the message of Jesus was understood as indicating new ways of dealing with the sense of disgrace and achieving/maintaining honor. As history shows, the early Christian tradition does not seem to have abandoned this cultural code, quite the contrary, all the more so because it was fostered by the structurally complex world of the Mediterranean culture, still upholding the honor-shame code[49] in which communities of disciples had to find their place.

Attempts to reconstruct historical Jesus in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries perceived him as a political messiah—a lost revolutionary. Later, the image was drawn of a man rejected by his family and society, who tried to regain his lost social status and honor in an original way. The Christian tradition, however, depicts the Son of God, the Messiah, who has always had authority and divine power

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[48] Craig Evans, "Prophet, Sage, Healer, Messiah and Martyr: Types and Identities of Jesus," in Holmen and Porter, *Handbook of the Study of the Historical Jesus*, 1217–44.

[49] This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by a preliminary assessment of the frequency of the vocabulary of honor and status, indicated by Louv and Nida (*Greek-English Lexicon*, item 87), which in many cases obtains higher frequencies in New rather than Old Testament corpora. However, this would require a separate detailed study with attention also being paid to postbiblical literature, especially the apostolic fathers.

over the world. In each of these cases, a man is seen as having a life status, power, and authority (politically, religiously, socially) that are inalienable elements. The comment of Capps, who describes Jesus "as a man who was oriented towards power and used it skilfully," is rather significant in this context. Indeed, this "skilfully" seems to be the key to understanding what took place in his life and activity. The overtly proclaimed message, at least on the level of linguistic behavior, does not match the discourse of a prophet, a rebel or a revolutionary. It creates a new narrative about the relationship between people. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the evangelical image of Jesus is not suspended in a vacuum, it remains in context and dependent on the Old Testament tradition. The cratic orientation, which includes a relatively rich set of words, does not disappear completely from the vocabulary of Jesus. Although the value of the quotient is decreasing significantly, this type of vocabulary is still present here. An important role is still played by κρατέω, ἡ δόξα, δοξάζω, ὁ δοῦλος, ἡ δύναμις, ἡ ἐξουσία, ἡ προσκύνησις, εὐλογέω, προσκυνέω, δέω, δυναμόω, δυνατός, μέγας/μείζων–μικρός, πρῶτος–ἔσχατος, not mentioning ὁ κύριος, or ἡ βασιλεία. The importance of these words derives not only from their presence in the teaching of Jesus but also from the meaning given to them in the gospels. The cratic way of thinking about the socio-religious world, based on the dichotomy of force and power, does not disappear entirely here; it is nevertheless present in Jesus's statements, for example:

> for everyone who exalts himself will be humbled, and he who humbles himself will be exalted. (Luke 18:14)

> The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at my right hand, till I make Your enemies Your footstool. (Matt 22:44)

> And I bestow upon you a kingdom, just as my Father bestowed one upon me, that you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel. (Luke 22:29–30; see Matt 19:28)

An objective evaluation of how centered the image of Jesus is around notions of power, status and domination does not depend so much on a qualitative or a quantitative assessment of his utterances alone, but above all, on the point of reference. If this is the religious language of the Old Testament in the form of the Septuagint, then the concept of power and domination, expressed *expressis verbis*, has receded far into the background. However, if judged from the perspective of a modern audience, this is not the case, and perhaps the concept even played a more significant role than in contemporary religious discourse. The essence of the difference between the language of the Septuagint and that of Jesus thus lies in a different conceptualisation of social reality, in which the traditional values of power, strength and status could be achieved in a different set of relations or hierarchies, leading to a new language of expressed and cultivated values.

6.3. Power-Dominance and Social Closeness

Is the above picture of Jesus the same in the individual gospels? The question seems all the more pertinent because they were written in the decades of the first century after Jesus's death—a period of very dynamic interaction between Christians and the gentile and Jewish environment. The process of systematic detachment from the religious and social structures of Judaism, as well as attempts to establish relations with the gentile world, had a direct impact on: (1) the weakening of theocratic relations in the community, (2) greater susceptibility to the socially and ideologically complex world of Greco-Roman culture. The gospels are not simply a record of Jesus's words and actions, but an interpretation of them, adapted to the needs of the Christian community in a given place and time.[50] According to Stanley Stowers, describing the specificity of the gospel, claims that these texts reflect the community in two ways:

> First, the author's 'theology' might be seen as the thought that was created or developed in a particular community, the theology that defined and differentiated the community from other communities. Here, the writer is the voice of the group. Second, the writer might be seen as composing a story about Jesus that in almost every detail addresses issues and needs of a particular community. The Gospels are almost like allegories about communities.[51]

In Hypotheses 3 and 4, it has been assumed that this image will be different for the Synoptic and John's traditions, namely, John's Jesus will be a figure with a lower level of cratic thinking and a higher intensity of emotions of closeness. The evangelist will describe Jesus as if he shared a lower social distance with him. These hypotheses stemmed from the assumption of the cognitive and narrative perspective adopted by the gospel authors concerning the subjective sense of closeness towards Jesus described earlier. I think that this main line of reasoning can be further supplemented by a perspective derived from the data presented in chart 6. One should also consider the impact that a general change in social relations in the dynamically changing community of first century CE Christians may have had on the image of Jesus. Two indicators were used for the quantitative analysis of the image of Jesus in the gospel corpus: power-dominance quotient and affinity quotient (internal state). The results are as follows:

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[50] Gerd Theissen, *Urchristliche Wundergeschichten: Ein Beitrag zur formgeschichtlichen Erforschung der synoptischen Evangelien* (Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2001); Darrell L. Bock, *Studying the Historical Jesus: A Guide to Sources and Methods* (Baker Academics, 2002); Evans, "Prophet, Sage, Healer."

[51] Stanley Stowers, "The Concept of 'Community' and the History of Early Christianity," *MTSR 23* (2011): 240.

Power-Dominance and Affinity
(Jesus in the Four Gospels)

A bar chart with y-axis labeled "quotient level" ranging from 0 to 0.6. X-axis categories:

	1 Mark	2 Matthew	3 Luke	4 John
Power-Dominance	0.4	0.52	0.49	0.34
Affinity	0.24	0.18	0.15	0.26
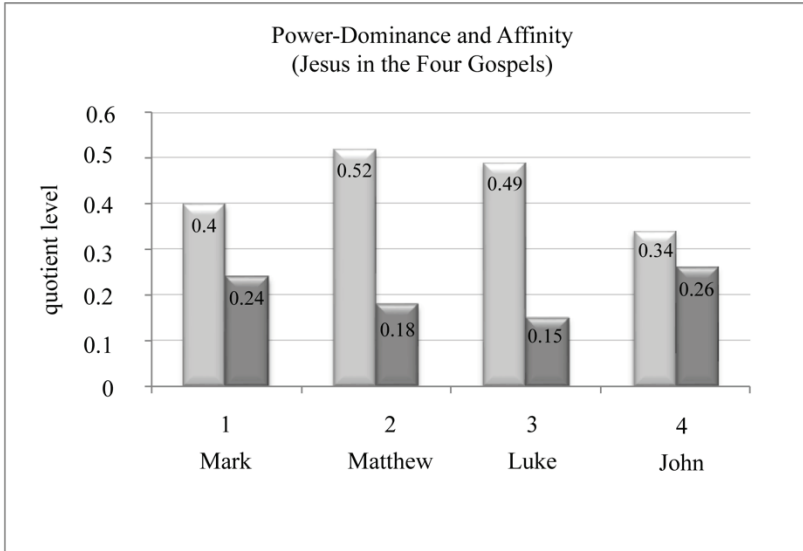
Chart 7. Power-Dominance and Affinity in the Linguistic Description of Jesus in the Four Gospels
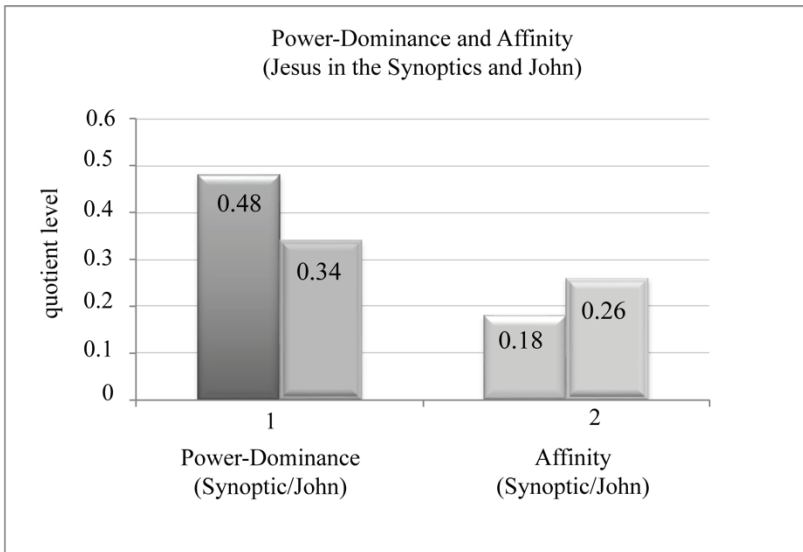
Power-Dominance and Affinity
(Jesus in the Synoptics and John)

A bar chart with y-axis labeled "quotient level" ranging from 0 to 0.6. X-axis categories:

	1 Power-Dominance (Synoptic/John)	2 Affinity (Synoptic/John)
Synoptic	0.48	0.18
John	0.34	0.26

Chart 8. Power-Dominance and Affinity in the Linguistic Description of Jesus in John and Synoptic Tradition

Chart 7 shows two results for each gospel: the left bar as the power-dominance quotient (cratism) and the right bar as the affinity quotient. Cratism denotes the proportion of verses with a cratic linguistic element to the number of noncratic verses describing the person of Jesus in a given gospel. The affinity quotient expresses the proportion of verbs denoting Jesus's actions-behavior to verbs denoting Jesus's sensations, feelings or inner states. However, they include only those descriptions of Jesus in which he heals the sick or the possessed (Mark 1:21–34; 40–45; 2:1–12; 3:1–12; 5:1–43; 6:53–56; 7:24–37; 9:14–29; 10:46–52; Matt 8:1–17; 8:28–34; 9:1–38; 12:9–14; 15:21–31; 17:14–21; 20:29–34; Luke 4:31–44; 5:12–26; 7:1–17; 8:26–56; 9:37–42; 13:10–17; 14:1–6; 17:11–19; 18:35–43; John 4:43–54; 5:1–18; 9:1–41; 11:1–44). The construction of the quotient is based on Semin and Fiedler's simplified model of linguistic categories, presented in chapter 4. In this case, the aim was to juxtapose verb forms in such a way that they could indicate the gospel author's greater or lesser interest in what Jesus experienced and witnessed in the context of his relationship with the healed. Therefore, the higher the numerical value of the quotient, the more often in the description of Jesus's activity appear verbs describing his experiences, for instance, he was angry, he cried, he was moved, he met (this group also includes the verbs "saw" and "heard" which cover the sphere of sensory experience). The increase in the value of the quotient is treated here as a symptom of the author's tendency to bring the recipients of the text closer to the figure of Jesus (hence the name "affinity quotient"). Both quotients form an interesting picture.

First, the lowest value of the power-dominance quotient is for the image of Jesus in the Gospel of John (0.34), it is slightly higher in the Gospel of Mark (0.40), and highest in the Gospels of Matthew (0.52) and Luke (0.49). Although the Synoptic Gospels have values generally higher than John's, the low power-dominance score in Mark's is noteworthy. Mark is most likely the first chronologically canonical gospel, written perhaps as early as the 60s of the first century, and was later used by Luke and Matthew when writing their gospels in the 80s of the first century.[52] Of all the gospels, it is Mark's that presents Jesus as the least focused on the notions of force, power and domination. This image seems to be a good complement to the results presented in chart 6, in which the overall image of Jesus in the gospels has a score lower than those of the Old and New Testaments. I suggested at the time that this result might indicate that the message of Jesus, and the change in social relations that he preached, might have been so revolutionary and far-reaching that his followers in a later period (the period in which the books of the New Testament were written) might nevertheless have again approached the standards of social life commonly prevailing in Judaism and the pagan world, above all, the prevailing divisions and hierarchies of power. Or

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[52] France, *Gospel of Matthew*; Thompson, "Luke–Acts," 319–43; Bock, *Studying the Historical Jesus*.

at least, it may have been more difficult for them to retain the revolutionary character of their master's message while trying to find their way in the world of the time many years later.[53] Chart 7 seems to confirm this: the oldest picture of Jesus presented by Mark is indeed characterized by the lowest level of cratism. This picture has already been subtly modified after twenty or thirty years: Matthew's and Luke's Jesus displays a higher level of dominance and power orientation (or the image of Jesus comes slightly closer to the social relations we know from the Septuagint). Matthew's and Luke's *Sitz im Leben* was, moreover, much more strongly aligned with the developed and stable early Christian community than Mark's *Sitz im Leben*.[54] John's Jesus differs from this picture, however, whose orientation to power and domination is the lowest of all four gospels.

Second, the affinity quotient obtained values exactly opposite to the power-dominance quotient: Mark–0.24, Matthew–0.18, Luke–0.15 and John–0.26. Generally, it is the case that the higher the power-dominance quotient, the lower the affinity quotient. The proportion is inversely proportional (similar to the chart 4). This was the assumption of Hypotheses 3 and 4: the greater the focus on power and dominance, the greater the asymmetry, distance and reduction of affinity. Cratic Jesus seems to distance himself from the reader; he is seen mainly as a powerful healer with a smaller spectrum of inner experiences. Conversely, the weaker the cratism, the fuller, closer the image of Jesus, showing more personal experiences in relation to the other people in need of help. The two indicators thus complement each other and form a consistent pattern of results. Among the synoptic gospels, Mark's Jesus shows a lower level of cratism and a higher level of affinity than the Jesus of Matthew and Luke. However, it must be admitted that the differences are not large.[55] John's Jesus is different: showing the lowest level of cratism and the highest value of sense of affinity.

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[53] Theissen, *Die Jesusbewegung*; Margaret Mitchell, "Gentile Christianity," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, ed. Margaret Mitchell and Frances Young (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 103–24; Arthur Droge, "Self-Definition vis-à-vis the Graeco-Roman World," in Mitchell and Young, *Cambridge History of Christianity*, 230–44.

[54] Schuyler Brown, "The Matthean Community and the Gentile Mission," *NT* 22 (1980): 193–221; Chris Keith, "The Narratives of the Gospels and the Historical Jesus: Current Debates, Prior Debates and the Goal of Historical Jesus Research," *JSNT* 38 (2016): 426–55; Joachim Gnilka, *Das Matthausevangelium I* (Herder, 1986).

[55] This result does not change the fact that Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John construct stories about Jesus according to their theological concepts, giving them a very original character. For example, the Gospel of Luke exposes Jesus's relationship with the social environment, especially his empathy (Eben Scheffler, "Empathy for the Psychological Underdog: A Positive Psychological Approach to Luke's Gospel," *HTS* 70 [2014]: 1–9). Our analysis, however, is about a more fundamental dimension of the description of Jesus, which the authors could suitably develop. The Semin-Fiedler linguistic category model uses a general category of verbs describing internal states without differentiating what states mean.

Third, if the synoptic gospels are approached together as the expression of a common textual tradition with both linguistic and ideological interdependencies,[56] a more coherent picture of results emerges, as is presented in chart 8. This allows us to conclude that the four gospels present two slightly different images of Jesus of Nazareth. The first is contained in the Synoptic tradition, with the power-dominance of Jesus reaching 0.48 and the affinity being 0.18. The second picture is presented in the Gospel of John, with the power-dominance of Jesus reaching 0.34 and an affinity level of 0.26.[57] The differences between them are also statistically significant (see appendix 2). The dissimilarity of the image of Jesus in the Synoptic and John's traditions is strongly perceptible even in the cursory, subjective reading of these gospels. The theological assumptions in the Synoptic and Johannine traditions are also important: various narrative perspectives, thematic and literary structures and even a theological language or ethical problems. From such a perspective, the picture of Jesus must also have been different. What is new, however, is the identification of some differences at the level of dominance-power and social proximity, as well as at the level of structural properties of the gospel discourse. John's Jesus is less focused on the notions of power, force or domination, and forms a closer relationship with his disciples with less asymmetry and hierarchy of power. He seems closer to other people to whom he shows interest and help. Thus, there are, in fact, two images of Jesus, each of which forms different relationships with the social environment.

Fourthly, it is interesting that the image of Jesus in Mark's gospel is not the same as in Matthew's and Luke's gospels. Indeed, the Jesus of Mark (0.40; 0.24) is very similar to the Jesus of John (0.34; 0.26). If the results for the gospels of Mark and John and also of Matthew and Luke are combined, the following results are obtained:

     1. the Jesus of Mark-John: power-dominance 0.36, affinity 0.25
     2. the Jesus of Matthew-Luke: power-dominance 0.51, affinity 0.14

The result suggests a large dynamic of change in the image of Jesus over several decades, from the 60s to the late 90s of the first century CE. These are probably closely related to the dynamics of changes in social interaction among the early Christians, although verification of such an assumption would require more extensive historical-linguistic analyses. Not only were the gospels of Matthew and Luke written later than the Gospel of Mark, but they were also addressed to more

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[56] Mark Goodacre, *The Synoptic Problem: A Way through the Maze* (T&T Clark, 2001); Keith, "Narratives of the Gospels and the Historical Jesus," 426–55.

[57] For the elementary, basic cratic vocabulary, the result for the entire synoptic gospels is 0.29; for the Gospel of John, it is 0.23.

formed communities.[58] In the case of Matthew's gospel, the recipient was most likely the Matthean community and the Matthean church.[59] In both of these gospels, inter alia, the theme of Christology and ecclesiology, which are in their early stages in Mark's gospel, is more developed. Matthew and Luke represent a later stage in the development of the community in the Jewish and gentile worlds, and thus in the world of honor-shame that had been so strongly contested by Jesus decades earlier.

The second half of the 1st century was a period of dynamic changes in pre-Christianity. The split with Judaism was a tumultuous and painful process, beginning with the death of Jesus, followed by growing antagonism, the exclusion of Jesus's followers from the synagogue and ending with the Counsil of Jamnia.[60] Just over sixty years radically changed the position of Jesus's disciples, who had lost their connections with the religious institutions of their fathers. In contrast, entry into the Greco-Roman world forced the construction of an identity with a place for pagan converts. Each successive decade of the first century, evidenced in the New Testament literature, clearly reveals the Christians' increasing self-awareness and sense of distinctiveness. Paradoxically, this was facilitated by the growing resentment of the Roman authorities and Jewish communities.[61] Despite missionary successes, the relations with the world were subject to negativisation, which had a profound effect on relationships within Christian communities and their way of thinking about the world.[62] The growth of the communities generated

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[58] Accepting the opinion of most biblical scholars, the Gospel of Matthew is addressed to the Jewish-Christian community (probably Antioch in Syria), the Gospel of Luke to the gentile-Christian community or gentile-Jewish (Achaia, Macedonia or Asia Minor), the Gospel of Mark to the gentile-Christian or Judeo-Christian community (perhaps in Rome). Goodacre, *Synoptic Problem*; Theissen, *Urchristliche Wundergeschichten*.

[59] It is usually assumed that the Matthean Community, with strong Jewish-Christian influences, was going through a severe crisis related to the fall of Jerusalem, the temple and the failure of missions among the Jews. In practice, this also meant a problem of religious authority. The Gospel of Matthew testifies to separation from Judaism (for example, "rejection of Israel"—Matt 21:43; 22:8; "your synagogues"—Matt 9:35; 10:17; 12:9) and tensions with the religious establishment. The Jewish-Christian community formed a strong faction favoring Torah faithfulness, which clashed with Universalism and gentile-Christian groups. In-Cheol Shin, "The Matthean Community's State of Coexistence Between Jews and Gentiles," *HTS* 75 (2019); 1–8; Anders Runesson, "Rethinking Early Jewish—Christian Relations: Matthean Community History as Pharisaic Intragroup Conflict," *JBL* 127 (2008): 95–132; Stark Rodney, "Antioch as the Social Situation for Matthew's Gospel," in *Social History of the Matthean Community,* ed. David L. Balch (Fortress, 1991), 189–210.

[60] Dunn, *Parting of the Ways*; Shanks, *Partings*; Wardle, *Jerusalem Temple*.

[61] Droge, "Self-Definition"; Judith Lieu, "Self-Definition vis-à-vis the Jewish Matrix"; Mitchell "Gentile Christianity."

[62] The image of non-Christian Jews becomes increasingly negative from Mark through Matthew to John. This is shown by the Linguistic Category Model (Citlak, "Problem

numerous challenges, which is also known from the epistolary literature. First and foremost was the problem of maintaining fidelity to the teachings of Jesus and the apostles as well as maintaining order and discipline. The management of the communities became one of the more pressing problems; complex responsibilities had to be shared, and a certain hierarchy of authority had to be established. There is no need to describe exactly how this process evolved, it is traceable in the epistles of the New Testament and the Acts and is also widely described in biblical literature.[63] Communities required changes at the administrative level, efficient governance and a clear hierarchy of authority. All the more so as the problem of apostolic authority (2 Cor 11–12; Gal 1:11–2:10), the credibility of alternative groups, or incompatible interpretations of the gospel (1 Cor 3:1–9; Gal 1:6–10; 1 Tim 1:3–11; 4:1–11; 6:3–5; 2 Tim 2:16–3:6; Titus 1:10–16; 2 Pet 2:1–22; 1 John 2:18–29; 4:1–6; Jude 3–23) quickly emerged. Mutual disagreements led to division, prejudice and even exclusion. The canonical gospels are also embedded in this dynamic, and to some extent, they reflect the transformations mentioned above. On the one hand, there is an intense relationship with the world of the traditional honor model (Greco-Roman and Jewish worlds), and on the other, the need for hierarchy, discipline and apostolic authority.[64]

In other words, the changes in social relations evident in the later gospels tended to result in a more structured and ordered hierarchy of authority. However, while combining the results for Matthew and Luke raises little objection from the perspective of contemporary biblical scholarship (they are similar compositionally, conceptually, linguistically, and theologically), combining Mark and John is controversial because they represent different narrative/theological traditions. In the simplest terms, Mark belongs to the synoptic tradition and was most likely the source for Matthew and Luke. The image of Jesus presented by Mark evolves in Matthew and Luke but ultimately becomes different from the image of Jesus in John, who writes his gospel from the perspective of a close (the closest) disciple of Jesus, a disciple "whom Jesus loved." I think that the Gospel of Mark should nevertheless be combined with the gospels of Matthew and Luke, but the fact of the remarkable similarity of the image of Jesus in Mark and John, suggests that it

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nadróżnicowania językowego") as well as the negative noun categories (Citlak, "O możliwościach psychologicznej analizy"). Raimo Hakola and Philip Elser formulate similar conclusions in their study of the image of the Pharisees in Matthew 23 (Hakola, "Social Identity and a Stereotype"; Esler, "Intergroup Conflict and Matthew 23").

[63] Bruce, *Book of the Acts*; Witherington, *Acts of the Apostles*; Ounce, *Pastoral Epistles* (see chapter 5.2.1).

[64] Bengt Holmberg, *Paul and Power: The Structure of Authority in the Primitive Church as Reflected in the Pauline Epistles* (Fortress, 1980); Robert Moses, *Practices of Power: Revisiting the Principalities and Powers in the Pauline Letters* (Fortress, 2014); Ounce, *Pastoral Epistles*.

is perhaps closer to the image of the historical Jesus than in the gospels of Matthew and Luke.

The fact that ecclesiology and Christology in Matthew and Luke are more developed is accepted by biblical scholars. This resulted in a stronger emphasis on the messianic authority of Jesus and the original constellation of messianic titles. In Mark,

> Jesus' authority is not one of raw power. In terms of proportion, Mark highlights Jesus as *the suffering Son of Man and Servant* more than the other Gospels. In fact, nine of thirteen uses of 'Son of Man' look to Jesus' suffering.

In Luke, however,

> Jesus appears as *Messiah-Servant-Lord*. The basic category is Messiah …, but as the story proceeds, it is clear that this role is one of great authority that can be summarised by the image of the judging Son of Man or by the concept of Lord.[65]

Another issue is the strong connection of the Gospel of Matthew with the Jewish-Christian environment, which certainly has an impact on an increased level of cratism. However, the connection with the Jewish community does not explain everything because we see almost the same level of cratism in Luke, an author representing the gentile-Christian community. This is one of the reasons why it can be assumed that certain features of the image of Jesus are based on other factors mentioned above (the development of communities, ecclesiology, conflicts), which significantly influenced the way of conceptualising reality and, consequently, also the way of presenting Jesus. Paradoxically, this pattern also includes the apostle John (the probable author of the gospel). His gospel testifies to a developed Christology (Jesus as the Son of God the Father, pre-existent Logos, Messiah rejected by the Jews and the world). However, John refers to a radical image of Jesus, representing a completely different pattern of relationships: noncratic and close. It is possible that John, unlike Matthew and Luke, represents a separate/independent tradition of constructing and maintaining Christian identity, typical of every radicalising community and reflects broader tendencies of pre-Christianity at that time. On the other hand, it is also possible that the fact of the close relationship between the author of the Gospel of John and Jesus ("disciple whom Jesus loved"—John 13:23; 19:26) turned out to be a decisive factor in giving it a unique and original character. Both explanations are acceptable in light of the hypotheses and the theory. At this stage of the analysis, I would only like to emphasize that the use of a cratic conceptual grid fits quite well into the general characteristics of the gospel narratives and, at the same time, introduces new content (for example, the similarity of John and Mark). Without a

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[65] Bock, *Studying the Historical Jesus*, 27, 30.

doubt, however, the obtained result opens the field for a broad discussion, or rather a separate study, on these relationships.[66]

The obtained data (chart 7 and 8) also replicates the pattern of results seen earlier in a slightly different way when comparing the Old and New Testaments (chart 3.5.6): a high intensity of power-dominance in the Old Testament co-occurred with a high intensity of emotions sustaining social distance (for instance anger, hatred, fear). The New Testament depicts a lower level of power-dominance and at the same time, a lower intensity of emotions sustaining social distance, both horizontally and vertically (chart 5). In the case of the gospels, instead of emotions, there is a way of describing Jesus's activity with verb forms. According to this, high levels of power-dominance co-occurred with low levels of affinity. The same effect appeared in another study comparing the descriptions of Joshua and David in the Septuagint and Jesus and Paul in the New Testament: higher levels of power-dominance co-occurred with lower levels of affinity as measured by verb forms. Joshua and David, described as more cratic characters than Jesus and Paul, are also less frequently described with verb forms denoting their experiences or inner states.[67]

Jennifer McClure recently presented an interesting analysis of Jesus's social network in the canonical gospels.[68] It is more detailed and focuses on Jesus's relationships with three groups: (1) family and followers, (2) the civil and religious authorities, and (3) stigmatised people. Her conclusions are as follows:

> The social networks of the synoptic Gospels are very similar, whereas John's social network is distinctive.… John depicts key groups within Jesus's social network, including the civil and religious authorities, stigmatised people, and women, as more prominent, and it also has a unique relational structure that is not analogous to the synoptic Gospels'.… These Johannine dynamics [with religious authorities and stigmatised people] can be found in but are less prominent in the synoptic Gospels.… These dynamics more closely integrate stigmatised

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[66] This is one of the major topics of contemporary biblical studies, which I will not discuss here, as it would require engaging in a discussion about *the ipsissima verba et facta Jesu*, *Formgeschichte*, *Redaktionsgeschichte*, the problem of the literary sources, as well as the theology of the gospels (see Goodacre, *Synoptic Problem*; Bock, *Studying the Historical Jesus*; Darell Bock, "The Gospel of Mark and the Historical Jesus," in Charlesworth, Rhea, and Pokorny, *Jesus Research*, 551–76; Ulrich Luz, "Metthew's Interpretive 'Tendencies' and the Historical Jesus," in Charlesworth, Rhea, and Pokorny, *Jesus Research*, 577–99; Craig Keenre, "Luke-Acts and the Historical Jesus," in Charlesworth, Rhea, and Pokorny, *Jesus Research*, 600–623; Smith Moody, "Redaction Criticism, Genre, Narrative Criticism, and the Historical Jesus in the Gospel of John," in Charlesworth, Rhea, and Pokorny, *Jesus Research*, 624–43; Theissen, *Urchristliche Wundergeschichten*.

[67] Citlak, "Psychology of the Pursuit for a Sense of Power."

[68] Jennifer McClure, "Jesus's Social Network and the Four Gospels: Exploring the Relational Dynamics of the Gospels Using Social Network Analysis," *BTB* 50 (2020): 35–53.

people into the narrative and relational structure of John and tie compassion to-
wards stigmatised people directly to Jesus's identity.[69]

McClure also captures some differences in the synoptic tradition, namely, Luke
differs slightly from Mark and Matthew, who present Jesus's social network in
the most similar way (Matthew and Mark also share the highest correlation index).
Generally, the social networks of Jesus shown by John and in the synoptic gospels
are very similar to charts 7 and 8. Not only do we see two different images of the
social image of Jesus, but John also more strongly highlights Jesus's relationships
with people who are stigmatised and deprived of honor (features typical of low
cratism and high closeness quotients).[70]

6.4. New Community and Emotions

The above-mentioned differences between the image of Jesus in the synoptic gos-
pels and the Gospel of John become clearer and more pronounced when
considering the specificity of the community represented by the Johannine tradi-
tion. As mentioned before, a major factor in the formation of the early Christian
community was the difficult relationship with the gentile and Jewish world, which
led to the negativity of mutual relations and ultimately to the sense of alienation
of many Christians in a threatening world. However, something more is at stake
in the case of John's gospel. Together with Revelation and the Epistles of John, it
forms the Johannine tradition, which was most likely a product of the Johannine
community.[71] There is no need at this time to analyse the editorial processes of
this gospel or identify its principal author, but what is important is that, according
to biblical scholarship, this gospel was the product of a community strongly asso-
ciated with the person of John the Apostle and the milieu of itinerant
missionaries/preachers.[72] Moreover, a significant part of it was, in the early stages
of the text's composition, most likely the disciples and circle of followers of John
the Baptist. It is also possible (though highly hypothetical) that at a slightly later
time, this community welcomed a significant number of Samaritan followers of

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[69] McClure, "Jesus's Social Network," 46–47.

[70] The differences concern the distinctiveness of Luke and not Mark. However, I think this
is mainly due to a different methodology and a more detailed level of analysis (Jesus's
relationships with specific people and not the saturation of the language describing Jesus
in a given gospel).

[71] Harold Attridge, *History, Theology, and Narrative Rhetoric in the Fourth Gospe*l (Mar-
quette University Press, 2019); Attridge, "Johannine Christianity," in Mitchell and Young,
Cambridge History of Christianity, 125–43.

[72] Attridge, *History, Theology*; Alan Culpepper, *The Johannine School: An Evaluation of
the Johannine-School Hypothesis Based on an Investigation of the Nature of Ancient
Schools* (Society of Biblical Literature, 1975); Lamb, *Text, Context and the Johannine
Community*.

Jesus into its midst, which would have had the effect of enhancing the universalism of Jesus's message portrayed in this tradition.[73] In the context of this inquiry, the connection of this gospel with the milieu of the itinerant Christian preachers and disciples of John the Baptist has a unique significance. After all, these were two groups contesting the religious and social order of Israel at that time by promoting the idea of the forgiveness of sins independently of the temple system and the religious hierarchy of authority. Both groups also represented a denial of the functionality of the cultural code of honor-shame.[74] John the Baptist with his disciples had already aroused much controversy among the Sadducees and priests. However, the itinerant Christian missionaries represented, after Jesus's death, a much larger group with far greater powers of influence. The very appearance of wandering charismatics in the first-century church (as Gerd Theissen described them[75]) was an indication of the opposition against traditional forms of authority manifestation and stabilisation, while "charisma" is nothing more than a form of legitimation of authority in a community "outside the normal channels of authority in a given society."[76] Given that Jesus was a charismatic itinerant teacher, there would have been an excellent example in the Gospel of John of the establishment and continuation of the social (radical) ethos of Jesus despite the passing of the subsequent decades of the first century. The image of Jesus nurtured in the community of John would be a reflection of its specific aspirations, which, despite the passage of time, could still reflect the most characteristic features of Jesus's activity—on the one hand, his radicalism and on the other, his opposition to the religious and social institutions of power, which led to the creation of a new community.[77]

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[73] David Rensberg, *Johannine Faith and Liberating Community* (Westminster, 1988).

[74] Malina, *Social World*; Neyrey and Stewart, *Social World*; Rohrbaugh, "Honor."

[75] Gerd Theissen based his analysis of wandering charismatics on Max Weber's sociological theory and included Heimatlosigkeit (homelessness), Familiendistanz (family distance), Besitzkritik (criticism of ownership/possession) and Gewaltlosigkeit (non-violence) as part of their and Jesus's radical ethos. Theissen, *Soziologie der Jesusbewegung*.

[76] Jonathan Draper, "Weber, Theissen and 'Wandering Charismatics' in The Didache," *JECS* 6 (1998): 541–76.

[77] The reference to the Johannine Community reasonably well explains the results in the Gospel of John and seems to provide a good interpretative context for them. However, the postulate of the existence of such a community itself—while common in biblical scholarship—also raises objections. The most critical comment, which I do not share, was made by Adele Reinhartz: "The Johannine Community is entirely a scholarly construct; the product of circular hermeneutical process" ("Building Skyscrapers on Toothpicks: The Literary-Criticism Challenge to Historical Criticism," in *Anatomies of Narrative Criticism: The Past, Present and Futures of the Fourth Gospel as Literature*, ed. Tom Tatcher and Steven Moore [Society of Biblical Literature, 2008], 55–76). Lamb suggests using a broader textual corpus than just the Gospel of John when analyzing the Johannine Community (Lamb, *Text, Context and the Johannine Community*). I would add that the gospel

Against the background of the synoptic gospels, the Gospel of John presents a particularly original picture of the relationship between Jesus and the disciples. This picture may be regarded as an exemplification of the above-mentioned features of the new community, in which very close bonds between members predominate. Whereas, for example, in the synoptic gospels there are words of Jesus concerning the formation of a new family, that is, followers of Jesus (Matt 12:46–50; Mark 3:31–35; Luke 8:19–21), a church (Matt 18:17–19), in John's Gospel, it seems as if the community is seen in practice. The differences between the synoptics and John are quite complex, but the aspect of the relationship in John's community, which exposes a sense of closeness and even a kind of intimacy, is of special importance. The fourth gospel does not use the word ἐκκλησία, using instead a narrative structure that leads to an exposition of the nature of the new community. In chapters 3–4, the inclusion of the non-Jewish world, especially the Samaritans, in the sphere of Jesus's religious mission occurs, and in chapters 7–10, the process and the justification for the separation of the Jesus movement from Judaism can be observed.[78] For the first time in the gospel narrative, the Jews are regarded as children of the devil (8:44) and their faith in Jesus is treated with suspicion (8:31, 42; 12:42–43). In a similar vein are Jesus's statements about the world (κόσμος), which appears here as many as 78 times (in Matthew 9x, Mark 3x, Luke 3x, and in the whole New Testament 186x). On the one hand, the world is to be saved but on the other, it does not accept the salvation or becomes an enemy of Jesus and his disciples (see 7:7; 8:23, 26; 12:19, 31; 14:30; 15:18–19; 16:8, 11, 20, 33; 17:6, 9, 14, 15, 16, 25; 18:36). It is in this context that the community exists as the opposite of a hostile environment.[79] Jesus creates it as a messenger and mediator between God and people.

One of the most characteristic features of the community members is the *knowledge* (γινώσκω) and *faith* (πιστεύω), which are at the heart of their religious attitude. Jesus as the messenger of God communicates true knowledge to the disciples; they, in turn, pass it on to the chosen ones from a sinful world. Γινώσκω appears 57 times (in Matt 20x, Mark 12, Luke 28x, throughout the New Testament 222x) and is closely related to knowing Jesus, God and the truth. Also πιστεύω appears as many as 98 times (in Matthew 11x, Mark 14x, Luke 9x, in the entire

has a lower level of cratism (0.34) than Revelation (2.65), suggesting a completely different cognitive perspective of their authors but not excluding a common/single author.

[78] See Attridge, *History, Theology*; Johannes Beutler, *Judaism and the Jews in the Gospel of John* (Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 2016).

[79] Radicalism, separation, social alienation, a negative attitude towards the world and the specific language of the Johannine Community are all treated as expressions of the community's anti-social and even sectarian tendencies. It is worth mentioning in this context the analysis of Timothy Ling, who suggests that the sectarianism of the community should rather be interpreted in the context of the religiosity of the Judean poor, which changes the interpretative perspective and does not allow for such clear-cut conclusions. Timothy Ling, *The Judaean Poor and the Fourth Gospel*, SNTSMS (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

New Testament 241x) and occurs in a similar sense. Knowledge and faith are not only qualities of Jesus but also of the disciples. He becomes a figure not only central to the community's life, but above all, a figure who forms a personal and subjective relationship with the disciples (subjective insofar as it was possible at that time). Moreover, the Gospel of John is most strongly imbued with the concepts relating to the inner sphere of man, which have soteriological significance.[80] Apart from γινώσκω and πιστεύών, an important function is also played *to see* (θεάομαι, θεωρέω), *hear* (ἀκούω), *confess* or *deny* (ομολογέω, ἀρνέομαι), *guard/respect* (the commandments—τηρέω), *last* (μένω), *drink* (πίνω).[81] In many cases, they describe Jesus's relationship with God, which provides a model for the relationships between the disciples (for example, 15:10; 17:23, 26).

However, love is the most characteristic feature of community relationships (ἀγάπη). In a noun form it appears here only 7 times (in Matthew 1x, Luke 1x, in the whole New Testament 11x), but in a verb form, as many as 38 times (in Matthew 8x, Mark x, Luke 13x, in the whole New Testament 143x).[82] The author of the gospel prefers the verb forms, as in the case of faith, which never appears here as an abstract category πίστις but only as an act πιστεύω. The community of Jesus (Johannine Community) lives, practices and expresses love, as does faith. In terms of frequency, love as a characteristic or act experienced by Jesus appears here 13 times (11:5; 13:1 [2x], 23, 34 14:21 31; 15:9, 10, 12; 19:26; 21:7, 20). In the synoptic tradition, however, Jesus as a subject experiencing love only appears in Mark's Gospel in the encounter with the rich young man, in which he writes "Jesus looking at him, loved (ἠγάπησεν) him, and said to him" (Mark 10:21). Interestingly, Matthew and Luke, writing their gospels later when relations with the Jews were deteriorating, do not mention Jesus's feelings of love for the Jewish young man. Furthermore, in Matthew's version, the young man does not call Jesus a "good teacher" (as it is in Mark), but simply a "teacher."[83] Similarly φιλέω (love-friendship), which is also a feature of Jesus in John's (11:3, 36; 20:2), but is not in the synoptics (or at least not *expressis verbis*). One of the most meaningfully

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[80] The author of the fourth gospel, however, "never develops an abstract theory of salvation. Rather, by various narrative techniques, and ultimately by his overall dramatic narrative, John suggests diverse soteriological concepts." Bruce Reichenbach, "Soteriology in the Gospel of John," *Themelios* 46 (2021): 574; see also Attridge, *History, Theology, and Narrative*.

[81] Stanislaw Medala, *Ewangelia według świętego Jana: Nowy Komentarz Biblijny* (Edycja Świętego Pawła, 2008).

[82] This is a very characteristic language for describing emotions, which are more often in the form of an expression (verb) than a category (noun). Like many Septuagint and New Testament authors, the Evangelists treat emotions as an event-experience-behavior rather than a cognitively distinguishable phenomenon (see chapter 3.2 and 5.2).

[83] France, *The Gospel of Matthew*; Keith Nickle, *The Synoptic Gospels: An Introduction* (Westminster John Knox, 2001).

intense passages showing the close, even intimate relationship between Jesus and his disciples is the scene of washing the disciples' feet at supper, described exclusively in John's Gospel (13:1–38). The very fact of the master washing the disciples' feet did not fit at all into the culture of Judaism; the disciple was simply the teacher's servant.[84] It was a complete reversal of the social order, especially one based on notions of honor-shame, a situation absolutely incomprehensible to the disciples.[85] Jesus's words are crucial here:

> Do you know what I have done to you?… If I then, your Lord and Teacher, have washed your feet, you also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example that you should do as I have done to you. (13:12b, 14, 15)

Just before washing the feet, "He loved them to the end" (13:1b), and after the washing, "was troubled in spirit" (13:21a), giving his disciples the commandment to love one another (13:34–35). Moreover, John's Jesus is no longer willing to call his disciples servants but friends (15:15) and is willing to sacrifice his life for them (15:13; 10:11). The theological significance of these events is profound, but it is not the focus of this inquiry.[86] What is crucial is the evidently close, personal, emotionally involved image of Jesus, which cannot be found in the synoptic tradition. Mark, Matthew and Luke often even emphasize that the disciples felt such awe of Jesus that they were afraid to ask him questions about his teachings, which they did not always understand (Mark 9:32; 10:32; Luke 9:45). Although there too he experiences emotions—pity (Mark 1:41), anger (Mark 3:5), tears (Luke 19:41)—the picture drawn by John (Johannine Community) is of someone who forms relationships that are not only close but more symmetrical, lacking the element of power and dominance. This can be seen both in the frequency of the use of selected words and in the message of whole narrative parts in the Gospel of John.[87]

The frequency analysis of emotion terminology in relation to Jesus is somewhat problematic because the frequencies of the relevant words are low and, moreover, it is difficult to find a counterbalance in the Gospel of John in the form of the emotion of distance experienced by Jesus (ὀργή, μισέω, ἐξουθενέω,

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[84] Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar*; Jan Van der Watt, "The Meaning of Jesus Washing the Feet of His Disciples (John 13)," *Neot 51* (2017): 25–39. Washing the feet was reserved for people of lower status; the article's author emphasizes, however, "that the emphasis in the foot-washing narrative of John 13 should be placed not on humble service as such, but on the nature of intense love" (36).

[85] Malina and Rohrbaugh, *Social World*.

[86] Jaime Clark-Soles, "Love Embodied in Action: Ethics and Incarnation in the Gospel of John," in *Johannine Ethics: The Moral World of the Gospel and Epistles of John*, ed. Sherri Brown and Christopher Skinner (Fortress, 2017), 91–116.

[87] Stephen Voorwinde, *Jesus' Emotions in the Fourth Gospel: Human or Divine?* (T&T Clark, 2005).

φοβέομαι, ἐπαισχύνομαμι), and which appears sporadically in the Synoptic Gospels (Mark 3:5; 8:38; Luke 9:26). Constructing an affinity quotient is admittedly possible, but the results obtained are difficult to compare with one another. In this case, the proportion of words denoting emotions of affinity (ἀγαπάω, ἀγάπη, ἐλεέω, φιλέω, σπλαγχνίζομαι) to the denotative emotions of distance (ὀργη,v μισέω, ἐξουθενέω, φοβέομαι, φόβος, δειλός, πτόεομαι, ἐπαισχύνομαι) for the synoptic gospels is 9/3, and for the Gospel of John, it is 18/0. Such a result can only be taken as an interpretative guideline. More important by far seems to be the general correlations and tendencies, which can therefore be summarized in the following conclusions. First, the synoptic tradition does not attribute to Jesus *expressis verbis* the concept of love as a category (ἀγάπη) or as an act (ἀγαπάω, φιλέω), except for one episode, concerning a rich young man (Mark 10:21). Unfortunately, this concept disappears in Matthew and Luke. Love as an act and category is attributed to Jesus in John's depiction, and in such intensity that it has no parallel in any other Old or New Testament narrative (John 5:20; 11:3, 36; 16:27; 20:2; 3:35; 8:42; 10:17; 11:5; 13:1, 23, 34; 14:21 (3x), 24, 28; 15:9, 10 (2x), 12; 17:23, 24, 26; 19:26; 21:7, 20). Second, the emotion of distance is attributed to Jesus sporadically in the synoptic tradition (anger–ὀργή Mark 3:5, 8:38 and shame–ἐπαισχύνομαι in Luke 9:26) but not in the Gospel of John. Third, however, in the synoptic tradition, the authors emphasize the compassion shown by Jesus to the crowds and the sick (σπλαγχνίζομαι–Matt 9:36; 14:14; 15:32; 20:34; Mark 1:41; 6:34; 8:2; Luke 7:13), and this is not found in John. Finally, in John, the dividing line between the disciples' loving community with Jesus and the world that hates them has been strongly emphasized. The world (κοσμος) in the Gospel of John, as well as in the whole tradition of John, is in clear opposition to the disciples of Jesus as an opposing and hostile subject with whom the community does not form a relationship.[88] In John, Jesus becomes not only the object of the Jews' dislike and hostility but also the object of the world's hatred. Because the world hates (μισέω) Jesus, it will also consequently hate his disciples (John 7:7; 15:18–19:23–25; 17:14). In the synoptics, however, Jesus is despised and rejected by the Jews (ἐξουθενέω–Mark 9:12; Luke 23:11), which then leads to the hatred of his disciples (Matt 10:22; 24:9; Mark 13:13; Luke 6:22; 21:17).

6.5. Conclusions

The quantitative analysis of the gospel image of Jesus presented above has captured some important features of this image that have so far been unnoticed in the literature. First, the cratic orientation (power-dominance) proved to be a very

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88 Stanley Marrow, "Κόσμος in John," *CBQ* 64 (2002): 90–102; Francis Moloney, "God, Eschatology and 'This World': Ethics in the Gospel of John," in Brown and Skinner, *Johannine Ethics*, 197–220.

sensitive variable. The intensity of power-dominance in the evangelical descriptions of Jesus (0.42) is lower not only than the Greek version of the Old Testament (1.01) but, interestingly, also lower than the New Testament (0.68). This means that the concepts of power, force, domination and social asymmetry were marginalized. It is more than twice as low as the Old Testament discourse, which suggests a different conceptualization of the social world and a different vision of the relations of power and order. This is also confirmed by the qualitative characterization of the selected aspects of his teaching and behaviors. He creates a new community, establishes a new type of relationship and bond between himself and his disciples, and promotes the ideal of mutual love and even the love of enemies. He addresses himself mainly to the marginalised or social outcasts (sinners, the condemned, the excluded), and it is to them that he offers status and dignity, regardless of the social evaluation system of the time, or as Bruce Malina says, regardless of the "public court of reputation," based on the honor-shame code.

Second, the gospel portrait of Jesus is not uniform, as demonstrated by the different power-dominance orientation values in the four gospels, complemented by the affinity quotient and the analysis of dominant emotions. Two images of Jesus with a different social relationship type have been distinguished: the synoptic and that of John: (1) The Jesus of Mark-Matthew-Luke with a higher power-dominance, lower affinity, and the different emotions experienced by him. (2) The Jesus of John has a lower power-dominance, a higher level of affinity and a rich description of the emotions, which, in terms of quantity and quality, is unrivalled in the whole biblical narrative. In short, Jesus according to John, prefers a very close relationship with his disciples and forms an intimate bond with them; in his dealings with the sick, he shows more inner experiences and the vocabulary of power, strength, domination, et cetera, familiar from other biblical books, recedes into the background. In short, this is a very social, close, emotional Jesus who even descends into partnership. Such an intensity of these traits is not to be found in the synoptics. The exception is Jesus according to Mark, who in terms of power-dominance and affinity, is close to John. Mark's and John's images, though similar, ultimately belong to separate textual traditions and should not be combined. Mark was most likely the source for Matthew and Luke, which the results also seem to confirm (Mark's Jesus changes later according to the needs of the Christian community in Matthew and Luke). Thus, the quantitative analysis, complemented by the qualitative, provided a very consistent picture of the results: Jesus according to John is indeed less cratic and emotionally closer than Jesus according to the synoptics. These results unequivocally confirm Hypotheses 3 and 4 formulated in chapter 4. It was assumed that the change of narrative perspective in John, who writes as a "beloved disciple of Jesus" and therefore someone very close to him, would encourage the construction of a different Jesus (that is non-cratic, emotionally close). However, in the study, it has emerged that a significant source of change in the construction of the image of Jesus in John's gospel may also have been the strong connection of this gospel with the milieu of John's

community, the itinerant missionaries and disciples of John the Baptist, namely, a community strongly contesting the power order of the time.

Third, the overall pattern of the results fits very well with the current state of research into the life of Jesus, as presented by Capps, Van Aarde, Haley and Crossan. It is very possible that the dynamics of Jesus's psychological tensions, as described by Capps and Van Aarde, brought about by his family experiences, were decisive in shaping his message and activities. It is also possible that his aim was to act against the prevailing social relations of the time, which often harmed those at the lower end of the hierarchy. This would have been a revolutionary activity in both horizontal and vertical dimensions. It probably does not matter much whether Crossan is closer to the truth, referring to the open community of Jesus and a common table for all, or whether Haley is, describing the "surrender tactic of Jesus," or Ellens, who perceives him as a "tough guy" in the face of the opponents of his vision of change in Israel. Ultimately, it is about a revolutionary change in the relationship between people and between human beings and God. And this is exactly what the results show. The overall gospel picture of Jesus shows a man with a completely new perception of social relations, which is different from the Septuagint. It probably resulted from the profound socio-cultural changes in Israel itself and in the Middle East over several centuries up to the first century CE. In some sense, the social dimension of Jesus's message must have been different from the Septuagint. But as the authors cited above emphasize, and the analyses of my own presented work indicate, the specificity of Jesus's teaching and activity went further, contesting a social order based on dimensions of honor and shame, and creating a new type of religious community.

The psychosocial picture of Jesus shows that the notion of a cratic orientation, based on Witwicki's theory of power (cratism), enables the identification of the key indicator of different—in relation to Judaism—social relations in early Christian communities. Paradoxically, however, this result stands in some contradiction to the cratic psychobiography of Jesus that Witwicki himself wrote.[89] This was, as mentioned in chapter 2, a rather one-sided psychobiography in which the author attributed to Jesus negative cratic desires, that is the need to humiliate others and elevate himself. Based on the results, this seems unlikely unless Jesus's relationship with his environment, which did not accept him, is discussed. This was pointed out by the representatives of the Third Quest. Such an arrangement of the relationship is, of course possible, especially considering the fact that the quest for domination does not have to use the language of force, or dichotomy, asymmetry. But from the perspective of quantitative discourse analysis, it is impossible to access the actual motivation of Jesus, whether it be the motivation according to Witwicki, Crossan, or Capps. This motivation will likely never be known, but it can be concluded that the image of Jesus of Nazareth and his vision of the world

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[89] Witwicki, *Dobra Nowina*.

differs strongly from the vision of the socio-religious world favored in the litera-
ture of the Old Testament. Behind this, nevertheless, lies a question about the
sustainability of the new social relations represented by Jesus. Was it a contribu-
tion that could prove lasting in the communities of his disciples? Matthew and
Luke modify the image of Jesus towards a greater power-dominance orientation.
In contrast, the Gospel of John—probably associated with the community of itin-
erant preachers and disciples of the Johannine Community—presents a more
radical social relations model, probably closer to Jesus himself. Even though it
was created at the latest, it paradoxically shows almost the same image as the
oldest Gospel of Mark. Thus, perhaps the embeddedness and stability of the Chris-
tian community in the realities of the Mediterranean social culture of the time
compelled a softening of Jesus's social radicalism. Otherwise, perhaps the com-
munities were in danger of social alienation. The Gospel of John, despite Jesus's
lowest cratism, shows a community disconnected from the world, which is its
enemy. The love Jesus so often emphasized here is addressed to the members of
the community, not to the world (apart from the words of John 3:16). It is difficult
to answer this question at this point, but the pattern of results in the gospels, sug-
gests that the vision of social relations represented by Jesus was so different that
its maintenance may have proved very difficult for his disciples. I would add that
it was not Jesus's overtly proclaimed ethical or religious views about the commu-
nity or the individual but a certain way of perceiving and thinking about the world
expressed in language's structural features.

Ultimately, the image of Jesus in the gospels—with the lowest cratism quo-
tient in the entire biblical corpus—seems to have changed over time; it could be
said that it somewhat loses its originality and radicalism. Jesus, the protector of
the condemned and rejected, the social reformer, with emotions and personal/in-
ternal experiences, appears to be moving away and inscribing himself within a
greater social distance—the distance of power. But perhaps this was the price for
the survival of communities in a pagan world, torn by conflict, struggling to main-
tain unity and authority. This suggestion would seem all the more plausible given
that the results in the gospels are lower than those in the New Testament epistolary
literature focused on the lives and problems of communities. In this perspective,
an analysis of the early and late epistolary literature could provide some insight.
After all, if the authors of the gospels modify the social image of Jesus and this is
related to the Christian churches' situation, then perhaps the same pattern of
change can be expected to appear in the early and late New Testament epistles.

7. The Christian Community in the Non-Christian World: Stereotype and Beyond

7.1. Early Christian Communities and the Jewish–Pagan World: Tensions and Conflict

The New Testament was written in the second half of the first century and the first decade of the second century CE. However, This short fifty–sixty years covers the highly dynamic changes that the Christian communities underwent following the death of Jesus. These were closely related to the systematic separation from Judaism and the building of the first relations with the pagan world. The separation from Judaism was a complex phenomenon,[1] in which several stages can be distinguished: the condemnation of Jesus by the Sanhedrin, the collapse of the Jewish uprising in 70 CE, and the decisions of the synod of Jamnia (late first century). The condemnation of Jesus created strong tensions between his followers and the Sanhedrin, which later led to the exclusion of his disciples from the Synagogue community. The collapse of the Jewish uprising led to the destruction of the Jerusalem temple, which for many Christians was a sign that confirmed the temporary nature of temple worship and priestly service.[2] The rabbinical synod of Jamnia reached decisions that constituted a new religious order, based on the foundations of Pharisaism, radically separating itself from everything that was opposed to this order, including Christians and their religion.[3] The recognition of Christians as a threat was also a fundamental reason for the Jews' rejection of the Septuagint as an unreliable translation of the Old Testament (as was invoked in the polemics with the Jews). The severing of ties with Judaism was painful, involving a sense of rejection and condemnation. This is noticed in virtually every gospel, the Acts and all the epistles. The followers of Jesus had to develop the

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[1] Bernd Wander, *Trennungsprozesse zwischen frühen Christentum und Judentum im I. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Francke, 1994); Dunn, *Parting of the Ways*.

[2] Runesson, "Rethinking Early Jewish"; Shanks, *Partings*; Dunn, *Parting of the Ways*.

[3] VanderKam, *An Introduction to Early Judaism*; Geza Vermez, "Wprowadzenie," in *Chrześcijaństwo a judaizm rabiniczny*, ed. Hershel Shanks (Vocatio, 2013), 15–21.

basis of their own religious identity, which on the one hand, would be in line with the message of the Old Testament and, on the other, would take into account the death of Jesus and his teachings. After all, there had to be some way to address the temple and the ritual law, from which Christians were becoming more and more excluded. Paul the Apostle, his missionary journeys and the apostolic group played an important role in this, while the books of the New Testament can be considered as an expression of the creation of a Christian identity, both ideologically and practically. The mutual separation also caused much controversy within the community, sometimes in the form of outright opposition or efforts to preserve Judaism.[4] The attempts to find their own way, including the drawing of boundaries between Jewish exclusivism and Christian universalism were, in short, complex and fraught with tension.

Unfortunately, the relations with the pagan world were similarly arranged. As long as Christians were seen through the perspective of Judaism as one of its factions, they enjoyed the relative acceptance and understanding of the Roman authorities. However, the process of separation from their native religion facilitated an increase in pagan resentment, incomprehension and even hostility. A clear example of these changes can be found, for instance, in the writings of Paul, who mentions this in his epistles, written as early as the fifties and sixties of the first century. The incomprehension and hostility on the part of the Roman authorities can already be seen during the reign of Emperor Nero when the first persecutions of Christians occurred due to the fire in Rome in CE 64, as well as at the turn of the first/second century in Asia Minor under Emperor Trajan. One of the biggest problems was the lack of mutual understanding, the Christian community and the Greco-Roman world differed in fundamental social, ethical, theological and anthropological issues. In fact, it is difficult to imagine any other scenario of the first and second centuries as the alienation of Christians. Again, the New Testament texts clearly illustrate numerous episodes of hostility or persecution by pagans, interspersed with attempts to find mutual dialogue. Unfortunately, without much success. The growing antagonisms between Christians and Rome (as well as the relations with the representatives of Judaism) are

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[4] Determining the exact identity of Judaizing people/groups is difficult because their primary information comes from fragmentary descriptions in the New Testament letters, that is, written by their opponents. Moreover, the identity of these groups was based not only on the Old Testament but also on various—more or less orthodox—traditions of Judaism at that time. Judaizing tendencies appear very often in epistolary literature. More: Edwin Broadhead, *Jewish Ways of Following Jesus: Redrawing the Religious Map of Antiquity*, WUNT 266 (Mohr Siebeck, 2010); Timothy Gabrielson, "Parting Ways or Rival Siblings? A Review and Analysis of Metaphors for the Separation of Jews and Christians in Antiquity," *CBR* 19 (2021): 178–204; Carlos Gil Arbiol, "Ioudaismos and ioudaizō in Paul and the Galatian Controversy: An Examination of Supposed Positions," *JSNT* 44 (2021): 218–39.

widely described in the literature,[5] and there is no need to present them in detail here, especially since the problem has already been addressed in chapter 6.

Both processes had a significant impact on the identity of early Christianity, which over the years not only became more and more distinct from Judaism and the pagan world but found itself in ever stronger opposition to them. The Christian community, on the one hand, became the object of hostility, prejudice and even persecution; on the other, it had to defend itself in order to survive and preserve its own identity. The dynamics of change were tremendous and had a profound impact on the functioning of the church. This situation is a classic example of antagonistic group relations, which are well described in psychological literature.[6] The results of such relations are usually a negative image of strangers, the development of the language of hostility and hatred, and even the dehumanisation of the opponent. This is one of the most frequently used defence strategies against threats to one's own group. In chapter 4, it was assumed that the intensification of antagonisms and group conflicts would foster the tendency to perceive the world as a field of conflict between one's own and strangers. An expression of this tendency would be a more frequent inclusion of cratic terminology in the domain of the used language. Especially since, according to the assumptions of the theory of the striving for a sense of power (Witwicki and Adler), depriving someone of a sense of power or authority will trigger this person's natural tendency to regain them; what happens at the moment of loss of social status is "repression, persecution, humiliation."[7] In short, the situation of the conflict described above, for at least two reasons, should have favored changes of the language used in the direction of an intensification of cratic features, like a higher frequency of the terminology referring to the concepts of power, domination, social asymmetry (see Hypothesis 5). For the same two reasons, Hypothesis 6 was also accepted; this hypothesis concerns a general increase in the frequency of vocabulary referring to the emotions that sustain social distance (anger, hatred, disgust, contempt, derision), which are used to express antagonising group relations.

In a sense, this prediction has already proved true in the overall comparison of power-dominance for the corpus of gospels (0.48) and epistles (0.75), which were explained according to the different subject matter and the embeddedness of the authors of the epistolary literature in a clash with a different, threatening

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[5] Judy Diehl, "Empire and Epistles: Anti-Roman Rhetoric in the New Testament Epistles," *CBR* 10 (2012): 217–63; Carter, *Roman Empire and the New Testament*; Richard Horsley, *In the Shadow of Empire: Reclaiming the Bible as a History of Faithful Resistance* (Westminster John Knox, 2008).

[6] Daniel Bar-Tal, "Conflicts and Social Psychology," in *Intergroup Conflicts and Their Resolution: A Social Psychological Perspective*, ed. Daniel Bar-Tal (Routledge, 2011), 1–38; Leyens, "Infrahumanization"; Tajfel and Turner, "Social Identity Theory"; Holmberg and Winninge, *Identity Formation*.

[7] Witwicki, "Z psychologii stosunków osobistych," 536.

environment. Arguably, internal conflicts and the development of a hierarchy of authority within the communities, including the division of responsibilities and the appointment of deacons, presbyters and bishops, were also significant. By contrast, the juxtaposition of emotion vocabulary in both corpora proved to be more complex (chart 4). In terms of distance emotions, gospels (0.36) and epistles (0.39) hardly differ, although they do very much differ in terms of affinity emotions (gospels–0.33; epistles–1.16). Overall then, the situation is rather unusual and different from all previous results, in which an increase in power-dominance co-occurred with high distance (distance emotions). How is it possible that in the epistolary literature the distance emotions do not change, and the frequency of affinity emotions soars? It seems that two things are key here. First, the relatively long time over which the New Testament epistles are written, and second, the different circumstances of their composition, primarily the internal and external conflicts, which increase in the second half of the first century. For this reason, the corpus of epistles should be divided into two groups—early and late. A time caesura could also clarify whether the previously described changing image of Jesus in the gospels corresponds to the expected changes in the early and late epistles.

7.2. Language of Stereotype

The polarization and radicalization of beliefs most often occur within the context of threats and group conflicts. A threatening situation requires unequivocal action to protect the image of the group, its morale and even its existence. This is exactly the kind of threat the Christian community faced in the second half of the first century. When analyzing the linguistic representation of the opponents of Christians, it is evident that it has all the characteristics of a language of prejudice and, in many cases, a language of dehumanization.[8] The existence of stereotypes, especially in religious groups with a strong sense of social identity, is predicted by many psychological theories. It is mentioned in section 3.1.2, citing, among others, the rich tradition of research in social-scientific criticism and the social identity theory of John Turner and Henri Tajfel.[9] It should be remembered that in the case of the biblical world, it is a collectivistic environment according to Gerd Hofstede,[10] with clear features of strong rootedness according to Shalom

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[8] Daniel Wigboldus, Gün Semin, and Russell Spears, "How We Do Communicate Stereotypes? Linguistic Biases and Inferential Consequences," *JPSP 78* (2000): 5–18; Esler, "Intergroup Conflict and Matthew 23"; Carnaghi et al., "Nomina Sunt Omina"; Maass, Karasava, and Politi, "Do Verbs and Adjectives Play Different Roles."

[9] Baker, *Identity, Memory*; Baker, "Social Identity Theory"; Batten, "Letter of Jude"; Hakola, "Social Identity and a Stereotype in the Making"; Cromhout, "Identity Formation in the New Testament."

[10] Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences*; Triandis, *Individualism and Collectivism*.

Schwarz[11] (see section 3.1.2), in which the own group constitutes the socio-psychological foundation of the individual. Both the author of the analyzed epistles and his recipient do not constitute the independent subjects but as a "dyadic personality," or "interdependent-collectivistic self"[12] are immanently linked to the existence and beliefs of the group. Such connections/ties greatly impacted relationships with those threatening the community. This was mentioned in chapter 5, which discussed the transformation of hatred; thus, only a few of the more important examples are mentioned here. One of the typical features of the description of threatening persons or groups is a language highly saturated with negative categories or traits, while positive traits are omitted.[13] A classic example is Jesus's critical speech to the Pharisees (Matt 23), abundant in the negative qualities (adjectives) and categories (nouns).[14] Paul formulated his statements about his opponents in a similarly, for example, addressing Elymas during his missionary journey, he attributes to him not only "deceit," "fraud," calling him the "enemy of righteousness," but before each of these categories, he places the quantifier "all" ($πᾶς$, $πᾶσα$, $πᾶν$–Acts 13:10). Thus, Elymas becomes the personification of all evil, he is unequivocally the adversary of Paul who must take radical action against him. This description does not enable him to be perceived as a man who acts treacherously or unjustly—he is completely on the opposite side, a "son of the devil" with whom Paul has and can have absolutely nothing in common. The biblical authors very often include the threatening side in the broader category of the ungodly.[15] For example, in Jesus's critical speech, the Pharisees are the "sons of those who murdered the prophets" (Matt 23:31) and according to Paul, the Jewish persecutors of the Christians in Thessaloniki are similar to those "who killed both the Lord Jesus and their own prophets" (1 Thess 2:15). This categorization and division are beyond doubt; they are obvious. In the Epistle to Titus, the author calls the Jews who are threatening the community "abominable, disobedient, and disqualified for every good work" (Tit 1:15–16), while of the Cretans he writes "always liars" (Tit 1:12). The construction of the statement excludes any connection of the opponent-enemy with the notion of goodness, holiness or justice, which in turn justified the adoption of the radical attitudes of exclusion and distance. Similarly, in the Epistle to the Galatians, Paul says of his opponents that they are the people who "trouble you, and want to pervert the gospel of Christ," and are

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[11] Shalom Schwartz, "A Theory of Cultural Values and Some Implications for Work," *APIR 48* (1999): 23–47; Shalom Schwartz and Lilah Sagiv, "Identifying Cultures Specifics in the Content and Structure of Values," *JCCP* 26 (1995): 92–116.

[12] Malina, *New Testament World*; Markus and Kitayama, "Culture, Self, and the Reality."

[13] Wigboldus, "How We Do Communicate Stereotypes"; Maass, "Do Verbs and Adjectives Play Different Roles."

[14] Esler, "Intergroup Conflict and Matthew 23"; Hakola, "Social Identity and a Stereotype."

[15] See also Ryan Collman, "Beware the Dogs! The Phallic Epithet in Phil 3.2," *NTS* 67 (2021): 105–20.

"accursed" (Gal 1:6–8). Opponents should not be received at home or greeted (2 John 10). As a rule, therefore, they are not spoken of positively; they represent values or threatening powers against which it is necessary to defend oneself. Another feature of the descriptive language is the accumulation of negative terms and even offensive epithets.[16] The authors of the epistles rarely use a single term, it is usually a sequence of very negative expressions, which makes the image of danger extremely suggestive. "They" are not only ungodly, not only sinful, but they live in sin and injustice; they are the sons of evil. The linguistic image of threatening strangers in many places in the New Testament depicts them in a dehumanizing way.[17] They are "disqualified for every good work" (Tit 1:16), they have "their own conscience seared with a hot iron" (1 Tim 4:2), "corrupt minds" (1 Tim 6:5), they are subject to lusts, instincts over which they have no control (Jude 9–13), are the instruments in the hands of the devil and the forces of evil (1 Thess 2:16; 1 Tim 4:1–2; 2 Pet 2:1; John 8:44). They are compared to dogs, sows (2 Pet 2:22), called "clouds without water," "trees … twice dead, pulled up by the roots" (Jude 12).[18]

On the one hand, it is an image that is surprising in its negativity and radicalism; on the other hand, it must be remembered that it was no different from the language used to describe enemies in Jewish or Middle Eastern culture in general. The stereotypes and various forms of dehumanization of the enemy—especially when this enemy denied the sacred rights of the religious community—performed an important protective function essential for the survival of the group and its identity. The ancient literature and historical records provide many examples of this type.[19] However, in the case of the epistolary literature, written in the conditions of a growing threat, a phenomenon more complex than a mere progressive negativisation of the image of foreign-enemies is involved. The specificity of these changes can be seen in the power-dominance orientation as well as in the area of emotions and the manner of evaluating the world. However, before we move on to the analysis of the New Testament letters, a few words about their specificity.

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[16] Jeremy Hultin*, The Ethics of Obscene Speech in Early Christianity and Its Environment* (Brill, 2008).

[17] Leyens, "Infrahumanization."

[18] See Terrance Callan, "Comparison of Humans to Animals in 2 Peter 2, 10b–22," *Biblica* 90 (2009): 101–13; Collman, "Beware the Dogs!"; Alan Cadwallader, "'When a Woman Is a Dog," *BCT* 1 (2005): 1–17; Matthew Tiessen, "Gentiles as Impure Animals in the Writings of Early Christ Followers," in *Perceiving the Other in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Michal Bar-Asher Siegal, Wolfgang Grünstäudl, and Matthew Tiessen (Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 19–32.

[19] Batten, "Letter of Jude"; Michael Desjardins, "The Portrayal of the Dissidents in 2 Peter and Jude: Does It Tell Us More About the 'Godly' Than the 'Ungodly'?," *JSNT* 30 (1987): 89–102.

The New Testament epistles are quite similar to the epistolary literature of the Greco-Roman world. The division into *litterae* (private, personal letters) and *epistolae* (official, literary letters), known since the beginning of the twentieth century, can also be used here; however, they are of mixed forms. Usually, the letters contain personal content and an official message, such as an exposition of apostolic teachings or an interpretation of the Old Testament as a source of Christian faith and practice. A similar pattern is found in the letters of Peter, James and John, which contain ethical-theological reflections or reactions to the problems in the community.[20] The reasons for writing specific letters and their purpose, however, in many cases remain an open question. It was undoubtedly an environment of communities experiencing organizational and doctrinal problems, communities which, due to the influx of an increasing number of pagans, changed their profile from Judeo-Christian to gentile-Christian in the second half of the first century.

All letters were written in Koine Greek because the recipients spoke this language. Even when the community consisted of pagans and Judeo-Christians, the latter communicated in the diaspora in Greek. None of the preserved letters addressed Christians in Palestine; Christian communities were in Asia Minor, Achaea, Macedonia, and Italy, and they were usually established as a result of the missions of Paul or the other apostles. In many cases, the origins of a given community remain a mystery; we know that not only the apostles (for example, disciples of John the Baptist in Ephesus) were active in missions in the Mediterranean. Apart from personal letters such as Paul's Letter to Philemon or 2–3 John, the recipient is a collective entity to which the author addresses specific recommendations. Nowadays, only the Epistle to the Romans, 1–2 Corinthians, and the Epistle to the Galatians are considered Pauline, while the rest were written either by Paul, Peter, John, James, Judah, or someone close to them.[21] The entire corpus can be divided into proto-Paul, deutero-Paul, pastoral epistles, catholic epistles, early and late epistles or the letters of Paul, John, Peter, et cetera, depending on the adopted criterion. It is also possible that the so-called schools (like Paul's school, John's school) as environments of disciples of the apostles, created at least a proportion of letters. The final linguistic form of the letters was also influenced by the fact that they could be dictated by the apostles but written down by their assistants.

Epistolary literature is a particular phenomenon because, on the one hand, it was written to people speaking Greek, which influenced the linguistic form,

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[20] In the case of Paul's letters, there are often theological treatises of selected fragments of the Old Testament conducted according to rabbinical rules (the rules of rabbinic dialectics: the seven rules of Rabbi Hillel. Sibney Towner, "Hermeneutical System of Hillel and the Tannaim: A Fresh Look," *HUCA* 53 (1983): 101–35; Reimund Bieringer, ed., *The New Testament and Rabbinic Literature* (Brill, 2010).

[21] Laura Dingeldein, "Paul the Letter Writer," in *The Oxford Handbook of Pauline Studies*, ed. Matthew Novenson and Barry Matlock (Oxford University Press, 2020), 280–93.

rhetoric, stylistic devices and the use of the Septuagint when quoting the Old Testament. On the other hand, its subject matter and the problems discussed are strongly related to Semitic culture and the theology of the Old Testament; the letters are full of Semitism, and the vocabulary is firmly rooted in the religious language of Judaism. Ultimately, they constitute a bridge between the Jewish and Greco-Roman worlds and mentality. It also remains to be debated to what extent the authors reflect the typical way of thinking of both worlds or what factors colour the concepts they adopt (Semitic or more Hellenic). They are certainly steeped in the rules of Greek and rabbinical rhetoric.[22] In the context of our considerations, it seems particularly important to me that epistolary literature, set in two worlds, allows us to look at the process of changes that the Judeo-gentile-Christian community had to undergo in the second half of the first century, which was closely related to the separation mentioned above from Judaism and entering the pagan world. One of the most significant markers of these changes was the attitude towards out-group and in-group members.

Most epistles reference groups or individuals conflicting with the apostles and their teachings. Paul's epistles are particularly saturated with them (see Epistle to the Galatians, Corinthians, Thessalonians). Maintaining apostolic authority and community unity was one of the most severe problems the apostles had to face. While in the early letters (especially proto-Paul) this problem is visible and sometimes destabilised the life of communities, in the pastoral and late letters, it is already one of the key topics (2 Thess 2:1–4; 1 Tim 1:3–11; 4:1–10; 6:3–5; 2 Tim 2:14; 3:1–9; Titus 1:10–16). Paradoxically, however, the tendencies of Judaising groups and leaders forced apostles to make radical decisions and helped to draw the boundaries between Judaism and the identity of first Christians. Moreover, at the end of the first century, the influence of the early Gnosticism, Docetism, and various forms of ethical liberalism grew stronger.[23] These are explicit in the epistles of John (1 John 1:18–26; 4:1–6; 2 John 7–11), Peter (2 Pet 2:1–22), and Jude (3–23). I mentioned this in chapter 5.1.2. When analyzing chart 2, it was a significant factor shaping the ethical and psychological attitude of the authors of

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[22] Authors commonly use parallelisms, metonymies, antitheses and concentric structures. However, their letters are diverse in structure, subject matter, style and linguistic richness. Although it is believed that the letters of Paul and 1 Peter present a high level of Greek (the letters of John are pretty poor), even Paul does not fare well compared to classical Greek. For example, Irenaeus, and the author of Seneca's apocryphal letter to Paul, already noticed stylistic defects. See Medala Stanislaw, "Wprowadzenie do listów św. Pawła," in *Dzieje Apostolskie i Listy św. Pawła*, ed. Józef Frankowski and Stanisław Medala (Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1997), 82–114.

[23] Batten, "Letter of Jude"; Jörg Frey, *The Letter of Jude and the Second Letter of Peter* (Baylor University Press, 2018); Ruth Edwards, "Christology and the Opponents," in *The Johannine Literature*, ed. Barnabas Lindars, Ruth Edwards, and John Court (Sheffield Academic, 2000); David Burge, "A Sub-Christian Epistle? Appreciating 2 Peter as an Anti-Sophistic Polemic," *JSNT* 44 (2021): 310–32.

the letters, thanks to which, they most likely obtained a higher cratism quotient than the gospels and Acts. In light of the above, however, this problem intensified at the end of the first century, and some differences can be expected between early and late epistolary literature.

7.3. Power-Dominance and Inter-Group Tensions

The object of this analysis was the epistolary literature of the New Testament, in which the authors describe the problems of Christian communities. Most of the epistles have a rather similar literary structure, in which the first part focuses more on theological issues and the second on problems of an ethical and practical nature.[24] In chapter 5, the level of cratic orientation was presented for all the epistles (0.75) and it was higher than the historical narrative but lower than the apocalyptic narrative. A more detailed classification of the epistles, however, reveals some very interesting variations. Commencing with the epistles of Paul (50s–60s of the first century) and ending with the epistles of John, Jude, and Peter (turn of the first/second century), they cover a period of fifty–sixty years of the development of Christian communities and the formation of their identity among conditions of growing threat and conflict within the pagan and Jewish environment. Thus, they constitute a relatively coherent narrative textual corpus, which is a valuable source of information about the processes mentioned above and the manner of the linguistic (and thus cognitive) presentation of the reality in which the communities of believers were situated. The division of the epistolary corpus for the purposes of this study was not an easy task, however, for two reasons: (1) the difficulty of unambiguously determining the author and the date of the epistle's composition, (2) the great diversity of epistles in terms of their volume and subject matter. Studying these epistles in light of quantitative linguistics is reasonable if the texts are analyzed in groups (as a larger text corpus) and by assigning groups of epistles to appropriate periods. The basis for our formation of these groups are the conclusions of biblical scholars concerning the authorship and time of writing.[25] In light of the contemporary discussion on the epistolary literature of the New Testament, the traditional division into two collections, *Corpus Paulinum* and Catholic Epistles, is difficult to accept.[26] Consequently, three corpora are identified:

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[24] Klauck, *Ancient Letters*.

[25] Klauck, *Ancient Letters*.

[26] Gamble and Novenson, "Letters in the New Testament and in the Greco-Roman World"; Ounce, *Pastoral Epistles*; Schnelle, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*; Stefan Schreiber, "Briefliteratur im Neuen Testament," in *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, ed. Martin Ebner and Stefan Schreiber (Kohlhammer, 2019), 255–70; Darian Lockett, *An Introduction to the Catholic Epistles* (T&T Clark, 2011).

- Proto-Paul Epistles (Romans, 1–2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, Philemon);
- Deutero-Paul Epistles, written by the disciples of Paul, or partly by Paul and partly by his disciples (Colossians, Ephesians, 1–2 Timothy, Titus, 2 Thessalonians);
- Catholic Epistles (James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, Jude).[27]

The origin of the first group of epistles can be placed in the 50s and 60s of the first century, the origin of the second group in a later period, generally in the 60s and 80s of the first century; although, for example, the origin of the Epistle to the Ephesians even dates to the last decade of the first century. However, The Deutero-Paul Epistles are closely related to the Proto-Paul and Paul himself; they share a common vocabulary, themes, and semantic and syntactic constructions. It is very possible that some of the Deutero-Paul Epistles were written by Paul himself, but were later modified or expanded by his disciples.[28] Together, they form two strongly related textual corpora: the earlier and the later. The third group (Catholic Epistles) is usually dated as the group of the latest epistles, namely, after 70 CE (James, 1 Peter), and the epistles of John, Jude, and 2 Peter are identified as those written in the last decade of the first century. This division, therefore, allows us to capture the linguistic changes between Proto-Paul and Deutero-Paul, as well as between all of Paul's epistles (Proto- and Deutero-Paul as *Corpus Paulinum*) and the later epistles, specifically the Catholic Epistles. These epistles are not treated in this study as the expression of the beliefs of one author only but of beliefs and understanding of the world typical for a larger group, which may be a collective author, several authors, or possibly one author expressing common beliefs. In both cases, this gives us the possibility to grasp the linguistic changes over time, in which the identity and consciousness of Christians were being formed, that is, against the background of the growing tension with the external world (Jewish and pagan). This corpus was analyzed in terms of the intensity of power-dominance, as well as terminology denoting the emotions of distance. As previously mentioned, we expected an increase in the index of a cratic orientation (power-dominance) and the distance emotions. The results are as follows:

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[27] The exception is the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is not included in any of the three groups. It is not an epistle by Paul, and it can hardly be considered a post-Pauline epistle. It has never been included in the group of Catholic Epistles. It is an epistle different from the others; moreover, it is strongly connected with the problems typical of the Old Testament discourse. It also obtains the values of quotients that differ from the general results for the other epistles, which will be mentioned later.

[28] Malina and Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary*; Margaret MacDonald, "The Deutero-Pauline Letters in Contemporary Research," in Novenson and Matlock, *Oxford Handbook of Pauline Studies*, 258–79; Harry Gamble, "The Formation of the Pauline Corpus," in Novenson and Matlock, *Oxford Handbook of Pauline Studies*, 338–54.
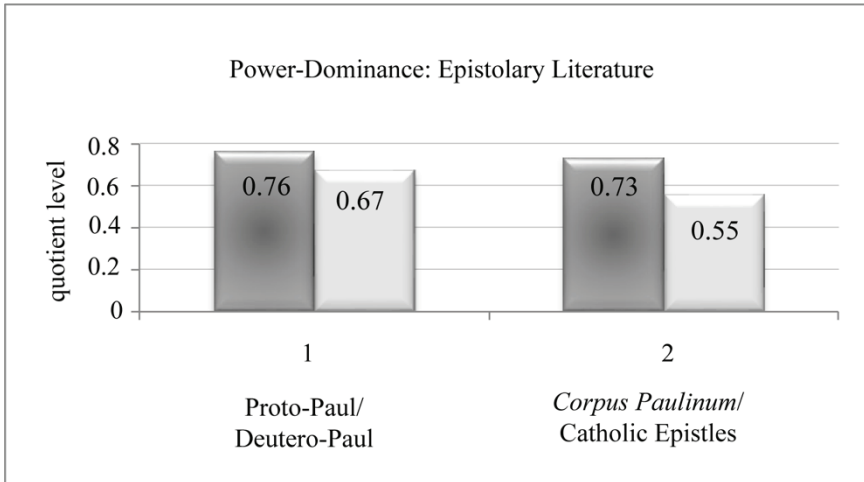
Chart 9. Power-Dominance in the New Testament Epistles

Chart 9 shows a slight difference between Proto-Paul Epistles (0.76) and Deutero-Paul Epistles (0.67) and a significant difference between *Corpus Paulinum* (0.73) and Catholic Epistles (0.55).[29] In the first case, the difference is statistically insignificant; in the second, it is significant (see appendix 2), which means that major/important changes in language use only occur in the Catholic Epistles. However, this result is surprising. First of all, the way the world is described in epistolary literature changes over time as the tension between Christian communities and the social environment increases. These changes are in the same direction both in the Deutero-Paul Epistles and in the Catholic Epistles. Instead of the expected increase in power-dominance orientation, there is a decrease that applies to two types of comparisons. Although in Paul's epistles (proto and deutero) it is only possible to notice a certain tendency, in the Catholic Epistles the decrease of power-dominance is already evident. In other words, instead of the expected increase of this orientation (see Hypothesis 5), the results are the opposite. According to the theory of the pursuit of a sense of power, this is an incomprehensible result. After all, every social group in a threatening situation makes efforts to regain its lost position and social status and seeks resources and sources of strength to resist the threat.[30] The perception of the social reality in

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[29] For the elementary, basic cratic vocabulary, the result for Proto-Paul is 0.33, for Deutero-Paul it is 0.27, for *Corpus Paulinum* 0.31 and Catholic Epistles 0.24.

[30] Uta Quasthoff, "Social Prejudice as a Resource of Power: Towards the Functional Ambivalence of Stereotypes," in *Language, Power and Ideology*, ed. Ruth Wodak (Benjamins, 1989), 137–63.

such circumstances is quite naturally saturated with notions of force, power, victory, domination and the dichotomy of social agents (losers–winners, the stronger–the weaker, subjects–rulers). In the case of Christian epistolary literature, however, it is different.

Given such changes, a general weakening of the social distance should be expected in the late epistles. Such distance is primarily maintained and expressed by emotions such as fear, hatred, anger, shame and contempt, while it is weakened by love, friendship and compassion. A change in the proportion of emotions towards decreasing the distance would, therefore, be inconsistent with Hypothesis 6, but consistent with the result presented in chart 9, and consistent with the general assumptions of the theory of striving for a sense of power (an increase in power-dominance co-occurs with an increase in emotions that maintain social distance, and *vice versa*).

7.4. Emotions and Evaluations of the Social World

An overall comparison of the proportions of words found in the epistles denoting the distance emotions (fear, hatred, anger, shame and contempt) to words denoting all emotions (distance and affinity) is as follows:

> 1. Proto-Paul 0.36 and Deutero-Paul 0.29;
> 2. *Corpus Paulinum* 0.33 and Catholic Epistles 0.20.

The higher the numerical value of the quotient, the greater the distance between the parties of the relationship in which the emotion of distance occurs (God's anger towards the ungodly, Christians' hatred and contempt for evil or the ungodly). Thus, this is the same pattern of change as in chart 9: a weakening of social distance in later epistles. This result does not distinguish between interpersonal and divine-human relations. However, if from the whole pool of words denoting emotions, those in which God is the subject of the emotion are separated, then the results for interpersonal relations are as follows: Proto-Paul Epistles–0.36, Deutero-Paul Epistles–0.34, *Corpus Paulinum*–0.35, Catholic Epistles–0.24. Consequently, there is nearly the same distribution of the results as in chart 9.[31] This overall summary enables us to capture the dominant mood in the different collections of epistles. Still, it does not allow us to conclude how much the attitude towards particular groups, persons and their deeds changes. A more

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[31] God, as the subject of the emotion of distance, appears mainly in the Proto-Paul Epistles (it is about anger [ὀργή], which accounts for approximately 20 pecent of the total frequency of the emotion of distance in these epistles), while as the subject of the emotion of proximity, he appears in both the Proto-Paul and Deutero-Paul Epistles (which accounts for almost 30 percent of the total frequency of the emotion of proximity in these epistles, mainly ἀγαπάω, ἀγάπη, ἐλεέω, ἔλεος).

detailed analysis of the dominant emotions requires slightly different comparisons, in which the construction of the quotient would not be based on the counterbalance of the emotion of distance to the emotion of affinity. The point is that the emotions of affinity are generally experienced in relation to a different social group (in-group) than the emotions of distance (out-group), so they should be separated.

The division and distribution of emotions in the religious community of that time were quite unambiguous. The emotions of affinity were usually experienced towards the representatives of one's own group, while the emotions of distance usually applied to feelings towards strangers (a person, their deed, events). If the object was judged negatively, the authors usually used words denoting emotions of distance, if the object was judged positively, then words relating to emotions of affinity were chosen. The distribution of emotions in biblical discourse reflects what was written in chapter 3, namely, that emotions are an indicator of social order, preferred values, and ethical order. Moreover, they provide evidence of unambiguous divisions between own and foreign. Although exceptions to this rule exist in the biblical discourse (see Matt 5:44; John 3:16), such exceptions do not change the overall pattern of the attitudes expressed in the analyzed epistles. In practice, the more frequent use of words denoting the emotion of distance implies a change of the attitude towards what the community denied and protected itself from (the only exception here being fear (φόβος), which may be an expression of homage to God, although it too emphasizes distance rather than affinity). There is usually a change of attitude in a more negative direction towards unacceptable acts (like adultery, deceit), unacceptable persons (opponents of the apostles, the gospel, heretics), or religious beliefs and practices not accepted by the community. The object of the changed attitude may be a person from outside the community who is considered an enemy, but it might also be a person within the community who denies the community's accepted standards (1 Cor 3:1–3; 11:17–22; Gal 1:6). Just as often, the authors thus express a negative attitude towards a general category of unacceptable acts or persons, without identifying specific figures or groups. A reading of the epistles, as well as the prophetic texts of the Old Testament, in many places does not make it clear whether the authors have a specific foreign group in mind or whether they are perhaps speaking generally of a social category (see 1 Tim 4:1; 1 John 4:9, 11). Ultimately, the terminology of the emotions of distance versus affinity generally refers to what is unaccepted versus accepted in the community. As John Pilch and Bruce Malina write:

> A fundamental cultural presupposition of the area was the ingroup/outgroup perspective. Ingroup feelings are rooted in the perception of similarity with others, especially with one's … neighbourhood, town, or city, and ethnic group. Ingroup members are treated with loyalty, openness, solidarity, and support. Those falling outside the ingroup boundaries are the outgroup. With the outgroup, almost "anything goes." There were different rules on how members of the outgroup might

be treated, including limits on interactions with outgroup members. Dealings with outgroup persons are indifferent, even hostile. For practical purposes members of the outgroup are, again, a different species of being.[32]

Applying this division (that is, separating the emotions of closeness from the emotions of distance) to the New Testament epistles, the following result is obtained:
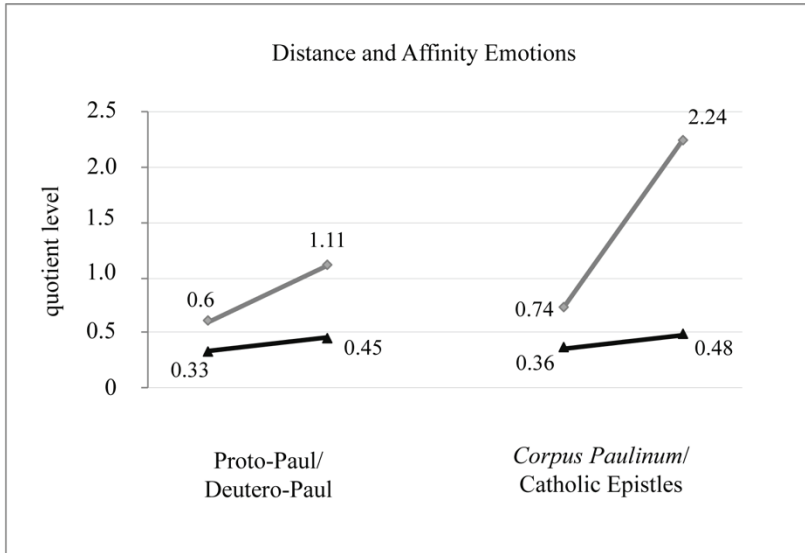
Chart 10. Distance and Affinity Emotions in the New Testament Epistles

The upper line shows changes in the frequency of words denoting the emotion of affinity; the lower line represents the emotion of distance in the four groups of epistles. The quotient was calculated as the proportion of verses containing the emotion word to the remaining verses composing the given corpus.[33] The distance emotion quotients are not significantly different (the difference is not statistically significant) between Proto-Paul (0.33) and Deutero-Paul Epistles (0.45), despite the different numerical value of the quotient. Nor do they differ significantly between *Corpus Paulinum* (0.36) and Catholic Epistles (0.48). This means that despite some differences in the frequency of the vocabulary of distance emotion

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[32] Pilch and Malina, *Social-Science Commentary*, 17.
[33] The quotient values in charts 10 and 11 have been multiplied by 10 to facilitate comparisons. As in the previous chapter, it is only a technical operation (the significance of differences between the quotients was calculated based on primary data).

in the late text corpora (Deutero-Paul and Catholic Epistles), these changes are not profound. Thus, from a quantitative perspective, the emotional attitude of the authors of the late epistles does not change in the direction of being more negative towards the ungodly, their actions or evil in general, compared to the early epistles. The change (statistically insignificant) may be due to various reasons, but it does not constitute a basis for concluding an actual change in the emotional attitude. By contrast, an evident change is shown in the late epistles in terms of vocabulary denoting the emotions of affinity. In the case of the Deutero-Paul Epistles, this is a twofold increase (from 0.6 to 1.11), in the case of the Catholic Epistles, it is as much as threefold (from 0.74 to 2.24). Such a large increase (statistically significant) also explains why, in the general list of emotions at the beginning of section 7.3, there was a substantial decrease in the distance (from 0.36 to 0.29 and from 0.33 to 0.20). This emotional climate of the epistles expresses the conditions of increasing threat. Still, interestingly, this change seems to be without any significant relation to the negativization of attitudes towards enemies (as usually occurs in conditions of group threat). It is, in fact, quite the opposite.

In short, the distribution of linguistic data in chart 10 is congruent with the results presented in chart 9—an increase in the frequency of the emotions of distance does not accompany the weakening of power-dominance orientation in the Deutero-Paul Epistles and Catholic Epistles. The same dependencies were presented in chapters 5 and 6, although the weakening of the power-dominance orientation was accompanied by a decrease in the frequency of distance emotions. In this case, there is no such a decrease, but neither is there a marked increase, while the emotions of affinity increase drastically. Once again, what this means in practice is that the emotional attitude of the authors of the late epistles does not change in a more negative direction towards the godless or their deeds, compared to the early epistles. In contrast, the attitude towards their own and their deeds (including God and Jesus, understood here as "their own," although these are rare cases) radically changes in a more positive direction. Although inconsistent with Hypotheses 5 and 6, this result presents a consistent data pattern. It suggests that under increasing tension with the external environment, perceptions of the social world and its linguistic representation do not change towards an unambiguous and deepening dichotomization or negativization.

However, an analysis of the valuation of social entities by assessing the frequency of words denoting emotions is only one possibility. These analyses should be supplemented in the case of unexpected or surprising changes, as seen in the late epistles. The most common and unambiguous means of evaluating are adjectival forms (good, bad, sinful, saint). While emotions express a certain attitude towards an object, adjective forms are used to express a specific evaluation. Thus, in order to further verify the consistency of the above results, an additional hypothesis (Hypothesis 7) has been adopted, which is opposite to Hypotheses 5 and

6 and stems from the data presented in charts 9 and 10, namely, that the lack of increase of the distance emotions quotient and the increase of the affinity quotient in the Deutero-Paul Epistles and the Catholic Epistles will coincide with a lack of increase of the negative evaluation quotient and with an increase of the positive valuation quotient. In other words, positive and negative adjectives will have a similar pattern of changes as affinity and distance emotions. The results are as follows:
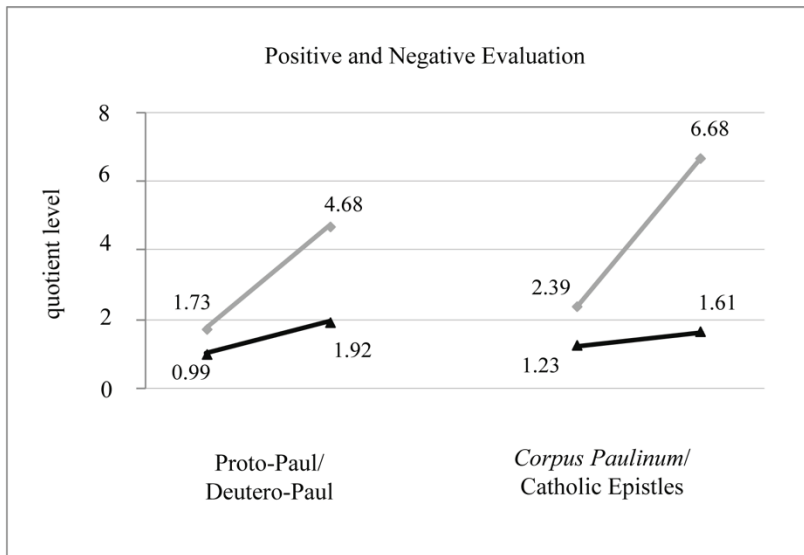
Chart 11. Adjective Evaluations in the New Testament Epistles

The upper line represents the change in the frequency of positively-valued adjectives (for example, good, saint, pure, righteous); the lower line relates to negatively-valued adjectives (for example, bad, sinful, unclean, impious). As before, the value of the quotient was calculated as the proportion of the number of verses containing a positive or negative adjective to the remaining verses in the given text corpus.[34] The principle of the division of adjectives is based on the same assumptions which were presented in the case of the division of emotions for chart 10. Almost always, the negative adjectives value the negated—whether

[34] All the adjectives were searched verse by verse in the interlinear Greek text of the New Testament (Remigiusz Popowski and Michał Wojciechowski, *Grecko-polski Nowy Testament: Wydanie interlinearne z kodami gramatycznymi, z kodami Stronga i Popowskiego oraz pełną transliteracją greckiego tekstu* (Vocatio, 2021). A given word was included in the adjective group if categorized in the interlinear edition as an adjective form.

that be people or things—of those who are unaccepted by the community (the godless, those committing immoral acts). In contrast, positive adjectives, value the desired objects (the faithful, those committing good acts, God). This reflects the clear division between one's own and outsiders and the attitudes preferred towards them. The above result concerning adjective forms is almost an identical reflection of the changes in emotion shown in chart 10. There is a noticeable, nearly threefold increase in the frequency of positive adjectives from Proto-Paul Epistles to Deutero-Paul Epistles (from 1. 73 to 4.68), and from *Corpus Paulinum* to Catholic Epistles (from 2.39 to 6.68), and a nonsignificant increase in negative adjectives between *Corpus Paulinum* and Catholic Epistles (from 1.23 to 1.61). The only difference compared to chart 10 is shown by Proto-Paul Epistles and Deutero-Paul Epistles, in which the quotient values of negative adjectives are statistically significant (0.99 and 1.92).[35]

In summary, the overall pattern of results (charts 9, 10 and 11) proves beyond any doubt that the Christian community, under the growing tension and threat from the pagan world, reacts in a different way than was assumed based on the accepted theory of the pursuit of a sense of power. Above all, there are no linguistic changes that would indicate a greater focus on the notions of force, power or domination, so there are no changes typical of the increasing asymmetry of social relations and dichotomization, which become quite natural under the conditions of group conflict. Furthermore (and most surprisingly), there is no negativization in the late epistles of attitudes towards all that the community did not accept and denied, and with which it was in increasingly strong confrontation, specifically the godless, the deviants, their deeds and opinions. The intensifying confrontation with a threatening environment (broadly defined as the out-group) thus produces a coherent set of changes that are incomprehensible according to the adopted theory and hypotheses. Why does this happen?

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[35] The Epistle to the Hebrews, mentioned earlier, obtains completely different results from the above, which further confirms the distinctness of this epistle compared to the epistolary literature of the New Testament and the difficulty in assigning it to any of the groups. The power-dominance orientation is 1.24 and is the highest of the epistles. The distance emotion quotient is 0.41, while the affinity emotion is 0.34 (this is very low, corresponding to high power-dominance). The quotient of negative adjectives is 0.48, and the quotient of positive adjectives is 3.46. Perhaps the high level of power-dominance orientation and the low level of affinity emotion reflect the strong connections of this epistle with the Judaic and Old Testament traditions, in which there was also a high level of power-dominance and a low level of affinity emotion (see chapter 5). The uniqueness of the letter was also shown by discourse analyses conducted by David DeSilva, *Perseverance in Gratitude: A Socio-rhetorical Commentary on the Epistle 'to the Hebrews'* (Eerdmans, 2000) and Koester, *Hebrews*. The authors emphasize that this letter does not fit classical literature's rhetoric and discourse canons.

The interpretation of these results requires an extended theoretical perspective. The fact that the linguistic shifts in the New Testament epistles are so consistent (cratic orientation, emotions, evaluations) suggests that they reflect another regulatory mechanism not considered in this study, which plays a vital role in the conditions of conflict and threat. In fact, the Christian community seems to shift its attention from the threatening outside world (out-group) towards the values it professes and the fostering of relations between its members. This could be evidenced by the lack of an increase in negative evaluation (distance emotions and adjective forms) as well as a decrease in power-dominance orientation and an exceptionally high increase in positive evaluation (positive emotions and adjective forms). Such behavior seems not only consistent but also understandable in light of another psychological theory, namely, terror management theory, by Greenberg, Pyszczynski and Solomon.[36] The authors claim that one of the fundamental motivations of every human being is to protect themselves from existential anxiety, which mainly stems from a sense of their own mortality. One of the most important ways to handle such anxiety is to participate in a "collective system of meanings,"[37] that is a socially developed and group-adhered worldview, especially a religious worldview. A system of beliefs usually indicates a solution to the problem of death in the form of a belief in resurrection or in the existence of a paradise after death. Such a function may also be performed by a nonreligious worldview, referring to the sphere of ethical values, science or art. Scientific achievements, artistic life and the creation of works may ensure symbolic immortality. The system of collective meanings becomes a buffer, protecting a person from an irremovable fear of death. It is not a new explanation; the authors of terror management theory, in an original manner, refer inter alia, to the work of Ernest Becker,[38] present in literature and philosophy for a long time.[39] The key for Greenberg, Pyszczynski and Solomon, however, is the empirically confirmed claim that when a professed system of collective meanings is threatened, both the individual and the entire group undertake an effort to, firstly, separate themselves from the source of the threat and, secondly, strengthen the professed system of values and their worldview. The very contact with people with different worldviews makes

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[36] Jeff Greenberg, Tom Pyszczynski, and Sheldon Solomon, "The Causes and Consequences of a Need for Self-Esteem: A Terror Management Theory," in *Public Self and Private Self*, ed. Roy Baumeister (Springer, 1986), 189–212; Jeff Greenberg et al., "Evidence for Terror Management Theory II: The Effects of Mortality Salience on Reaction to Those Who Threaten or Bolster the Cultural Worldview," *JPSP* 58 (1990): 308–18; Dylan Horner et al., "Terror Management, Dogmatism, and Open-Mindedness," in *Divided: Open-Mindedness and Dogmatism in a Polarized World*, ed. Victor Ottati, Chandley Stern, and Shanto Iyengar (Oxford Academic, 2023), 268–86.

[37] Janusz Reykowski, "Konflikty polityczne," in *Podstawy psychologii politycznej*, ed. Krystyna Skarżynska (Zysk i Spolka, 2002), 217.

[38] Ernest Becker, *The Denial of Death* (The Free Press, 1973).

[39] Paul Tillich, *The Courage To Be* (Yale University Press, 1952).

a person aware that his or her belief system is not acknowledged by everyone, which generates a feeling of existential threat, particularly intensified in group conflict conditions. And this is precisely the situation faced by Christian communities in the second half of the first century and beyond.

The results presented above clearly illustrate that in these communities there is a strong focus on a positive valuation of what is desirable for the community (and not an intensification of negative evaluation language). According to the terror management theory, such linguistic behavior seems understandable and protective in order to maintain the identity and cohesion of the group. This is especially true since in the collective system of meanings of the Christian community, a special place was occupied by such values as forgiveness, love (including love for enemies), renunciation from retaliation and hatred. Paradoxically, instead of the rise of negative attitudes and the perception of the world in terms of struggle, power, or division into the strong and the weak, which is typical of group conflicts, there is a turn to one's own ethos as a source of a sense of community and overcoming the fear of danger. The changes in the perception of the world and the use of language could be a response to the Christians' professed collective system of meanings, their religious buffer, and their worldview. And it is worth recalling that it was primarily rooted in the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, who (as shown in chapter 6) was characterized by an extremely low cratism and a correspondingly higher frequency of the emotions of affinity. Similar changes were also noticeable in the gospel of John, which most likely represents the Johannine Community. This community, facing a growing threat at the end of the first century CE, primarily focuses on in-group relations (those between group members). While distancing itself from a hostile and dangerous world, it promotes as no earlier gospel has, the ideal of brotherly love. But it came at a price.

I think that the linguistic changes in the late epistles demonstrate the progressive hermeticization of Christians. The focus on social relations, most similar to the social ethos of Jesus, and the retreat from the threatening world seem to indicate a deepening difference (maybe even a gap) between the church at the end of the first century and the social environment. The linguistic changes also demonstrate the creation of a new religious language, probably a language of alienation in relation to the pagan social world. Malina also described this phenomenon in his analysis of the language of the Johannine tradition, especially the Gospel of John. He invokes speech accommodation theory[40] and the concept of anti-language[41] to describe the process of the progressive alienation of the Johannine

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[40] Howard Giles, "Speech Accommodation Theory: The First Decade and Beyond," in *Communication Yearbook 10*, ed. Margaret McLauglin (Sage, 1987), 13–48.
[41] Michael Halliday, "Anti-Languages," *AA* 78 (1976): 570–84.

Community.[42] The problem of anti-language in John is widely discussed today as an essential feature of this theological tradition.[43] A detailed study of the Late Epistles language and of the whole Johannine tradition would certainly show the linguistic distinctiveness of these corpora,[44] but in the context of this analysis, they also show a common aspect. Thus, it is not only the Johannine tradition that can attest to the emergence of a distinct, hermeticising group within first-century Christianity. This applies in general to the late Christian narrative (Catholic Epistles, Gospel of John and probably also Revelation), which shows similar linguistic changes, probably resulting from a growing threat and closure within the system of professed values. However, this analysis concerns linguistic changes of a more fundamental and universal nature than that proposed by Malina et al.—it is not specifically related to the particular problems of a theological or doctrinal nature, which in my view, deserves special attention. As can be seen, the conclusions drawn from examining the New Testament epistolary narrative from a psychological and quantitative perspective can be a valuable complement to strictly exegetical research. The quantitative analysis also reveals that the changes within the Christian community at the end of the first century had much broader overtones than, as is often emphasized in the literature, the radicalisation of beliefs and attitudes towards nonorthodox groups. The changes were also positive, involving a strengthening of relationships, a tightening of bonds, and an exposition of the original values of the Jesus ethos. Paradoxically then, the negativization of the vision of the social world mentioned earlier has some limitations, being only one of several aspects of the transformation of discriminated Christianity.[45]

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[42] Malina, *Gospel of John in Sociolinguistic Perspective*; Malina, "John's: the Maverick Christian."

[43] David Reed, "Rethinking John's Social Setting: Hidden Transcript, Anti-Language, and the Negotiation of the Empire," *BTB* 36 (2006): 93–106. Anti-language is a natural consequence of radicalization and social alienation of most social and religious groups. It maintains the group's identity but simultaneously helps create an alternative reality against the social environment. Thanks to anti-language, the community can maintain its beliefs, values, and sense of uniqueness. William Domeris, "Shades of Irony in the Anti-Language of Amos," *HTS* 72 (2016): 1–8; William Schniedewind, "Qumran Hebrew as an Antilanguage," *JBL* 118 (1999): 235–52.

[44] John Hurtgen, *Anti-Language in the Apocalypse of John* (Mellen Biblical, 1993); Reed, "Rethinking John's Social Setting"; Malina, *Gospel of John in Sociolinguistic*.

[45] This is a particularly important issue in the history of monotheistic religions. As is well known, the persecution of the followers of these religions evoked relatively different reactions, ranging from outright retaliation through forgiveness to the acceptance of martyrdom as an act of supreme sacrifice. The response to discrimination and persecution is closely related to the basic message of these religions as formulated by their founders, namely, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad. Amadeusz Citlak, "Suicide among Monotheistic Religions: Between Sacrifice, Honor and Power," *JORH* 62 (2023): 1–30.

The atypicality of this Christian language is also reminiscent of the conclusions drawn from Gerd Theissen's works, namely, that one of the unique features of the religious movement initiated by Jesus was the re-evaluation and reworking of the emotions of anger and fear. These lost their overwhelming power to influence both interpersonal and divine-human relationships,[46] and thus exactly as our analyses have shown in this chapter and sections 5.2, 5.3, 6.3, and 6.4. It should be emphasized that this is not just about changes in the understanding and function of selected individual emotions. Emotions are a way of valuing events, an expression and an indicator of the ethos of the community. Changes in the constellation of emotions should be interpreted as an indicator of broader transformations, namely, transformations of social relations. As Theissen wrote, the deconstruction of the social relations of the time was one of the most important and momentous changes introduced into the Mediterranean culture by Jesus and his disciples.[47] In this analysis, the result is remarkably consistent, entailing cratic vocabulary, emotion and adjectival categories.

7.5. Conclusions

The epistolary literature of the New Testament shows significant changes in the form of language use and, more specifically, in the perception and description of the world. Considering that the subject matter of the epistles focuses on the relationship between Christians and between human beings and God, the overwhelming majority of them are the descriptions of social relations understood horizontally and vertically.[48] The later epistles (Deutero-Paul, Catholic Epistles) written in the conditions of increasing tension within the pagan and Jewish environment, contrary to the accepted hypotheses, do not show features typical of a narrative created by a threatened group as social psychologists usually describe it. There is no significant change in the preference for the emotion of distance, and no intensification of the negative evaluation of the threat. The only exception is the Deutero-Paul Epistles, in which there is an increase in negative evaluation (nor

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[46] Theissen, *Soziologie der Jesusbewegung*; Theissen, *Studien zur Soziologie*; Theissen, *Erleben und Verhalten*.

[47] "Die Jesusbewegung unterschied sich von allen anderen Bewegungen (abgesehen von der Täuferbewegung) dadurch, dass ihr jeder nativistische Zug fehlte. Sie rebellierte nicht gegen die Fremde im Lande. Im Gegenteil, zu ihrer Vision des Gottesherrschaft gehörte die Vorstellung, dass die Fremden (zusammen mit den zerstreuten Israeliten) herbeistromen warden, um mit Abraham, Isaac und Jakob zu essen" (Theissen, *Die Jesusbewegung*).

[48] I think that many theological themes that are simply religious reflection on God's action towards human can also be placed in this optic. This especially applies to soteriology and ecclesiology.

does the power-dominance orientation increase in the later epistles). Moreover, the epistolary discourse changes in the opposite direction.

A coherent explanation of such changes in the description of the socio-religious reality of Christians required a broadening of the theoretical perspective. The changes in the description of the world evident in the late epistles, inconsistent in light of the adopted hypotheses, appear consistent according to terror management theory. It seems very likely that in the conditions of growing antagonism and conflict with the world, the decisive role was played not so much by the desire to regain a threatened (or lost) sense of power but by the need to preserve the identity and cohesion of the community. The results can be interpreted as a community response that consisted not so much in an active fight against the threat (although, of course, some elements of such behavior are visible if only in the widespread use of negative stereotypes), but in a greater concentration around a professed value system. What is crucial here, however, is the content of the collective system of meanings professed by Christians, the essence of which was the social ethos proclaimed by Jesus, including the renunciation of retaliation, hatred, and love of enemies and forgiveness.[49] The recalling of this ethos arguably resulted in a greater focus on the identity of the community and increasing its chances of survival in a threatening world. This is somewhat of a phenomenon, as a threatened community adheres to such ideals, which, while increasing the sense of the bond between members and strengthening the belief in their value system, also inhibited its determination to fight directly against the threat and aggressively oppose it. From a psychological perspective, such a strategy seems unusual and even ineffective, although it must be remembered that according to the professed ethos and the real possibilities of the group, it was probably the only possible strategy. It is difficult to imagine Christians at the end of the first century fighting against their surroundings. Of course, this does not mean that communities abandon negative out-group stereotypes. As mentioned in section 7.2, they are still an essential part of their religious discourse in both early and later epistles. However, they do not play such an important protective role or gain in strength. The cognitive orientation of the community thus shifts in the opposite direction to the threat.

This raises the important question: was this not a strategy that threatened to deepen the socio-cultural alienation of Christians? Could such a group have survived in the long term? Or was it just a strategy forced by the circumstances, in which a weaker group, without the possibility to defend itself, simply had no other choice but to close itself in the world of professed ideals and brotherly love, renouncing the justified, public expression of hostility or hatred towards its

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[49] If this ethos was infused with the idea of retaliation, of the necessity to fight, it is most likely that there would be an increase in both power-dominance orientation, emotions of distance and negative evaluation. Mike Friedmann, "Religious Fundamentalism and Responses to Mortality Salience: A Quantitative Text Analysis," *IJPR* 18 (2008): 216–37.

enemies? The questions seem legitimate because, first, the very difficult position of Christians as a threatened group made it difficult for them to express overt hostility and resentment. Second, in the corpus of Revelation, which depicts the final eschatological conflict with the godless world, it is not only power dominance which achieves the highest score (2.65) but also the emotion of distance (0.86 - a value twice as high as in the later epistles). The linguistic differences between the epistles and Revelation are probably also due to the different thematic and cognitive perspectives of their authors,[50] but in both cases, we can see a community in conflict: in the epistles it is discriminated without the possibility of real defence, while in Revelation it regains status and power, and its physical defender becomes God. Such a juxtaposition would also reflect quite well how the community handled the problem of honor and shame. The honor deprived of Christians and their dishonoring through discrimination and social rejection forced them to seek it within the community (in the new family according to Mark, as discussed in chapter 6). However, this honor may also have been realistically regained before the eyes of an unaccepting world when, in God's final apocalyptic conflict with an unbelieving world, he intercedes on their behalf and restores their authority and power. In other words, the linguistic changes in the New Testament epistles may have been an expression of the changes described by terror management theory (which would have brought the belief system of the second half of the first century community closer to the ethos of Jesus), but there may also have been a natural consequence of them not being able to realistically defend themselves against a more powerful enemy.[51]

In conclusion, the theory of striving for a sense of power provides a conceptual frame that creates new interpretive possibilities for the biblical narrative that have not been previously considered. The results did not confirm the adopted Hypotheses 5 and 6, but the linguistic changes are also consistent in the light of this theory. In the case of the epistolary literature, however, it needs to be supplemented with other theories of social psychology. Christian communities in the second half of the 1st century were changing dynamically, entering into complex relationships with the pagan environment. The analysis of these relationships does not lend itself to a one-dimensional perspective, and on the ground of social-scientific criticism, it requires both interpretative flexibility and readiness to reformulate the accepted hypotheses or concepts. The epistolary discourse, being an expression of the convictions of a rather unusual religious group—for those

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[50] Jayson Georges, "From Shame to Honor: A Theological Reading of Romans for Honor-Shame Contexts," *Missiology 38* (2010): 295–307; Hurtgen, *Anti-Language in the Apocalypse of John*.

[51] And this is what happened, for example, at the end of the fourth century under Emperor Theodosius the Great: free since 313. (Edict of Milan) Christians, holding political power, turned against dissenters and pagans by persecuting them and banning them from their religion.

times—which in conditions of danger does not use typical defensive strategies and forces us to go beyond the most common explanations in psychology and sociology.

The question posed at the end of chapter 6 remains to be answered: does the analysis of the early and late letters allow us to better understand the changes in the image of Jesus in the gospels? I then suggested that the gospels of Matthew and Luke most likely present an image of Jesus of Nazareth which may have undergone some modification consisting of softening the radical social ethos that strongly distinguished him from his surroundings. The Gospel of John presents a different image, perhaps the closest to the historical Jesus (like the oldest of them—the Gospel of Mark). The changes in power-dominance in the Gospel of John and the late letters go in the same direction, which means that in conditions of threat, the community most likely focused attention upon what expressed its original ethos, what was derived from the teaching and life of Jesus, and what was different from the surrounding world. Consequently, the image of the master they cultivated was closer to the original, radical version. So, we would have two different reactions of the community to the outside world: an attempt to adapt versus separation and radicalization. The above explanation seems logical and generally consistent with the current state of exegetical research.[52] I think it can be assumed that we are dealing with an aspect of religious discourse that, regardless of the type of narrative (gospels, letters) or even the theological vision of the author, is highly sensitive to situational conditions. It is closely related to the author's perception of reality, although it is primarily visible outside the space of consciously constructed judgments. Did the authors of the letters and gospels intentionally make the described changes in the discourse and image of Jesus? I think yes, when it comes to the dimension of openly proclaimed beliefs (theology, ethics), but not when it comes to the usually invisible and very difficult to intentionally control structural space, expressed by the saturation of the discourse with an original terminological and conceptual network.

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[52] To summarize: the Gospel of Matthew is an attempt to overcome the crisis resulting from the collapse of traditional institutions of Judaism (temple, priesthood) and the redefinition of the Jewish-Christian community in the pagan world. The Gospel of Luke is an expression of self-awareness of the gentile-Christian community in the gentile world. The Gospel of John is an expression of a radical community, separating itself, creating an anti-language. And the late letters are an expression of the radicalization of the beliefs of Christian communities.

General Conclusion

Twardowski's School is an example of the continuation of Brentano's psychology, in which the basic assumptions of the Viennese psychologist-philosopher have gained a permanent place. These primarily concern the concept of intentionality, the analysis of mental acts and the nonreductionist character of psychology. Twardowski developed Brentano's theory of mental acts and followed a somewhat different path than, for example, Edmund Husserl in laying the foundations of phenomenology. The distinguishing element of this school was an analytical approach and descriptive, in a sense, phenomenological psychology. The developed theories, especially Twardowski's theory of acts and products, laid the foundations for the psychology of acts, as well as the products of these acts (mental and psychophysical products), the expression of which is constituted by cultural goods as language, poetry, works of art, et cetera. The language, sacred texts, historical documents, and customs were thus incorporated into the current of empirical psychology, which could not be restricted to purely experimental research. Cultural goods and historical-cultural psychology were to be a valuable source of psychological knowledge, just as they were for Wundt, Vygotsky and Meyerson. A field of inquiry defined as such enables placing psychological-biblical criticism in the broader perspective of historical-cultural psychology and not to treat it as just another example of applying theories or methods of modern psychology to the study of the biblical text. Its primary task is to provide empirical data on the historical or cultural conditions of the selected psychological variables. By its specificity, the biblical discourse constitutes an ideal, unique source of such data (in this case, linguistic) for sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists. This aspect is emphasized because psychological analyses of the biblical text are usually treated only as a supplement to biblical knowledge and not as a valuable empirical source of data relevant to the social sciences. I have tried to show this in the research presented in this work.

The basic conclusion that emerges from all the results obtained assumes that one of the most original theories of Twardowski's school, the theory of striving for power by Witwicki, predicts and accurately explains the dynamics of social relations, which is visible in the context of the socio-cultural transformations of

the biblical Judaism and Christianity. However, this is not an attempt to prove the reliability of this theory (although this is also important) but to indicate a variable that expresses the essence of the transformations and the evolution of the social world on which the religious-ethical tradition of Judaism and Christianity possibly is based. Not insignificant is the fact that Witwicki created the theory of cratism to a large extent based on the analysis of the ancient texts and then also tried to use it to interpret the lives of Socrates and Jesus of Nazareth. The interrelationships he indicated and the type of striving for power in these figures, originating in the Greek and Semitic culture, provided a theoretical starting point for this work.

In chapter 5, the notion of striving for power successfully identifies an area of change in social relations in the theocratically determined Judaism and later in Christianity of the first century CE. Indeed, the language describing interpersonal and divine-human relations changes, the cognitive perspective of the biblical authors also changes, and they represent a different conceptualisation of the world. The most likely explanation for these differences is the evolutionary perspective adopted here and the progressive differentiation of ancient Israel's social structures, which forced the Israelites of the time to develop new means of adequately achieving power, dominance and social position. This was closely related to the systematic abandonment of the importance of power as well as traditional forms of acquiring status and achieving hierarchy. The increasing complexity of social life required new competencies. These changes are reflected in the figure of Jesus, who (as shown in chapter 6) promotes an ethos that is far from the religious, and therefore also the theocratic, ethos of Judaism. Compared to the Old Testament (Septuagint) tradition, his message seems almost devoid of the concept of power-dominance, and is therefore so radically new as to be virtually revolutionary. And this is not a matter of doctrinal or theological issues. Jesus represents a new type of human relationship, more symmetrical and markedly distant from the common dichotomy of strong versus weak, master versus servant that existed then. Moreover, they deviated strongly from the traditional dynamic of honor, also favored in the Greco-Roman culture. However, the image of Jesus of Nazareth undergoes some modification over time. Least saturated with notions of force, power, and domination in Mark's gospel, he adopts this conceptualisation in Matthew and Luke. Perhaps this related to the Christian communities' need to find their place in the pagan world, as well as to the expansion of the church and the progressive development of an internal hierarchy of power. However, the noncratic image of Jesus returns in the chronologically last Gospel of John, which being most likely a product of the Johannine Community, cultivates the most socially radical image of the Master. Similar changes in the linguistic representation of the world are confirmed by epistolary literature. Early letters present a higher power-dominance orientation and a higher frequency of emotion of distance than late epistles. Yet the late epistles were written under conditions of stronger tensions and conflicts with the Jewish and pagan worlds.

First, it is possible to observe how the vision of the social world of the authors of the Old and New Testaments changed and where one of the key dimensions of the changes happened. Second, in addition to Israel's socio-cultural evolution, which fostered the emergence of a new New Testament ethos, Jesus of Nazareth played a fundamental role. And while this is an obvious claim, a quantitative analysis, based on the theory of striving for power, identifies the axis of these changes (or at least one of the more important aspects). However, at the same time the results demonstrate that the social world of Jews and pre-Christians was diverse and dynamic. Not only do the differences between the Old Testament and New Testament's corpora prove this, but also between the early and late epistles, as well as between the Gospel of John and the synoptic tradition.

The distinguishing feature of the pre-Christian world was a radical departure from the canons that regulated the social reality around them. Such relationships had little chance of survival within the framework of Judaism at the time and, therefore, had to lead to the creation of a new community based on a new ethos. This ethos also appears when the Christian community was threatened in the second half of the first century by the gentile and Jewish world (chapter 7). The threat to the identity and even the existence of the community triggered a kind of confinement to its own hermetic world of values. Instead of the typical reaction of evoking negative stereotypes of the enemy, intensifying hostile attitudes, Christians focus on the relationships within the community and the emotions that sustain closeness both interpersonally and between human beings and God. Moreover, the community does not manifest an increased interest in the notions of force, power, or domination; on the contrary, the language of the community (the language of late epistles) becomes less saturated with such terminology.

Ultimately then, the cratic (power-dominance) orientation proved sensitive to the historical-cultural changes, responsive to different types of discourse rooted in a different *Sitz im Leben* (historical, prophetic, epistolary), allowed grasping significant changes in the social relations and even to identify and trace the direction of the social changes in the area of the Judaism and Christianity of the time. These results are also consistent with the research we conducted in previous years, analyzing social relations in the Old Testament, the New Testament and the Qur'an, as well as in more detailed comparisons between the various New Testament corpora.

Changes in the use of language, which are an expression of the changes in the perception of the social reality, may be interpreted as a result of the transformation of power relations in the history of the ancient Israel. The social relations and the social ethos are modified, the boundary between the self and the stranger is redrawn, more space is created for the emotions of affinity, and the importance of power and social asymmetry decreases. It is also important that the changes mentioned above were predicted in the form of hypotheses, the first four of which appeared to be true and were statistically verified. This is rare in the study of the

biblical discourse, although the analysis was conducted exactly as it is in social sciences nowadays. Only Hypotheses 5 and 6 were not confirmed and required the adoption of an additional hypothesis. However, even in this case, the results proved to be highly consistent. The change in the meaning of social power-dominance and the accompanying completely new constellations of social relations can be regarded as an additional confirmation of other psychological theories, especially the theory of striving for a sense of power by Adler and Kemper. According to them, the reduction of social distance and the weakening of the importance of social power-dominance promotes the strengthening of interpersonal relations, eliminates the emotion of distance and has a generally positive impact on the development of a sense of social interest. This was attempted to be shown by Guy Manaster some time ago on the example of the evolution of Judaism, while our analysis shows that a similar process of transformation also included the first century Christianity. Moreover, the different constellations of emotions between biblical Judaism and Christianity, to a large extent, reflect the thesis, which Gerd Theissen proposed, that one of the distinguishing features of the religious movement initiated by Jesus was a profound reworking of anger and hostility (their function and expression changed). Our research has demonstrated this clearly both in the differences between the Septuagint and the New Testament, in the example of Jesus, and the specific functioning of the endangered community. The diversity and dynamics of social relations, however, are probably closest to the study of honor and shame, which is now an enduring contribution of anthropology and sociology to biblical studies. The notion of honor can be treated, as Collin Petterson, among others, has shown, as an expression of a more universal quest for social status and position, and therefore also a quest for social dominance, a quest that is universal to all people, regardless of the historical era and latitude. Our proposed cratic orientation (power-dominance) is closely related to this research strand and, most importantly, our conclusions are very similar to those formulated in the honor-shame cultural code perspective. In many cases, we obtained complementary results but referring to a more universal concept of dominance and power than that of honor.

Historical-cultural psychology is interdisciplinary by its very nature. Considering the object of its research, it is bound to cooperate with representatives of disciplines such as history, anthropology, socio-, psycho-linguistics, and cross-cultural psychology; in the case of biblical texts, we can also include biblical studies. According to Twardowski's concept, it is the subject of psychology that determines the methodology, never the other way around. Thus, if the object of psychological analysis is the reconstruction of mental acts and products implicit in psycho-physical products (written works, the Bible), then the researcher should use adequate tools for them, namely, psycholinguistics. The methodology problem is perhaps one of the most significant problems when it comes to psychological-biblical criticism, which additionally hinders the integration of the research results obtained with those of mainstream psychology. In section 4.1,

some questions were posed about the potential of historical-cultural psychology and social-scientific criticism to meet the demands placed on the social sciences, most notably whether they can employ a methodology that would provide data that can be compared or contrasted with similar research in mainstream empirical psychology. I believe that quantitative analysis, though inherently doomed to severe limitations, can be an extremely valuable tool when working with historical discourse. Its main advantage is identifying linguistic changes that are of great importance for historical and socio-cultural issues, and in the case of biblical texts, ethical and theological issues. It provides data directly related to the processes of social cognition and the linguistic image of the world, which currently plays a very important role in the social sciences. Although I advocate combining quantitative and qualitative methods, I believe that even quantitative linguistic data, with an appropriately refined methodology, can be the basis for the inference about the specifics of mentality and, to some extent, about the mental processes of the authors of written documents. This is of great value as empirical data (quantitative linguistic data) provides an excellent basis for the statistical verification of the adopted hypotheses. Therefore, I hope that the methodology proposed in this study of biblical discourse will bridge this gap to some extent and that the results will be an inspiration for similar research. It is important to remember, however, that a fundamental limitation of the quantitative analysis is a kind of inability to capture detailed problems, limited to the analysis of one or more small textual - narrative units. In order to ensure that changes in the frequency of certain expressions can reliably and broadly reflect the general cognitive trends in worldviews or changes in mentality, the researcher must rely on larger corpora, not just short passages or pericopes. However, the relevant content is often expressed in short text units and can be identified through qualitative analysis.

The reconstruction of the linguistic expression of the social world described in the books of the Bible also has great practical significance. The biblical texts are a constant source of moral and religious inspiration, which is best proved by the history of religion and even the history of art or literature. The biblical narrative's influence on forming a worldview is obvious, affecting individuals and even entire social groups. However, there is also an underestimated area of the biblical content of profound influence that is discussed much less. It concerns the influence of such properties of the text as are not usually recognizable when reading it, especially its structural features.[1] The author of the text linguistically expresses not only religious convictions but also a certain insight into the world, certain cognitive tendencies. These may be specific preferences for evaluating the world and patterns of identifying one's own/friends and strangers/enemies. The recipient is often caught by the underlying textual dynamics of the author's personal or

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[1] Kille, "Unconsciously Poisoning the Roots"; Reisigl and Wodak, *Discourse and Discrimination*.

group conflicts. These conflicts, in turn, are closely related to the linguistic expression of ethical codes and moral rules, directly influencing the perception of these rules for the reader. As expressed by Andrew Kille, "the psychological dynamics at play behind the shaping of Christian identity and expressed in its scriptures reflect idealization of the in-group and progressive demonization of the out-group."[2] And although this is a rather extreme perspective, it is very real. An example of such interactions is the problem of suicide in ancient Israel. In the light of religion, it was an unforgivable sin, but there was at the same time the space in that religion for a glorious martyr's death. And as shown by the example of Masada in 70 CE, when the Jews committed a mass suicide, this act was considered glorious and not condemnable.[3] The impact of the biblical discourse can occur on at least two levels: conscious and unconscious. Some features of the discourse usually interact beyond the reader's awareness.

According to our results, a contemporary reader of the biblical books is confronted with at least two social orders, or rather three: the Old Testament, the New Testament and that of Jesus of Nazareth. They have their own specificities and will certainly interact in different ways, but it must be remembered that the interaction of the text with the reader produces an effect closely related to the characteristics of their personality and the constellation of needs.[4] I have emphasized this in my discussion of the structural patterns of social relationships in the Bible.[5] This is particularly relevant for pastoral psychologists and psychotherapists who work with religious people. The biblical patterns of social relationships may have a greater or lesser therapeutic function, and in some cases, this influence may also have an effect that is not necessarily desirable. History records many cases in which a more or less conscious inspiration from the Bible has led to various forms of social isolation, the denial of anger understood as a sin (and the rejection of it as a natural defensive reaction), and even to social radicalism, dogmatism or the acceptance of various forms of aggression and power as justified by Scripture.[6] Perhaps the most painful example from the history of Christianity was the anti-Semitic attitudes, with Christian representatives being more or less consciously inspired by various New Testament passages about the Jews.[7] I hope that this monograph will also provide an opportunity to view the Christian ethos

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[2] Kille, "Unconsciously Poisoning the Roots," 300.

[3] Citlak, "Suicide among Monotheistic Religions"; Horst Koch, "Suicides and Suicide Ideation in the Bible: An Empirical Survey," *APS* 112 (2005): 167–72.

[4] Rollins and Kille, *Psychological Insight into the Bible*.

[5] Citlak, "Psychology of the Pursuit for a Sense of Power."

[6] Brad Bushman et al., "When God Sanctions Killing. Effect of Scriptural Violence on Aggression," *PS* 18 (2007): 204–7; Dashke and Kille, *Cry instead of Justice*.

[7] William Nicholls, *Christian Antisemitism: A History of Hate* (Rowman, Littlefield, 1995); Esler, *Intergroup Conflict and Matthew 23*; Lamp, "Is Paul Anti-Jewish?"; Siker, "Anti-Judaism in the Gospels."

of the first century as a natural path in the historical development of Judaism, as a sister path to post-biblical Judaism in the evolution or development of the ethos of the Old Testament. Guy Manaster argued that, based on Adler's theory of the striving for power, the post-biblical rabbinic tradition can be understood as a natural stage in humanizing certain aspects of ancient Judaism. I am convinced that, on the basis of the conclusions presented here, the same could be said of the origins of Christianity based on a theory derived from the philosophical-psychological school of Twardowski.

Finally, I also want to express a certain conviction that comes to my mind after reading the whole thing. The study shows that socio-cultural changes were accompanied by changes in the social dimension of religion, and this aspect should be of particular importance in the reflection on the canonical literature of Christianity. For it is social feeling, or as Adler would say, social interest, that promotes the reduction of distance between people and is one of the most important indicators of ethical change, just as psychologists prove by claiming that, above all, it is the type of interpersonal relations and the possibility of mutual interaction that determine ethos, and not the reverse.[8] Perhaps this was also the unique phenomenon of Jesus and his followers; ethical and theological reflection came many years later.

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[8] Kurt Gray, Liane Young, and Adam Waytz, "Mind Perception Is the Essence of Morality," *PI* 23 (2012): 101–24; Matt Rossano, "The Religious Mind and the Evolution of Religion," *RGP* 10 (2006): 346–64.

Appendix 1.
Greek words in LXX and New Testament

Cratic Orientation (Power-Dominance Orientation)
Categories (Nouns)
ὁ ἀγών, ὁ ἀγῶνος, ἡ αἰχμαλωσία, ἡ ἀναγκή, ἡ ἀναξία, ἡ ἀρετή, ἡ ἀρχή, ὁ ἄρχων, ἡ ἀτιμία, ἡ ἀσθένεια, τό ἀσθένημα, ἡ αὐτονομία, ἡ βασιλεία, ὁ βασιλεύς, ἡ βία, ἡ δεξιά, ὁ δεσμός, ὁ δεσπότης, ἡ διακονία, ἡ δόξα, ἡ δουλεία, ἡ δουλοσύνη, ὁ δοῦλος, ἡ δύναμις, ὁ δυνάστης, ἡ ἐλευθέρια, ἡ ἐπιτροπη, ἡ εὐταξία, ἡ ἐξουσία, ἡ εὐπειθεία, ἡ ἡγεμονία, ὁ ἡγεμών, ἐπιτυχία, ὁ θεράπων, ἡ ἰσχύς, το κλέος, ἡ κράτησις, ἡ κρατία, τό κράτος, ἡ λατρεία, ὁ λυτρωτής, ἡ μαλακία, ἡ μάχη, ἡ μεγαλειότης, ἡ μεγαλωσύνη, ἡ νίκη, ἡ παγίς, ὁ/ἡ παῖς, ἡ παραδοσις, ἡ πειθαρχία, ὁ πόλεμος, ἡ προσκύνησις, ἡ προσχώρεσις, ἡ ῥώμη, τό στερέωμα, ὁ στέφανος, τό στράτευμα, ἡ στρατιά, τό στρατόπεδον, ἡ συστολή, ἡ ταπείνωσις, ἡ τυραννίς, ὁ τύραννος, ἡ ὑπακοή, ἡ ὕπειξις, ὁ ὑπηρέτης, ἡ ὑποταγή
Actions (Verbs)
ἀγωνίζομαι, ἀναγκάζω, ἄνω, ἀπολύω, ἁρπάζω, ἄρχω, αὐθεντέω, ἀσθενέω, βασιλεύω, βεβαιόω -ομαι, βιάζω, βραβεύω, γονυπετέω, διακονέω, δεσποτέω, δέω, διαχειρίζω, διοικέω, δοξάζ, δουλεύω, δουλό, δυναμόω -ομαι, δυναστεύω, ἐλαττόω, ἐλευθερόω, ἐνδυναμόω, ἐπιτάσσω, ἐξισχύω, ἐξομολογέω, ἐξουσιάζ, ἐπάνω, ἐπαινέω, ἐπιδίδωμι, εὐλογέω, ἡγέομαι, ἡγεμονεύω, ἡττάομαι, ἰσχύω, κακολέγω, καταγωνίζομαι, κατισχύω, κατακυριεύω, καταλαμβάνω, κατεξουσιάζω, κατέχω, κατωτέρω, κελεύω, κρατέω, κρατύνω, κραταιόομαι, λατρεύω, λειτουργέω, λυτρόομαι, λύω, μάχομαι, νικάω, ὀκλάζω, πειθαρχέω, πείθεσωαι, περικρατέω, ποιμαίνω, πολεμέω, προσκυνέω, στενοχωρέω, στρατεύομαι, συλλαμβάνω, συνέχω, συστέλλω, ταπεινόω, τῦραννεύω, ὑμνέω, ὑπακούω, ὑπείκω, ὑπερέχω, ὑπηρετέω, ὑποβαίνω, ὑποκάτω, ὑποτάσσω, ὑψόω
Characteristics (Adjectives, Adverbs)
ἀνώτεροςἀρχαῖος, ἀσθενής, -ές, βασιλικός, βιαίως, βέβαιος, διάκονος, δυνατός, ἐλάσσων, ἔλασσον, ἐλεύθερος, ἐλευθέριος, ἐλευθερικός, ἔνοχος, ἔμπροσθεν, ἔπίπροσθεν, ἐπίτροπος, ἐρωμενός, εὔρωστος, ἐπί, ἔσχατος, ἱκανός, ἰσχυρός,

κραταιός, κρείττον, κράτιστος, λεπτός, λεπτῶς, μέγας, μεγάλη, μέγά, μείων, μικρός, ὀλίγος, ὄπιθεν, ὄπισθεν, παλαιός, πλῆθος, πολύς, πρῶτος, ῥωμαλέος, σκληρός, σκληρῶς, στερεός, σφόδρά, σφοδρῶς, ταπεινός, τυραννικός, ὑπέρ, ὑπόν ὕστερος, ὕστατος, ὑψηλός, ὕψιστος
Distance Emotions
ὁ φόβος, φοβέομαι, φοβερός, φοβερίζω, ἡ δειλία, δειλιάω, δειλιαίνω, δειλόομαι, δειλός, δειλόψυχος, δεινός, δεινῶς, ἡ πτόησις, πτοέομαι, πτοέω, ἡ πτοή, ἡ κατάπληξις, κατάπλησσω, ἡ ἔκπληξις, ὁ δέος, ἐκθαμβέομαι, εὐλαμβέομαι, ὑποστέλλω
τὸ μῖσος, μισέω, ἡ ἔχθρα, ἐχθραίνω, ἐχθρός, ἡ ἀπέχθεια, στυγητός
ἡ ὀργή, ὀργίζομαι, ὀργίζω, ὀργίλος, παροργίζω, ὁ θυμός, θυμόομαι, θυμόω, θυμομαχέω, ὁ χόλος, ἡ χολή, ἡ μῆνις, ἡ πικρία, ἡ πονηρία, χολάω, λυπέω, παροξυσμός
ἐξουδενέω, ἐξουδένεμα, ἐξουδενόω, ἐξουδένωμα, ἐξουδένωσις, ἐξουθενέω, ἐξουθενόω, καταφρονέω, περιφρονέω, ἐκπτύω
αἰσχύνη, αἰσχύνω, αἰσχύνομαι, αἰσχρός, ἐπαισχύνομαι, καταισχύνω, τὸ ὄνειδος
Affinity Emotions
τὸ ἔλεος, ἐλεέω, ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη, ἐλεήμων, ὁ οἰκτιρμός, οἰκτίρμων, οἰκτίρω, ὁ οἶκτος, συμπαθέω, συμπαθής, τὸ σπλάγχνον, σπλαγχνίζομαι
ἡ ἀγάπη, ἀγαπάω, ἡ ἀγάπησις, ἀγαπητός, οἶδα
ἡ φιλία, φιλιάζω, φιλέω, φίλος, φιλο-, ἡ προσφίλεια, ἡ εὔνοια, εὐνοέω

Appendix 2.
Statistical Differences

Chart 1. Orientation for power in the Old Testament
The differences of proportions:

- Moses versus Psalms: $\chi^2 = 17.45$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$ (differences statistically significant)
- Psalms versus historical books: $\chi^2 = 58.81$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$ (statistically significant)
- historical books versus prophetic books: $\chi^2 = 22.51$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$ (statistically significant)

Chart 2. Orientation for power-dominance in the New Testament
The differences of proportions:

- historical books versus epistles: $\chi^2 = 93.57$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$ (statistically significant)
- epistles versus Revelation: $\chi^2 = 117.49$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$ (statistically significant)

Chart 3. Orientation for power-dominance in the Old and New Testament
The differences of proportions:

- the Old Testament (general) versus the New Testament (general): $\chi^2 = 153.32$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$ (statistically significant)
- the Old Testament historical corpus versus the New Testament historical corpus: $\chi^2 = 130.42$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$ (statistically significant)
- Daniel versus Revelation: $\chi^2 = 31.06$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$ (statistically significant)

Chart 5. Septuagint and New Testament: Two types of relationships
The differences of proportions:

- LXX versus New Testament (human relationships): $\chi^2 = 125.15$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$ (statistically significant)
- LXX versus New Testament (God–human relationships): $\chi^2 = 205.83$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$ (statistically significant)

Chart 6. The image of Jesus and Old and New Testament discourses
The differences of proportions:

- LXX versus Jesus in gospels: $\chi^2 = 355.62$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$ (statistically significant)
- New Testament versus Jesus in gospels: $\chi^2 = 74.87$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$ (statistically significant)

Chart 8. Power-dominance and affinity in the linguistic description of Jesus in John and synoptic tradition
The differences of proportions:

- power-dominance synoptic versus John: $\chi^2 = 10.48$, $df = 1$, $p < .01$ (statistically significant)
- affinity synoptic versus John: $\chi^2 = 1.39$, $df = 1$ (statistically insignificant).

Chart 9. Power-dominance in the New Testament epistolary literature
The differences of proportions:

- Proto-Paul versus Deutero-Paul: $\chi^2 = 1.48$, $df = 1$ (statistically insignificant)
- *Corpus Paulinum* versus Catholic Epistles: $\chi^2 = 6.96$, $df = 1$, $p < .01$ (statistically significant)

Chart 10. Distance and affinity emotions in the New Testament epistolary literature
The differences of proportions:

Proto-Paul versus Deutero-Paul:

- distance - $\chi^2 = 1.29$, $df = 1$ (statistically insignificant)
- affinity - $\chi^2 = 6.25$, $df = 1$, $p < .01$ (statistically significant).

Corpus Paulinum versus Catholic Epistles:

- distance - $\chi^2 = 1.28$, $df = 1$ (statistically insignificant)
- affinity - $\chi^2 = 57.82$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$ (statistically significant)

Chart 11. Adjective evaluations in the New Testament epistolary literature
The differences of proportions:

Proto-Paul versus Deutero-Paul:

- negative adjectives - $\chi^2 = 20.46$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$ (statistically significant)
- positive adjectives - $\chi^2 = 74.91$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$ (statistically significant)

Corpus Paulinum versus Catholic Epistles:

- negative adjectives - $\chi^2 = 3.08$, $df = 1$ (statistically insignificant)
- positive adjectives - $\chi^2 = 86.72$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$ (statistically significant)

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