



The Term ἀντίψυχος as an Expiatory Sacrifice of Martyrs in the Light of *The Fourth Book of Maccabees* and Other Ancient Extra-Biblical Literature*

MARCIN CHROSTOWSKI

High Seminary of Bydgoszcz Diocese

marcinchrostowski@gmail.com, ORCID: 0000-0003-1974-3923

Abstract: *The Fourth Book of Maccabees* (4 Macc) in the description of Eleazar's prayer, before he suffered a martyr's death (6:29) as well as the martyrdom of seven brothers and their mother who suffered for the nation (17:21), the term ἀντίψυχος (which means "given in exchange for life") is used twice. This adjective appears only twice in the Septuagint (LXX), to be precise, in 4 Macc. The context of both passages suggests a broader meaning of the term, translated with reference to a sacrifice of life having a propitiatory, expiatory, vicarious and voluntary character, and even atonement for the sins of the Jewish people. In this article, the subject of expiatory martyrdom in 4 Macc will be taken in the context of the biblical, apocryphal and other ancient texts, with reference to the flow of ideas and terminology of Greco-Roman religion, poetry and philosophy. In addition, possible translations of the term ἀντίψυχος will be analyzed, included in the broader context of Greek and other terminologies, so as to show possible connections between the idea of expiatory martyrdom and the ideas described in the New Testament.

Keywords: *The Fourth Book of Maccabees*; 4 Macc; ἀντίψυχος; expiatory martyrdom; reparation; sacrifice; atonement

The Fourth Book of Maccabees, which belongs to the apocryphal writings, was probably composed in the first century AD, i.e., at the time of the birth of Christianity; however, the time of its creation should not be moved further than 70 AD, and therefore, it was written before the seizure of Jerusalem by the Romans.¹ Among many topics, this book explores the idea of innocent martyrdom and suffering of the Jewish people not only because of the love for God and His law; but also suffering understood as expiation, i.e., atonement for the sins of the whole nation. The martyrdom of one of the characters, Eleazar, is described in this book as a reparative, propitiatory, vicarious and voluntary sacrifice, and thus (in a further sense) anticipating the salvif-

* The author of the article would like to thank Rev. Roman Mazur SDB PhD for valuable and enriching suggestions as well as observations on the content of this submission, especially in the field of Greek extra-biblical literature.

¹ Popowski, "Czwarta Księga Machabejska," 809.

ic sacrifice of Jesus Christ on the cross. Therefore, it seems reasonable to ask whether the ideas of suffering and martyrdom that atone for the sins of many, fully developed in the New Testament (NT), were already present in the Judaism of that era and in the intertestamental literature. The phraseology and subject area of *4 Macc* depicts martyrdom in precisely such categories, and thus, it emphasizes its expiatory dimension even more. The idea of “atoning sacrifice” is conveyed by the use of the adjective ἀντίψυχος, which occurs in the Greek original of *4 Macc*. It can be translated as “given in exchange for the life of (another)” or “offered as ransom for someone.”² The fact that this word appears only twice in the LXX³ (*4 Macc* 6:29; 17:21) encourages one to pursue a more detailed analysis, undertaken in the context of expiatory martyrdom, which is present in the pages of the Scriptures⁴ and in the non-scriptural background. Broader descriptions of martyrdom as such were located in other sections of the Scriptures⁵; therefore, this article will outline the topic of vicarious martyrdom, expressed with the adjective ἀντίψυχος.⁶

1. Martyrdom in Early Judaism as Exemplified by the Books of Maccabees⁷

The First and The Second Book of Maccabees (1–2 Macc) constitute a particular testimony of the difficult history of the Jewish people during the period between 175 BC and 135 BC. These dates refer to two events which outline the framework of the story described on the pages of 1–2 Macc: the beginning of the reign of King Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175 BC) and the death of Simon Maccabeus – also known as Simon

² BDAG, s.v. “ἀντίψυχον.”

³ Greek text from: Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*; the Polish translation generally follows: Popowski, *Septuaginta*.

⁴ *4 Macc*, though it remains in the collection of the Greek Bible, belongs, nevertheless, to the Apocrypha; cf. Wojciechowski, *Apokryfy*, 97–122. The specific character of *The Fourth Book of Maccabees* stems from its presence in the LXX and the authority it enjoyed already during the period of Christian Antiquity; cf. Baran, “Siedmiu braci,” 45–46.

⁵ In the OT, persecution for religious reasons is associated with the purity of faith and fidelity to God and His law (2 Kgs 9:1–10; Hos 1:3–4). The prophets: Amos (Am 7:12–13) and Jeremiah (Jer 7:12–13) were persecuted in this manner. Among the prophets, it is also worth mentioning Elijah and an anonymous group of prophets in 1 Kgs 19:10, or Uriah in Jer 26:20–23, who devoted their lives to fidelity to God and His Word. When discussing the topic, the “suffering righteous” from the Books: Daniel, Tobias, and Esther, cannot be ignored. The innocent servant of the Lord, described in the Book of Deutero – Isaiah (Is 40–55), also suffers a martyr’s death. The Jews who lived in the Diaspora were also oppressed for religious reasons, as is mentioned in the Book of Esther (Est 3:8). Linke, “Od skandalu,” 12–39; Chrostowski, “Różne odcienie męczeństwa,” 9–26; Szymik, “Męczeństwo,” 695–696.

⁶ The need for a broader study in this area, especially regarding the impact of the idea of expiatory suffering from *4 Macc* on the theology of martyrdom in Christianity, is indicated by Wojciechowski, *Apokryfy*, 109, fn. 54, although he himself thoroughly discusses this issue *ibid.*, 108–110.

⁷ Chrostowski, “Różne odcienie męczeństwa,” 16–21.

Thassi – (135 BC).⁸ It is a difficult story for the Jewish people, marked by suffering in defense of the law, even to the point of shedding blood. In this sense, 1–2 Macc represent the fullest and most competent description of the struggles, fights and hardships undertaken by the Jewish family of Mattathias of Modi'in in defense of God's law and faith in one God.⁹ The heroic conduct of Mattathias and his sons found many followers among the pious Jews. Their radicalism in defense of the Law resulted in persecution and tortures inflicted by Hellenists,¹⁰ often leading to the martyr's death of the members of the Jewish nation. The descriptions included in 2 Macc 6–7, where the martyrdom of the old Eleazar as well as the martyrdom of a mother and her seven sons are presented, constitute an important testimony of these events.¹¹

Martyrdom and suffering in The Books of Maccabees, indirectly in 2¹² and more clearly in 4 Macc, are shown as expiation and compensation for personal iniquities, as well as for the sins of the whole nation. These ideas can be seen in the speeches of the Maccabean brothers: "It is true that our living Lord is angry with us and is making us suffer because of our sins, in order to correct and discipline us. But this will last only a short while, for we are still his servants, and he will forgive us" (2 Macc 7:32-33).¹³ The martyrs described in 2 Macc suffered, in a sense, for the sins of the nation and begged God to accept their death as an atoning sacrifice for the sins of their people. In this way they desired to obtain God's forgiveness on behalf of the nation. This can be seen in the descriptions of 2 Macc 7, where the martyrs justify their suffering by "having sinned against their God" (ἀμαρτόντες εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῶν θεόν; 7:18) and are tortured "because of their sins" (διὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀμαρτίας πάσχομεν; 7:32), for which the wrath of God, the Mighty One, "fell righteously upon all their people" (ὀργὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ σὺμπαν ἡμῶν γένος δικαίως ἐπηγγένην; 7:38).

Apart from the special Old Testamentary (OT) testimony of the resurrection of the dead, 2 Macc contains important descriptions of the martyrdom of the pious (2 Macc 6:18-31; 7) and the description of the merits for the whole community of

⁸ The dates and events cited are essentially the timeframes of the First Book of Maccabees; The Second Book of Maccabees has a slightly different time frame, as its writing was completed between 160 and 150 BC, most likely in Alexandria; Rubinkiewicz, "Machabejskie Księgi," 687.

⁹ Tułodziecki, "Zmartwychwstanie męczenników," 85–86.

¹⁰ The term "Hellenists" means people who speak the Greek language (and at the same time feel Greek), who succumbed to the influence of the current of thought and culture, called Hellenism, adopted the culture, customs, and way of thinking derived from it, although they did not come from Greek tribes. Many Jews also succumbed to Hellenistic trends; Langkammer, "Helleniści," 655.

¹¹ Baran, "The Jewish Community," 55–78.

¹² The idea of vicarious suffering does not appear directly in 2 Macc. Following Józef Homerski (*Pierwsza i Druga Księga*, 209), who comments on the verse 2 Macc 7:38, it can be stated that: "the young man was not guilty of the sins of his nation, but with all sacrifice, together with his brothers, he lays down his life for the nation. An idea very close to the substitute sacrifice of the Servant of the Lord (cf. Is 53:4-12), but not identical. Rather, it reflects the truth proclaimed by the prophet Ezekiel that God wants us to intercede on behalf of sinners (cf. Ez 13:5; 22.29-30; cf. also Is 59:16)."

¹³ Odzimek, "Łukaszczy kerymat," 72–73.

sinner arising from the deaths of the righteous (2 Macc 7:37-38). This description is the second text of that type after the text of Isa 52:13–53:12.¹⁴ Undoubtedly, 2 Macc constitutes one of the most important testimonies of Judaism, proclaiming the hope of the resurrection of the flesh (in the sense of resurrection to life), which is offered to all believers (2 Macc 7:9,11,14,23,29,33,36; 14:37-46); however, it does not mention the issue of the general resurrection.

The abovementioned textual testimonies may show that the martyr's submission of life for others (even for the nation), understood in terms of merit and compensation to God for the sins of the people, was already present in the era of the Hasmoneans, as well as in Judaism in the second century BC. It could have been a factor that paved the way for the idea of a general resurrection, which was not present in the Books of Maccabees and fully revealed only in the NT.

The examples of expiatory martyrdom are described not only in the Books of Maccabees that constitute part of the canon¹⁵ (1–2 Macc), but also in the apocryphal ones, as evidenced by the descriptions included in 4 Macc. The martyrs are described there as heroes, who, thanks to their perseverance, achieved a moral victory over the King Antiochus IV Epiphanes. It highlights the thought expressed in 2 Macc 7, in which the martyr, presented as a model of love for God and His laws, innocently suffers on behalf of the whole nation. Hence, in 4 Macc relinquishing life was presented in terms of a sacrifice — in order to emphasize its propitiatory dimension for the whole community of Jews.¹⁶ However, in order to get to the heart of the matter of expiatory martyrdom in 4 Macc, it is necessary to at least generally outline the context of its origin as well as its principal content.

¹⁴ Tułodziecki, "Zmartwychwstanie męczenników," 87.

¹⁵ When speaking of the "canon," in the case of the Maccabees, a distinction should be made between the Catholic canon and the Orthodox canons. The Catholic Church includes only 1–2 Macc in the canon, recognizing them as deuterocanonical books, and placing 3–4 Macc among the Apocrypha. The Orthodox Church recognizes 1–3 Macc as canonical, and places 4 Macc in the appendix; it is therefore not a canon book, but permissible for reading. It should be added, however, that in the Orthodox Church itself, there are different qualifications of the canonicity of these books depending on the principles of a given Church. In the Old Church Slavonic and sometimes Russian Synodal Bible, 3 Macc appears among the canonical books, despite the fact that the Russian Orthodox Church recognized it as an Apocrypha. The status of the LXX books, considered apocryphal in Catholicism, was probably different in Orthodox Christianity from the rest of the Apocrypha. Protestant communities, in turn, place 1–4 Macc outside the canon, considering them in their entirety as apocryphal. Terminological complexities between individual Christian communities in the classification of biblical and extra-biblical books result from the lack of an unambiguous nomenclature and proper assignment of literary works in collective editions of sources; Suter, "Machabejska Księga Trzecia"; "Machabejska Księga Czwarta," 687–688; Rubinkiewicz, "Machabejskie Księgi," 686; Walewski, "Kanon," 251–252; Wojciechowski, *Apokryfy*, 110; Paprocki, [rec.] "M. Wojciechowski, *Apokryfy*," 112.

¹⁶ Odzimek, "Łukaszowy kerygmat," 73.

2. The Fourth Book of Maccabees: The Triumph of Reason over Passions

The Fourth Book of Maccabees functions under that name in the uncial manuscripts of the Scriptures; Eusebius and St. Hieronymus entitle it: *On the Supremacy of Reason* erroneously attributing its authorship to Flavius Josephus. The abovementioned title of the work, although incorrectly classified, suggests its philosophical character. Thus, it can be placed among moral life considerations, which is consistent with the ethics suggested by the author. It was probably a Jew with a masterfully proficient command of Greek, both in the biblical and extra-biblical area of koinè Greek.¹⁷ This is evidenced by the choice of words, which in many places raise philosophical rather than religious issues, although both of them coexist in *4 Macc* whereas the author justifies moral behavior on the grounds of religious motives. The book was probably written in Antioch or in an environment directly associated with it.¹⁸

4 Macc is also dated in various ways, although scholars agree when it comes to general conclusions. Some assume that it was created over the period of 63BC – 38 AD or generally in the first century AD, using the description of *4 Macc* 14:3 about “holy and consistent faith.” Thus, they define the time of the composition of the work as a period of “peace and order” and situate it before the destruction of the temple in AD 70 and the persecution of Caligula’s reign.¹⁹ Others, taking into account the characterization of Apollonius in the book as “strategist of Syria, Phoenicia, and Cilicia” (*4 Macc* 4:2), suggest its creation between 20 and 50 AD, when Syria and Cilicia were administratively linked with the Roman Empire.²⁰ Therefore, generally, the timing of writing *4 Macc* can be determined as the first century AD, more precisely prior to 70 AD.

The author of the book reinterprets the stories of the martyrs from 2 Macc 6–7, describing them in the light of Greek philosophy and incorporating them into the general discourse of the work, the main motto of which is the statement that “the use of reason combined with faith is capable of ensuring full control over experiences” (*4 Macc* 1:1), which the author repeats in various ways throughout the work (1:1-12; 2:21-22), justifying his thesis with the examples of Joseph, Moses, Jacob, and David (1:13-3,19), an old man Eleazar (5–7) and seven brothers (8–2), along with their mother’s speech (14:11–17:6).²¹ The author of *4 Macc*, however, did not intend to simply repeat or even extend the biblical stories, but to reinterpret them

¹⁷ Rubinkiewicz, “Machabejskie Księgi,” 689.

¹⁸ Baran, “Obraz Boga,” 420.

¹⁹ Rubinkiewicz, *Wprowadzenie*, 49; a similar dating, shifting the composition *4 Macc* before 70 AD, is given by Popowski, “Czwarta Księga Machabejska,” 809; similarly: Wojciechowski, *Apokryfy*, 102, where he writes about the creation of *4 Macc* around the middle of the 1st century AD or a little earlier.

²⁰ Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 258, where he cites the article: Bickerman, “The Date,” 105–112.

²¹ Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 256–259.

in the didactic approach and the language of Platonic philosophy and in the spirit of the school of Stoics and Cynics. *4 Macc*, however, is not a *strictly* philosophical work, since the heroes endure suffering because of the law (νόμος), which was mentioned in the book 38 times.²² In order to justify his position, the author of *4 Macc* uses the rich constructions of Greek rhetoric in abundance (even in 7:1-7), and the reason itself, which is supposed to control the passions, is described as the fear of the word of the Lord. At the basis of the whole argument are both philosophical and typically biblical concepts, which indicates the author's eclecticism and the use of various sources.²³ *4 Macc* should be interpreted in such an eclectic way, searching for parallels for the vocabulary used there not only in biblical literature, but also in the terminology of Greco-Roman religion, poetry, and philosophy, while the exegesis of the work should take into consideration rhetorical analysis.

3. Expiatory Martyrdom (ἀντίψυχος) in *4 Macc* 6:29 and 17:21

Although *4 Macc* contains many colorful descriptions of martyrdom presented in expiatory categories, this idea is literally expressed in verses 6:29 and 17:21. The first one deals with the martyrdom of the heroic Eleazar, whose sufferings borne in the name of fidelity to God's law are presented in detail in 6:1-11,24-26, and the second with the sufferings of seven brothers who endure torments in the same spirit as the aforementioned hero.

In 6:27 Eleazar, who is already very much affected by pain, devotes himself to prayer, during which he expresses his readiness to suffer in an expiatory way, out of love for God's commandments. At the culmination moment, he confesses: "You know, O God, that though I might have been saved" (6:27a) and adds: "I am dying in burning torments for the sake of the law" (ἀποθνήσκω διὰ τὸν νόμον; 6:27b). The next passage from Eleazar's request elaborates on this in more detail: "Let our punishment suffice for them" (σου ἀρκεσθεις τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δίκη; 6:28b). In the course of his prayer, the hero expresses himself again in sacrificial terms: "Make my blood their purification" (καθάρσιον αὐτῶν ποιησον τὸ ἐμὸν αἷμα; 6:29a), to finally literally express the expiatory role of my martyrdom: "Take my life in exchange for theirs" (ἀντίψυχον αὐτῶν λαβὲ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν; 6:29b). The Greek adjective ἀντίψυχος (acc. sing. neut.: ἀντίψυχον) appears here for the first time, expressing the idea of a surrogate life sacrifice in order to save the life of another. However, this adjective expresses the reality in terms of martyrdom to atone for sins and purifying

²² *4 Macc* 1:17,34; 2:5-6,8-10,14,23; 4:23; 5:16,18,21,25,29,33-34; 6:21,27,30; 7:7-8; 8:25; 9:2,15; 11:5,12,27; 13:9,13,22,24; 15:9,29; 16:16; 18:1,10

²³ Rubinkiewicz, "Machabejskie Księgi," 689.

sins, and the desire to “give one’s life for the life of another,” in this case – “others.” It can be noticed that the term “life” in this sentence was expressed twice with the noun ψυχή, which conveys the deepest “principle of life,” that is the soul with its function of “animating” the body.²⁴

The second time the term ἀντίψυχος appears is in 17:21, which is a part of a longer discourse covering chapters 17:7–18:24, where it is argued that the heroic death of the martyrs was intended to expiate for the sins of the people and to cleanse the earth from sins. The reader is called upon to praise God and follow commendable examples.²⁵ Particularly important is the fragment of the discourse beginning in 17:19, where the martyrdom of seven brothers was first presented in the aspect of religious sanctification. Quoting the law, the author of *4 Macc* says, “All who sacrificed themselves (ἡγιασμένοι) for God are in His hands.”²⁶ The same verb ἀγιάζω, meaning “sacrificing oneself” or “consecration,” expresses the idea of belonging wholly to God, who sanctifies. This term is actually exclusive to biblical Greek or Greek literature which is influenced by it.²⁷ Once again, this verb was used in the next verse, saying that the brothers “who have sacrificed themselves (ἀγιασθέντες) for the sake of God,” for which their people were saved and their enemies did not triumph (17:20). In 17:21 it is stated that the tyrant was punished (τιμωρηθῆναι), and the homeland purified (καθαρισθῆναι), because the martyrs had become a propitiatory sacrifice (ἀντίψυχον: nom. sing. neut.) for the sins of the nation. The entirety of the description ends with a summary: “And through the blood of those devout ones and their death as an atoning sacrifice (ἱλαστηρίου τοῦ θανάτου), divine Providence preserved Israel that previously had been mistreated.” (17:22).

In the context above, the adjective ἀντίψυχος means “given in exchange for life.” In 17:21 the term expresses the idea of “a propitiatory sacrifice for the sin of our nation.”²⁸ It is worth noting at the beginning that this is not a common term in biblical Greek, neither for “atonement” nor for “reconciliation” with God. The act of “atoning” God for the sins of the people in the LXX was expressed with the verb ἐξιλάσκειν, which in 105 cases in the LXX appears 49 times in the LXX of the Leviticus and means “to make the rite of atonement.” This activity was performed by the priest first for his sins, then for the whole nation, and as a rule, it is a translation of the Hebrew verb *kppr*, meaning “to perform expiation.”²⁹ A similar idea was also expressed in 2 Macc 12:45, when Judas Maccabeus, discovering the sacred objects of the idols of Jamnia among the fallen soldiers, offered for the dead a “sin offering” (ἐξιλασμός; 2 Macc 12:45) so that they would be freed from sin. The noun

²⁴ Dihle, “ψυχή,” 608.

²⁵ Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 256–259.

²⁶ Cf. especially: Baran, “Obraz Boga,” 419–457.

²⁷ Procksch, “ἀγιάζω,” 111.

²⁸ Abramowiczówna, *Słownik*, 227.

²⁹ Herrmann, “ἱλάσκειν,” 301–302.

ἐξιλασμός used here, appearing less frequently in the LXX than ἐξιλάσκομαι (16 times, the most, 6 times in Syr), means “propitiatory sacrifice,” or simply (as in most cases in Syr) “forgiveness,” described in terms of mercy.

In turn, the idea of “reconciliation” with God was expressed in the LXX, including the term καταλλαγή, which appears twice in the Greek Bible (2 Macc 5:20; LXX Isa 9:4) expresses the idea of “reconciliation” in the sense of “exchange” or “substitution.”³⁰ For example, 2 Macc 5:20 describes the fall and glory of the temple, which first participated in the misfortune of the nation, and then in its prosperity (5:20a). This place, “was forsaken in the wrath of the Almighty was restored again (καταλλαγή) in all its glory when the great Lord became reconciled (5:20b).”

Using the adjective ἀντίψυχος in 4 Macc 6:29 and 17:21, the author suggests that Eleazar’s martyrdom is a sacrifice (ἀντίψυχος) for the nation and its sins.³¹ However, in order to properly understand the meaning of this word, it is necessary to undertake a more detailed analysis of it.

4. Analysis of the Term ἀντίψυχος and Its Relation to the Content of Selected Biblical Pericopes

The analyzed adjective ἀντίψυχος is a derivative formed from the noun ψυχή, which is the base of the word formation, preceded by the preposition ἀντί, which is both a prefix and a formant. The parent word, i.e. the noun ψυχή, is usually translated as “life,” whose derivative designates, such as: “soul” (understood as a sign of life in the organism), “spirit,” “breath,” “mind,” “heart,”³² in general, “living being”³³ only seem to confirm its essential meaning. The LXX usually uses the noun ψυχή to translate the Hebrew term *nepheš* (occasionally *lēb* or *lēbāb*),³⁴ which refers to the very essence of “life”; to what makes a given being a living one. Among the many, numbering over 954, examples of the use of the noun ψυχή in the LXX, its representation can be found in Gen 2:7, where the Hebrew expression *nepheš hayāh* was rendered in the LXX as ψυχήν ζῶσαν, which can be translated from both Hebrew and Greek as “being/a living soul.” This term expresses the deepest “principle of life,” that is, the most appropriate “essence” of existence; it is what can be said to be “alive.”

³⁰ In the light of LXX Isa 9,4, the basic meaning of the noun καταλλαγή is “to regulate, give back,” or even “with an excess;” Büchsel, “καταλλαγή,” 258.

³¹ The following deserve attention, with regard to the issue of martyrdom in 4 Macc: Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs*; Vilar Hueso, “La recompensa,” 305–331; Jonge, “Jesus’ Death,” 125–134; O’Hagan, “The Martyr,” 94–120; Baslez, *Prześladowania*.

³² Liddell-Scott, s.v. “ψυχή.”

³³ Louw-Nida, s.v. “ψυχή.”

³⁴ Strong, s.v. “ψυχή.”

A separate matter is the preposition ἀντί, translated depending on the word that follows it. Therefore, the analysis of the adjective ἀντίψυχος should begin with the description of the prefix ἀντί, added to other example roots, so that an attempt can be made to indicate its possible meanings, using the set created in this way. The analyses undertaken by Richard Ch. Trench³⁵ are helpful in this regard and his insights will be used here.

Starting from the analysis of the prefixes ἀντί and ψευδό in the words ἀντίχριστος and ψευδόχριστος, it is worth asking the question: does ἀντίχριστος denote the one who “opposes Christ” or like ψευδόχριστος the one who puts himself “in the place of Christ”? In order to arrive at the correct answer, it should be noted that the preposition ἀντί covers both meanings, or better: it contains the same dynamism.³⁶ Sometimes it means “instead of” and sometimes “against”; at other times it expresses the substitution of life: “in place of life.” For example, the term ἀντιβασιλεύς means the one who reigns “instead of” or “in place” of the king, which is expressed in the Latin term “prorex” or in English: “viceroγ.” The noun ἀνθύπατος, translated as “proconsul,” or ἀντίδειπνος, meaning the one who takes the place of someone absent at the table, has a similar meaning. In this sense, one should understand the adjective ἀντίψυχος, meaning “the one who gives his life for (in the sense: instead of/in place of) others.” This is the semantic overtone displayed by the use of the term by St. Ignatius of Antioch, as will be presented in more detail below. The noun ἀντίλυτρον has a similar meaning, meaning “a ransom paid for (in the sense: instead of) someone.” In order to accurately interpret the prefix ἀντί and its meaning in the adjective ἀντίψυχος, used in *4 Macc* 6:29 and 17:21, it is necessary to examine its presence in biblical and extra-biblical literature, especially in the writings of the Church Fathers and Greco-Roman literature.³⁷

When analyzing the occurrence of the analyzed adjective in the perspective of biblical literature, it is worth establishing its relation to the content of Isa 53, i.e. the fragment of the Fourth Servant Song (Isa 52:13–53:12). In the content of the poem, the idea of expiatory suffering for Israel’s sins is repeated several times. The servant of the Lord carries their weight, which is expressed in the Hebrew vocabulary (*sābal*, *nāšā’*, *’āvôn*, *hēṭ*), which appears in different variants in particular verses of the song (Isa 53:4a, 5.6b, 10a). It is not stated, or at least it is not stated plain and simple, that this Servant “volunteered” for this anguish, despite the reference to his “intercession” at the end of the passage. Diseases, sufferings and afflictions fell

³⁵ Trench, *Synonyms*, 105–107.

³⁶ Pott, *Etymologische Forschungen*, 260; Trench, *Synonyms*, 106.

³⁷ When discussing the adjective ἀντίψυχος, it is worth paying attention to the fact that it often appears in a neuter form (ἀντίψυχον), serving as a noun; Auerbach – Golias, *Gramatyka*, 159. In addition, when defining the meaning in which the adjective ἀντίψυχος appears in a given context, it is worth paying attention to the distinction provided by Lampe, *A Patristic*, s.v. “ἀντίψυχος”: in the noun sense (“as substantive”) and in the adjectival sense (“as adjective”).

upon him as a result of a mysterious command of the Lord Himself (6b). However, according to the theory of moral causation, the crimes of the community should have brought upon it the “wages of sin,” which, however, instead of the community, fall on the suffering Servant. In this respect, it is difficult to be satisfied with the *interpretatio communis*, sometimes present in the exegesis of the Books of Psalms and Books of Job, that the Servant’s miserable condition was the result of God’s punishment for sin (53:4b). It is necessary to reach for a deeper interpretation of this passage in order to answer the question why the suffering that should have been the experience of the whole community was brought by the Lord to afflict one person.

The change of context occurs between verses 4 and 5, and the intensity and emotional immediacy of the language stem from the experience of conversion to discipleship. The meaning of the Servant’s suffering can be discovered by analyzing the vocabulary related to sacrificial worship used here. The voluntary sacrifice of the Servant is illustrated in the terminology of the offering of compensation or the offering to make amends for an offence (*’āšām*; 53:10a). According to the ritual prescription, the term *’āšām* was used to describe an animal, lamb, or flawless goat sacrificed as a means of repentance for certain kinds of willful or involuntary sin (Lev 5:1-26 [5,1-6,7]; 7:2; 14:24).³⁸

The statement whereby the Servant has carried the sin of the community on his shoulders refers to the expiatory value of his sacrifice. An illustration of this is the ritual of the sacrificial goat (Lev 16), in which one of the two animals is sacrificed as an atoning sacrifice for sin (*ḥaṭṭā`t*), and the other carries all the faults of the community to the desert, literally “a cut off country” (*’ereṣgēzērā*), resembling severance (“destroying”) of the Servant from the land of the living (*nigzar mē`ereṣ ḥayyīm*; 53:8b).³⁹

It is also worth establishing the relation of the term ἀντίψυχος in 4 Macc 6:29 to 2 Macc 6:28. In the quoted verse of 2 Macc, the heroism of Eleazar, who voluntarily goes towards the instrument of torture, is particularly admirable.⁴⁰

³⁸ BDB, s.v. “פִּשָּׁע”; HALOT, s.v. “פִּשָּׁע.”

³⁹ Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah*, 350–351.

⁴⁰ Therefore, the lessons of 2 Macc 6:28 presented in Codex Venetus 55 and in the Syrian version may be troublesome, because instead of the verb ἦλθεν, meaning “he has entered” used in LXX, Codex Venetus contains the verb ἐλκετο, meaning “he has been dragged away,” which contradicts the voluntary sacrifice of Eleazar. The narrative of the forced dragging of Eleazar towards the instrument of torture, found in the Syrian version of 2 Macc 6:28, may depend on the Syrian translation of 4 Macc 6:1, where the hero is in fact led by force to the place of execution. The Greek text 4 Macc 6:1 instead contains the verb ἔστυρα, which corresponds in meaning (although it is not identical!) with the verb ἐλκώω. Etymological ranges and differences between the verbs σύρω and ἐλκώω are presented in: Trench, *Synonyms*, 72. The narrative of Eleazar’s “dragging” to the place of torment, presented by the Syrian version of 2 Macc 6:28, may be influenced by the specific understanding of 4 Macc 6:1, a book also translated early into Syrian; Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, 126. As 4 Macc contains similar themes to 2 Macc, it is presumed that 2 Macc could have been a direct source for 4 Macc, or both were independently derived from a common source; Baran, “Obraz Boga,” 420 with a footnote.

It should be noted at the outset that Chapters 2 Macc 6 and 7 constitute very early examples of detailed descriptions of the history of the martyrs for the faith in Hellenistic times, and thus became the source of the literary patterns that have prevailed in Jewish and Christian literature since then.⁴¹ These include: joyful acceptance of terrible pain by the martyr instead of committing an act considered trivial by the pagans; the martyr's dialogue with the persecutors and torturers; a vivid and colorful description of the ordeal; the martyr's persevering faith until death; attention to descriptions of both the anger and admiration of the pagans when the torture proved futile; presenting the martyr as an example to be followed by the faithful.

The author of *4 Macc* was certainly familiar with the fragment of 2 Macc 6:18–7:42. The apparent discrepancies between *4 Macc* 6:29 and 2 Macc 6:28 result either from different rhetorical and philosophical goals, or from the fact that the author wrote from memory without having the text of 2 Macc in front of him.⁴²

In this sense, the adjective ἀντίψυχος along with the wide range of its meanings, present in *4 Macc* 17:21 as well, refers to 2 Macc 7:9 in the perspective of laying down one's life for sins (*4 Macc*) and the law (2 Macc). However, a clear difference in motivation should be noted here: in 2 Macc the motive of suffering for the sins of others is completely absent, and the author of *4 Macc* elaborates on this issue. Once again, one can see not only the mutual relation of the two texts, but a creative reworking of the ideas present originally in 2 Macc, which were included in a more elaborate form in *4 Macc*.

The idea of the redemptive power of martyrdom, is present in 2 Macc 7 and *4 Macc* 6:28–29, created slightly later, and especially in the Christian tradition in later periods: a martyr, through his suffering, may obtain God's mercy for the survivors of his nation and for his own soul. The patterns and ideas present in 2 Macc 6:18–7:42 have not only been preserved, but also creatively elaborated in *4 Macc* 6:29. In this sense, the much later text Hbr 11:35–36 alludes to 2 Macc 6:18–7:42, although the adjective ἀντίψυχος does not appear in Hbr. It also does not appear in John 17:19, although there is a similar motive of voluntary suffering, but whether it is suffering for sins (as suggested in *4 Macc* 7:19–20 by the use of the verb ἀγιάζω) or for living in truth and faith. The author of the Fourth Gospel was certainly familiar with the term ἀντίψυχος, albeit he did not employ it directly. This may testify to the broadening and deepening of the thought about Jesus' expiatory sacrifice in John's Gospel. It is reasonable to elaborate on this topic in a few words.

Verse John 17:19 in a broader sense is part of the so-called The High Priestly Prayer of Christ (John 17:1–26), and in a narrower sense it belongs to His statements

⁴¹ On the influence of the patterns in 2 Macc 6:18–7:42 on the later Jewish and Christian literature describing martyrdom, see Surkau, *Martyrien*; Grimm, *Das zweite*, 133–134; Friend, *Martyrdom*, 18–20, 34–37, 347, 414, 427–428; Kellermann, *Auferstanden*, 35–38; Cohen, "The Story" [Hebrew section], 109–122; as quoted in: Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, 282.

⁴² Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, 282–283.

about sanctification (ἀγιάζω) in truth (John 17:17-19). Concerning this sanctification, John 17:17 deepens and develops the request from John 17:11b: “Keep them in your name.” The verb ἀγιάζειν, meaning “to consecrate,” is used in the OT especially when someone or something (human or animal) is devoted to the service of God. It is Jesus who is especially and uniquely consecrated by the Father and sent by Him into the world (John 10:36) to bring the revelation of the Father and his salvific power to this world.

The verse of John 17:19 moves this thought to its logical climax. It is impossible not to quote here the words of Jesus from the Last Supper, written by the Synoptics and Paul: “My body...” ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (“for you”; Luke 22:19; 1 Cor 11:24); “My blood...” ὑπὲρ πολλῶν (“for many”; Mark 14:24). These are the most evident words of Jesus regarding the meaning of His death: it is seen as a sacrifice for others by which the new covenant for the inheritance of the kingdom of God is initiated, and thus the fulfilment of the paschal hopes of exiting Egypt. Similar meaning is carried by the statement: “And for their sake I sacrifice (ἀγιάζω) myself” (John 17:19). This is consistent with the Old Testament meaning of the term “consecration” in the sacrificial context, with “consecration” possible as a synonym of “sacrifice” (cf. Deut 15:19,21). The fact that Jesus sacrificed himself for such a purpose reflects the awareness of His service to the salvific initiative of God Himself (cf. especially John 10:17-18; 18:11; 19:30). This sacrifice borne by Jesus until His death brings His redemptive mission to its climax and thus constitutes an eschatological sacrifice.

It is necessary to show here the convergence of the “consecration” of Jesus and His disciples; His dedication until the moment of death was accomplished so that they could too be committed to bringing the promise of salvation to the world in the same spirit as Jesus had brought it. Certainly, only He, through His unique obedience unto death, can open the gates of salvation for all, and His disciples can and must serve to preach the Good News to the world. They will do this best by setting an example of suffering love for the Redeemer, even by sacrificing their lives.⁴³

5. Expiatory Martyrdom (ἀντίψυχος) in Patristic and Early Christian Literature

The term ἀντίψυχος, used twice in the Septuagint, is more common in Greek patristic literature. The works of St. Ignatius of Antioch († 110), who uses this adjective at least four times in his letters, may serve as an example.⁴⁴ During the reign of Emperor Trajan, approx. 105, Ignatius was imprisoned and sentenced to death by being

⁴³ Beasley-Murray, *John*, 300–301.

⁴⁴ Fuhrmann, “Traditions,” 689–705, here: 699–701.

torn apart by wild animals on an arena in Rome.⁴⁵ Escorted by soldiers on his way to the Eternal City, he wrote 7 letters; during his stay in Smyrna, he addressed four letters to the Churches of Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralla and Rome. In turn, from Troas, he sent 3 letters to other Churches: in Philadelphia and Smyrna, and to Polycarp, the bishop of this city.

One of Ignatius' key ideas emerges from his preserved correspondence: sacrificing one's own life as the highest expression of love for Christ and the Church. He writes about this in, among others, the letters sent from Smyrna *Letter to the Church in Ephesus*: Ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν ἐγὼ καὶ ὧν ἐπέμψατε εἰς Θεοῦ τιμὴν εἰς Σμύρναν· ὄθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν εὐχαριστῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἀγαπῶν Πολύκαρπον ὡς καὶ ὑμᾶς. μνημονεύετε μου, ὡς καὶ ὑμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, which can be translated as follows: "I offer myself as a sacrifice for your lives and for those whom you sent to Smyrna for the glory of God, from where I write to you, thanking the Lord, full of love to Polycarp, as well as to you. Remember me as Jesus Christ remembers about you."⁴⁶ The expression: ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν ἐγὼ can be translated as: "I offer myself in sacrifice for your life,"⁴⁷ "I will lay down my life for you"⁴⁸ or as: "I lay down my life for you" (own translation).⁴⁹

Ignatius wrote in a similar vein in subsequent letters, compiled during the next stop on his journey to the Eternal City. Among the three writings compiled at that time, the letters *To the Church in Smyrna* and *To Polycarp* deserve special attention as they reveal the depth of Ignatius' love for the addressees and the desire to follow the Master in sacrificing his life for his brothers. This is well illustrated by a letter to the Smyrnaeans: Ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμά μου, καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου, ἃ οὐχ ὑπερφηανήσατε οὐδὲ ἐπησχύνθητε. οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς ἐπαισχυνθήσεται ἡ τελεία πίστις, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, which can be translated as follows: "My spirit and my bonds are the ransom for you. And because these bonds have not been contemned or denied by you, neither will Jesus Christ, in His perfect faithfulness, deny you."⁵⁰ The first sentence, beginning with the words: Ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμά μου, is presented in the sense of giving one's life as a "ransom" for others, and the subject of the ransom is the human spirit (πνεῦμά); the above expression is also rendered as: "I lay down my life for you,"⁵¹ because the Greek πνεῦμά, like ψυχή, can mean both "wind" but

45 Drączkowski, "Ignacy Antiocheński," 1441–1442; Benedict XVI, *Katechezy*, 10–14.

46 Ignatius Antiochenus, *Epistula ad Ephesios* XXI, 1 (PG 5, 661; BOK 10, 119).

47 BOK 10, 119.

48 Borowski, *Pisma mężów*, 209.

49 The adjective ἀντίψυχος appears in this place in the neuter (ἀντίψυχον), and therefore functions as a noun, in line with the principle that an adjective in the neuter is sometimes a predicate and in such sentences it fulfills the function of a noun; Auerbach – Golias, *Grammar*, 159.

50 Ignatius Antiochenus, *Epistula ad Smyrnaeos* X, 2 (PG 5, 716; BOK 10, 138).

51 Borowski, *Pisma mężów*, 209.

also “breath,” “life,” “soul” or “spirit,”⁵² which one should understand as the inner principle of human life.⁵³

Also, worth mentioning is the correspondence between Ignatius and Polycarp, in which the sender uses the term ἀντίψυχος twice. Already at the beginning, he writes: Κατὰ πάντα σου ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου ἃ ἠγάπησας, that is: “In all things may my soul be for yours, and my bonds also, which you have loved.”⁵⁴ The beginning of the sentence (Κατὰ πάντα σου ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ) can be translated as: “I willingly sacrifice myself for you”⁵⁵ or “in everything I give my life for you” (own translation),⁵⁶ which presents the idea of giving someone’s life in order to demonstrate love towards the addressee.

In a similar way, a little later on, the Antiochian bishop writes to the Smyrna bishop: Ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων [τῷ] ἐπισκόπῳ, that is, “I offer my life for those who are subject to the bishop.”⁵⁷ The words Ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ are usually translated as “I offer my life” or “I sacrifice my life,”⁵⁸ which in fact means the same thing.

The translator of the writings of St. Ignatius, K. Borowski, made accurate observations in this regard and his remarks, despite the passage of time (his translation is dated back to 1897), still remain valid. Namely, he notices that Ignatius expresses his readiness to lay down his life for the brothers in almost every letter. Although the term ἀντίψυχος is used by the Antiochian bishop 4 times, his translator makes this remark by analyzing not only the vocabulary but the overall tone of his writings. The sacrifice of life from the Ignatius’ perspective is not only an expression of kindness, but is a faithful imitation of St. Paul, who wrote: “Now I rejoice in my sufferings for your sake, and in my flesh I am filling up what is lacking in Christ’s afflictions for the sake of His body, that is, the church,” (Col 1:24).⁵⁹

In the analysis of the patristic literature mentioning the idea of substitute suffering, it is impossible to ignore St. Athanasius the Great, known as Athanasius of Alexandria († 373).⁶⁰ The starting point of Athanasius’ argument was the Word of God taken from the Bible, which he quoted from LXX.⁶¹

Among Athanasius’ apologetic writings, one should distinguish the treatise created in approx. 320, called *De incarnatione Verbi*, that is *On the Incarnation of the Word*, in which he included a lecture and defense of the Christian doctrine on the mystery of the Incarnation and the act of redemption. In Chapter IX, 2, the term

52 Kleinknecht, “πνεῦμά,” 332.

53 More: Kowalski, “Stoicka pneuma, cz. 1,” 421–456; Kowalski, “Stoicka pneuma, cz. 2,” 491–544.

54 Ignatius Antiochenus, *Epistula ad Polycarpum* II, 3 (PG 5, 721; BOK 10, 140).

55 Borowski, *Pisma mężów*, 257.

56 The adjective in the neuter functions here as a noun; Auerbach – Golias, *Grammar*, 159.

57 Ignatius Antiochenus, *Epistula ad Polycarpum* VI, 1 (PG 5, 724; BOK 10, 141).

58 Borowski, *Pisma mężów*, 261.

59 Borowski, *Pisma mężów*, 261–262, fn. 1.

60 Florkowski, “Atanazy Wielki,” 1026–1029; here: 1026.

61 Longosz, “Święty Atanazy,” 241.

ἀντίψυχος appears in juxtaposition with the words ὑπὲρ πάντων, expressing the idea of the Word becoming flesh “as a ransom for all.”⁶² The translator of Athanasius, M. Wojciechowski, writes about it: “The death of Jesus is a kind of ransom for death and its laws, but it is not a ransom for an inclement God, let alone for demons, as it was stated in the misguided versions of the Redemption theology. Above all, however, this death is an introduction to resurrection; it permits resurrection. And from the resurrection, the power of death disappears, and man does not need to fear it.”⁶³

While some say that Athanasius did not quote the Books of the Maccabees, being silent about them altogether,⁶⁴ the term ἀντίψυχος used in *De Incarnatione Verbi*, in chapter IX, 2, and previously used in 4 *Macc* 6:29; 17:21, proves at least the similarity of the idea of “substitution” included in both works.

The analyzed term ἀντίψυχος also appeared in the works of St. John Chrysostom, known as the Golden Mouth († 407).⁶⁵ The greatest part of his literary output is made up of exegetical homilies to the OT and NT. In the adjectival sense, with the meaning “instead of natural life,” the term ἀντίψυχος appears in Chrysostom’s *Homily VI, 4 on the Epistle to the Colossians*⁶⁶; and this term appears as a “substitute,” i.e. with the meaning of “substitution” in Golden Mouth’s writings in *Discourses VIII, 9 against Jews and Judaizing*.⁶⁷ These speeches that were given in Antioch in 386–387 were directed mainly against Christians who practiced Jewish customs.⁶⁸

While presenting the early Christian Greek authors who used the term ἀντίψυχος, one cannot ignore Eusebius of Caesarea († 339), called the “Father of Church History.”⁶⁹ Although historical works brought Eusebius the greatest fame, it is the apologetic works that stand out among his writings, including: *Demonstratio Evangelica*, *De Theophania* and panegyrics in honor of Constantine, among which the work entitled *Laudes Constantini* deserves special attention. In all of these three works, Eusebius uses the term ἀντίψυχος 13 times.⁷⁰ The detailed presentation of all the examples is beyond the scope of this article, therefore they will be presented only in general.

⁶² Athanasius Alexandrinus, *De incarnatione Verbi* IX, 2 (PG 25, 112B; PSP 61, 9): “For, of course, being above all things as the Word of God, having laid down his temple and bodily instrument as a ransom for life for all, by death equalized debt.”

⁶³ PSP 61, XI.

⁶⁴ Longosz, “Święty Atanazy,” 240.

⁶⁵ Drączkowski, “Jan Chryzostom,” 766–769.

⁶⁶ Joannes Chrysostomus, *In epistolam ad Colosenses* VI, 4 (G 11, 426); the cited source was the basis for the later edition of PG. Lampe, s.v. “ἀντίψυχος,” in the citation of the source (G 11), cites the page number given in the middle column, i.e. 370A.

⁶⁷ Joannes Chrysostomus, *Adversus Iudaeos* VIII, 9 (PG 48, 941; ŻMT 41, 224).

⁶⁸ Drączkowski, “Jan Chryzostom,” 767, writes that these were “homilies,” but they can also be called “sermons” or “speeches”; this nomenclature is used in the Polish translation: ŻMT 41, 53.

⁶⁹ Drączkowski, “Eusebius,” 1351–1354.

⁷⁰ Partly after: Lampe, *A Patristic*, s.v. “ἀντίψυχος,” where he cites a total of 5 examples of the use of this term in Eusebius, listing the three above-mentioned works.

Although the apologetic works of ancient times were common, Eusebius' method was innovative in this regard due to the abundant citation of ancient sources and authors in order to justify the argumentation provided. One of the most important writings is entitled *Demonstratio Evangelica*⁷¹ and it is a work that includes 20 books, of which 10 books and part of the 15th one have been preserved. Already in the Book I, the author explains why Christianity, which is a continuation of the religion of the patriarchs, adopts the entire OT apart from the detailed regulations of the Mosaic law. The summary of the Book I is chapter 10, in which Eusebius uses the term ἀντίψυχος 5 times.⁷² The title of this chapter is *Why we are not bidden to burn Incense and to sacrifice the Fruits of the Earth to God as were the Men of Old Time*. He argues in it that the people of the Old Testament, while wishing to devote the most precious thing to God, i.e., their own lives, offered a substitute sacrifice of irrational animals and sacrificed their lives instead their own (τῆς σφῶν ψυχῆς ἀντίψυχα προσκομίζοντες).⁷³ The substitute animal sacrifice, providing "life for life," foreshadows Christ's expiatory sacrifice on the cross. The entire chapter is maintained in a similar vein.

In the following books, with the help of the OT prophecies, Eusebius justified the arrival, nature and features of the Christ-Messiah, while in Book X he described in detail His passion and death. The first chapter of Book X, entitled *Of Judas the Traitor, and His Fellow-Conspirators against Christ*, uses the adjective ἀντίψυχος⁷⁴ four times to refer to Christ's substitute sacrifice on the cross.⁷⁵

Another work of the father of ecclesiastical history is *De Theophania*,⁷⁶ fully preserved in the Syrian translation and in some fragments also in Greek. The first 3 of the 5 books concern God's revelation in the Logos through the work of creation and keeping it in existence, as well as through the Incarnation and Redemption.⁷⁷ The term ἀντίψυχος has been preserved in the fragments: *De Theophania*, fragments 3 and 9 and in the Book III, fragment 59,⁷⁸ where (especially in *De Theophania*, fragment 3) Redemption has been described as merited by substitute sacrifice in the sense of a priestly sacrifice.

71 Eusebius Caesariensis, *Demonstratio Evangelica* (PG 22, 13–794; TCL 1, 54ff).

72 Eusebius Caesariensis, *Demonstratio Evangelica* I, 10, 7.11.14.18.21, where the Roman number stands for the book, the second for the chapter, and the consecutive numbers (after the decimal point) – sections (PG 22, 84–94).

73 Eusebius Caesariensis, *Demonstratio Evangelica* I, 10 (PG 22, 85A; TCL 1, 55).

74 Eusebius Caesariensis, *Demonstratio Evangelica* X, 1, 20.23.33.35 (PG 22, 724B; TCL 1, 192–199).

75 In a similar sense, Eusebius uses the term under analysis in another work, *De Laudibus Constantini* XV, 1 (PG 20, 1420B); Lampe, *A Patristic*, s.v. "ἀντίψυχος."

76 Eusebius Caesariensis, *De Theophania* (PG 24, 609–690).

77 Drączkowski, "Euzebiusz," 1353.

78 Eusebius Caesariensis, *De Theophania* (PG 24, 616ff); Lampe, *A Patristic*, s.v. "ἀντίψυχος," cites only fragment 3.

Another early Christian author, although not counted among the Fathers of the Church,⁷⁹ but an outstanding author of exegetical works who used the term ἀντίψυχος, was Theodoret of Cyrus († c. 457 AD). Among his works one may differentiate *Eranistes*, a work consisting of four books, which constitutes a synthesis of the author's Christology. It is a philosophical dialog written in 447–448 AD, also known under the title: *Beggar or Multiformed*.⁸⁰ The author composed this dialog from over 200 quotations borrowed from over 80 ancient authors,⁸¹ which may indeed resemble a catena. The work consists of three dialogs in which three Christological issues were discussed.

In the third dialog, the author raises the subject of Incarnation and suffering of the Son of God, arguing that Jesus took flesh and led it to death as an unblemished sacrifice; in turn, by sacrificing himself, He saved all who were like Him from the death.⁸² In the climax of the dialog Theodoret states: Ὑπὲρ πάντας γὰρ ὧν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκότως τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ναὸν καὶ τὸ σωματικὸν ὄργανον προσάγων ἀντίψυχον ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐπλήρου τὸ ὀφειλόμενον τῷ θανάτῳ.⁸³ The term ἀντίψυχος was attributed to Jesus Christ, here called the Word of God.

Among early Christian writers St. Sophronius of Jerusalem also deserves a mention († 638 AD).⁸⁴ One of his works, *De peccatorum confessione*, contains the word ἀντίψυχος used in a sense of “ransom” in return for a prophecy or oracle, which should be avoided.⁸⁵ This term was previously used in the same sense in the *Ecclesiastical Canons of the Same Holy Apostles*.⁸⁶ Canon 17 states: “If anyone gives a ransom (ἀντίψυχα) to prophetesses, or takes scriptures or gives them, they are no longer faithful, not even Christians.”⁸⁷ In both examples the analyzed adjective was applied in a sense of “substitution” in exchange for some value.

⁷⁹ Considering the 4 presumptions qualifying a given early Christian writer to the group of the Church Fathers, i.e. the orthodoxy of science, the sanctity of life, ancient origin and the approval of the Church, Theodore cannot be included in this group. However, these criteria are not clear and strict and can be understood broadly; Pieszczoł, *Patrologia*, 5.

⁸⁰ Szwed-Kostecka, “Teodoret z Cyru,” 174; critical text: Ettlinger, *Eranistes*; translation: FOTC 106.

⁸¹ Stanula, “Kateny,” 1072.

⁸² Theodoretus Cyrensis, *Eranistes* (FOTC 106, 233).

⁸³ Translation: “Being, of course, above all things as the Word of God, having laid down his temple and bodily instrument as a ransom for life for all, by death he made even the debt.” Careful reading leads to the conclusion that Theodoret literally took this quote from the treatise of St. Athanasius, *De incarnatione Verbi* IX, 2 (PG 25, 112B; PSP 61, 9).

⁸⁴ Koczwara, “Sofroniusz,” 544.

⁸⁵ Sophronius Alexandrinus, *De peccatorum confessione* (PG 87, 3368B); Lampe, *A Patristic*, s.v. “ἀντίψυχος.”

⁸⁶ *Lex canonica sanctorum apostolorum* (Funk, *Didascalia*, II, 150ff; ŻMT 42, 296–297*). In the Polish translation, the text of the *Canon Law...* was published together with the *Apostolic Constitutions* and included in the *Appendix*. Assuming the creation of the *Apostolic Constitutions* in approx. 380, it can be assumed that *Canon Law...* too was written at a similar time; ŻMT 42, XIII.

⁸⁷ *Lex canonica sanctorum apostolorum* (Funk, *Didascalia*, II, 150ff; ŻMT 42, 297*). Lampe, s.v. “ἀντίψυχος,” incorrectly cites can. 17 of the collection *Poenae Apostolorum* (*Poenae pro lapsis sanctorum apostolorum*),

Another conclusion appears at this point: depending on the context, the concept of ἀντίψυχος undergoes a specific “trivialization,” drawn to an ever-lower level of replacing it with increasingly more common vocabulary.

The analyzed adjective ἀντίψυχος appears not only in scriptural and patristic literature, but also in philosophical one, the example of which is the writings of Lucian of Samosata († after 180 AD).⁸⁸ Among his rich literary legacy, it is worth noticing the work entitled *Lexiphanes*⁸⁹—a literary, dialogical satire on the language itself and the pretentiousness of human speech. One of the participants of the dialog, faced with a death threat, offers money “in return for saving his life” (χρήματα ἀντίψυχα δίδόναι ἤθελεν).⁹⁰ The adjective ἀντίψυχος assumes the character of offering only a physical object in return for life. It can be assumed that it probably was the time when this term became the *terminus technicus* describing an ordinary “exchange,” and thus, losing its redemptive value. It is possible to make a cautious assumption that the earlier it was used, the more sublime meaning and significance it had.

Conclusions

The Greek author of the LXX, using the adjective ἀντίψυχος in 4 *Macc* 6:29 and 17:21, suggests that the martyr’s death is a propitiatory, expiatory and atoning sacrifice for the sins of the nation, although still incomplete. This is a valuable argument for perceiving the individual martyrdom as a vicarious sacrifice for sins, which surely paved the way for the Greek NT authors towards explaining and deepening the theology of the salvific sacrifice of Jesus Christ, being an atonement not only for the sins of the Jewish people, but for the sins of the whole world. This is evidenced by the words of Christ himself, uttered on the threshold of the Passion: “for their sake I sacrifice myself” (ὕπερ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ ἀγιάζω ἑμαυτόν; John 17:19). Admittedly, the term ἀντίψυχος was not applied here, but still, the sense and precise meaning of this word were preserved.

On the basis of two verses from 4 *Macc* 6:29 and 17:21, it is possible to see the mature theology of the author of 4 *Macc*, who uses both religious and philosophical language in the description of martyr’s death, creating a parenesis and apotheosis of martyrdom, understood as a paradigm and model for future generations. Early Juda-

which in Polish translation is entitled: *Kary świętych Apostołów dla upadłych* (Funk, Didascalia, II, 151 ff; ŻMT 42, 298–299*); in the Polish edition, the text is included in the “Appendix.”

⁸⁸ Popowski, “Lucjan z Samosat,” 99–100.

⁸⁹ Lucianus Samosatensis, *Lexiphanes*; critical text: Harmon, *Lexiphanes*; translation: Fowler-Fowler, *The Works*, 263–272.

⁹⁰ Lucianus Samosatensis, *Lexiphanes* X, Fowler-Fowler, *The Works*, 265ff.

ism combined the sacrifices of these martyrs with propitiation for sins, considering them to be of a meritorious dimension for others.⁹¹

The above remarks are of great importance in the perspective of the development of the idea of vicarious martyrdom in the first centuries of the Christian era, even before the formulation of the great Christological dogmas, which were based on the Word of God. For instance, for St. Ignatius, the unsurpassed model of behavior right up to his martyrdom, was Jesus Christ and his salvific sacrifice on the cross, offered for and in place of sinners, and the key term expressing this idea for him was the adjective ἀντίψυχος, having its literal representation not so much in the NT, but already in the Greek Bible in *4 Macc*. According to Ignatius, the most complete form of following Christ is a martyr's death, i.e., to voluntarily sacrifice one's life because of the love for one's Lord. One can notice here the "vicarious" character of the analyzed word, in a sense of "given in return for life."⁹² This sacrifice has a salvific and purifying dimension which is consistent with the idea and message of the New Testament.

While St. Ignatius used the term ἀντίψυχος to show his own desire to "sacrifice himself" or "to give his own life" for the Church and his brothers (following the paragon of the Savior), Theodoret of Cyrus attributes this desire to Christ himself, who voluntarily sacrificed himself as "replacement" or "substitute" for all in an expiatory sense, i.e., "in lieu of" those who deserved to die.

A similar meaning of this adjective can be seen in the works of Christian authors in general; non-Christian authors, on the other hand, apply this term in the sense of replacement, but they rarely or never use examples of martyrdom for others or the example of Jesus Christ. It has to be stated that the example of martyr's submission of life for others shown in *4 Macc* paved the way for the writers of the New Testament in terms of meaning, and for the authors of early Christian works in terms of the use of the adjective itself in order to illustrate the salvific, worthy and fully atoning for the people's sins sacrifice of Christ, which should be followed by believers to the point of giving one's life for the sake of the love for Christ and all neighbors.

Translated by Grzegorz Knys

Bibliography

- Abramowiczówna, Z. (ed.), *Słownik grecko-polski* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe 1958) I.
- Alsup, J.E., "Przebłaganie," *Encyklopedia biblijna*, ed. 3 corr. (eds. P.J. Achtemeier – W. Chrostowski) (Prymasowska Seria Biblijna 9; Warszawa: Vocatio 2004) 995–996.

⁹¹ Alsup, "Przebłaganie [Atonement]," 996; Gardocka – Gardocka, "Podstawy teologiczne [Theological Foundations]," 44.

⁹² BDAG, s.v. "ἀντίψυχον."

- Athanasius Alexandrinus, *De incarnatione Verbi*, trans. M. Wojciechowski: Atanazy z Aleksandrii, *O wcieleniu Słowa* (Pisma Starochrześcijańskich Pisarzy 61; Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademii Teologii Katolickiej 1998) (= PSP).
- Auerbach, M. – Golias, M., *Gramatyka grecka* (Warszawa: PWN 1985).
- Baran, G.M., “Obraz Boga w przekazie *Czwartej Księgi Machabejskiej*,” *The Biblical Annals* 6/3 (2016) 419–457.
- Baran, G.M., “Siedmiu braci Machabejskich z *Czwartej Księgi Machabejskiej* jako typ Chrystusa. Próba zastosowania egzegezy typologicznej do tekstu *Czwartej Księgi Machabejskiej*,” *Vox Patrum* 71 (2019) 43–68.
- Baran, G.M., “The Jewish Community and the Hellenistic Culture in the Light of the Books of the Maccabees,” *Teologia i Człowiek* 25/1 (2014) 55–78.
- Baslez, M.-F., *Prześladowania w starożytności. Ofiary. Bohaterowie. Męczennicy* (trans. E. Łukaszyk) (Kraków: WAM 2009).
- Bauer, W. – Danker, F.W. – Arndt, W.F. – Gingrich, F.W., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3 ed. (Chicago, IL – London: University of Chicago Press 2000) (= BDAG).
- Beasley-Murray, G.R., *John* 2 ed. (Word Biblical Commentary 36; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan 1999).
- Benedykt XVI, *Katechezy o Ojcach Kościoła* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo M 2008).
- Bickerman, E.C., “The Date of Fourth Maccabees,” *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (ed. American Academy of Jewish Research) (New York: American Academy of Jewish Research 1945) 105–112.
- Blenkinsopp, J., *Isaiah 40–55. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (The Anchor Bible 19A; New Haven, CT – London: Yale University Press 1974).
- Borowski, K. (trans.), *Pisma mężów Apostolskich, Klemensa Rzymskiego, Ignacego i Polikarpa biskupów, przytem Dzieje męczeństwa dwóch ostatnich i List do Dyogneta* (Warszawa: Drukarnia Niemiry 1897) I–II.
- Brown, F. – Driver, S.R. – Briggs, C.A., *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament (BDB complete)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1952) (= BDB).
- Büchsel, F., “καταλλαγή,” *TDNT* I, 258.
- Chrostowski, M., “Różne odcienie męczeństwa w literaturze biblijnej. Oddanie życia jako najwyższy przejaw miłości na przykładzie wybranych perykop biblijnych,” *Świadkowie wielkiej sprawy Bożej. Problematyka męczeństwa XX i XXI wieku* (eds. M. Gogolik – P. Hoppe) (Colloquia Disputationes 51; Poznań: Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza 2019) 9–26.
- Cohen, G.D., “The Story of Hannah and Her Seven Sons in Hebrew Literature,” *Mordecai M. Kaplan Jubilee Volume* (ed. M. Davis) (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America 1953) 109–122.
- Dihle, J., “ψυχή,” *TDNT* IX, 608.
- Drączkowski, F., “Euzebiusz z Cezarei,” *Encyklopedia katolicka* (eds. R. Łukaszyk – L. Bieńkowski – F. Gryglewicz) (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL 1989) IV, 1351–1354.
- Drączkowski, F., “Ignacy Antiocheński,” *Encyklopedia katolicka* (ed. J. Walkusz) (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL 1993) VI, 1441–1442.
- Drączkowski, F., “Jan Chryzostom,” *Encyklopedia katolicka* (ed. J. Duchniewski) (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL 1997) VII, 766–769.

- Eusebius Caesariensis, *De Laudibus Constantini* (PG 20, 1316–1440).
- Eusebius Caesariensis, *De Theophania* (PG 24, 609–690).
- Eusebius Caesariensis, *Demonstratio Evangelica* (PG 22, 13–794).
- Eusebius Caesariensis, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, trans. W.J. Ferrar: *The Proof of the Gospel. Being the Demonstratio Evangelica of Eusebius of Caesarea* (Translations of Christian Literature. Series 1. Greek Texts; London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge 1920) (= TCL).
- Florkowski, E., “Atanazy Wielki,” *Encyklopedia katolicka* (eds. F. Gryglewicz – R. Łukaszyk – Z. Sułowski) (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL 1985) I, 1026–1029.
- Frend, W.H.C., *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday 1967).
- Fuhrmann, S., “Traditions of Martyrdom in the Ignatian Letters,” *In die Skriflig* 45/2–3 (2011) 689–705.
- Funk, F.X. (ed.), *Didascalia et constitutiones apostolorum. II. Testimonia et scripturae propinqua* (Paderbornae: Schoeningh 1905).
- Gardocka, M. – Gardocka, R., “Podstawy teologiczne idei wynagrodzenia w Biblii,” *Studia Kozalińsko-Koło-brzeskie* 17 (2011) 41–58.
- Goldstein, J.A., *II Maccabees. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (The Anchor Bible 41A; New Haven, CT – London: Yale University Press 1974).
- Grimm, C.L.W., *Das zweite, dritte, und vierte Buch der Makkabäer* (Leipzig: Hirzel 1857).
- van Henten, J.W., *The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours of the Jewish People. A Study of 2 and 4 Maccabees* (Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series 57; Leiden: Brill 1997).
- Herrmann, W., “ἰλάσκομαι,” *TDNT* III, 301–302.
- Homerski, J., *Pierwsza i Druga Księga Machabejska. Wstęp, przekład i komentarz* (Biblia Lubelska; Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL 2001).
- Ignatius Antiochenus, *Epistula ad Ephesios*, trans. A. Świderkówna: *Pierwsi świadkowie. Pisma Ojców Apostolskich*, 2 ed. (Biblioteka Ojców Kościoła 10; Kraków: Wydawnictwo M 2010) (= BOK) 113–119.
- Ignatius Antiochenus, *Epistula ad Polycarpum*, trans. A. Świderkówna: *Pierwsi świadkowie. Pisma Ojców Apostolskich*, 2 ed. (Biblioteka Ojców Kościoła 10; Kraków: Wydawnictwo M 2010) 140–142.
- Ignatius Antiochenus, *Epistula ad Smyrnaeos*, trans. A. Świderkówna: *Pierwsi świadkowie. Pisma Ojców Apostolskich*, 2 ed. (Biblioteka Ojców Kościoła 10; Kraków: Wydawnictwo M 2010) 136–139.
- Ioannes Chrysostomus, *Adversus Judaeos*, trans. J. Iluk: Św. Jan Chryzostom, *Mowy przeciwko judaizantom i Żydom. Przeciwno Żydom i Hellenom* (Źródła Myśli Teologicznej 41; Kraków: WAM 2007) (= ŹMT).
- Ioannes Chrysostomus, *In epistulam ad Colosenses*; B. de Montfaucon, *Joannis Chrysostomi Opera Omnia Quae Exstant*, ed. 2 (Parisii: Gaume Fratres Bibliopolas 1838) (= G) XI, 370–427.
- de Jonge, M., “Jesus’ Death for Others and the Death of the Maccabean Martyrs,” M. de Jonge, *Jewish Eschatology, Early Christian Christology and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Novum Testamentum Supplements 63; Leiden: Brill 1991) 125–134.

- Kellermann, U., *Auferstanden in den Himmel* (Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 95; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk 1979).
- Kittel, G. – Bromiley, G.W., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing 1964–1976) I–X (= TDNT).
- Kleinknecht, H., “πνεῦμά,” TDNT VI, 332.
- Koczvara, S., “Sofroniusz z Jerozolimy,” *Encyklopedia katolicka* (ed. E. Gigilewicz) (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL 2013) XVIII, 544.
- Koehler, L. – Baumgartner, W., *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Leiden: Brill 2000) (= HALOT)
- Kowalski, M., “Stoicka *pneuma* a Pawłowa koncepcja Ducha w Rz 8. Cz. 1: Argumentacja Rz 8 i przegląd badań nad stoicką *pneumą* u Pawła”; “Cz. 2: Paweł i stoicy na temat Ducha – podobieństwa i różnice,” *The Biblical Annals* 8/3 (2018) 421–456; 8/4 (2018) 491–543.
- Lampe, G.W.H. (ed.), *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1968).
- Langkammer, H., “Helleniści,” *Encyklopedia katolicka* (ed. J. Walkusz) (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL 1993) VI, 655.
- Lex canonica sanctorum apostolorum*, trans. T. Kalinkowski – A. Caba: *Konstytucje apostołskie oraz Kanony Pamfilosa z apostołskiego synodu w Antiochii. Prawo kanoniczne świętych Apostołów. Kary świętych Apostołów dla upadłych. Euchologion Serapiona* (Synody i Kolekcje Praw II; Źródła Myśli Teologicznej 42; Kraków: WAM 2007).
- Liddell, H.G. – Scott, R., *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon founded upon The Seventh Edition of Liddell and Scott’s Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1889) (= Liddell-Scott).
- Linke, W., “Od skandalu niewinnego cierpienia do teologii męczeństwa. Męczennicy w okresie Drugiej Świątyni,” *Słowo Krzyża* 4 (2010) 12–39.
- Longosz, S., “Święty Atanazy a Biblia,” *Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny* 27/4–5 (1974) 237–246.
- Louw, J.P. – Nida, E.A., *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*, 2 ed. (New York: United Bible Societies 1989) (= Louw-Nida).
- Lucianus Samosatensis, *Lexiphanes*; Lucianus, *Lexiphanes* (ed. A.M. Harmon) (Harvard: Harvard University Press 1962).
- Lucianus Samosatensis, *Lexiphanes*, trans. H.W. Fowler – F.G. Fowler: *The Works of Lucian of Samosata* (Oxford: Clarendon 1905) II, 263–272.
- Migne, J.-P., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca* (Paris: J.-P. Migne) (Paris: Migne 1856–1866) (= PG).
- Naumowicz, J., “Wcielenie Boga i zbawienie człowieka: złota reguła soteriologii patrystycznej,” *Warszawskie Studia Teologiczne* 13 (2000) 17–30.
- Nickelsburg, G.W.E., *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah. A Historical and Literary Introduction*, 2 ed. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2005).
- O’Hagan, A.P., “The Martyr in the Fourth Book of Maccabees,” *Liber Annuus* 24 (1974) 94–120.
- Odzimek, A., “Łukaszwowy kerygmat o Jezusie Męczenniku,” *Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny* 33/2 (1980) 68–79.
- Paprocki, H., [rec.] “M. Wojciechowski, *Apokryfy z Biblii greckiej* (Rozprawy i Studia Biblijne 8; Warszawa: Vocatio 2001),” *Elpis* 3/5 (2001) 111–115.
- Pieszczoch, S., *Patrologia* (Poznań – Warszawa – Lublin: Księgarnia św. Wojciecha 1964).

- Popowski, R., "Czwarta Księga Machabejska. Wprowadzenie," *Septuaginta czyli Biblia Starego Testamentu wraz z księgami deuterokanonicznymi i apokryfami* (trans. R. Popowski) (Prymasowska Seria Biblijna 37; Warszawa: Vocatio 2013) 807–809.
- Popowski, R., "Lucjan z Samosat," *Encyklopedia katolicka* (ed. E. Ziemann) (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL 2006) XI, 99–100.
- Popowski, R. (trans.), *Septuaginta czyli Biblia Starego Testamentu wraz z księgami deuterokanonicznymi i apokryfami* (Prymasowska Seria Biblijna 37; Warszawa: Vocatio 2013).
- Pott, A.F., *Etymologische Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 2 ed. (Lemgo nach Detmold: Meyer 1859) I.
- Procksch, O., "ἀγιάζω," *TDNT* I, 111.
- Rubinkiewicz, R., "Machabejskie Księgi," *Encyklopedia katolicka* (ed. E. Ziemann) (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL 2006) XI, 686–689.
- Rubinkiewicz, R., *Wprowadzenie do apokryfów Starego Testamentu* (Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL 1987).
- Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes edidit Alfred Rahlfs. Editio altera, quam recognovit et emendavit Robert Hanhart. Duo volumina in uno* (ed. A. Rahlfs) (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2006).
- Sophronius Alexandrinus, *De peccatorum confessione* (PG 87, 3366–3372).
- Stanula, E., "Kateny," *Encyklopedia katolicka* (ed. B. Migut) (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL 2000) VIII, 1072–1073.
- Strong, J., *A Concise Dictionary of the Words in the Greek New Testament with Renderings in Authorized English Version* (Nashville, TN – New York: Abingdon Press 1890) (= Strong).
- Surkau, H.-W., *Martyrien in jüdischer und frühchristlicher Zeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1938).
- Suter, D.W., "Machabejska Księga Trzecia"; Machabejska Księga Czwarta," *Encyklopedia biblijna*, ed. 3 corr. (ed. P.J. Achtemeier – W. Chrostowski) (Prymasowska Seria Biblijna 9; Warszawa: Vocatio 2004) 687–688.
- Szewczyk, P.M., "Teodoret z Cyru," *Encyklopedia katolicka* (ed. E. Gigilewicz) (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL 2013) XIX, 628–629.
- Szwed-Kostecka, J., "Teodoret z Cyru i dialog filozoficzny," *Źródła Humanistyki Europejskiej* 7 (2014) 173–184.
- Szymik, S., "Męczeństwo. I. W Biblii," *Encyklopedia katolicka* (ed. E. Ziemann) (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL 2008) XII, 695–697.
- Theodoretus Cyrensis, *Eranistes*; Theodoret of Cyrus, *Eranistes. Critical Text and Prolegomena* (ed. G.H. Ettliger) (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1975).
- Theodoretus Cyrensis, *Eranistes*, trans. G.H. Ettliger: Theodoret of Cyrus, *Eranistes* (The Fathers of the Church 106; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press 2003) (= FOTC).
- Trench, R.Ch., *Synonyms of the New Testament* (London: Macmillan 1880).
- Tułodziecki, T., "Zmartwychwstanie męczenników według 2 Mch 7," *Verbum Vitae* 15 (2009) 85–98.
- Vilar Hueso, V., "La recompensa de los justos inmediata a su muerte en IV Macabeos y Parábolas de Enoc," *En torno a la Biblia* (ed. V. Vilar Hueso) (Facultad de Teología San Vicente Ferrer. Series Valentina 29; Valencia: Facultad de Teología San Vicente Ferrer 1992) 305–331.

MARCIN CHROSTOWSKI

Walewski, P., "Kanon świętych ksiąg," *Wstęp ogólny do Biblii* (ed. P. Walewski) (Series Religio-
logica Pomeraniae 2; Rumia: Biblicum 2011) 237–255.

Wojciechowski, M., *Apokryfy z Biblii greckiej* (Rozprawy i Studia Biblijne 8; Warszawa: Voca-
tio 2001).