

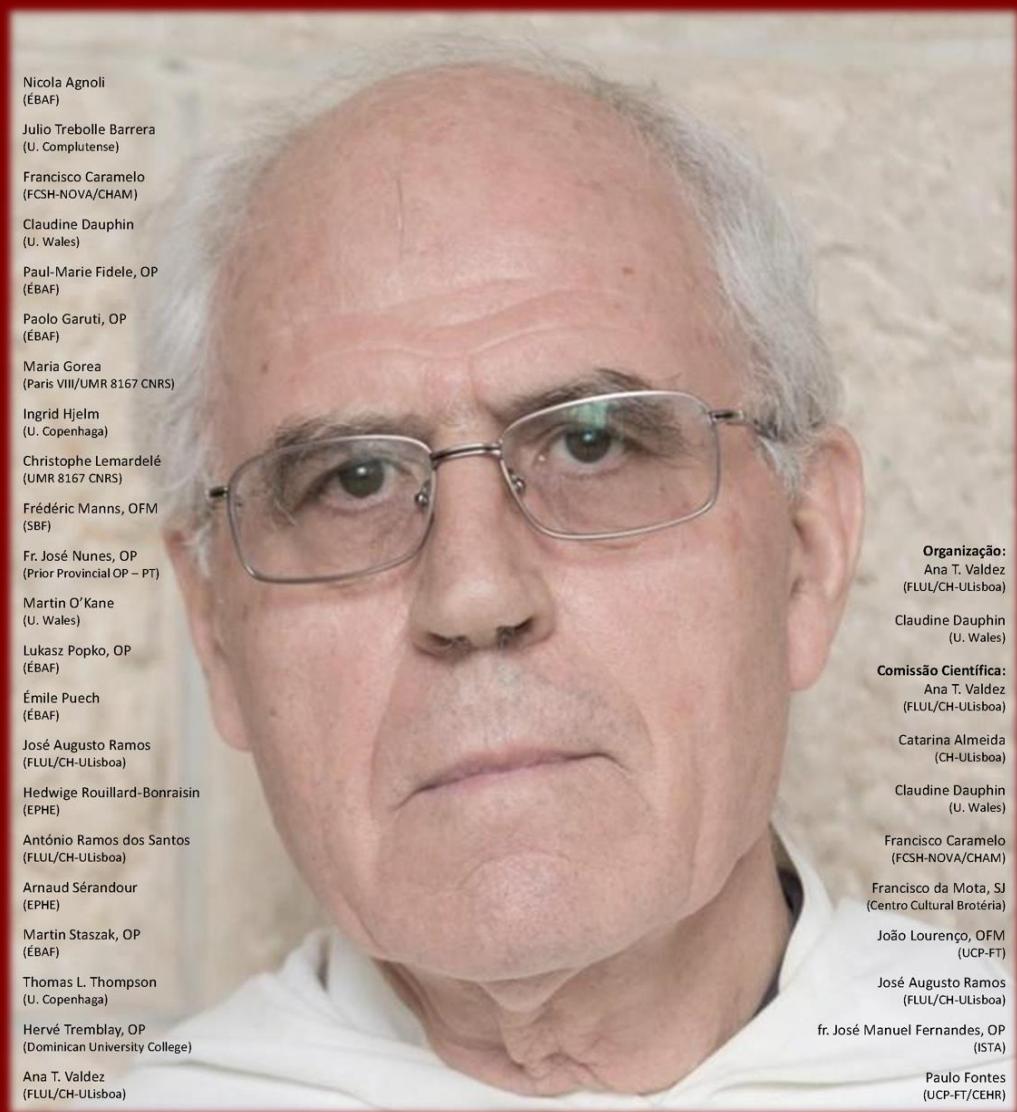
SIMPÓSIO EM HOMENAGEM A FR. FRANCOLINO GONÇALVES, OP

(1943-2017)

LISBOA, 20-22 MAIO 2019

20 de Maio – FL-ULisboa (Anfiteatro III) | 21 de Maio – FCSH-NOVA (Auditório I, Torre B)

22 de Maio – Convento Dominicano de São Domingos em Lisboa



Simpósio em Memória de Fr. Francolino Gonçalves

20, 21 e 21 de Maio de 2019

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e Sala Multiusos 1, Edifício ID)**

**22 de Maio – Convento Dominicano
de São Domingos em Lisboa**

Organização:

Ana T. Valdez, FLUL/CH-ULisboa

Claudine Dauphin, U. Wales & CNRS

Comissão Científica:

Ana T. Valdez, FLUL/CH-ULisboa

Catarina Almeida, FLUL/CH-ULisboa

Claudine Dauphin, U. Wales & CNRS

Francisco Caramelo, FCSH-NOVA/CHAM

Francisco da Mota, SJ, Centro Cultural Brotéria

João Lourenço, OFM, UCP-FT

José Augusto Ramos, FLUL/CH-ULisboa

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May 20, 2019 – School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Lisbon, Anfiteatro III

Session 1 – 9 a.m. – Welcome Session

Chair: **José Augusto Ramos (FLUL/CH-ULisboa)**

- **Miguel Tamen**, Dean of the School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Lisbon

- **Francisco Caramelo**, Dean of the NOVA School of Social Sciences and Humanities

- **João Lourenço**, Faculty of Theology of the Portuguese Catholic University

- **Hermenegildo Fernandes**, Director of the Centre for History of the University of Lisbon

- **Paulo Fontes**, Director of the Centre of Religious History Studies, Portuguese Catholic University (TBC)

- **Luisa Almendra**, Director of the Research Centre for Theology and Religious Studies, Portuguese Catholic University (TBC)

- **António Feijó**, Pro-Rector of the University of Lisbon (TBC)

Session 2 – 10:15 a.m. – *Francolino Gonçalves: The Man, the Dominican (Portugal, Canada, Jérusalem), and the Professor*

Chair: **Ana T. Valdez (FLUL/CH-ULisboa)**

- **Francisco Caramelo** (Nova FSCH), “The influence of Francolino Gonçalves: Portuguese studies on the Ancient Near East.” (15’)

- **António Joaquim Ramos dos Santos** (Universidade de Lisboa), “Francolino and FLUL.” (15’)

- **fr. José Manuel Nunes, OP** (Prior Provincial of the Province of Portugal), “The Relevance of Francolino Gonçalves towards the Ecclesial Praxis.” (15’)

Session 3 – 11:30 a.m. – The Adoptive Land: Toponymy

Chair: Claudine Dauphin (U. of Wales & CNRS)

- **Thomas L. Thompson** (University of Copenhagen), “*Toponomie Palestinienne* and a Regional History of Palestine.” (25”)

Q&A – 15”

Lunch – 12:10 p.m. – 2 p.m.

Session 4 – 2 p.m. – Biblical Historiography: from Exodus to Exile

Chair: Florentino García Martínez (KULeuven)

- **Arnaud Sérandour** (EPHE), “Rapports entre les livres d’Esdras et de Néhémie, en hébreu et en grec, avec le livre de Jérémie.” (25”)
- **Émile Puech** (EBAF, Jerusalem), “Les *ostraca* de Lakish et le prophète Jérémie”. (25”)
- **Martin Staszak, OP** (Prieur du Couvent Saint-Etienne, Jerusalem), “Le degré d’alphabétisation de la *Gola* babylonienne et des gens du pays: les textes bibliques et les sources cunéiformes”. (25”)

Q&A – 15”

Coffee Break (3:30 p.m. – 4 p.m.)

Session 5 – 4 p.m. – “Long ago God spoke to our ancestors in many and various ways by the prophets” (Heb 1:1): Prophets and Prophecy (session I)

Chair: Paulo Fontes (CEHR-UCP)

- **Hedwige Rouillard-Bonraisin** (EPHE), “Détruire et reconstruire les villes chez les prophètes hébraïques.” (25”)
- **Nicola Agnoli** (EBAF, Jerusalem), “Le motif de l’envoi des serviteurs de Dieu, les prophètes, dans le livre de Jérémie: une formule littéraire en évolution.” (25”)
- **Ingrid Hjelm** (University of Copenhagen), “The Provenance of the Hezekiah Narrative and Its Function within Books of Kings and Isaiah.” (25”)

Q&A – 15”

**7:15 p.m. – Mass at the Dominican Convent of São Domingos de Benfica,
Lisbon**

**8 p.m. – Dinner by invitation at the Dominican Convent sponsored by the
Institute of Saint Thomas of Aquinas and hosted by the Prior Provincial of
Portugal, fr. José Nunes, OP, gathering family, speakers, former students,
and friends.**

Family and friends offer testimonies on the life and work of Francolino.

Presentation of the film “Francolino Gonçalves (Corujas 1943 – Jérusalem 2017):
Saudade Portugal – Passion Terre Sainte ” created and edited by **Claudine Dau-
phin** (University of Wales & CNRS) and **Jean-Michel de Tarragon, OP** (Ar-
chives de l’EBAF, Jerusalem)

May 21, 2019 – NOVA/FCSH – Auditório I, Torre B

Session 1 – 9 a.m. – “*Long ago God spoke to our ancestors in many and various ways by the prophets*” (Heb 1:1): Prophets and Prophecy (session II)

Chair: Maria Helena Trindade Lopes (Nova-FCSH)

- Lukasz Popko, OP (EBAF, Jerusalem), “Why does the Masoretic Text insist that Moses was ‘the Servant of the Lord?’” (25’)
- Paolo Garuti, OP (EBAF, Jerusalem), “Le rôle des textes prophétiques dans la définition de la ‘nouvelle alliance’ selon l'épître aux Hébreux.” (25’)
- Frédéric Manns, OFM (SBF, Jerusalem), “Le quatrième Evangile relit le prophète Isaïe.” (25’)

Q&A – 15”

Coffee Break (10:30 a.m. – 11 a.m.)

Session 2 – 11 a.m. – “*Long ago God spoke to our ancestors in many and various ways by the prophets*” (Heb 1:1): Prophets and Prophecy (session III)

Chair: João Lourenço (FT-UCP)

- Hervé Tremblay, OP (Dominican College), “Quel rôle la disparition des prophètes bibliques aurait-elle joué dans le processus de relecture?” (25’)
- Julio Trebolle Barrera (Universidad Complutense de Madrid), “Francolino's Favourite Books: Kings, Isaiah, and Jeremiah – The different processes of composition and edition.” (25’)
- Maria Gorea (Université Paris VIII), “Une coupe magique syriaque inédite.” (25’)

Q&A – 15”

Lunch – 12:30 p.m. – 2:30 p.m.

Afternoon – Sala Multiusos I, ID Building, NOVA/FCSH

Session 3 – 2 p.m. – From Prophecy to Apocalyptic

Chair: Francisco Caramelo (Nova-FCSH)

- **Martin O’Kane** (U. of Wales), “The Prophet Elijah in Islamic Tradition.” (25”)

- **Ana Valdez** (FLUL/CH-ULisboa), “From Judah to Lisbon, from Prophecy to Apocalyptic.” (25”)

Q&A – 15”

Coffee Break (3:30 p.m. – 4 p.m.)

Session 4 – 4 p.m. – Book Launch

Christophe Lemardelé, *Archéologie de la Bible hébraïque: Culture scribale et Yabrismes*, Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing Ltd., 2019.

Presented by Claudine Dauphin (U. of Wales/CNRS)

**May 22, 2019 – Dominican Convent of
São Domingos de Benfica, Lisbon**

Session 1 – 9 a.m. – The Two Yahwisms

Chair: Luisa Almendra (CITER-UCP)

- **José Augusto Ramos** (FLUL/CH-ULisboa), “Traces d'universalisme de la *lex orandi* dans les Psaumes.” (25”)

- **Paul-Marie Fidele, OP** (EBAF, Jerusalem), “Un double yahvisme au fondement de la dénonciation des injustices sociales en Am 2,6-16: le yahvisme basé sur la théologie créationnelle et le yahvisme fondé sur l'élection.” (25”)

- **Christophe Lemardelé** (UMR 8167 CNRS), “Les deux yahwismes, ou l'apport de Francolino Gonçalves à l'histoire et à l'anthropologie du monothéïsme biblique.” (25”)

Q&A – 15”

Coffee Break (10:30 a.m. – 11 a.m.)

Session 2 – 11 a.m. – Closing Session

Chair: fr. José Manuel Fernandes (ISTA)

Martin Staszak, OP (Prieur du Couvent Saint-Etienne, Jerusalem), “La contribution de Francolino Gonçalves au renouvellement des études bibliques à la lumière de communications de notre Symposium de Lisbonne et de son influence sur d'autres disciplines.” (30”)

Abstracts

Ana T. Valdez

From Judah to Lisbon, from prophecy to apocalyptic

This presentation, and my own research, is deeply influenced by Francolino's teachings on biblical prophetism, and on how the biblical material needs to be understood in light of its own historical context and how it was used over the centuries to support similar claims and visions.

Therefore, this paper aims to review some of António Vieira's, SJ, apocalyptic thought about Portugal in light of texts such as Isaiah and Ezekiel. For Vieira, there were two main objectives to reach: 1) restore the Portuguese independence; and 2) reach the moment of the end of times, the one that would necessarily include the establishment of a universal Church under God. The former implies an analyse of Vieira's exegesis, and in particular, his use of prophetic topics, while the latter analyses Vieira's theories in the *Clavis Prophetarum* about conversion and "return" to the true faith. Similarly to the biblical texts, Vieira is concerned about restoring the Portuguese empire and establish one single faith and God on earth, thus creating a text that requires being understood under the aegis of prophetic and apocalyptic literary genres.

Arnaud Sérandour

Esdras A' LXX, Esdras-Néhémie TM et les recensions LXX et TM du livre de Jérémie

Francolino Gonçalves reconnaissait sans peine que la comparaison des textes grec et hébreu de la Bible était aujourd'hui la seule voie heuristique d'interprétation scientifique. Le livre d'Esdras s'ouvre sur l'affirmation selon laquelle la victoire de Cyrus le Grand contre l'Empire néo-babylonien a eu lieu 70 ans après la conquête de Jérusalem par Nabuchodonosor, en vertu de la prédiction de Jérémie, selon laquelle la domination babylonienne sur le pays durerait 70 ans. Et *quid* de ce délai? Plusieurs épisodes narrés par les livres historiographiques d'Esdras-Néhémie renvoient aux prophéties du livre de Jérémie. La fonction du jeûne du 9e mois, discrète dans les livres d'Esdras-Néhémie, mérite d'être mise en lumière, en relation avec la mise par écrit du livre de Jr. Ce thème se lie à la mise en œuvre de l'année

sabbatique, contestée et difficile à imposer en Judée, thème commun aux deux livres, qu'il est nécessaire de rapprocher et d'éclairer.

En outre, le thème de la “maison d'Israël” est aussi commun aux deux ensembles littéraires. En Jr 3,6-4,2, la “maison d'Israël” doit se joindre à la “maison de Juda” et rendre un culte au dieu d'Israël à Jérusalem, seul lieu légitime où réside le dieu commun, dans Esd A' grec, de même qu'en Jr LXX. Mais en Jr TM et en Esd-Ne TM, le ton change et se durcit. On essaiera de montrer que l'on est passé d'un modèle hégémonique oniade à un modèle coercitif hasmonéen.

Enfin, le statut des “étrangers” est un thème commun aux deux livres. D’“ennemis” (Jr) à “infiltrés de l'intérieur” (Esd A' grec et Esd-Ne), on s'efforcera de montrer que ces “étrangers” ont le même statut que ceux des livres des Macca-bées. Ce sont des Grecs séleucides avec lesquels il faut composer, sous peine de disparaître; puis ils sont des Grecs oppresseurs qu'il faut combattre, comme au livre de Daniel sous les Hasmonéens, après le règne honni d'Antiochos IV Epiphanie. Là encore, on passe de l'époque lagide en Judée à l'époque où les Juifs favorables aux Antiochiens séleucides sont combattus par les Hasmonéens, qui profitent de la déliquescence du royaume séleucide pour instituer une monarchie pontificale à Jérusalem, dominant tout le Levant Sud, y compris les “Samaritains” de Sichem.

António Ramos dos Santos

Francolino and FLUL

Francolino Gonçalves was present from the very beginning in building up the field of Pre-Classical Civilisations, not only by his teaching activity, but also by his studies on prophetism and prophecy, his area of expertise.

Christophe Lemardelé

Le concept des deux yahvismes et la possibilité d'une anthropologie du monothéisme biblique

Par sa connaissance réfléchie et aigüe des textes prophétiques et sapientiaux, Francolino Gonçalves en est venu à distinguer deux conceptions du yahvisme dont l'une était presque uniquement présente dans le livre d'Osée mais qui allait être à l'origine de l'idéologie deutéronomiste. Le concept des deux yahvismes est opératoire car il permet de démêler des conceptions de Yhwh quelque peu contradictoires dans les textes, notamment un yahvisme “mythologique” fondé sur la

création (cosmogonie et anthropogonie) et un yahvisme “historique” fondé sur le récit d'un peuple migrant avec son dieu, donc un yahvisme universaliste (Isaïe) d'un côté et un yahvisme exclusiviste (Jérémie) de l'autre. Ce concept permet aussi de clarifier des conceptions propres au second yahvisme, par exemple la notion d'alliance qui, pour la très grande majorité des exégètes, n'est qu'une transposition dans la sphère du religieux (code deutéronomique) de pratiques juridiques et politiques (traités de vassalité assyriens). Si les métaphores filiales et, surtout, matrimoniales d'Osée, identifiées par Francolino Gonçalves, sont indissociables du motif narratif de la *montée* d'Égypte, alors cette conception de la relation à la divinité doit pouvoir s'inscrire dans une anthropologie de la parenté et de la famille propre à des populations de l'hinterland du Proche-Orient ancien: semi-nomades des zones steppiques à l'est et au sud des collines israélites.

Émile Puech

Les ostraca de Lakish et le prophète Jérémie

Depuis leur publication, les *ostraca* hébreux de Lakish ont fait l'objet d'un grand nombre d'études, souvent assez discordantes. Ayant pu étudier quelques originaux conservés au Musée Palestinien en 1972 et plusieurs reproductions de ceux conservés à Londres, il m'était alors apparu que des révisions étaient possibles. Le Symposium de Lisbonne en mémoire de Francolino Gonçalves qui s'était spécialisé dans l'étude des livres prophétiques, me donne l'occasion de revenir sur ce premier travail et de présenter de nouvelles lectures. Chemin faisant, la figure du prophète qui se dégage des quelques *ostraca* qui mentionnent un prophète, apparaît être le prophète d'Anatot, Jérémie, dont les oracles sont en faveur d'une politique pro-babylonienne, opposée à celles des ministres de la cour de Jérusalem sous l'emprise des prophètes de mensonge.

Francisco Caramelo

The influence of Francolino Gonçalves: Portuguese studies on the Ancient Near East

The influence of Francolino Gonçalves on Portuguese studies on the Ancient Near East History was remarkable. That influence was related with the author's perspective on the text, underlining the necessity of a permanent dialogue between biblical texts and extra-biblical literature, in particular with Mesopotamian literature. He specifically turned his attention to studies on prophetism and prophecy, keeping in

mind its connections to Near Eastern oracular and prophetic texts regarding the literary genre and its redactional context and literary production. These conceptual perspectives were seminal in Portuguese scholarship.

Frédéric Manns

“Le quatrième Evangile relit le prophète Isaïe”

De nombreuses études ont établi fermement que le quatrième Evangile connaît et cite le prophète Isaïe. A côté des citations explicites introduites par des formules stéréotypées, des allusions peuvent être détectées. Il faudra passer en revue les citations explicites dans le texte hébreu, le texte grec et la version araméenne du Targum. Les allusions ne sont pas toujours évidentes. Il faudra tenter de les confirmer par l'étude du contexte. Reste une dernière catégorie à approfondir : celle de l'arrière-plan général des deux écrits. En maintenant l'unité du livre d'Isaïe nous pourrons en finale approfondir le concept d'accomplissement des Ecritures.

Hedwige Rouillard-Bonraisin

Déconstruire Moab, et puis le Reconstruire?

En hommage à Francolino Gonçalves, en l'honneur de qui nous sommes réunis, je souhaiterais évoquer l'antique pays de Moab, situé dans la partie méridionale de l'actuelle Transjordanie, ce pour diverses raisons:

- nous y fîmes un merveilleux voyage d'étude au printemps 1978, dans le cadre de l'École biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem;

- ce beau pays est fréquemment évoqué dans la Bible hébraïque, notamment dans les livres des Rois et dans les oracles prophétiques chers à Francolino Gonçalves;

- ces oracles prophétiques s'inscrivent dans le “genre littéraire” classiquement nommé “oracles contre les nations”. Ces textes sont souvent considérés comme à la fois stéréotypés, difficiles d'interprétation, certains voire corrompus, et peu instructifs quant à l'histoire réelle des contrées concernées par leurs injonctions, malédictions et lamentations.

Nous nous pencherons plus spécialement sur les oracles d'Isaïe 15-16, sans toutefois nous limiter à leur étude *stricto sensu*, afin de trouver une réponse à deux questions lancinantes, récurrentes concernant les oracles prophétiques en général, et d'Isaïe en particulier:

1. Que nous disent-ils de l'histoire des régions interpellées? Nous apportent-ils des informations ou devons-nous n'y voir et entendre qu'une creuse rhétorique?
2. Témoignent-ils de *visions* géniales tournées vers l'avenir, ou s'agit-il de *vaticinia ex eventu*?

Hervé Tremblay

Quel rôle la disparition des prophètes bibliques aurait-il joué dans le processus de relecture?

La disparition des prophètes autour du 3e siècle avant notre ère est l'un des mystères de la période vétérotestamentaire. On entrevoit le désarroi dans quelques textes bibliques: Pourquoi n'y avait-il plus de prophètes ?

Quant à elle, la relecture des textes prophétiques est un phénomène plutôt distinctif.

Y a-t-il un lien entre les deux?

La disparition des prophètes a-t-elle forcée ou orienté dans une certaine direction la relecture des textes prophétiques?

La réflexion proposée ici s'enracinera dans une intuition du P. Francolino Gonçalves.

Ingrid Hjelm

The Provenance of the Hezekiah Narrative and Its Function within Books of Kings and Isaiah

Most scholars, Francolino Gonçalves included, consider that the authorship of the Hezekiah narrative belongs to the Book of Kings. In my 2004 book, *Jerusalem's Rise to Sovereignty*, I purported that the provenance of the Hezekiah narrative belongs to the Book of Isaiah. In my lecture, I will rehearse my reasons for that decision, which I was not the first to make. The impact of the suggestion had at the time not quite made its way into Deuteronomistic History studies, which generally speaking presented the narrative as part of Deuteronomistic History's discourse on *Benei Israel's* history from creation to exile, without regarding its possible intrusion into that story. In Isaiah studies, it had only recently been more widely accepted that the narrative might have belonged primarily to the Book of Isaiah, where it plays a central role in the structuring of the Book as a whole. The lecture will discuss recent views on the narrative's provenance and function within its larger contexts.

José Augusto Ramos

Traces d'universalisme de la Lex Orandi dans les Psaumes

Un des sujets auxquels Francolino Gonçalves a consacré quelques-unes de ses dernières années de vie a été celui des deux motivations littéraires qui servaient dans la Bible comme fondement pour l'édition de deux systèmes théologiques assez différents l'un de l'autre. Le premier était fondé sur l'ensemble des mythologies d'où dérivait un horizon d'interculturalité et d'universalisme anthropologique. Le deuxième partait des connotations de l'exode et se caractérisait par ses sensibilités de nuance historique et, en général, plus nationaliste.

En profitant d'une expérience récente de traduction des psaumes, que nous avons entreprise, notre intention est de scruter les traces d'universalisme dans livre des Psaumes, en considérant la présence des deux matières doctrinales dans la synthèse spécifique de la *lex orandi*. Ce sera une opportunité de reprendre une vieille pratique de dialogue avec Francolino.

Julio Trebolle

Francolino's favourite books: Kings, Isaiah and Jeremiah. The different processes of these books' composition and edition

Francolino Gonçalves studied in two articles (“Jérémie le Prophète dans le TM et les LXX de son livre” and “Baruc e Jeremias nas duas edições mais antigas do livro de Jeremias conhecidas”) the several features of the Book of Jeremiah’s double edition (the Hebrew original of the Greek version and the MT). We also have two editions of the book of Kings, one rather different from the other (LXX and MT). Conversely, the Book of Isaiah presents no relevant variations, as per Qumran’s famous scroll 1QIsaa.

The final structure of the books of *Isaiah*, *the Twelve, Psalms* and *Proverbs* discloses their significance in the biblical canon, some parts of them having been composed before the exile and others during or after the exile. Their definitive structure displays a deliberate intent of emphasising continuity between the pre-exilic and the post-exilic literatures

As for the books of King and Jeremiah, they are rather collections of accounts inserted chronologically with the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, with a strong deuteronomistic view. Composed during the exile, these books, along with the other historical books and Ezekiel, were granted the authority of canonical, prophetic books.

The double editions of Kings and Jeremiah allow us to rebuild their literary composition and edition process. The history of the LXX reflects the previous history of the Hebrew text. The differences between LXX and MT are not to be attributed to the Greek translator; they rather correspond to extant differences among Hebrew texts. Several examples will be provided to enable us to recognise the literary parts or glosses introduced in the second edition *vs.* the first one. Historical-literary critics must therefore stand upon a comparative analysis of the two editions (TM and LXX).

Lukasz Popko

Shaping the Prophet. Why does Josh^{MT} insist that Moses was ‘the Servant of the Lord’?

The Book of Joshua in the MT begins with a reference to Moses, “the servant of YHWH” (1:1). The same title is absent from the LXX. Since the analogical minuses occur in other places in the LXX (1:15, 12:6, 22:4) and Josh^{LXX} often is a witness to a different edition of the same book, our study will attempt to deduce the possible reasons for these expansions. The proto-Masoretic edition made explicit the importance of Moses in general, yet it is arguable that in particular Moses, “the Servant of YHWH”, is referred to in the pericopes dealing with the land Transjordan tribes. The proto-Masoretic emphasised a certain paradox lived by the diaspora: on the one hand, it reinforced the distinction between the Land of YHWH and the unclean land to the East of Jordan (22:19), but on the other hand, it supported the perspective that also Transjordan is God-given to Israel. Actually, the diaspora case makes part of a more fundamental monotheistic claim: that a god of a particular nation rules the whole world.

Maria Gorea

Une coupe magique syriaque inédite

Les coupes magiques en langue syriaque et en écriture *estranghelo* sont relativement rares. Le domaine de la magie, de par sa marginalité, sa clandestinité et son caractère foncièrement syncrétique, se situe à la périphérie du religieux, tel que celui-ci fut défini par les dogmes propres à chaque église. Assez tôt, les pratiques magiques ont été condamnées par les Églises officielles et, en 410, par l’Église syrienne orientale lors du IV^e synode de Séleucie-Ctésiphon. Le texte de la coupe ici présentée est

à peu près contemporain de ces mesures prohibitives. Cette coupe, conservée dans une collection privée, révèle des invocations trinitaires, des tournures clairement chrétiennes et des références nouveau-testamentaires qui en font un document exceptionnel. Son contenu se démarque ainsi de celui d'autres textes syriaques de même type publiés, où les formules proprement chrétiennes, plus ténues, se trouvent habituellement mélangées à des éléments orientaux syncrétiques, selon un principe de récupération de tout ce qui est susceptible d'assurer la protection des bénéficiaires de ces objets.

Martin O’Kane

The Prophet Elijah in Islamic Tradition

Traditions surrounding the prophet Elijah (Ilyas), mentioned only briefly in the Qur'an (6:85, 37:123-32) where he rebukes his people for worshipping Baal and not the true God, are greatly expanded and enhanced in subsequent Islamic literature and popular folklore. In particular, Ilyas became associated with the mysterious servant of Moses known as al-Khadir ('The Green One'), widely considered to be a prophet who, living well beyond the ordinary span of human life, is associated with eternal life and with that mysterious world that lies beyond, or between, the realms of life and death. In Sufism, he is the prophet of initiation into divine mysteries. Not surprisingly, given such attributes, al-Khadir quickly became associated with the Qur'anic Ilyas; indeed, in several instances, al-Khadir *becomes* Ilyas; for example, medieval Sufis such as Ibn al-'Arabi assert that the composite figure of Elijah-al-Khadir initiated them into a direct perception of the divine. As a ubiquitous figure, free from temporal and spatial constraints, he can surface in sacred history at any point, from the most ancient of times to the current moment. Indeed, right throughout the Levant, and especially in popular culture, the composite figure Elijah-al-Khadir is said to be able to inhabit the mosques of Medina, Mecca, Jerusalem, and Damascus simultaneously. In addition, Ilyas appears not only in Islamic literature and folklore but is also a popular and instantly recognizable figure in Islamic art, depicted frequently in the immensely popular compendium of legends, the *Qisas al-anbiya'* or *Stories of the Prophets*, which was copied and illustrated several times across the centuries, and disseminated widely throughout the Muslim world.

Martin Staszak

Le degré d'alphabétisation de la Gola babylonienne et des gens du pays : les textes bibliques et les sources cunéiformes

Parmi les exilés juifs à Babylone se trouva une classe alphabétisée qui, cependant, ne comprenait pas tous les exilés. Le Ps 137 parle des exilés qui, sous surveillance babylonienne, accomplissaient des travaux forcés et construisaient des canaux. Uniquement des gens alphabétisés étaient capables de documenter leurs expériences par un psaume.

Comme l'Ancien Testament connaît plusieurs traditions mésopotamiennes, on peut supposer qu'une classe sacerdotale et des théologiens maîtrisaient aussi l'écriture cunéiforme.

Pourtant, beaucoup de juifs n'étaient pas autorisés d'appliquer leurs connaissances dans tous les domaines. Une nouvelle édition de documents commerciaux d'auteurs juifs exilés montre que ces documents étaient écrits exclusivement par des scribes babyloniens. Il semble qu'uniquement de tels documents avaient de valeur juridique devant les autorités babyloniennes et perses. Par conséquent, ces commerçants juifs, probablement, n'apprenaient pas l'écriture cunéiforme malgré qu'ils parlent la langue babylonienne et étaient alphabétisés en hébreu et araméen.

D'après les sources bibliques, le degré d'alphabétisation en Judée était très bas pendant le temps d'exil. Ainsi, la *gola*, rentrée à Jérusalem, se réjouit d'un monopole en annonçant la Loi.

L'analyse de la situation sociale et de l'alphabétisation montre que les textes bibliques qui parlent de gens de bas niveau qui restaient dans le pays sont assez fiables. Pourtant, les exilés rentrés avaient tout intérêt d'exagérer cette tendance pour monopoliser l'interprétation de la Tora et pour regagner leurs terrains.

Nicola Agnoli

The motif of “sending the servants of the Lord, the prophets” in the book of Jeremiah: a developing literary formula

“The servants, the prophets” is a particular association of terms that is recorded numerous times in biblical literature. It occurs 17 times in the OT, in books of diverse literary contexts (2 Kings 9:7, 17:13, 17:23, 21:10, 24:2; Jer 7:25, 25:4, 26:5, 29:19, 35:15, 44:4; Ezek 38:17; Am 3:7; Zech 1:6; Dan 9:6, 9:10; Ezra 9:11). But not

only the OT is affected by the occurrences; it is also in the last book of the NT where the reference is found twice (Rev 10:7, 11:18). The reference to “the servants, the prophets” of the Lord appears like an anonymous, generic, and generalized reference to the prophets of old, indicating an uninterrupted “tradition” of prophets sent by God to communicate the divine word in the history of his people. Attention is drawn to the distinctive occurrences in the book of Jeremiah, in which the servants, the prophets, are expressly presented as envoys of the Lord. This is a positive base in order to investigate the meaning of “sending the servants, the prophets” 1) as a synthetic formula of communication of the divine word, 2) with the literary function of rereading the doom of the exile and 3) reinterpreting, during the post-exilic age, the many experiences of prophecy of the past. The reference to the servants of the Lord, the prophets, has its origins in the book of Jeremiah and shows its development in other biblical literary contexts, under the literary process of “nebiiisation”, thus defined by Prof. F. J. Gonçalves.

Paolo Garuti

Le rôle des textes prophétiques dans la définition de la Nouvelle Alliance selon l'épître aux Hébreux

Hébreux est un acte d'herméneutique: les textes fondateurs du messianisme contemporain sont interprétés à la lumière de l'événement Jésus, connu par la prédication.

L'annonce chrétienne, elle aussi, était déjà structurée en discours ou dans des écrits. L'horizon est presque toujours celui des textes dans leur littéralité et presque jamais celui des “faits”.

Hébreux est le produit d'une “école” issue de la prédication paulinienne, de laquelle elle élabore des théologumènes caractéristiques. La lettre opère donc aussi une herméneutique de la pensée de Paul.

Mais il est légitime de se demander si la communauté des destinataires était composée exclusivement de judéo-chrétiens, ou si elle était mixte. On peut aussi se demander si, à ce stade, cette distinction avait encore un sens. L'idée d'alliance/testament joue un rôle décisif. Le langage technique relatif à l'héritage, à la descendance et aux promesses est emprunté à la loi mais filtré par des textes considérés prophétiques (psaumes et oracles) pour montrer la continuité du plan divin qui conduit l'humanité au *telos*.

Paul-Marie Fidèle

Un double yahvisme au fondement de la dénonciation des injustices sociales en Am 2,6-16: le yahvisme basé sur la théologie créationnelle et le yahvisme fondé sur l'élection

Le prophète Amos est bien connu non seulement pour la fulgurance et l'impartialité de ses dénonciations des injustices sociales, mais aussi pour les dimensions universalistes de son message. *A priori*, voir Amos dresser un réquisitoire contre les injustices d'Israël ou de Juda, cela n'est pas tellement surprenant dans la mesure où son peuple est sujet du code de l'Alliance avec Yahvé. Mais le fait que ses oracles s'adressent aussi aux autres peuples, amène naturellement à se demander au nom de quel yahvisme il s'insurge contre des nations qui ne connaissent pas Yahvé et qui ne sont pas concernées par l'Alliance avec Lui. En rappelant très brièvement les conclusions des recherches du frère Francolino Gonçalves, op sur cette question, nous allons tenter de mener plus loin l'enquête, en intégrant au débat l'examen du livre des Proverbes dont plusieurs éléments sont au fondement de Am 2,6-16 où on observe la convergence d'un double système religieux, c'est-à-dire, le yahvisme basé sur la théologie créationnelle et le yahvisme fondé sur l'élection divine comme horizon théologique.

Thomas L. Thompson

Toponomie Palestinienne and a Regional History of Palestine

Toponomie Palestinienne (Th.L. Thompson, F.J. Gonçalves and J.M. Van Cangh, Publications de L'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 37, 1988) was a project Francolino and I began in December of 1985. The project was originally inspired by the Palestinian "Demolished Villages Project," initiated in the mid-1980s by Sharif Kananna. This oral history project attempted to recover the heritage of Palestinian toponomy, which had been lost as a result of Israeli policies of ethnic cleansing carried out in so many conquered regions of Palestine, following the 1948 and 1976 wars. When UNESCO funding of the project was withdrawn by Saudi Arabia for political reasons, Francolino and I had been able to complete two of the 31 regions of Palestine; namely, the Plain of Acco and the Jerusalem corridor, which we published as a preliminary study of the systematic de-Arabization of the Palestinian landscape. This paper will discuss the importance of a critical historical understanding of Palestinian toponomy not only for such projects as Salman Abu

Sittah's Atlas of Palestine 1917-1966, published in 2010, but also for larger, historically oriented projects such as the *Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients* and the new regional history of the Palestine History and Heritage Project, under consideration since 2014, in which Sharif Kananna, Salman Abu Sitta, Ingrid Hjelm and I have all been involved.

Participants



Ana T. Valdez (FLUL/CH-ULisboa)

PhD in History in 2008, University of Lisbon. She is an Associate Researcher at CH-UL, where she is the PI of the project “Mapping Endings, Visualizing New Beginnings: Apocalyptic Expectations and Religious Tolerance and Toleration in the Early Modern Portuguese Atlantic World” (CEECIND/00139/2017). She is also an academic visitor at the University of Oxford, developing her research within the program “Cultures of Knowledge”. In the past she was a postdoctoral fellow at Yale University, under the supervision of Professor Carlos Eire. She taught at Brown University, Columbia University, Yale University, and the University of Massachusetts Lowell. Her research focuses on the intellectual, cultural, and religious history of the early modern Iberian world. She is currently exploring the circulation of eschatological ideas within the space of the Atlantic, and on how Catholics, Jews, and Protestants engaged in an “interreligious” dialogue leading to expressions of religious tolerance while promoting the creation and development of intellectual networks. Her publications include “Historical Interpretations of the “Fifth Empire”: The Dynamics of Periodization from Daniel to António Vieira, SJ” (Brill, 2011). She is also the co-editor-in-chief of the peer-reviewed series The Iberian Religious World, published by Brill.



Arnaud Serandour (EPHE)

PhD. MCF Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études, Sorbonne.



António Ramos dos Santos (CH-ULisboa)

PhD in Pre-Classical History in 1999 (with a three year FCT scholarship for the *Collège de France*, in Paris). He is a Professor at Lisbon University since 1999, teach-

ing Pre-Classical History and Culture, History and Culture of Achaemenid Persia, Lower Mesopotamian Society and Economy and Cuneiform Law.

His expertise and research fields focus on the history of Mesopotamian society and culture, namely from an economic standpoint, as well as Neo Babylonian private archives and the Mesopotamian urban phenomenon.

Research networks: The Northern Dimension Network (Manchester Metropolitan University); European Education Policy Network – “camtools” (Cambridge University); European Social Science History (University of Amsterdam); Networks Antiquity e Politics, Citizenship and Nations. ECPR/SGIR - Small States (University of Birmingham).



Christophe Lemardelé (CNRS)

Christophe Lemardelé has a PhD in religious sciences and the title of “Elève titulaire de l’Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française à Jérusalem”. He has directed seminars at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris and published *Les cheveux du Nazir* in 2016, as well as numerous articles in philology, exegesis and history of religions.



Claudine Dauphin (U. Wales/CNRS)

After an MA Honours Degree in Near Eastern Archaeology (1971) and a PhD (1974) at the University of Edinburgh on the mosaic pavements of the Byzantine Orients, she was “Boursière de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres” at the Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem (1975-77), teaching there also a course on the Archaeology of Byzantine Palestine (1977-79). Her thesis for the French Professorial State Doctorate (1994) of Paris-I University (Sorbonne) became a landmark book, *La Palestine byzantine: Peuplement et Populations*, Oxford, 1998 (see BAIAS 17, 1999, 77-91).

A former Lady Carlisle Senior Research Fellow of Somerville College, Oxford (1979-83), she is a Honorary Professor in Archaeology and Theology of the Universities of Wales at the University of Trinity St David’s, Lampeter.

From 1994 to 2013 she was archaeological consultant for the National French Domain of St Anne's, Jerusalem, comprising the archaeological site of the Bethesda (or Probatika) Pools where Jesus cured the paralytic man (Gospel of John 5), and of the Museum of the White Fathers of St Anne's.



Émile Puech (EBAF)

Émile Puech has a PhD in History of Religions (Paris IV-Sorbonne) and a PhD in Theology (Institut Catholique-Paris). He also has a Habilitation à Diriger des Recherches (Université M. Bloch-Strasbourg). His fields of expertise are Semitic epigraphy: Cananaic, Phoenician, Punic, Hebrew, Aramaic, Christo-Palestinian. He has participated in archaeological excavations in Tell Keisân - Galilee (with EBAF). He is the editor of Hebrew and Aramaic manuscripts of Qumrân cave 4 (Starckt lot) and a member of the international team for the manuscripts edition. He is director (Emeritus) of the *Revue de Qumrân*. Professor Emeritus at EBAF: Semitic epigraphy, Semitic palaeography, qumranology, biblical Aramaic.



Francisco Caramelo (NOVA-FCSH)

Francisco Caramelo has a PhD in History of Pre-Classical Civilisations (Nova-FSCH, Lisbon) He is the Dean of FCSH/UNL and the Director of its Department of History.

He is an expert in History and Archaeology of ancient Middle East and participated in excavations in Israel, Egypt and Syria. He has published several books and articles and his research interests are mainly concerned with history of religions (Mesopotamian and biblical). He is deputy director for the Middle Euphrates-Syrian Archaeological Project (excavations of Tall Humeida and Tall Qabr Abu al-'Atiq, in Syria).



Fr. Frédéric Manns, OFM (SBF)

A French Classical and New Testament scholar, Frédéric Manns first obtained a Diplôme de Littérature Classique at the University of Lyon (1964), followed by the Laurea in Teologia con specializzazione biblica at the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum in Jerusalem (1973), and the Doctorate in Sacra Scrittura from the Pontificia Commissione Biblica, Rome (1988). Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Hermeneutics at the SBF, he has served as Vice-Director (1990-1993) and Director (1996-2001) of the SBF. Although theoretically retired, he holds the title of Professore Emerito Attivo, since he continues to teach and lecture worldwide at international conferences. He has published 40 books and several hundred articles predominantly in French, focusing on ancient Judaism, the Jewish roots of Christianity, the Virgin Mary and Judaeo-Christianity (<http://www.sbf.custodia.org/default.asp?id=763>).



Hedwige Rouillard-Bonraisin (CNRS)

Trained at the Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem, Hedwige Rouillard-Bonraisin's remarkable career has brought her to publish widely originally on Biblical themes, notably *La péricope de Balaam (Nombres 22-24): La prose et les "Oracles"*, Gabalda, Paris 1985, and subsequently on Western Semitic subjects. Her research has focused on Ugarit, notably publishing together with P. Bordreuil and F. Ernst-Pradal the *Actae of an International Colloquium at Collège de France and the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in December 2010, Les écritures mises au jour sur le site antique d'Ougarit (Syrie) et leur déchiffrement (1930-2010): Commémoration du quarante-vingtième anniversaire ... l'alphabet cunéiforme de Ras Shamra-Ougarit*, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, 2014), and lecturing at the Colloquium “Société et Religion à Ougarit”, Collège de France, Paris, on 16 September 2016. She has herself organised several international colloquia, the most memorable being *Jalousie des dieux, jalousie des hommes : Actes du colloque international organisé à Paris les 28-29 novembre 2008*, Brépols, Paris, 2011.



Fr. Hervé Tremblay, O.P. (Dominican University College)

Dominican Friar, teaches Old Testament at Dominican University College in Ottawa in both French and English since 2003.



Ingrid Hjelm (U. Copenhagen)

Ingrid Hjelm is Associate Professor Emerita from the University of Copenhagen and former Director of the Palestine History and Heritage Project (2014-17). She has been General Editor of Copenhagen International Seminar series since 2011. She is the author of *The Samaritans and Early Judaism* (2000) and *Jerusalem's Rise to Sovereignty* (2004), and with K. Whitelam, T.L. Thompson, N.P. Lemche and Ziad Muna, *New Information about the History of Ancient Palestine* (Arabic; 2004); with Anne Katrine de Hemmer Gudme (eds.), *Myths of Exile* (2015), with Thomas L. Thompson (eds.), *Changing Perspectives 6 and 7* (2016) and with Hamdan Taha, Ilan Pappe and Thomas L. Thomson(eds.), *A New Critical History of Palestine* (July 2019).



José Augusto Ramos (FLUL/CH-ULisboa)

He is a Professor Emeritus at FLUL/CH-ULisboa. After his B.A.s in Theology (Catholic Institute - Toulouse 1969) and in Biblical and Oriental Sciences (Biblical Institute of Rome - 1972), he obtained his PhD in Ancient History (University of Lisbon - 1989).

His field of expertise (and his teaching activities) comprises Semitic philology (Hebrew, Aramaic, Akkadian, Ugaritic), as well as Biblical Literature, History of Pre-Classical Antiquity and Cultures, History of Compared Pre-Classical Literature and Religions and History of Ancient Christianity.

He is currently directing the new official translation of the Bible into Portuguese for the Catholic Church.



Fr. José Nunes, O.P. (UCP)

He is a Dominican Friar since 1977. After his B.A. in Theology at the Portuguese Catholic University (UCP) in Lisbon, he obtained his PhD in Pastoral Theology at the Salamanca Pontifical University.

He was a missionary in Angola for 9 years and he is an Associate Professor at the UCP Faculty of Theology, where he began teaching in 1994. He published two books concerning his two main research fields (Pastoral or Practical Theology and Missiology): *Pequenas Comunidades Cristãs – O ondango e a inculturação em África*, Ed.UCP, Porto 1991 and *Teologia da Missão – notas e perspectivas*, Ed.OMP, Lisboa 2008.



Julio Trebolle (U. Complutense de Madrid)

Professor Emeritus of the Departament of Hebrew and Aramaic Studies at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid and president of the Spanish Society for the Science of Religions. He was Director of the University Institute for Science of Religions at the Universidad Complutense and a member of the International Committee for the edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Among other works, he has published *La Biblia judía y la Biblia cristiana*, *Los hombres de Qumrán* (together with Florentino García), *Paganos, judíos y cristianos en los textos de Qumrán* (coord.), *Libro de los Salmos. Religión, poder y saber*, *Libro de los Salmos. Himnos y lamentaciones* (together with Susana Pottecher), *Imagen y palabra de un silencio. La Biblia en su mundo, Job* (together with Susana Pottecher). Forthcoming: *Texturas bíblicas: Del antiguo Oriente al Occidente Moderno*.



Fr. Lukasz Popko, O.P. (EBAF)

Lukasz Popko wrote his doctorate with F. Gonçalves at the EBAF on Jer 2-3. At present, he is an OT lecturer at EBAF. His fields of interest are prophetic literature, LXX, text criticism and metaphor.



Maria Gorea (U. Paris VIII)

An art historian with an MA in Theory and History of Art from the School of Fine Arts of Bucarest (1990), Maria Gorea obtained a DEA from the Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de Civilisations Médiévales of Poitiers (France) in 1991, as well as from the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Université Paris-IV, in Hebrew and Aramaic (1992). She studied Philology, North-Western Semitic Epigraphy and Linguistics at the Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem in 1993-1994. A PhD at the EPHE (1998) was followed by the Habilitation à Diriger des Recherches (Université Paris-VIII) in 2007. She is Professor of Biblical Hebrew; Aramaic; Historical-critical study of the Bible; Biblical Literature; Semitic Antiquities; as well as of Biblical and Near-Eastern Archaeology at Paris-VIII University. She is also the Editor of *Semitica and Classica*. Besides Job, the subject of two books (*Job, ses précurseurs et ses épigones, ou comment faire du nouveau avec de l'ancien*, De Boccard, Paris, 2007, and *Job repensé ou trahi? Omisions et raccourcis de la Septante*, Gabalda, Paris, 2007, she is particularly interested in magical texts, amulets and demonology.



Martin O'Kane (U. Wales)

Martin O'Kane was a student of Professor Francolino at the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem from 1976-1978 and his excellent teaching encouraged him to take one of his seminar topics on Isaiah as his PhD research question. He is Professor Emeritus at University of Wales Trinity Saint David, UK.

Coffee Break (11 a.m. – 11:30 a.m.)



Fr. Martin Staszak, O.P. (EBAF)

Martin Staszak was born in Berlin (Germany) in 1959. He studied Theology in Fribourg (Switzerland) in 1979-1985 and his PhD thesis, at Jerusalem (EBAF) and Baltimore (USA), was about the refugee cities in the OT. He has been teaching at EBAF since 2015 and his research fields are the interrogative sentences in the OT and the historical books.



Fr. Nicola Agnoli (EBAF)

Nicola Agnoli has a Ph.D. in Biblical Studies from EBAF (Jerusalem). He is diocesan priest of Verona (Italy) and professor at the Theological Faculty of Triveneto.



Fr. Paolo Garuti, O.P. (EBAF)

Already trained in Latin and ancient Greek from his teens, Paolo Garuti O.P. (born in Modena, Italy 1955) addressed himself to the biblical exegetical studies during the years of philosophical and theological studies (1975-1981). He achieved a BA in Sacred Scripture in Rome (PIB 1985). In 1989, Garuti moved to Jerusalem in order to conclude the PhD program under the guidance of professor M.-E. Boismard. He evolved into a historically oriented study of the ancient rhetoric, taking up studies initiated in High School under the guidance of his father. His thesis (published in 1995 and 2002) was a rhetorical analysis of Hebrews. Further researches led Garuti to publish about NT in Greco-Roman World (2004), Qohelet (2008), Psalm 110 (2010) Hebrews (2012) and the traditions about Queen Jezebel (2017). In 2014 he succeeded Francolino Gonçalves as director of Etudes Bibliques and Cahiers de la Revue Biblique.



Fr. Paul-Marie Fidèle, O.P. (EBAF)

He has a PhD in Biblical Sciences (École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem) and he is teaches OT exegesis at the École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem. He lived for about ten years in Jerusalem with Francolino.



Thomas L. Thompson (U. Copenhagen)

Educated at Oxford, Tuebingen and Temple Universities, Thomas Thompson received his PhD from Temple University in 1976 in the fields of Old Testament, New Testament and ancient Near Eastern studies. He was a research associate for the *Tuebingen Atlas des vorderen Orients* from 1969 to 1976 and responsible for 7 double-folio maps and two volumes of commentary on Bronze Age settlements in Palestine, Sinai and the Negev. He was visiting professor at the École Biblique in 1985 and functioned as director of the project *Toponomie Palestinienne* with Franco-lino Goncalvez in 1985. He was appointed as Associate Professor of OT studies at Marquette University from 1987-1993 and Professor in OT at the University of Copenhagen from 1993-2009, when he retired as professor emeritus at the age of 70. He has written and edited some 25 books and some 180 lesser publications. He has been associate editor of the Scandinavian *Journal of the Old Testament* from 1993 to the present and founder and editor of the monograph series, Copenhagen International Seminar until form 1995-2016. Among his best known publications have been his *Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives: The Quest for the Historical Abraham* (de Gruyter, 1974); *The Settlement of Palestine in the Bronze Age* (Dr. Reichert Verlag, 1979); *The Early History of the Israelite People* (Brill: 1992), *The Bible in History: How Writers Create the Past* (Jonathan Cape, 1999); *The Messiah Myth: The Near Eastern Roots of Jesus and David* (Jonathan Cape, 1999); and *Biblical Narrative and Palestine's History* (Equinox, 2013). He currently serves as Project Developer for The Palestine History and Heritage Project, centered in Ramallah and Copenhagen.

NOTAS



CENTRO DE HISTÓRIA

PROBLEMATICS OF BIBLE TRANSLATION

MESA-REDONDA CH-ULISBOA

FACULDADE DE LETRAS DA UNIVERSIDADE DE LISBOA
SALA B2 (BIBLIOTECA) | 22 DE MAIO DE 2019 | 18:00

JULIO TREBOLLE BARRERA

Professor Emérito

Departamento de Estudios Hebreos y Arameos
Universidad Complutense de Madrid

*Historia del Texto y Edición Crítica de
LXX Reyes en la Serie de Göttingen*



MODERADA POR:

FLORENTINO GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ

Professor Emérito

Biblical Studies
KU Leuven

JOSÉ AUGUSTO RAMOS

Professor Emérito

Departamento de História
Faculdade de Letras, ULisboa

*A Nova Tradução Oficial da Bíblia
em Português: Problemáticas*



Imagen: Albrecht Dürer, São Jerónimo no seu estúdio (1511). Óleo sobre tela, MNAA. Fonte: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Albrecht_D%C3%BCrer,_035.jpg

Coordenação: Ana T. Valdez