

A HEROINE FOR THE GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH: SUSANNA, THE FIRST FEMALE TYPE OF CHRIST

The only woman in the Bible whose education is described is Susanna, the heroine of the Book of Daniel. This learned woman risked her life to resist corruption when her people were subject to foreign rule. Her courage and success make her a fitting model for the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, which has itself suffered under foreign rule. Moreover, she is the first woman Christians interpreted as prefiguring Christ himself in his Passion. This is vividly expressed through the synoptic Gospels. Church Fathers including Ambrose, Maximus of Turin, and Augustine preached on her as foreshadowing the Lord in his arrest in a garden and in his trial by the “Elders of the people”, and therefore she was frequently depicted as a type of Christ in early Christian and medieval art. In Greek this tradition is attested by a single liturgical play, attributed to John of Damascus. In the East, Jephthah’s daughter and the woman in the parable who finds the lost drachma are well documented as types of Christ. It would be fitting if now, in the new millennium, Eastern homilies would treat Susanna also as prefiguring the Lord and exemplifying that women, equally with men, are called to theosis.

Keywords: Biblical studies, Christian exegesis, Susanna (Old Testament), theosis, typology.

Introduction

Ukraine can recognize a deep affinity with Susanna. In the last century this nation suffered and endured foreign rule, by the Nazis and then by the U.S.S.R., and similarly Susanna and her people endured the Babylonian captivity. Moreover, foreign rule in Babylon was corrupt¹, and this, too, has its counterpart in what occurred in Ukraine. Notably, Susanna’s particular triumph was to defeat the two

¹ Examples of corruption are seen in the minor officials who enviously manipulated the kings to devise laws that would target their more successful Jewish contemporaries, the three youths and Daniel, seen in what is currently chapters 3 and 6 in the Book of Daniel; these were chapters 4 and 7 in the original. See also the fraudulent priests of Bel and their corrupt families, in chapter 14. The corruption of the two hypocritical judges who sought Susanna was denounced by Daniel: Susanna 52–53, 56–57.

corrupt judges who would have coerced her to act against her will and faith. This makes her a strong example of integrity, quite fitting for the Ukrainian Catholic University, which was founded with the conscious goal of maintaining and building integrity² in opposition to the societal norms endemic in the country due to decades of foreign, inimical rule.

Yet, a woman of the Old Testament may seem an unlikely figure to recommend as a model for Ukrainians in the new millennium. Consider, then, a few truths about Susanna: already in the Old Testament she was the only woman whose education was described (v. 3)³. Then a signal role for her developed in the first decades of Christianity, a role expressing the new Christian affirmation of women and the new Christian doctrine of theosis. This is disclosed in three notable Greek texts⁴. For Christians Susanna became the first biblical woman recognized alongside many righteous men of the Old Testament as prefiguring the Lord in his Passion. Note well: it was the Greek Scriptures that presented her as a type of Christ. Her importance, however, prompted immediate rejection of her by Jewish authorities, which affected the placement of her text within the Scriptures for Christians. This led to the odd outcome that the Latin West developed a thriving tradition of Susanna as a type of Christ, but the Greek Church had only one text, attributed to John of Damascus and discussed below, that explicitly treated her thus.

Recovering Susanna's history can therefore provide an opportunity now, in the 2020s, for the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church to appreciate and draw inspiration from St. Susanna, who personally conquered corruption in ancient Babylon and thereby benefitted her whole community. This recovery begins with those few Greek texts of the first century. They are the synoptic Gospels.

Susanna as a type of Christ

Our Lord, by becoming incarnate, opened up reality to theosis. He showed that every person, male and female, is called to be holy, to be like him, eventually to come home to Heaven. This is what an Orthodox Bishop has called "man's destiny of deification"⁵. When the first Christians learned this, soon all the righteous men of the Old Testament who had foreshadowed the Messiah, men such as Moses and David, were also seen as reminders that male human beings are called to be

² As the University's "Memorial on Values and Identity" states, "The UCU is also a zone of absolute ban on bribes. To not allow the smallest evidence of corruption is a moral duty of every member of the community and an object for special control on the part of the UCU's authorities".

³ In this essay Susanna's history will be cited from Theodotus by verse only, unless otherwise indicated.

⁴ On women, see, e.g., Patricia Ranft. *Women and Spiritual Equality in Christian Tradition*. New York 1998.

⁵ Auxentios, Bishop of Etna and Portland. Eulogy Delivered on the Occasion of the First-Year Memorial of Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Etna // *Orthodox Tradition* 37 (2020) 15.

like God incarnate. And at once it was necessary to recognize within the Old Testament more than the Jewish men who prefigured Christ: it was time to see in Gentiles, such as Melchizedek, and in Jewish and Gentile women, such as Susanna and Jephthah's daughter, other true symbols of Jesus Christ⁶. The doctrine here is vital: it is because Jesus was no mere man but God incarnate, and because he revealed that everyone is created for and called to grow by the grace of God into holiness, that it was valid and essential for Christians to interpret women as types of Christ. Jews rejected all of this, and so, inevitably, they rejected Susanna. For her typology was not like that of Jonah, a matter of a few parallels expressed in three verses (Matt. 12:39–41). Susanna's prefiguration of Our Lord spans his entire Passion (Matt. 26–27). Greek specifically is the language that conveys this typology, in the synoptic Gospels. For this reason, Susanna deserves to have particular resonance with Greek Catholics.

Susanna in the Synoptic Gospels

Thirty-four parallels between Susanna and Christ exist and are expressed through the synoptic Passion narratives, often through direct verbal borrowings from her biblical account⁷. This is readily seen by a synopsis: an innocent lives in a time when the Jews have been conquered by another nation. This righteous person frequently withdraws to a garden. Corrupt persons decide to trap the innocent, and three days later they accost and arrest that person in the garden. The “Elders of the People” come together, intending to secure the death of the innocent. A trial is held, with two judges presiding. Two false witnesses testify against the innocent, who is “condemned to death”. But, most unusually, a second trial is held. The judge of the second trial publicly declares, “I am innocent of the blood of this one”. “All the people” cry out in response. The condemned is “led to execution”. When death is near, “then [that one] cried out in a great voice, saying, ‘My God...’” That is a summary of the Passion of our Lord, which took place in the city of Jerusalem, when the Jewish people were ruled by a foreign power. It is also a synopsis of the ordeal of Susanna, which took place in the city of Babylon, when the Jewish people were ruled by a foreign power. One readily sees in this synopsis details which are striking and which are in fact unique in the Bible to only one man and one woman: Our Lord and the righteous Susanna.

To express this typology, the synoptic Gospels used both single words and also phrases from the Greek account of Susanna. Moreover, the evangelists even used

⁶ Melchizedek: Hebrews 7:17. For Jephthah's daughter, see, e.g., Methodius. *Symposium*, stanza 13 (SC 95:316).

⁷ For discussion of the parallels and scholarship pertaining to them see Catherine Brown Tkacz. Ἀνεβόησεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ: Susanna and the Synoptic Passion Narratives // *Gregorianum* 87/3 (2006) 449–486.

full clauses of five and six words drawn from her narrative. The only difference is in names—Susanna, Jesus—or pronouns—her, him. Here are the four long passages.

Matt. 26:59 – The pre-trial intention to condemn. Matthew was explicit that the Sanhedrin from the start intended to condemn Jesus to death: they sought false witness “against Jesus, that they might put him to death” (κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὅπως αὐτὸν θανατώσωσιν). The identical point is made, and in these words, in the history of Susanna. The Elders from the start intended to condemn her to death: they were full of wicked plans “against Susanna, to put her to death” (κατὰ Σουσαννης τοῦ θανατώσαι αὐτήν: v. 28). These parallel clauses share five words: the preposition κατὰ, the name of the intended victim, the article τοῦ, the appropriate form of the pronoun αὐτός, and the verb, θᾶνᾶτώ, otherwise rare in the Gospels⁸.

Matt. 27:1 – The Elders intend to condemn to death. For a second time Matthew made the point that those judging Jesus intended from the start to condemn him to death, and this time the match between the Gospel and the history of Susanna is even stronger in circumstance and language. Significantly, the Gospels now name the people’s own leaders, the “Elders”, as the enemies of the Lord. Matthew recorded that the next morning “the elders took counsel against Jesus for the purpose of condemning him to death” (οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ... κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὥστε θανατώσαι αὐτόν). The diction and phrasing are from Susanna’s history, which recorded what happened on the morning of her first trial: “the Elders came full of wicked device against Susanna in order to condemn her to death” (πρεσβῦται κατὰ Σουσαννης τοῦ θανατώσαι αὐτήν, v. 28). These passages share six words: the five words already seen echoed in Matthew 26:59, now with the subject πρεσβύτεροι / πρεσβῦται.

Matt. 27:24 – A judge declares himself innocent of this one’s blood. Finding the people insistent upon crucifixion, Pilate publicly declared his innocence: “I am innocent of the blood of this one”. Daniel had made the same declaration: “I am innocent of the blood of this one”. In the entire Bible only two persons, Daniel and Pilate, uttered this statement, and they did so publicly, immediately after a trial in which a falsely accused innocent had been condemned to death. It is the typological likeness between the persons being judged, Susanna and Christ, that made it fitting for Matthew to report Pilate’s words as echoing Daniel’s:

Daniel’s words: Ἐθῶός ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος ταύτης. (v. 46)

Pilate’s words: Ἐθῶός εἰμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τούτου.

As far as I have seen, no modern vernacular translation of the Bible conveys Matthew’s quotation from Daniel: only in the Greek is this parallel made.

Matt. 27:46 + 50 – Great-voiced prayer before death. The most vivid parallel between Susanna’s history and Matthew’s Passion narrative is between Jesus’ two cries on the Cross before dying and Susanna’s outcry in prayer before imminent death. “To cry out in a great voice” is a biblical idiom for heartfelt prayer, found seventy

⁸ θᾶνᾶτώ in the Gospels: Matt. 10:21, 26:59, 27:1; Mark 13:12, 14:55; Luke 21:16.

times in the Bible with various verbs for “crying out” and different placement of the words φωνῆ μεγάλῃ⁹. Quite rare, however, is the pairing of the specific predicate ἀνεβόησεν (“he/she exclaimed”) with the phrase φωνῆ μεγάλῃ (“with a great voice”). This distinctive phrasing when used specifically of a person on the point of death is unique to only one woman and one man in the Bible: Susanna in the Old Testament and Jesus in the New. Each passage names the speaker and precedes the utterance by a second verb of speech. Each person cried out a prayer that opens with the word “God”. Susanna was about to die; Jesus died:

ἀνεβόησεν δὲ φωνῆ μεγάλῃ Σουσαννα καὶ εἶπεν, Ὁ θεὸς . . . καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀποθνήσκω.
Then exclaimed in a great voice Susanna, and said, “O God . . . Behold I die”
(vv. 42–43).

ἀνεβόησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς φωνῆ μεγάλῃ λέγων, Ἡλι . . . θεέ μου . . . κράζας φωνῆ
μεγάλῃ ἀφῆκεν τὸ πνεῦμα.

Then exclaimed Jesus in a great voice, saying, “*Eli!* ... My God!...” And Jesus again crying with a great voice, yielded up the ghost.¹⁰

Susanna’s cry when she had been condemned to death foreshadowed both Jesus’ cry when he knew he was about to die and also his second cry (v. 50) when he in fact died.

Jesus on the cross could well have uttered Susanna’s entire prayer. She declared: “O God Eternal, who are the knower of hidden things, who know all things before they occur, you know that they have born false witness against me, and behold! I die! although I have done none of these things which they have maliciously fabricated against me”. The whole of what she prayed was true of Jesus as well. He, like Susanna, was innocent. Against Him also have Elders of the people maliciously used false witness to secure condemnation. He, too, could cry out, “Behold! I die!”

In sum the Gospel of Matthew draws from Susanna’s history five individual terms¹¹, one set of two words, five three-word phrases, two four-word phrases, two five-word clauses, and two six-word clauses. As just seen in detail, four clauses in Matthew’s passion narrative echo Susanna’s history. Overall, seventeen verbal parallels comprise fifty-two words of Matthew 26–27. That is, Matthew may draw upon the history of Susanna as much or more than upon Psalm 21(22)¹². Is any

⁹ Tkacz. Ἀνεβόησεν φωνῆ μεγάλῃ, Appendix.

¹⁰ My translation, to present the verbal parallels in full.

¹¹ Jewish exegesis “may mention a single word in order to recall a whole context”; Jan Willem Doeve. *Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts*. Assen 1953, p. 134. Such “atomistic” uses of Scripture as well as ones involving extended parallels of several words were common in Jewish hermeneutics and, as Maurice Casey has observed, “The earliest Christians were Jews, and they inherited and used these same hermeneutics”; *Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7*. London 1979, p. 215.

¹² On Psalm 21(22) in the Passion narratives, see esp. Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 1455–1465, who notes, “no psalm offers a parallel to the basic Gospel outline of Jesus’ passion”, p. 1452.

other Old Testament type so thoroughly evoked through any Gospel account? Compare the role of Jacob's vision in the Gospel of John: for Jacob, nineteen words over the course of six chapters, compared to fifty-two words for Susanna, concentrated within two chapters¹³.

In short, this woman's biblical history was the narrative template for the synoptic Passion Narratives. The one person of the Old Testament to be honored in this way was a married woman with children. Why, then, is Susanna's typology so little known today? The answer is in the basic theological difference between Jews and Christians, namely, who is Jesus?

Jewish rejection of Susanna

One of the most successful programs of anti-Christian propaganda in history was launched at the outset of Christianity and culminated in the tenth- or eleventh-century edition of the Hebrew Bible known as the Masoretic Text (MT)¹⁴. Specifically, as Emmanuel Tov and others have demonstrated in detail, anti-Christian revisers of the Hebrew Scriptures altered the Bible, distancing it from the Septuagint and from Christian interpretation¹⁵. Sometimes it sufficed to change individual words and phrases, as in the Psalm Jesus uttered on the Cross¹⁶. In Jeremiah large passages were reordered within the book, to suggest that its prophecies had already been fulfilled, and in addition the MT contains several passages that were evidently added during the Christian Era, for they are not in the Septuagint (LXX) or the Vetus Latina¹⁷. Other parts of the Scriptures were actually deleted, sometimes single words, elsewhere whole chapters. From the Book of Esther, entire chapters were excised. In all Scripture, only two persons are reported to have "prayed in agony" right before facing death for the sake of the people. Jesus prayed in agony

¹³ Jacob's vision of the ladder is recounted in Gen. 28:12 and Jesus echoes details of the vision in John 1:51, 3:13 and 6:58. Like Susanna, Jacob is thus referred to through verbal echoes without being named by Jesus.

¹⁴ Catherine Brown Tkacz. *Αθήθεια Ἐλληνική: The Authority of the Greek Old Testament*. Etna 2011.

¹⁵ Emmanuel Tov. The Nature of the Large-Scale Differences between the LXX and the MT S T V Compared with Similar Evidence in Other Sources // *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Bible of the Septuagint Reconsidered* / ed. Adrian Schenker. Atlanta 2003, e.g., p. 143. See also Martin Hengel. *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of its Canon*, 2nd ed. Grand Rapids 2004, p. 44.

¹⁶ See, for instance, Michaela Bauks. Le Psaume 21 (22 TM) dans la recherche veterotestamentaire du XX^e siècle // *David, Jésus et la reine Esther: Recherches sur le Psaume 21 (22 TM)*, ed. Gilles Dorival et al., [= Revue des Études juives, 25]. Paris 2002, pp. 341–392 (here pp. 347–348).

¹⁷ Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "La *Vetus Latina* de Jérémie: Texte très court, témoin de la plus ancienne Septante et d'une forme plus ancienne de l'hébreu (Jer 39 et 52) // *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Bible of the Septuagint Reconsidered* / ed. Adrian Schenker. Atlanta 2003, pp. 51–82. See also Michael B. Shepherd. *Daniel in the Context of the Hebrew Bible* [= Studies in Biblical Literature, 123]. New York 2009, pp. 39 and 52 on Jeremiah.

in Gethsemane (Luke 22:44). But one and only one of the righteous of the Old Testament had prefigured him in this: Esther. It was, I suggest, for this reason, that in the Christian Era Jewish revisers removed from her history the chapter recounting her agony (ἐν ἀγῶνι θανάτου) and prayer (Esther LXX 4:17k). Note that even the numbering of chapters and verses is taken from the medieval Hebrew, not the ancient Greek.

In the case of Susanna, her entire history was deleted. Although the Semitic original of this account has been lost, the pre-Christian Jewish translation of it into Greek survives in full. Moreover, an event occurred which Christians can recognize as the action of the Holy Spirit: in the very century before Christ became incarnate, Jewish scholars in Palestine prepared a corrected edition of one and only book of the Jewish Scriptures: the Greek of the Book of Daniel. This was the original, fourteen-chapter Book. The history of Susanna was its first chapter: this is known from the fact that the world's first commentary on Daniel—by Hippolytus of Rome—treated Susanna as the opening chapter. Importantly, the coherent fourteen-chapter Daniel was the version known to Jesus and his followers, including the Evangelists¹⁸. It is the version they quoted, and the version which survives in manuscripts of Theodotion. However, Susanna's history was soon separated from the Book of Daniel, due in part to Origen.

Origen's *Hexapla*

Significantly, Origen of Alexandria discussed her history as opening the Book of Daniel. When treating the Book of Daniel in commentary and letters, he presented her account as canonical and valuable. His high regard for Susanna and her history is shown by his quoting from or alluding to her often in his works on Genesis, Joshua, Psalms, Ezekiel, Matthew, Luke, and in homilies¹⁹. He quoted Susanna's prayer and acknowledged her as a learned authority²⁰. That he identified the Elders with the Ahab and Zedekiah condemned by Jeremiah reflects his considered assessment that her account was historical and accurate²¹. That assessment he maintained through the years²². Notably, when his rather arrogant contemporary

¹⁸ On its coherence, see my article: Tkacz, Susanna and the Pre-Christian Book of Daniel: Structure and Meaning // *The Heythrop Journal* 49/2 (2008) 181–196.

¹⁹ Origen's discussions include: *Commentarii in Genesim (fragmenta)* (PG 12:57.15); *In librum Jesu Nave homilia* [Homilies on the Book of Joshua], trans. Rufinus presbyter (PG 12:934); *Selecta in Psalmos* (PG 12:1212.18); *Selecta in Ezechielem* (PG 13:785.53); *Commentariorum series in evangelium Matthaei*, 140.11 (GCS 38.2); *Fragmenta in Lucam (in catenis)*, Frag. 201.2 (GCS 49:314); *Philocalia*, cap. 23, sect. 4.6–10, and cap. 25, sect. 2 (SC 226:142–144, 220); and *Homiliae in Genesim* 15.2 (GCS 29).

²⁰ *Philocalia*, cap. 23, sect. 4.6–10 (SC 226:142–144).

²¹ Origen, *Stromata* 10 (PG 11:101).

²² Sometime after Origen had compiled the Hexapla, he again adduced her history as authoritative in a theological discussion with a friend, Bassus: Origen, *Epistula ad Africanum*, 2 (PG 11:49).

Julius Africanus asserted that Susanna's text was a concocted addition²³, Origen answered with a lengthy and scholarly defense. In it he recorded the remarks of a learned Jew, who accepted the text as authentic. Origen detailed the credentials of his source: an erudite Jew, esteemed as the son of a wise man and as one specially educated in order to succeed his father²⁴. Origen concluded his treatise by affirming that the history of Susanna is praiseworthy and its thoughts profound²⁵.

In order to facilitate dialogue with Jews, Origen compiled a stunningly complex scholarly tool for the study of Scripture. This major intellectual project was to have a lasting effect upon the history of Susanna in the Greek Bible, an effect Origen never intended.

Origen realized that useful evangelical dialogue with the Jews about Scripture required both knowledge of Hebrew texts themselves and also comparison of the various Greek translations. To that end, he planned and compiled a scholarly multi-lingual edition of the Old Testament, the Hexapla (lit., "six-fold") in the 230s²⁶. The first of its six columns held Hebrew, the next a Greek transliteration of the Hebrew, and the next four columns the main Greek translations: Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion. In short, the work gave visual primacy to the Hebrew text, and the order used was that of the Hebrew Bible as it was known in the third century of the Christian Era. Texts not extant in Hebrew by the third century, even though extant in the Septuagint and Theodotion, were included in the appropriate columns, but marked with the obelisk (÷) to indicate that the text was not found in the Hebrew. The obelisk was a mark originally used by Alexandrian textual scholars of Homer to identify a passage as spurious, and Origen extended use of this mark to the Scriptures. In the Hexapla he retained the account of Susanna in the columns for Septuagint and for Theodotion, marked with obelisks.

Unfortunately, it appears that Origen's handling of her account in this tool for study and evangelizing affected its placement within Scripture. Susanna's history became separated from the Book of Daniel in later Greek manuscripts, sometimes headed with her name as if her history were a separate biblical book. This was the state of her biblical account by the time it became known in Rus'.

Susanna in the West and in the East before the tenth century

To set the reception of Susanna in Rus' in the wider European context, note that in the Latin West she flourished as a type of Christ. From the third through the fif-

²³ *Die Briefe des Sextus Julius Africanus an Aristides und Origenes* / ed. Walther Reichardt [= *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 34/3 = 3 Reihe, 4 Bd., Hft. 3]. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1909, pp. 55–56. This short letter is surprisingly condescending, given that Origen had already completed the massive scholarly project of the Hexapla.

²⁴ Origen. *Epistula ad Africanum*, 2 (PG 11:49–51).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 16 (PG 11:85).

²⁶ *Septuaginta, Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* / ed. Alfred Rahlfs, vol. 1. Stuttgart 1935, intro., p. xxviii.

teenth century this was prominent, then under the Reformation such sermons grew less frequent, yet continued through the eighteenth century. Finally, in the twenty-first century, new sermons treat Susanna as a type of Christ in the United States, Malta, and Malaysia. The Church Fathers launched this tradition, preaching on Susanna, often during Holy Week. There was rich variety in what details they emphasized. Maximus of Turin preached on Holy Thursday that Susanna arrested in the garden was like Christ arrested in the garden, then on Holy Friday he preached that Susanna at her trial was like Christ at his trial. St. Augustine called attention to the false witnesses against Susanna and the false witnesses against Christ. This was reflected in art as well. On one sarcophagus, Susanna arrested in the garden was depicted beside Pilate washing his hands, and because she was so well known as a type of Christ in his trial, the artist could even omit depicting Christ and let Susanna stand in for him²⁷.

Latin “Ecce Morior” sermons on Susanna

In the fourteenth century a new comparison was pointed out in the Latin West. A popular illustrated typological commentary called the *Biblia Pauperum* in a manuscript of ca. 1320 quoted the words of Susanna—“Then cried out in a great voice Susanna, saying, ‘God...’”—but also, for the first time, the rest of her prayer was quoted: “You, Lord, who are the one who knows hidden things, you know that they have borne false witness against me, and behold, I die”²⁸. Within decades a Franciscan in south Germany realized that the second half of Susanna’s prayer—“Behold, I die! (*Ecce morior*), etc.”—described Christ’s circumstances precisely, and Friar Johan gave Susanna’s words innovative prominence. He opened a Holy Week sermon with Susanna’s declaration and showed how it fit the Lord²⁹. That sermon was highly popular, known through eight manuscripts and one of the first printed books, issued in hundreds of copies (1478)³⁰. Moreover, his insight inspired a wealth of new

²⁷ Musée de l’Arles Antique (formerly Musée Lapidaire), Inv. 3: Tkacz. Susanna as a Type of Christ // *Studies in Iconography* 29 (1999) 101–153 at pp. 112–114, 136, fig. 6. Likewise, on the Two Brothers Sarcophagus, Isaac, preserved from being sacrificed, is the type of Christ: like Susanna on Arles Inv. 3, Isaac is beside Pilate washing his hands and Christ is omitted. For plate: Josef Wilpert, *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi*, 2 vols. Rome 1932, vol. 1, pl. 91.

²⁸ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4523, fol. 53, in Latin.

²⁹ On fols. 53v–55v in Herzogenburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, MS. 47, dated 1399.

³⁰ In addition to the 1399 Herzogenburg manuscript, seven other copies of this *Ecce morior* sermon are in Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C 353, fols. 130v–133v (14th c.); Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, Cod. I. B. 36 (dated 1415), fols. 119–121, from Mikulové in the Southern Moravian region of the Czech Republic (codex digitized at <http://www.manuscriptorium.com>); Gdańsk, Biblioteka Miejska, MS 1973 (dated *meist* 1456); Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, Cod. 855 F. IX (second half of fifteenth c.); Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C 181, fols. 35ff.; Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C 311, fols. 207v–210r; and Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C 312, fols. 115–118. While essentially the same sermon, some of these texts vary at least at their ends. The popular incunabulum was issued at least six times in 1478: Johannes (Contractus). *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis cum communi sanctorum et cum aliis sermonis*. Paris 1478.

sermons opening with her declaration, preached during Holy Week in parishes, to a Church Council, and to the pope and surviving in more than sixty manuscripts³¹. In Eastern Europe, such sermons included one in Czechia in the 1370s, by Jindřich of Vildštejn, later Bishop of Trieste³². A Polish Benedictine abbot, Andrea Noszek, also preached an *Ecce morior* sermon³³. These were macaronic, using both the local vernacular as well as Latin.

In the East, however, in all these centuries, only one text presented Susanna as a type of Christ is known, and that was lost.

The Drama of Susanna (τὸ δράμα τῆς Σωσάνιδος)

That Eastern play about her is known through a report of it by Eustathios of Thessaloniki³⁴. Evidently the play had circulated and been performed for some time, even for centuries. *The Drama of Susanna* (τὸ δράμα τῆς Σωσάνιδος) Eustathios described as being in the style of Euripides and ascribed to the eminent theologian John of Damascus³⁵. The modern Greek liturgical scholar Kariophiles Mitsakis relates the play to earlier Greek poetic treatments of Susanna, as seen in Methodius, bishop of Olympus, and recounts the medieval report of the play as treating ὅπως ἡ Σωσάννα ἢ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Χριστοῦ (“how Susanna may show the death of Christ”)³⁶.

Susanna and Ukraine

This is the context in which the reception of Susanna in Ukraine can be understood. SS. Cyril and Methodius themselves may have introduced Susanna in their evangelization of and ministry to the Slavic peoples. This pair, Equal to the Apos-

³¹ For several sermons in dozens of manuscripts, see “*Ecce morior*” in Catherine Brown Tkacz. *Women as Types of Christ: An Apostolic Tradition in East and West*. Etna 2021.

³² Vojtěch Večeře. *Litomyšlská kázání Jindřicha z Vildštejna* [Sermons by Henry from Wildstein in Litomyšl]. Thesis: Prague, Univerzita Karlova, 2017, p. 58; and *idem*. Kazatel a biskup Jindřich z Vildštejna (†1409): Životní osudy muže, který promlouval na pohřbu Karla IV [Preacher and Bishop Henry of Wildstein (†1409): The Life of a Man Speaking at the Funeral of Charles IV] // *Theatrum historiae* 22 (2018) 9–32. For Henry in Litomyšl in the 1370s, see: Ondrej Schmidt. *John of Moravia between the Czech Lands and the Patriarchate of Aquileia (ca. 1345–1394)*. Leiden 2019, p. 164.

³³ The Passion sermon by Andrea Noszek, abbot of the Benedictine Monastery at Tyniec in Poland from 1482–1488, is extant in Rękopis biblioteki uniwersyteckiej lwowskiej [Manuscript Library, University of Lviv], sygn. I. H, 8, fols. 243–249; see Aleksander Brückner. Kazania średniowieczne (część II) [Medieval Sermons (part II)] // *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności, Wydział Filologiczny*. Ser. II, 9 (1895) 317–390 at p. 377, item 8. Also cited by Sczaniecki. *Katalog Opatów Tynieckich*, p. 107, № 39. For another manuscript copy, see *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte*, Band 4/2. Wien 1868, p. 116.

³⁴ Eustathios of Thessaloniki, twelfth century, *Parekbolai*, 2:387.

³⁵ D’Ancona. *Origini del teatro Italiano*, 1:14–15; Mitsakis. *Βυζαντινή Ἰμνογραφία*, pp. 330–353, at p. 336. Mitsakis thought the play was either by John of Damascus or Nicolas of Damascus.

³⁶ Mitsakis. *Βυζαντινή Ἰμνογραφία*, p. 336.

cles, may have included readings from the Book of Daniel in their translation of the *prophetologion*, the collection of Old Testament readings for Vespers³⁷. In any case, the Slavonic translations of Hippolytus of Rome's *Commentary on the Book of Daniel* appear to date to the tenth century³⁸. Hippolytus quotes virtually the whole of Susanna's history in that commentary³⁹. Thus, Susanna and her history were known in Slavonic translation to generations of the faithful in Rus' from the tenth century onwards. By the fifteenth century, however, it appears that Jewish revisions of Daniel had tainted Susanna's reception in the Slavonic Church: for in the Slavonic manuscripts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the parts of Hippolytus' *Commentary* are reordered, displacing her history from its original position, as the first chapter of the book, to the end of the book, parallel to St. Jerome's shift of her history in the Vulgate⁴⁰.

Women as types of Christ, East and West

Never, though, it appears, has an Eastern Catholic or an Orthodox priest preached on Susanna as a type of Christ. This appears to be due to a difference between the Divine Liturgy on the one hand and the Roman Mass on the other. For each Roman Mass has a set of four lections: an Old Testament reading, a psalm, a reading from a New Testament epistle, and then the crown of readings, the Gospel. In contrast, the Divine Liturgy has two readings, an apostolic one, namely a lection from one of the Epistles, and then the Gospel. As a result, the Roman lectionary has prompted priests since antiquity to compare in their homilies an Old Testament passage to the New, and thus there have been sermons on Susanna as a type of Christ. In contrast, Eastern priests mainly treat as types of Christ those women

³⁷ Ivan I. Iliev. The Slavonic Versions of Hippolytus of Rome's Commentaries on the Book of the Prophet Daniel // *Scripta & e-Scripta* 13 (2014) 149–170 at p. 152, citing Ивона Карачорова [Ivona Karachorova]. Паримейник [Parimeinik] // *Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия* [*Cyril and Methodius Encyclopedia*] / гл. ред. Л. Грашева [ed. L. Grasheva]. Т. 3 София [Sofia] 101–105.

³⁸ Ilievю The Slavonic Versions of Hippolytus, p. 152.

³⁹ For instance Hippolytus in his *Commentary I.v* quotes verses 2–3 of Susanna's history, in I.XII he quotes vv. 2–3, 4, 5–6, 12, 15, 19. In I.XXI he quotes her refusal and in I.XXVI her prayer, in I.XXVII Daniel's words and the trial. Nearly all if not all of her history is thus relayed by Hippolytus.

⁴⁰ Susanna's history comes last in Hippolytus' *Commentary* in the Petrozavodsk Ms. № 74 (71), with Susanna on fols. 155ff; and in Ms. No. 486 from the Volokolamsk collection, with Susanna on fols. 259ff. See Iliev. The Slavonic Versions of Hippolytus, pp. 153–159 and Table 1 on pp. 156 and 158. On other variant orders in some manuscripts, see p. 168. Iliev also cites Alexander Pigin. Памятники книжной старины Русского Севера: коллекции рукописей XV–XX веков в государственных хранилищах Республики Карелия [*Monuments of Book Antiquity of the Russian North: Collections of Manuscripts of the 15–20 Centuries in the State Repositories of the Republic of Karelia*]. Санкт Петербург 2010, pp. 199–201; and Hieromonk Iosif [Иосиф, иеромонах]. *Опись рукописей перенесенных из библиотеки Иосифова монастыря в библиотеку Московской духовной академии* [*Inventory of Manuscripts Transferred from the Library of the Monastery of Josef to the Library of the Moscow Theological Academy*]. Москва 1882, pp. 90–91.

recounted in the Gospels. Most popular is a woman in one of the parables of Jesus: the homemaker who finds the lost drachma. Since antiquity she has been interpreted as a type of Christ finding the lost soul who bears the image of Christ, parallel to the good shepherd who is a type of Christ seeking the lost sheep (Luke 15:1–10). St. John Chrysostom, Clement of Alexandria, and Romanos the Melode established this theme which continues today⁴¹.

Susanna today in Ukraine

In order to preach on Susanna as a type of Christ, the Eastern priest must attend to the events of Holy Week and the Gospel readings to see when it would be fitting to recall Susanna and how she alone of all the righteous of the Old Testament foreshadowed the Lord in his Passion in such detail. Ideally, the homilist would be sure to clarify that this exegesis emphasizes the doctrine of theosis, for every human person is called to be holy and like God. Such a homily could reclaim for Ukrainian Greek Catholics a righteous and learned woman of the Old Testament who was a heroine in her own right, whose character and experiences can be inspirational for Ukrainians today. Beyond that she is a woman whose experiences show dramatically the spiritual equality of the sexes.

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⁴¹ St. John Chrysostom, Εἰς τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν Εὐαγγέλιον, εἰς τὴν δραχμὴν (PG 61:781–784); Cyril of Alexandria. *Commentarii on Lucam* 5.8 (PG 72:800–801); Romanos the Melode, in his fourth Kontakion on the Resurrection: *Hymnes* / ed. José Grosdidier de Matons. Paris 1964–1981, vol. 4, pp. 570–571. Others who develop this typology include Theophylact of Ohrid (1055–1107) – see The Rev. Metropolitan of Nafpaktos and St Vlassios Hierotheos. I Have Found the Drachma I Had Lost // *Parembasis* (Jan. 2002), par. 8: <https://parembasis.gr/index.php/articles-in-english/336-i-have-found-the-drachma-i-had-lost> – and Andrew of Crete, Κανόνες Ἐξαίρετοι καὶ Τριώδια (PG 97: 1360). In 1951 Nikolai Velimerović, bishop of Ohrid, drew on Chrysostom's sermon to preach anew on "Woman as a Symbol of Christ". Nikolai Velimerović, bishop of Ohrid. Woman as a Symbol of Christ // *Orthodox Life* 5–6 (1951) par. 6: <https://www.pravmir.com/woman-symbol-christ/>.

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ГЕРОЇНЯ ДЛЯ ГРЕКО-КАТОЛИЦЬКОЇ ЦЕРКВИ:

СЮЗАННА – ПЕРШИЙ ЖІНОЧИЙ ОБРАЗ ХРИСТА

Героїня Книги Даниїла Сюзанна – це єдина жінка, про освіченість якої згадано в Біблії. Ця освічена жінка ризикнула життям, чинячи опір корупції, коли її народ був під гнітом іноземного правління. Її відвага та успіх зробили її добрим взірцем для Української Греко-Католицької Церкви, яка сама потерпала під чужинською владою. Щобільше, вона є першою жінкою, в якій християни вбачають прообраз самого Христа у Його страстях. Це яскраво видно в синоптичних Євангеліях. Такі Отці Церкви, як Аверосій, Максим Туринський та Августин, проповідували про неї як про ту, котра стала прообразом Господа в події Його арешту в саду і на суді «старійшин народу». Тому в ранньому християнському та середньовічному мистецтві її часто представляли як образ Христа, а в грецькому цю традицію засвідчує єдине літургійне дійство, яке приписують Йоанові Дамаскину. На Сході такими прообразами Христа також часто виступають дочка Єфти (Суд 12:7) та жінка з притчі, яка віднаходить загублену драхму. Було б добре, щоб і сьогодні, в новому тисячолітті, у проповідях Церков східної традиції Сюзанну трактували як прообраз Господа і вказували на те, що жінки нарівні з чоловіками покликані до обоження.

Ключові слова: біблійні студії, християнська екзегеза, Сюзанна (Старий Завіт), обоження, типологія.