

BULLETIN  
OF THE  
CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES

No. 27

1967

Preface:

It is with pleasure that the 1967 Bulletin is being distributed to members. Many of us will cherish memories of our meetings at McGill and for those who were unable to be present, this Bulletin may provide a small glimpse of the papers presented. As has become our custom, the Bulletin includes (1) The full text of the Presidential Address, (2) Abstracts of all papers and (3) the proceedings of the Society.

May I express my thanks to all concerned for supplying the necessary information with a minimum of pleading on my part.

Waterloo Lutheran University  
Waterloo, Ontario

Norman E. Wagner  
Secretary-Treasurer

## I. THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

### Worship Music in Ancient Israel: Its Meaning and Purpose

Ulrich S. Leupold

There has never been any dearth of books on music in the Bible.<sup>1</sup> In spite of the fact that we know little or nothing of the actual music sung by Israel of old, the subject has elicited a considerable body of literature.

In contrast, the theology of music in the Bible has received very little attention. And yet the Bible offers more information on the meaning and purpose of music than on its actual form. The present study is an attempt to open up this subject by dealing with the "why" and "what for" of worship music in Ancient Israel from its beginnings to New Testament times.

In order to understand the meaning of music in pre- or non-Western cultures, one must free oneself from two modern assumptions about the role of music. Our age takes it for granted, (firstly) that music is made to be heard and (secondly) that it serves to express and to inspire feelings. Both of these assumptions are more of a hindrance than a help for understanding the meaning of music in antiquity. Of course, music has always been the art of the ear and it has always served as a vehicle of feelings. But pre-Western cultures regarded it under a much wider scope. They considered it a super-human force which, though man might utilize it, had effects far beyond the interpersonal sphere.

Animism saw music as a magical power that could be made to influence cosmic powers, the stars and the weather, life and death. Especially could it be used to call or to ward off the spirits.<sup>2</sup> E.g., wailing and noise making at funerals served not only the expression of grief but also the crudely utilitarian purpose of exorcising the spirits of the dead. The Biblical custom of playing woodwind instruments (Jer. 48:36; Mt. 9:23) and singing dirges (II Sam. 1:12-27; 3:31-34) at death, is in keeping with universal primitive funeral customs.<sup>3</sup> But significantly enough in our sources this custom seems to have lost its religious connotation. The dirges make no reference to Yahweh (different is the case in a literary adaptation of the dirge, such as Lamentation or Isa. 14). The dynamistic understanding of music shines through our sources, but it clearly does not determine the meaning of music which they imply.

At a higher stage of cultural development music came to be seen as a divine power. Originally it had belonged to the gods. Now it had become their gift to mankind, still remaining under their protection, or more specifically, under the protection of a

god or goddess of music. The Babylonians had a goddess Bau pictured with a lyre. The heavenly assembly included musicians. And in the epic Enuma Elis the gods praise Marduk's work of creation with a hymn.<sup>4</sup>

This concept of music as a heavenly power is widely reflected in the Bible, yet with significant modifications. To be sure, the ancient idea of heavenly ceremonial included the praise of God by angelic choirs and indeed by all of creation (Ps. 89:5-7; 148:2-4). Isaiah heard the glory of the Lord reflected in the hymns of the seraphim (6:4). Yet there is notable restraint in these descriptions. Both the Old and New Testament avoid giving the angelic choirs any kind of normative significance for human affairs. They constitute no more than an "auxiliary concept for depicting the exalted state of Yahweh."<sup>5</sup>

Furthermore, the Bible does not know a god of music. To be sure, Yahweh is not un-musical. He has ears and can hear (Ps. 10:17; 17:6). He has a majestic voice (Isa. 30:30; Ps. 29:4) and he sings (Jer. 25:30). His appearance is accompanied by the sound of the horn. Occasionally it is even said that he himself sounds the trumpet (Zech. 9:14). Yet the horn does not become his attribute in the sense that the lyre was that of Apollo.

Myths about the heavenly origin of music which are so frequent in other cultures, are lacking in the Bible. Jubal's invention of the lyre and pipe (Gen. 4:21) is told as a purely secular event.<sup>6</sup> A late Jewish legend claims that the angels on leaving Paradise after the fall, were so sad that they broke their instruments. Jubal picked up the pieces and put them together again. But the implication of this story, viz. that music as such is a heavenly power, goes beyond the terms of the Old Testament. Here music as such bears no divine character. Only one kind of music, viz. worship music is related to Yahweh, and we must seek to determine the nature of this relationship. Our question is: what is the purpose of music in the worship of Yahweh?

It has often been claimed that the principal purpose of music in biblical worship is that of serving as a vehicle for the word. The description of music as a handmaiden of the word is a virtual dogma among liturgiologists. However, while this approach has some merit, it fails to do justice to all the evidence. The fact along that dances, dance music and percussion instruments play such a significant role in Israel's worship, ought to warn us against basing our theories principally on vocal and verbal music.

The theory that music served as a vehicle for words, establishes a merely utilitarian connection between music and worship. Music is simply a technique for uttering sacred words. But it can be shown that the exercise of music had far more direct and intrinsic relation to worship. For the very act of playing, singing, or dancing before another was regarded an act of submission or obedience. The inferior played, sang, or danced before the superior.

A study of this phenomenon in social relations will lead us to understand its importance for the role of music in worship.

It has often been noted that music in Israel was performed mainly by women.<sup>7</sup> This was not music of erotically suggestive character as in Egypt and later on also in Jerusalem (Isa. 23:16). But political music, victory or taunting songs were sung by women. Victorious generals such as Jephtha, Saul or David were being welcomed with dances, drums, and songs by the women. Two women: Miriam and Deborah are credited with two of the oldest paeans of victory.

Perhaps this custom which has its parallels among modern Bedouin, reflects the social status of woman.<sup>8</sup> "To bear a man's name and to increase it is the honour of the woman." This she does as much by dance and music in his honour as by giving him a family.<sup>9</sup> For to make music for another is an act of submission, of acknowledging and thereby enlarging his honour.

This is also true where men are the performers. Laban reproached Jacob because the latter had not allowed his father-in-law to honour him with a farewell dance (Gen. 31:27). Samson was forced to honour the Philistines by dancing and playing before them (Jud. 16:25). The verb saheq in this passage, is the same as the one used for the dance of the Israelites around the Golden Calf (Ex. 32:6). The ultimate humiliation of the deportees in Babylon consisted in the demand to entertain their captors with music (Ps. 137:3).<sup>10</sup>

In this context it may be significant that the invention of music is credited to a member of the Kenite guest tribe. In nomadic cultures, musicians together with smiths and other artisans from a pariah caste. Nor is it unlikely that a direct line connects the Kenite-Midianite tradition, the nebi'im and the Levites. All of these, in one way or another, formed a lower caste at the fringe of society. And all of them were involved in music making.<sup>11</sup>

In all of these cases, music making constituted an act of worship in the widest sense of the word. The inferior acknowledged the honour of the superior, and thereby he both increased it and shared in it. It is therefore not surprising that music making assumed a corresponding role in the worship of Yahweh.<sup>12</sup> Dancing could be used to honour not only one's earthly superiors, but also Yahweh.

The victory dances of Miriam and Deborah celebrated (as the accompanying hymns show) not so much the earthly generals, as Yahweh the supreme war lord. Indeed it seems that ecstatic dances belonged to the original Yahvism. David's dance before the ark probably reflected these desert traditions and therefore offended his city-bred wife (II Sam. 6:14,20). Accordingly worship in the Jerusalem temple retained dancing and processions also in later times.<sup>13</sup> At the feast of Tabernacles, the worshippers sang and

danced around the altar with instrumental music by the levites.<sup>14</sup> It is hardly accidental that cymbals (metsiltajim: Neh. 12:27; I Chr. 15:19; 25:6; II Chr. 5:12) played an important part in the temple orchestra.

The role of vocal music in worship is not essentially different from that of dance music. The Hebrew word for "hymn" tehillah comes from the root halal "to shine", or (in the piel) "to make shine". The essence of tehillah therefore consists in the fact that it adds splendour to the object of its praise. As such, tehillah is intimately related to kabod.<sup>15</sup> The tehillah reflects the kabod of the one being praised and at the same time serves to increase it. This implies that the honour of a person depends on his esteem by others, on the praise they will render to him.<sup>16</sup> Tehillah can therefore be used synonymously with kabod. The tehillah of Moab (Jer. 48:2), of Babylon (Jer. 51:41), or of Israel (61:3,11; Zeph. 3:19 f.) is their renown, their kabod. And vice versa the deepest humiliation of a person consists in his becoming the object of a taunting song by his enemies (Job 30:9; Ps. 69:12; Lament. 3:14; Mt. 27:40,42 f. par).

Here then lies the rationale for the hymn of praise to Yahweh. In a sense he himself is its author. He demands the tehillah. He needs it in order to maintain and make public his kabod. It is a reflection of his kabod. The song of praise is part and parcel of his epiphany.<sup>17</sup> "God has the honour within himself, but through his hymns of praise man renders him honour, strengthens and increases it (Ps. 29:1; 96:7)".<sup>18</sup> The praise of the angels belongs therefore as necessarily to Yahweh's kabod as does the brightness of his light.<sup>19</sup> And it is characteristic that some of the psalms consist largely if not entirely (Ps. 149 and 150) of the admonition to sing and play for Yahweh. Evidently the psalmists consider this "joyful noise" itself a perfectly valid expression of Yahweh's kabod. To them music in itself is a demonstration of his glory (II Cor. 4:15; Col. 1:12). For sacred music in the Bible has a definitely joyful character. The line from the Epistle of James (5:13) "Is any . . . suffering, let him pray. Is any cheerful, let him sing praise" fits the whole Bible.<sup>20</sup> Singing and playing of instruments are mentioned time and again in the hymns of praise and thanksgiving, but never in the laments.<sup>21</sup> This is not to imply that the latter were spoken. Poetry recited was unknown in antiquity. But it indicates the religious meaning of music itself in the hymns of praise and thanksgiving.

When we turn from an analysis of Israel's cult and of the role of music in it, to the attitude towards music and the cult on the part of the prophets, we seem to get a very different picture. For the great prophets of the old covenant have often been portrayed as advocates of a purely subjective, anti-cultic religion that would denounce the temple and all its works. Amos' words "Take away from me the noise of your songs; to the melody of your harps I will not listen" (5:23 cf. Is. 1:15) have been taken as a summary rejection of sacred music in the name of inward religion.

But in actual fact this saying, and others similar to it, does not disprove the importance of cultic music that we established earlier. The fact that Yahweh rejects the music of a rebellious people, serves only to confirm his acceptance of the same from an obedient congregation. He does not refuse music as such, but only on the part of his unfaithful people. In other words, the condemnation of worship music belongs in the context of the prophecy of doom. In these prophecies, the end of music forms a constant feature (Hos. 9:1; Is. 24:8; Jer. 48:33; Ez. 7:7). Music has been an integral part of the people's life, a reflection of Yahweh's presence in their midst. But where God executes judgment, there "the old men quit the city gate, the young men their music . . . our dancing has been turned to mourning" (Laus. 5:14-15). The only difference between the message of Amos and that of other prophets, is that while he speaks of present condemnation, they speak of future judgment. And this alternation between warnings and predictions is after all characteristic of all prophets.<sup>22</sup> Angry warnings go always hand in hand with dismal predictions of the end. And not everything the prophets had to say on music, was on the negative side. Prophecies of doom were balanced by hopeful predictions of salvation. And in the latter, music played a vital role.

Jeremiah (31:4) anticipating another redemption of Israel, said: "Again I will build you . . . Again you shall adorn yourself with timbrels and shall go forth in the dance of the merry-makers" (cf. Isa. 12:4 ff.; 30:29). Deutero-Isaiah (42:10) coined the word for this hope: shir hādāsh the song that will renew Mariam's exodus jubilus.<sup>23</sup> And Trito-Isaiah envisioned the temple music restored with even the heathen to join in it (56:7; 60:6). If judgment implied the end of music, salvation must necessarily involve its restoration.

When at last the exiles were able to return to Jerusalem and to restore the temple with its cult, they felt that this and other prophecies were being fulfilled.<sup>24</sup> Accordingly the psalms of the second temple call on the worshipper to join in the New Song for Yahweh (cf. Ps. 33:3; 40:3; 96:1; 98:1; 144:9). A mood of "realized eschatology" pervades these psalms. The music of the second temple sought to fulfil and surpass the ancient office and praise. Chronicles with their long lists of levitical singers and musicians document the high esteem in which the music of the cult was held. As P credits the artistry of the artisans who built the tabernacle and its furniture, to the Holy Spirit (Ex.31:1-5; 35:30-34), so Chronicles view the levitical music of the temple as a gift of the Spirit.<sup>25</sup> The singers are called nebiim (I Chr. 1:3) or hozenim (I Chr. 25:5; II Chr. 35:15), their office is characterized as nibba' (I Chr. 25:1-3).<sup>26</sup>

While the prominence of music in the context of temple worship is beyond question, its role in the synagogue service is much less clear. Doubtlessly prayers, benedictions, and lessons were chanted. The ephnetic signs of the Masoretes furnish

abundant proof for the latter. Rabbinic tradition demanded expressly that Scriptures should be chanted, not read.<sup>27</sup> There is evidence for the psalms having been sung in the synagogue.<sup>28</sup> Levitical singers from the temple are reported to have assisted in the Jerusalem synagogue.<sup>29</sup> Elsewhere a precentor may have taken their place.<sup>30</sup> The congregation responded with Alleluia of another acclamation.<sup>31</sup> Finally new hymns or psalms seem to have been in use.<sup>32</sup> The Apocrypha (e.g. Song of the Three Young Men, Sir. 51; Jud. 16; Tob. 13) Pseudepigrapha (e.g. syr. Bar. 48. 54 Psalms of Sol.; Syb.), and Dead Sea Scrolls (Hodayot) contain as many or more poetical portions as the canonical books of the Old Testament. Admittedly it is difficult to draw from the text alone sharp lines between prayers, benedictions, doxologies, and hymns proper.<sup>33</sup> All of these use the poetic structures and idioms of the canonical psalms, parallelismus membrorum, and frequently also the rime.<sup>34</sup> But it is unlikely that the Sitz im Leben for any of them was anywhere else, except in the worship of the synagogue.<sup>35</sup> The responsorial and antiphonal singing of the Therapeutes mentioned by Philo, is probably illustrative of musical practices in Qumran and elsewhere in Judaism.

But on the whole, Judaism failed to maintain that sensitive appreciation of the religious meaning of music which the Old Testament documents. Orthodox mainstream Judaism, while it continued to employ music as a vehicle of pray and praise, was too much concerned with midrashic niceties and practical questions of torah morality to appreciate the unique significance of song. The spirit of prophecy was believed to be extinct, and the fulfillment of the ancient promise of a "New Song" moved again into the distant future.<sup>36</sup> The rabbis speculated on the question by whose merit Israel would be enabled to sing the New Song.<sup>37</sup> Some cited the merit of Abraham, others the eventual victory of the Messiah. But all agreed that it would be sung only once, viz. on the Last Day and in honour of the Messiah. Clearly the high enthusiasm of the returnees from Babylon had faded.

Sectarian and Hellenistic Judaism on the other hand was led to a highly speculative and mystical understanding of the role of music. In the thinking of apocalyptic Judaism, the music of the angels gained new prominence.<sup>38</sup> Of course the heavenly assembly and its liturgy of praise had always been part of the biblical cosmology. But under the influence of Greek, Babylonian, and Persian ideas, angelology received increased attention. Since the angels were identified with stars, their music could be connected with the so-called "harmony of the spheres", supposedly produced by the planets, and thereby with the numerical proportions that related the courses of the stars to the seasons, the points of the compass, the elements, the temperaments, the ages of man, the colours, and last, but no least to the intervals of the musical scale, to the eight modes and the musical instruments.<sup>39</sup> From here it was only a short step to the idea of angelical languages. Supposedly every sphere of the heavens had its own language spoken by the angels and revealed to rare individuals in mysterious visions.

We do not know what kind of songs the writer tried to describe in these three categories.<sup>46</sup> But it is significant that he was able to cite so many of them. Probably the "New Song" was not necessarily an original piece of music or poetry. Even the psalms of the O.T. assumed new significance as they were being sung in this hour of eschatological fulfillment (Mt. 26-30 par.; I Cor. 14:26).<sup>47</sup> Some of the original hymns in the New Testament were formed in close dependence on the forms and idioms of Old Testament poetry (Luke 1: 46-55; 68-79; 1:14. 39-32). Others seem to reflect the influence of acclamations as found in the context of pagan worship (Phil. 2: 5-11; Eph. 5:14; I Tim. 3:16; I Pe. 3:18-22; Rev. 5:12. 15:3-4. 9:5-8). The latter are hymns to Christ and may have been developed in connection with the worship of him as the Kyrios.<sup>48</sup>

The propensity of early Christians to break into song received further impetus from their assurance of Spirit possession. They accepted the gifts of the Spirit as evidence for the nearness of the End. To them the outpouring of the Spirit was a fulfillment of eschatological prophecy. And the gift of song was counted as one of the gifts of the Spirit. Zacharias was filled with Holy Spirit before intoning the Benedictus (Luke 1:67 cf. v. 41) and Paul mentions odai pnumatikai, spirit inspired odes (Eph. 5:18; Col. 3:16).

Apparently the early Christians experienced the impulse of the Spirit in different ways. It could inspire them either to a wildly ecstatic, unintelligible imitation of the tongues of the angels, or it could result in rational intelligible song for the edification of others. Glossolalia is an example of the first. Usually we call it "speaking" in tongues. But Paul uses not only lalein, but also kyazein (Rom. 8:15; Gal. 4:6), stenazein (Rom. 8: 36 ff.), proseuchesthai; psallein (!), eulogein, and eucharistein for the same phenomenon. Evidently it was as much a "shouting" or "singing", as a "speaking" in tongues.<sup>49</sup> And since the words were unconnected in any rational intelligible way, it is not unlikely that melodic associations replaced grammatical ones.

But the prompting of the Spirit was not limited to the tongues. Sober odes for the edification of others were also held to be spirit-inspired (Col. 3:16). Probably such songs were sung to the accompaniment of the kithara (Rev. 5:8; 15:2); for the kithara was the guitar of antiquity and was used with quiet, rather ecstatic songs.

At any rate, the New Testament is full of songs which found their way into its pages, because they had enjoyed prior use in the assemblies of the early Christians. The rousing hymns and acclamations in Revelation give a vivid portrait of the important role of music. And the Christians in Bithynia whom Pliny examined, gave as the only, and apparently most important feature of their worship that they sang a hymn to Christ antiphonally (Epist. 1:96 to Trajan).<sup>50</sup>

As kabod and tehillah belonged together in the Old Testament, so doxa and hymnos (or psalmos) in the New. For, as the epistles frequently assert, what the believers had been called for, was the praise of God (II Cor. 4:15; Eph. 1:6. 12. 14: Phil. 1:11; Col. 1:12). In this sense, music was indeed the most basic expression of their faith.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 The most recent bibliography is in Eric Werner's article "Music" in IDB III, 469.
- 2 The bells on the priests' garments may also reflect apotropaic purposes. Cf. Peter Gradenwitz. The Music of Israel (New York: Norton, 1959), 30; Eric Werner, IDB, III, 458.
- 3 Cf. Joh. Weiss. Die musikalischen Instrumente in den Hl. Schriften des Alten Testaments (Grad: 1895), 837.
- 4 Alfred Jeremias. Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1929), 82 f.; A. Jirky. Altorientalischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament (Leipzig: 1923), 37.
- 5 W. Eichrodt. Theologie des Alten Testaments. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1933-36), II, 106.
- 6 Alfred Jeremias. Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients (Leipzig: 1930), 796.
- 7 Gradenwitz. Music of Israel, 27; Werner, l.c. 457; L.R. Wiley. Bible Music (New York: Paebar, 1945), 146.
- 8 Joh. Pedersen. Israel, its Life and Culture (London: Cumberlege, 1926-40), I, 231; Gradenwitz, l.c. 27 f. cf. also Judith 16:2-17.
- 9 Pedersen, loc. cit., I, 232.
- 10 According to an Assyrian bas relief the tribute which Sennacherib exacted from Hezekiah, consisted partly in Jewish musicians, male and female (Werner, IDB, 459).
- 11 H. Ringgren, Israelite Religion (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 216; Cf. H. Schmökel. "Die jahwetreuen Orden von Israel" Theologische Blätter XII (1933), 327 ff.
- 12 Cf. Hubert Junker, Prophet und Seher in Israel (Trier: 1927), 25 ff.
- 13 Helmer Ringgren. Israelite Religion (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 178 f.
- 14 The original meaning of the word Pesah may be "hopping" or "limping"; see H. J. Kraus. Worship in Israel (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1955), 45.
- 15 Cf. Joh. Schneider, Doxa (Dütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1932), 41; Köhler, l.c. 110; Pedersen, l.c. 235, 249 f.
- 16 The typical situation in classical drama where the hero can maintain his honour in spite of the world's calumny, is non-sensical from the O.T. viewpoint.
- 17 G. Bornkamm. "Lobpreis, Bekenntnis und Opfer" in Apophoreta. Festschrift für E. Haenchen (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1964), 47.
- 18 Pedersen, Israel, I, 235; cf. G. Harder. Paulus und das Gebet (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1936), 132. 204; Schneider, Doxa, 63.
- 19 Martin Dibelius. Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Apostel Paulus (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1909), 185.
- 20 E. Kautzsch. Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments (Tubingen: Mohr, 1911), 160; E. Werner, IDB, III, 457.
- 21 Ps. 42:8 is the only exception; but the present text seems to be corrupt.
- 22 Cf. Köhler, Theol. 212. 214; Hugo Gressmann, Der Messias (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1929), 88 ff.; Hans Schmidt, Die grossen Propheten (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Reprecht, 1915), LXIV ff.
- 23 J. Behm, TWNT, III, 451; for a different view see Werner (IDB, 3, 463) who takes the term "new song" in the sense of "newly composed."

- 24 Eichrodt, Theologie, I, 263.
- 25 Ed. König. Theologie des Alten Testaments. (Stuttgart: 1932), 186; Paul Volz. Der Geist Gottes . . . im Alten Testament (Tübingen: 1910), 85; Eichrodt, Theologie, II, 29. Aubrey R. Johnson, The Cultic Prophet in ancient Israel (Cardiff: U. of Wales Press, 1962), 69 ff.
- 26 S. Mowinckel. Psalmstudien (Reprint. Amsterdam: P. Schipper, 1961), III, 26; H. Gressmann. Musik und Musikinstrumente im Alten Testament (Giessen: J. Ricker, 1903), 14; J. Benzinger, Hebräische Archäologie (Leipzig: 1927), 252; Volz. Geist, 137; Otto Eissfeldt: Einleitung in das Alte Testament (Tübingen: J. C. Mohr, 1934), 123, 126 f.
- 27 Eric Werner. The sacred Bridge (London: D. Dobson, 1959), 103, 110.
- 28 Eric Werner "The Doxology in Synagogue and Church", HUCA 19 (1945-46), 325.
- 29 Egon Wellesz. Ancient and Oriental Music (London: O.U.P., 1947) 302, W.O.E. Oesterley. The Psalms in the Jewish Church (London: Skeffington, 1910), 147 f., 151.
- 30 Egon Wellesz. A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 35.
- 31 Wellesz, Ancient and Oriental Music, 302; Oesterley, Psalms, 12a ff; 13a ff; 143, 149.
- 32 G. Margoliouth, "Hymns (Hebrew-Jewish)", ERE, VII, 44, Egon Wellesz. Ancient and Oriental Music (London: O.U.P., 1957), 301.
- 33 Eric Werner "The Doxology in Synagogue and Church" HUCA 19 (1945-46), 275 ff passim.
- 34 Karl George Kuhn. Achtzehngebet und Vaterunser und der Reim (Tübingen: J.B.C. Mohr, 1950), 6 ff.
- 35 W.O.E. Oesterley and G.H. Box. The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue (London: Pitnam, 1911), 38; Svend Holm-Nielsen. Hodayot (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960, 341, 343, 344 f.
- 36 H. Gunkel, Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1888), 55; Volz. Geist, 141 ff.; Bousset-Gressmann. Die Religion des Judentums (Tübingen: Mohr, 1926), 394.
- 37 S.-B. I, 8; III, 200, 801.
- 38 D. S. Russell. The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic (London: SCM Press, 1964), 47, 237, 240 f.
- 39 Jules Combarieu. La musique et la magie (Paris: A. Picard, 1909), 189 ff.; Robert Lachmann. Musik des Orients (Breslau: Quelle & Meyer, 1929), 14 ff., 97. C. Sachs. Vergleichende Musik-wissenschaft, 65 ff. Alfred Jeremias. Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur. 2. (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1929), 182 ff.; E. M. von Hornbostel "Die Massnorm" Festschrift für P. Schmidt (Vienna: 1928), 304 ff.; Eric Werner. Mus. Quart. 43, 26-29; D.S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic (London: SCM press, 1964), 194-202, Eric Werner, HUCA, 19 (1945-46), 326.
- 40 Russell, l.c., 166 f.
- 41 J. Quasten. Musik und Gesang (Münster: Aschendorf, 1930), 12 f., 16 f., 18 f.
- 42 J. Quasten, Music and Gesang, 18, G. Harder. Paulus und das Gebet (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1936), 60 3; H. Abert. Die Musikanschauung des Mittelalters (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1905), 37 ff. E.R. Goodenough. By Light, Light (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1935), 117. 213.

- 43 Harder. Gebet, 86 ff., 203. For a similar concept in the ancient Orient, see J. Jeremias. Jesus als Weltvollender (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1930), 182, 41 f.
- 44 W. Boussett (Meyer's Commentary) ad locum. J. Kroll. Die Christliche Hymnodik (Königsberg: 1921), 442.
- 45 J. Leipoldt. Der Gottesdienst der ältesten Kirche (Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1937), 36. S.-B. on Eph. 5:19, and III, 610; II, 185.
- 46 vide the commentaries ad locum. Harder, Gebet, 59 f.; Kroll, Chr. Hymnodik, 5.
- 47 The synoptic quotation probably refers to the Passover Hallel. The passage from I Cor. may refer to an O.T. psalm, but could also relate to a newly created or to an improvised song.
- 48 W. Bousset. Kyrios Christos (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1926), 286; J. Kroll. Hymnodik, 14 ff.; Ernst Lohmeyer. Kyrios Jesus (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1928), 4 ff., 64 ff.
- 49 Gunkel. Wirkungen, 21.
- 50 J. Quasten. "Carmen". Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, II, 906 f.

II. ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

(a) The Authorship of Hebrews

Earlier attempts at solving the problem of the authorship of Hebrews have usually started from the question, who could have written Hebrews? A different approach is taken here: a prior solution of how Hebrews came to be included among the Pauline epistles yields a new perspective not only on the authorship of Hebrews, but on other introductory issues as well. In this paper, the origin and early history of Hebrews is considered jointly with a second problem, the origin and fate of the "epistle from Laodicea" (Col. 4:16). It is argued that the two epistles are one and the same, that the author was Epaphras of Colossae, the date was in the early 60's, the place of writing Rome, and the destination Laodicea. Our knowledge of Epaphras gained from Colossians is sufficient to indicate that he meets the three fundamental criteria required of the author of Hebrews--he had the capacity, the opportunity, and the motive for writing Hebrews.

Charles P. Anderson, Vancouver, B.C.

(b) Marriage Problems of the Patriarchs

Many prominent Old Testament scholars today hold the position that the patriarchal narratives of Genesis reflect only the social customs of the second millennium B.C. -- especially those portrayed in the cuneiform texts of Nuzi. This notion is tested by examination of those Biblical narratives (Gen. 16:1-4; 30:3 f.) in which the patriarch's wife who is childless, gives her maid to her husband in order that she herself may have children.

The Mesopotamian parallels to this practice are examined. The Hammurapi Code #146 along with Old Babylonian marriage contracts indicate that this custom in the early second millennium was a special expedient for priestesses only. The oft-quoted Nuzi parallel in HSS V:67, on the other hand, does not correspond in its essential features to the Biblical custom and its use, has been quite misleading. The closest parallel is to be found in a Neo-Assyrian text (ca. 648 B.C.) which broadens the earlier provisions of the Babylonian law to include naturally childless women having children through their maids.

Consequently, this test case indicates that there may be no difference between the marriage customs reflected in the patriarchal stories and the actual social customs of the Israelite monarchy, i.e., the time in which the stories may have been put into their final form, and that such marriage customs in Genesis cannot be used for dating the "Patriarchal Age".

John Van Seters, Waterloo, Ontario

(c) Pentateuchal Criticism - no Clear Future

Canada's Centennial provides a reminder of the shock waves which broke on Old Testament studies one hundred years ago when Graf and Kuenen argued that the Pentateuchal sources originated in a manner different from that formerly held and that the chronology of the sources themselves had to be reversed. Modifications to and rejections of the classical Documentary Theory are sketched. Four areas are investigated: (1) The limitations must be admitted for all approaches -- e.g. textual, literary, archaeology; (2) The extent of the corpus "Pentateuch" must be re-examined. Arguments are presented for considering Genesis as a separate unit; (3) The old Supplementary Theory is resurrected and defended as providing a reasonable working hypothesis to explain the growth of the traditions; (4) The Chronological order of the traditional sources is discussed with the suggestion advanced that a post-Exilic Yahwistic edition is a distinct possibility.

Norman E. Wagner, Waterloo, Ontario

(d) The Composition of Micah

The consensus of critical opinion on the book of Micah is a core of genuine material in chapters 1 to 3 has been balanced by late, eschatological promises in chapters 4 and 5, which in turn have been paralleled by threats in 6:1 to 7:7 (possibly genuine), and by further promises in 7:8-20. The Book thus formed an example of the post-exilic scheme of doom, salvation; before, after. Newer studies of stylistics and of the process of oral composition have made it possible to break through this impasse.

The Book has in fact been carefully composed in three major sections, chapters 1-3, 4-5 and 6-7, each of which is built up out of poem-complexes, in turn formed of strophes. The latter have not been added haphazardly, but in accordance with discoverable principles. Chapter 2:12 f., usually dismissed as a late insertion, proves to be the key to an understanding of the process of composition. It was the poet who joined the strophes into complexes who made the creative decisions at the critical stage in the development of the Book, upon which the present form of the whole collection depends. The results of the study permit certain hermeneutical conclusions concerning our understanding of the prophetic literature.

Jared J. Jackson, Pittsburgh, Penna.

(e) Court-style in Addressing God in the Psalms

This paper argues (a) that the form of deferential address customary in court language may be recognized in many Psalms; and (b) that this phenomenon may be the explanation of otherwise unexplained changes from third to second person, and vice versa, in speaking of or to God.

The clue to this is Solomon's prayer in I Kings 8:12-13 (LXX version), where v.12 seems to be a statement about Yahweh and v.13 an address to him. Unless v.13 is a form of indirect address, the Deity is addressed baldly as "you" in v.13. In modern as well as ancient usage deferential address in the third person is customary, especially when the one addressed is a monarch.

O.T. examples are: I Sam. 19:4; II Sam. 14:12-13; 16:16 I Ki. 22:8; Est. 1:19; 5:3-4; Ezra 5:7-8. The Speaker's self-depreciation corresponds to this: I Sam. 24:14; 25:24; cf. Ps. 22:7 (Heb.); as does an opening in third person continued in second person: I Sam. 19:4; 26:19; II Sam. 14:12-13.

A corresponding usage does not appear in prose prayers of Deuteronomic writings and Chronicles or in Jeremiah, but is in evidence in certain Psalms: Jon. 2:2; Ps. 77:12; (Heb.); 43:4; 92:1; 92:1-2; Lam. 1:18a, 20a. Sometimes the second person address precedes the third: Ps. 18:29 (Heb.); 71:15-16; 123:1-2; yet the deferential form survives. In other cases the change of persons may be derived from participation of different persons in liturgy. But in the following instances the theory here proposed seems helpful for exegesis: Ps. 67:2-3 (Heb.); 99:2-3; Ps. 27; Ps.23.

R.B.Y. Scott, Princeton, N.J.

(f) Is History Relevant to Keuygura?

The past is not something from which we have to free ourselves in order to be equipped for our future (Bultmann). It can be interpreted so as to become significant for the present and future. (Illustrations from G.M. Trevelyan)

Distinctive of the N.T. is Christ's continued presence. The healer of Galilee was at work as saviour and lord to the ends of the earth. These new facts and their progressive interpretation can be rightly evaluated only by reference back to the ministry of Jesus. The Keuygma is meaningless apart from that reference to history. The Platonic antithesis between ontology and phenomenology (of Lessing's dictum), making history the sphere of the contingent only, is not adequate to interpret the central affirmation of the N.T. The supreme revelation of God had its locus in history; the eternal and temporal intersected in Christ. Barth regards them as tangential only, which is not enough. Bultmann does not really face the problem. Owen is more helpful, and more recently Cullmann in Heil als Geschichte. Bultmann's dehistoricising is modified by his followers.

E. C. Blackman, Toronto, Ontario

(g) Où est-ce que Pierre est allé?

This paper presented in French offers a possible solution to the problem raised by the heteron topon of Acts 12:17. Where did Peter go after his miraculous escape from prison? The traditional view that Peter went immediately to Rome is rejected and

instead it is suggested that he went to the eastern Diaspora. Support for this hypothesis is found in such New Testament passages as Act 15, Rom. 15:20 and I Peter 1:1. As well the recent research done by A. Voöbus and J.C.L. Gibson which finds a link between the Palestinian Church and the early Syriac-speaking Church in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the so called pseudo-Clementine literature, Josephus, the early Rabbinic material, the Apocryphal writings, the Odes of Solomon, the Acts of Thomas and the homilies of Aphraates, is used to support the thesis. The author suggests, therefore, that upon his release from prison Peter sought refuge in a place where Aramaic was spoken, viz. the eastern Diaspora in those lands east of Antioch. Moreover, he took his wife with him. (I Cor. 9:5)

Robert Osborne, Toronto, Ontario

(h) Two Recent New Testament Texts and Translations

A paper reviewing two translations of the New Testament published in 1966 - "Good News for Modern Man; the New Testament in Today's English Version" (American Bible Society), and "The Jerusalem Bible" (English version). The survey dealt with the Greek texts on which these versions are based (in the case of TEV, the new Bible Societies' Greek New Testament), and noted e.g. the JB's acceptance of certain Western readings in Acts. Comparison of the translations reveals similarities of approach, though the JB is open to question e.g. at I Cor. 9:5, Matt. 5:32. The Introductions in the JB were reviewed, providing as they do a summary of recent Roman Catholic New Testament scholarship. Both volumes contain certain aids to the study of the New Testament and it was pointed out that TEV with its "Word List" and "Index" (akin to the JB's "Index of Biblical Themes") marks a departure from the Bible Societies' usual practice of printing only the Biblical text. These two versions reveal a convergence of the Protestant and Roman Catholic approach to New Testament translations, and point to the possibility of a joint Bible for Protestants and Roman Catholics.

Charles H.H. Scobie, Montreal, P.Q.

(i) Christian Perfection: a Study of Matt. 5:48.

Matt. 5:48 is the climax of that perfection of forgiving love which is described in Matt. 5:38-48. The perfection of love is limitless forgiveness (Matt. 18:22). Great forgiveness produces great love. Great love produces great forgiveness (Lk. 7:36-50). This teaching is applied to the problem of war and peace. Absolute pacifism is impracticable at the present time; but every resource of love and forgiveness should be utilized to the utmost in order to avert the horror of atomic wars.

Roy M. Pounder, Montreal, P.Q.



(j) A Pastor's Translation Problems

A frank discussion of the problems faced by a Pastor who is required to use the KJV in congregational worship. The resulting situations are often filled with both pathos and humor.

Gordon Brown, Toronto, Ontario

III. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

The 35th annual meeting of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies was held concurrently with the 28th annual meeting of the Canadian Section of the Society of Biblical Literature, May 15-17, 1967 at McGill University, Montreal, Quebec. Also meeting at this time were the Canadian Society of Church History and the Canadian Theological Society.

The President, Dean U.S. Leupold presided at the business meeting held at 9:00 P.M., May 15, 1967.

The minutes of the 1966 meeting were adopted as read.

Regrets were acknowledged from: Troy D.J. Beretta, John Burbidge, Eugene Combs, T.A. Burkill, F.H. Cosgrave, H.M. Dion, Douglas J. Fox, R.B. Green, Julien Harvey, David W. Hay, E.R. Hay, Sidney Jellicoe, R. Katerberg, H.W. Lang, M.R.B. Lovesey, R. Theodore Lutz, H.J. McAvoy, Helen I. Milton, Gerald E. Moffat, John A. Morrison, R. Gordon Nodwell, Henry Poettcker, Don Redford, W. Harold Reid, E. J. Revell, E. Schultz, David M. Stanley.

An Auditing Committee consisting of E.C. Blackman and Jan Huntjens was appointed.

R.J. Williams, W.S. McCullough and U.S. Leupold were appointed to the Nominating Committee.

The Secretary reported on the activities of the Society during the past year. Chief item was the publication of Canadian Biblical Studies, a booklet of reprinted Presidential Addresses. W.S. McCullough expressed the gratitude of the members present for this volume and authorized the Secretary to offer the remaining copies to the general public at a cost of \$1.00 each. Seconded by Cyril Blackman. Carried.

Cyril Blackman presented the report of the Auditors indicating that the accounts are in good order. The report was seconded by Jan Huntjens and adopted. The following synopsis is presented as information to members.

Carried forward	\$399.83
1966 dues	42.00
1967 dues	152.00
Interest	<u>10.78</u>
	604.61
Expenses	<u>391.39</u>
Balance	<u>\$213.22</u>

The following individuals were accepted as new members in the society: Rev. James S. Armour, 3 Bideford Pl., St. Johns', Nfld. Rev. John R. Cameron, St. Andrews Manse, Lunenburg, N.S. Rev. Paul Davenport, Xavier College, Sydney, N.S. Rev. M. Joyce Dickin, Box 267 Bredenbury, Sask. Rev. A.B. Fennell, Davidson, Sask.

New members continued:

Prof. Jerry Janzen, College of Emmanuel & St. Chad, Sask.  
Prof. D. Raymer, 225 St. George St., Toronto 5, Ont.  
Rev. Robert Reid, Berkeley Studies, 315 Queen St. E., Toronto, Ont.  
Dr. Ed. P. Sanders, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ont.  
Dr. Arthur Van Seters, Port Elgin, New Brunswick

R. J. Williams moved and Bob Osborne seconded the report of the Nominating Committee resulting in the election of the following Executive:

President -	Prof. Ernest G. Clarke Toronto, Ontario
Vice-President -	Prof. George Taylor Winnipeg, Manitoba
Secretary-Treasurer -	Prof. Norman E. Wagner Waterloo Lutheran University Waterloo, Ontario
Members-at-Large -	Dean U.S. Leupold, Waterloo Prof. R. C. Culley, Montreal

The following resolution was unanimously adopted.--

Be it resolved that the 35th annual meeting of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies go on record as expressing its profound gratitude for the vision and foresight of the dedicated group of scholars whose concern for biblical studies led to the formation of this Society.

Be it further resolved that this Society extend special greetings to those of the founding fathers who happily are still amongst our number, Professors W.S. McCullough, R.B.Y. Scott and F.V. Winnett, whose faithful attendance, leadership and inspiration through the years have greatly contributed to its growth and well-being.

Furthermore, thanks was expressed to Dean Jay and the colleagues of the Faculty of Divinity, McGill; Dean Frost and the staff of the McIntyre Medical Centre; Principal Lennox and the Presbyterian College; and Prof. Robert Culley for the excellent job of local arrangements.

The Society accepted an invitation from members in Toronto to hold the next meeting in that city, May 13-15, 1968.

Respectfully submitted,  
N.E. Wagner  
Secretary-Treasurer