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EDITORIAL

This edition of the Bulletin has a new look and a new editor. Having laboured for many hours in front of a VDT to produce this volume I am hopeful that it will prove so pleasing to the eye that Society members will actually read it. Then, having read it, perhaps they will make suggestions to improve its content. Whilst a Society Bulletin may not be the forum for articles giving further insights into Canaanite fertility rites or Mark's use of *καί*, it may well be the place to initiate discussions on such topics as the relation of Biblical and Religious Studies. If this or any other topic is of interest to you, and if you would like to see the Bulletin used for discussions of this kind, please let me or any other member of the Executive know.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

HISTORY, POLEMIC, AND PERSONAL AGENDA: JOSEPHUS AND MODERN BIBLICAL SCHOLARSHIP

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It is now, I think, well recognized that Josephus, the first century Jewish historian, not only wrote history according to the style and principles of his time, but that he was engaged in polemic in defence of the Jewish people, his own view of their religion, and his actions and behaviour during the traumatic events of his lifetime. Therefore, the title of this paper "History, Polemic, and Personal Agenda: Josephus and Modern Biblical Scholarship" is intended to leave ambiguous the question of whether history, polemic, and personal agenda refer only to the writings of Josephus, or whether these are not also operative in the work of scholars in this century as they have utilized Josephus' writings.

As one reads books and articles in which Josephus' works have been used as a witness for various interpretations of biblical materials, historical issues and archeological findings, highly selective principles seem to be applied. One reason for this may be the difficulties inherent in the inconsistencies and contradictions which are found in the historian's various writings. A survey of the entries in Heinz Schrekenberg's *Bibliographie zu Flavius Josephus*¹ may illustrate another; here we see a clear indication that scholarly interests have followed the particular issues current at the time as well as individual preoccupations. The same patterns are apparent as are found in modern biblical scholarship: first there was a need to establish a critical text, a goal accomplished by B. Niese between 1888 and 1895; questions of sources were then examined culminating in the 1920 publication by Richard Laqueur, *Die Juedische Historiker Flavius Josephus* (a work which, by the way, challenged the assumption of the previous generation that the *Jewish War* was the centre-piece of Josephus' writings). Studies of his writing style and literacy milieu were produced by scholars such as H. St. John Thackeray and Robert J. H. Shutt. Only relatively recently has there been a burgeoning of critical inquiries into his role as an interpreter both of the Hebrew Bible and the history of the Jews. While the issues in Josephus scholarship have clearly paralleled those in biblical scholarship, there does

¹ (Leiden 1968). A Supplement was published by Schrekenberg in 1979.

seem to be a time-lag in the utilization of the results by scholars in the biblical field.

Let me give, for those of you not very familiar with this author, a brief summary of the writings of Josephus so that my references later will not leave you totally confused. The first of his publications was the *Jewish War* which appeared, in seven books, somewhere between 75-79 CE. This was, apparently, an official history of the war which took place between the Jews and the Romans from 66-73 CE. Josephus began the work, however, with an account of Jewish history from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes in order to set the context for the Jewish attitude to the Romans. Only after sixteen years did he publish his next major work, the *Jewish Antiquities*. This appeared, in twenty books, in 93-94 CE. Because it was dedicated to a certain Epaphroditus, Thackeray assumed that he had, by this time, lost his royal patronage because Domitian, who was Emperor from 81-96 was an enemy of literature and his was a time in which the position of historians was particularly precarious.² The *Antiquities* is a history of the Jewish people from the beginning of Genesis to the outbreak of the war with the Romans. There is, thus, an overlap between this account and that in the *Jewish War* for the period from Antiochus Epiphanes to the Roman procurator Florus; we find inconsistencies and contradictions between the two.

Josephus published two smaller works later than 94, perhaps even after 100. The work entitled *Against Apion*, in two books, is an apology for Judaism and a refutation of current prejudices about the Jews. He gives numerous quotations from otherwise lost writings and presents an interesting insight into the anti-Semitism of the first century. The other work, the *Life*, seems to be an appendix to the *Antiquities*. It was occasioned by the appearance of a history of the Jewish war written by Justus of Tiberias. Justus accused Josephus of causing the city of Tiberias to revolt against the Romans. This work, which includes autobiographical details, consists mainly of Josephus' defence of his actions during the half year he commanded the Jewish defences of Galilee. Because of the particular content there are parallels with some passages in the *Jewish War* and again we find inconsistencies and contradictions.

Josephus was the son of a Jerusalem priest, Matthias; on his mother's side he was a descendant of the royal house of Hasmonaean. Born in 37-38 CE, he claims to have been a precocious child who by the age of fourteen was being consulted by priests and learned men concerning the Torah. By sixteen he says that he

² *Josephus* (London 1961) vol. 1, p. xi.

undertook a program of investigating three of the Jewish sects, the Sadducees, the Pharisees, and the Essenes, in order to select the best for himself. In the *Life* at this point he makes one of the statements which has led to considerable divergence of opinion among scholars. Let me quote:

... I submitted myself to hard training and laborious exercises and passed through the three courses. Not content, however, with the experience thus gained, on hearing of one named Bannus, who dwelt in the wilderness, wearing only such clothing as trees provided, feeding on such things as grew of themselves, and using frequent ablutions of cold water, by day and night, for purity's sake, I became his disciple. With him I lived three years and, having accomplished my purpose, returned to the city. Being now in my nineteenth year I began to govern my life by the rules of the Pharisees, a sect having points of resemblance to that which the Greeks call the Stoic school.³

Prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Thackeray claimed, based on this statement and the historian's lengthy description of the Essenes in the *Jewish War*, that the writer, a cosmopolitan man of affairs, nonetheless "had a genuine strain of asceticism in his nature."⁴ The question of Josephus' first hand knowledge of the Essenes became very important following the discovery of the Scrolls when the community portrayed by them was identified with the Essenes as described by Josephus, Philo, and Pliny. The reliability of Josephus' account is of crucial importance for this identification because of the particular features of the community life which he included. The many similarities as well as the differences between the various accounts has led to an on-going and unresolved scholarly debate as to the viability of this identification. In his recently published bibliography, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship 1937-1980*⁵ Louis Feldman lists 101 books and articles which have included a discussion of this issue. We have, for example, R. P. C. Hanson writing in 1958 that "There is no reason to doubt Josephus' statement that he had gone some way toward becoming an Essene himself, and therefore his description must be regarded as particularly reliable."⁶ In the same year, Morton Smith, in his usual hypercritical manner, wrote the following:

³ *Life* 11-12. (Thackeray's translation)

⁴ *Josephus the Man and the Historian* (1929, reprint KTAV 1967) p. 6.

⁵ (Berlin 1984) pp. 618-633.

⁶ *A Guide to the Scrolls*, ed. A. R. C. Leaney (London 1958) p. 55.

The general course of Josephus' rather worldly career would make it seem unlikely that he was ever very familiar with the Essenes. He claims to have acquired experience of all three 'sects' of 'Jewish philosophy' by 'going through' them at the age of 16. But he must have gone through all three in a single year since he was able, afterwards, to spend three years with a hermit (evidently, therefore, not an Essene, in spite of the fact that he bathed every day) and return to Jerusalem by the age of 19, no doubt tired of asceticism and ready for the pleasures of Rome, where he moved in the circle of the Empress Poppaea (who also bathed every day, but was probably not an Essene).⁷

Such divergent opinions may be seen as a natural reaction when scholars are compelled to radically revise previously held ideas; while some writers had earlier suggested that first century Judaism was complex, Josephus' description of the three sects was widely used to portray the setting in which the ministry of Jesus took place. The discovery of the Scrolls forced a reassessment so that by 1961 Matthew Black noted what has now become an accepted view:

The actual situation in Judaism . . . appears, in fact, to have been one of a widespread and dangerously proliferating and fissiparous heteropraxis . . .⁸

Were the scholars involved conscious of what particular attitudes to Josephus' personal claim involved? If Josephus had not personally been acquainted with the Essenes, but rather relied on written sources, then divergences from the Scrolls could be explained without discrediting him concerning other historical problems. Otherwise serious doubts could be raised about any number of issues for which he provided the primary evidence.

Josephus' simple description of first century Judaism as made up of three sects was obviously written to make a complex and variegated sectarianism clear for his readers rather than accurately portraying the real situation. A careful reading of his works makes this obvious because he mentions other groups such as Zealots, Herodians, and the 'fourth philosophy'; even within the three main sects it would appear that there were distinct groupings. It has been necessary therefore, to re-examine Josephus' own purposes in writing such specific reports about the sects. A more critical evaluation is now represented by such scholars as Geza Vermes who, while accepting

⁷ "The Description of the Essenes in Josephus and the Philosophumena," *HUCA* 29 (1958) pp. 277-278.

⁸ *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (New York 1961) p. 8.

the historian's claim that he experimented with the Essene way of life at the age of sixteen⁹ claims that his account is not fully trustworthy because he was writing largely for non-Jews, so there is a large element of interpretation involved.

. . . the fact that the Scrolls are directed to internal use among the sectaries themselves, whereas Philo, Josephus, and Pliny wrote for non-Essenes and even largely for non-Jews, is bound to have affected the presentation of their material. Thus Josephus reports on the Essene abstinence from vows (though he knows of the vow taken on admission), and from animal sacrifice, and also on their frequent purificatory baths, with a view to presenting the sectaries as Jewish equivalents to the Pythagoreans, a much admired Hellenistic philisophico-religious group renowned for such practices.¹⁰

When Josephus was twenty-six he went to Rome on a mission to secure the release of certain priests who had been arrested on "a slight and trifling charge"¹¹ and sent there. Through his friendship with a popular actor he was introduced to Poppaea, the mistress of Nero, and was able to have the priests freed. Josephus was, by his account, in Rome in the year it burned and the Christians were persecuted, but he mentions neither. However, in the attempt to justify his subsequent actions he does say that he was very impressed with the military strength of the Romans as well as with their good fortune. When he returned to Jerusalem he found the revolutionary movement growing and tried to persuade the leaders of those set on rebellion of the futility of war against Rome. In his autobiography he claims that when he was unsuccessful in so persuading them, he, and others of like mind, had to hide their true feelings and join the rebellion to protect their lives.

After the defeat of the Roman governor to Syria, Cestius Gallus, who in 66 CE led an army against Jerusalem to put down the rebellion, Josephus was sent with two other priests to organize Galilee to be ready to meet whatever actions the Romans would take against that territory.

The historian has given two accounts of his own actions and related events in Galilee and they contain obvious contradictions. In the *Jewish War* he states that he was appointed to conduct war, but in the *Life* he says he was sent to pacify the inhabitants of the territory. Which account can one believe? Opinions have varied from

⁹ *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* (Philadelphia 1981) p. 125.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 129.

¹¹ *Life* 13.

that which claims that the *War* was written to conform to the official government version and therefore the *Life* presents the actual situation. In contrast others claim the account the *Life* is so clearly an attempt at self-justification that it should be discounted.

After leading the defence of Galilee for over six months, Josephus was eventually besieged by the Romans in a city called Jotapata where he subverted a suicide pact and surrendered to Vespasian. He then claims that while a prisoner he predicted that Vespasian would become Emperor. When the army did proclaim him Emperor, Josephus was remembered and made translator and advisor on Jewish affairs to Titus, Vespasian's son, who continued the war in Palestine. After the defeat of the rebels Josephus went to Rome with Titus and there received the patronage of the Flavian imperial family, was made a Roman citizen, and was given a pension. It is obvious that his personal interest in describing his military activities in Galilee changed over twenty years and this accounts for some of the discrepancies between the two. The problem is, however, very complex.

Of what interest would these reports, along with their contradictions, be to biblical scholars? These writings of Josephus have been one of the main sources from which it has been concluded that the whole of Galilee was a hot-bed of revolution at least since the days of a certain Judas and his clan who had opposed the Roman census in 6 CE.

Geza Vermes, following a theory proposed by Emil Schurer in *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus* (a theory also supported by Martin Hengel in *Die Zeloten*),¹² cites a long line of rebels beginning with the robber chief Hezekiah in the middle of the first century BCE to substantiate this portrait of Galilee. Hezekiah led a band which ravaged the territory on the borders of Syria. He was captured and in 47 BCE put to death by Herod, who was then governor of Galilee. His activities were carried on by his son Judas who, on the death of Herod, broke into the armory in Sepphoris and, using the weapons thus acquired, attacked others trying to seize power as Herod's successor. His actions were so vicious that he began a reign of terror in the area. By identifying this Judas with 'the Galilean' who led the revolt against the Romans at the time of the census of Quirinius and incited the people to resist Roman taxes and to recognize no foreign master, Vermes suggests that it is only a slight exaggeration to say that Galilee was the source of all revolutionary movements which disturbed the Romans. Judas the Galilean and a Pharisee named Zadok became co-founders of a politico-religious

¹² (Leiden 1961) pp. 57-61.

movement, that of the Zealots. While the family of Judas continued to play a leading part in the Zealot movement until the destruction of Jerusalem, Vermes claims it was not just a family business, but a wide-spread Galilean activity.¹³

The particular identification of Judas ben Hezekiah with Judas the Galilean has been disputed by others. Kirsopp Lake, for example, in 1929 said of Schurer's thesis:

Schurer's statement that Judas ben Hezekiah is "sicherlich" the same as Judas of Galilee seems . . . quite indefensible, except in so far as the use of "sicherlich" in theological writing indicates the combination of insufficient evidence with strongly held opinion.¹⁴

Furthermore, the alignment of these rebels with the particular party named the 'Zealots' has been disputed, and Lake, followed by Morton Smith,¹⁵ insisted that the Zealots as a distinct group appeared only in 66 CE.

All of these arguments, however, are over the identification of the Galilean rebels, but underlying them is a general assumption of a Galilean revolutionary ethos which formed the background against which the main thrust of Jesus' ministry was set.

In *Jesus and the Zealots*, for example, S. F. G. Brandon, following the work of Robert Eisler,¹⁶ gathers a great deal of evidence to try to show that Jesus, if not a member of the Zealot party, was at least aligned closely to their philosophy. He describes the influence of Jesus' early environment this way:

The suppression of Judas of Galilee and the scattering of his followers undoubtedly led to a withdrawal of the hard core of the Zealots to the desert areas of Judaea and Galilee. From such strongholds they probably conducted a guerrilla warfare against both the Romans and their Jewish collaborators in Judaea and the government of Herod Antipas in Galilee; for they would have had little respect or liking for the latter, who was a son of the hated Herod and owed his position to the Roman emperor. There is every reason, therefore, for assuming that Jesus, during his youth and early manhood, grew up with a close acquaintance of the Zealots and their aims and activities. In all probability the memory of Judas

¹³ *Jesus the Jew* (New York 1973) pp. 46-48.

¹⁴ *The Beginnings of Christianity* (London 1920) Part I, vol. 1, p. 424.

¹⁵ "Zealots and Sicarii, Their Origins and Relation," *HTR* 64 (1971) pp. 1-19.

¹⁶ *The Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist* (London 1931).

was treasured by the Galilaeans, who would have seen in him a martyr for the sacred cause of Israel's freedom. It is likely that many Galilaeans had taken part in the revolt of A.D. 6, and Jesus would have known some of the survivors and the families of those who had perished. To a Galilean boy or youth those martyred patriots would surely have been his heroes, and doubtless he would often have listened enthralled to tales of Zealot exploits against the hated Romans.¹⁷

Brandon concludes that Jesus seems to have differed from the Zealots because he "was more immediately concerned to attack the Jewish sacerdotal aristocracy than to embroil himself with the Romans."¹⁸ This difference, however, stemmed from the fact that he was primarily interested in preparing Israel for the coming of the kingdom of God. ". . . A bond of common sympathy surely united Jesus and his followers with those who sought to maintain the ideals of Judas of Galilee."¹⁹

Arguing from a self-consciously Marxist perspective, Heinz Kreisig maintains that Jesus and his followers were a group of counter-agitators working against the philosophy of the Judas-Zadok group. Jesus' political involvement, nonetheless, resulted from his growing up in a revolutionary Galilee.²⁰

Despite his description of Galilee as the centre of revolutionary ferment in first century Palestine, Vermes rejects the idea that Jesus was associated with the Zealot movement and seeks to locate him within the Galilean hasidic tradition as one of the holy miracle workers.²¹

Even those strongly opposed to the idea that Jesus himself acted from political motivations assume a Galilean revolutionary ethos as the background to his ministry. In *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*, C. H. Dodd has commented that behind certain references in the Gospel of John lie fragments of a whole range of facts remembered about the conflict in which Jesus met his death.

. . . in view of the permanent state of disaffection prevailing in Palestine, and particularly in Galilee, all through the period with which we are concerned, we can well believe that the mission of Jesus, in so far as it included a popular appeal

¹⁷ (New York 1967) p. 65.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 356.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 358.

²⁰ *Die Sozialen Zusammenhaenge des Juedaischen Krieges* (Berlin 1970) p. 121.

²¹ *Jesus the Jew*, p. 223.

to the Galilean masses, was in danger of becoming involved with such political disturbances.²²

W. D. Davies, in *The Gospel and the Land*, takes a similar position.

A living awareness on the part of Jesus of extreme nationalists, who have often, probably wrongly, been referred to as the Zealots, as if they already constituted a party of that name in the time of Jesus, was inevitable: they were a dynamic force in his world, especially in Galilee.²³

How viable is the assumption of a Galilean revolutionary ethos? A critical examination of Josephus' writings shows it to be highly tenuous.

First, the action of Judas the 'Galilean' is related by Josephus in connection with a census of the territory of the deposed Archelaus which was being incorporated into the Roman system of provincial administration. As Archelaus had controlled Judaea, the appeal of Judas to resist the census was an appeal to the Jews of Jerusalem and Judaea. Furthermore, in *Antiquities* 18.4 Josephus says that Judas was from Gamala on the Golan heights. Various reasons for identifying him as a Galilean have been suggested, but it must remain a question what his relationship to that particular territory was and whether he was, in fact, representative of a wide-spread Galilean attitude. Moreover, the fact that the people were persuaded to accept the census by the arguments of the high priest Joazar suggests that Judas did not have a great following. Josephus does not even give an account of the outcome of this revolt, but Acts 5:37 states: ". . . Judas the Galilean arose in the days of the census and drew away some of the people after him; he also perished, and all who followed him were scattered." Some have suggested that the appearance of this account in Acts means that Judas had led a revolt of significant size. Here, however, it is compared with the revolt of Theudas who had a following of about four hundred men. The revolt of Judas, then, may have been equally insignificant.

The picture of revolution that Josephus draws is one in which the movement, though built on long-standing economic and political dissatisfaction, burgeoned in the fifties and sixties. Even then it is difficult to assess the revolutionary spirit of Galilee. When Cestius was marching against Jerusalem in 66 he sent a force against Galilee. The majority of the people remained passive while a group of what the historian calls 'rebels and brigands' fled into the mountains.

²² (Cambridge University Press 1963) p. 217.

²³ (Berkeley 1974) p. 337.

Eventually 2000 of them were killed and only a few escaped.²⁴ When Josephus arrived in Galilee he states that there was general support for his efforts to fortify the territory, but his main backers appear to have been the peasants from the countryside and the villages. They wanted as much to sack Sepphoris, Tiberius, and Gabara, the three main cities of the area, as they wanted to fight the Romans. The dissatisfaction of the peasants, who may have owned their own land or have been tenant farmers or day labourers, was as much with the city aristocracy as it was with the Romans. Shayne Cohen has cited a number of studies which suggest that the situation in Galilee was one of city-country tension of which he says: "Peasants . . . had ample cause to hate the neighbouring large cities, the seats of the tax collectors and the large landowners."²⁵ The degree of the discontent is, however, difficult to assess. When the Romans arrived enthusiasm for war waned. When most of Galilee had been conquered and only Gischala in Upper Galilee remained unsubdued, Josephus says that the inhabitants ". . . were inclined to peace, being mainly agricultural labourers, whose whole attention was devoted to the prospects of the crops. . . ."²⁶ When all the territory had been retaken, the Romans made little effort to punish the Jews of the area, another fact which suggests a half-hearted rebellion.

As Sean Freyne has pointed out in his important study *Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian 323 B.C.E to 135 C.E.*²⁷ the assumption of a Galilean revolutionary ethos in the first century has been greatly exaggerated, particularly for the time of Jesus. While it is possible that the Galilean crowds did respond politically to Jesus' teaching, the nature of the response is obscure. That Jesus rejected the assumption that he was the leader of a political movement is clear from his teachings as well as from the gospel accounts of his reaction to the expectation of individual disciples. Freyne concludes:

. . . no such revolutionary ethos comes clearly into focus in the ministry of Jesus, despite occasional pockets here and there. This explains the apparent indifference of Jesus to the concerns of the revolutionaries, both in the images he chose to illustrate his message and the choice and constitution of his intimate band of followers.²⁸

²⁴ *JW* 2. 510-512

²⁵ *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a Historian* (Leiden 1979) p. 208, n. 51.

²⁶ *JW* 4. 84.

²⁷ (University of Notre Dame 1980).

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 229.

As charges of sedition, however, led to the crucifixion of Jesus, it is important to note that the locus of both the charges and the action by those in authority was Jerusalem. Freyne indicates the importance of this fact:

. . . we can say that Jerusalem rather than Galilee was the focal point of resistance -- even for Galileans. This helps to underline the religious aspect of all resistance to Rome in the first century . . . Galilee and Galileans were not so isolated from attitudes elsewhere to have been unaffected by strong nationalistic feelings, at least on the occasion of the great feasts and the pilgrimages, and as we suggested, there must have been many shades of opinion as to how these feelings could best be implemented. One suspects that country people were likely to react spasmodically and in a disorganized way, if only because they were cut off from each other in the isolation of village communities. A wandering prophet-like figure such as Jesus, was likely to draw together many such disparate strands, and the religious-apocalyptic tone of his language could easily have been interpreted in political terms by those with such hopes and expectations.²⁹

Interpretations of the gospels which are based on the assumption of a Galilean revolutionary context for the development and ministry of Jesus, it seems to me, need to be carefully assessed in the light of Josephus' evidence.

Let me now turn to an entirely different topic relating to the use of Josephus' writings by biblical scholars: the study of the text and interpretation of the Hebrew Bible.

In *Antiquities* 1.17 the historian describes what he intends to do with the biblical history of the Jews:

The precise details of our Scripture records will, then, be set forth, each in its place, as my narrative proceeds, that being the procedure that I have promised to follow throughout this work, neither adding nor omitting anything.

The final comment that he will neither add nor omit anything is patently wrong and various scholars have noted that his contemporaries who were acquainted with either the Hebrew or Greek text would have been well aware of this fact. What then could he have meant by the statement? One theory is that this was a traditional and meaningless Greek technique for affirming the writer's accuracy; such statements are found in Thucydides and Dionysius of

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 228.

Halicarnassus. Louis Feldman has noted, however, that it is not necessary to look for a Greek model for Josephus' statement since Deuteronomy 4:2 says: "You shall not add to the word which I command you, not take from it; that you may keep the commandments of the Lord your God which I command you." In other words, Josephus may have understood the phrase halachically rather than textually.³⁰

Moreover, Feldman has proposed that Josephus included in his reference to 'Scripture' not only the written Bible but Jewish tradition.

In fact, there has been a great deal of discussion as to which biblical text or texts he used. It is unclear whether he used a Hebrew text, but his priestly background would make this likely in my view. What Aramaic Targumim might have been available is unknown. There are many points of similarity with the LXX and Thackeray went so far as to try to identify a particular text tradition. In the introduction to the Cambridge critical edition of *The Old Testament in Greek* Thackeray declared the following:

With the books of Samuel . . . Josephus becomes a witness of first-rate importance for the text of the Greek Bible. Throughout the Octateuch he appears to have been mainly dependent for his Biblical matter upon a Semitic source, whether Hebrew or Aramaic . . . Throughout the later historical books, on the other hand, his main source is a Greek Bible containing a text closely allied to that of the "Lucianic" group of MSS., but anterior by more than two centuries to the date of Lucian, and presenting in I Sam. occasional parallels with the text of Symmachus. . . . Besides this Greek Bible the historian still apparently employs a Semitic text as a collateral source. His use of a two-fold text renders his evidence somewhat uncertain.³¹

Despite this last mentioned uncertainty, Josephus is then cited as a witness to text variants in the critical apparatus. Aside from this work by Thackeray, most scholars have concluded that Josephus' work is a paraphrase of the Bible and of little help in determining the text of either the Hebrew or the Greek.

The importance of his writings for the study of the Hebrew Bible seems to me to lie in two areas: 1) the history of biblical interpretation, and 2) variant traditions which may elucidate the nature of meaning of parts of the biblical text itself.

³⁰ *Josephus and Modern Scholarship*, p. 123.

³¹ (Cambridge 1927) p. ix.

Josephus undertook a major presentation of the biblical account for Greek readers. He omitted what was unnecessary or embarrassing and he made additions largely, it seems, for explication and dramatization. He invented numbers -- many of which are absurd -- to fill in gaps in the narrative. He reorganized material by bringing into juxtaposition items which belong together on the basis of subject matter regardless of chronology or source. Many of these modifications were determined by stylistic criteria, but others seem to be directed toward resolving theological difficulties posed by the text. He is, however, inconsistent in his theology, and he sometimes contradicts himself.

Many specific examples could be cited to illustrate the way in which the *Antiquities* is a major source for understanding the nature of biblical exegesis in the first century. A growing number of studies have been directed toward this issue. However, I wish to end this presentation not with an example of this type of study, but rather with one of my own which shows how Josephus' writings, particularly when used in conjunction with newly discovered materials, can, I think, illuminate the meaning of the biblical text itself.

In Numbers 12:1 we find the following statement: "Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses because of the Cushite woman whom he had married, for he had married a Cushite woman." Who was Moses' Cushite wife?

The reference to Moses having married a Cushite woman has generally been placed by biblical scholars alongside the various traditions about a non-Israelite wife. As there is considerable confusion between references in Ex. 2:18-21 (Zipporah, daughter of Reul, a priest of Midian), Ex. 3:1 (daughter of Jethro, a priest of Midian), Jud. 4:11 and 1:16 (daughter of Hobab the Kenite), and Num. 10:29 (daughter of Hobab the Midianite), the Cushite wife has been considered just one more element of this confused tradition. It was already considered a problem in late antiquity because Sifre on Numbers sought to identify this Cushite with Zipporah by referring to Hab. 3:7 where a place called 'Cushan' is juxtaposed with Midian. Demetrius, a Jew writing in Greek during the reign of Ptolemy IV (222-205 BCE) formulated the genealogy of Abraham and Keturah to show that Zipporah and the Cushite were the same woman.³² In contrast, the LXX understood the woman to be an Ethiopian and the Targum ps. Jonathan even refers to her as 'queen' of Cush.

In recent times the tradition has been regarded as a later insertion into the main story in which Miriam and Aaron challenged Moses' right to be considered God's only spokesman. G. B. Gray³³

³² Cf. B. Z. Wacholder, *Eupolemus* (Cincinnati 1974) p.100.

³³ *Numbers* (ICC, New York 1906) pp. 121-122.

suspected that it had been inserted by an editor rather than by the author of the main story in Numbers 12. He reached this conclusion both because the reference seems disconnected from the rest of the story and because the identification of marriage with a foreigner as the grounds for offence belongs to a period, such as the time of Ezra, in which exclusiveness was important. Martin Noth, in commenting on this Numbers tradition,³⁴ suggested that the reference pertains to some unknown historical controversies at a period much later than the Exodus, which were transposed back into the Mosaic period by using the personification of the Cushite wife. The details of these controversies are now obscure; it is no longer clear where the author even found this motif of the reproach against Moses' Cushite marriage.³⁵ Noth further stated that the Cush mentioned in this passage can hardly be a reference to the country on the southern boundary of Egypt -- which the name generally signifies in the Hebrew Bible -- because this was a country far removed from Moses' area of activity.

I should mention that the Hebrew (and Egyptian) 'Cush' or the Greek 'Ethiopia' from the Persian through the Greco-Roman period referred to the area south of the first cataract (Aswan) at least as far as Khartum. Meroe, a city between the fifth and sixth cataracts, rivalled the earlier capital of Napata and seems to have become the political capital sometime after 538 BCE.³⁶

It appears to me that both Gray and Noth are right in identifying this as a late tradition which has been inserted into the Numbers story. Moreover, it is possible that the tradition arose in the Persian period and the controversies mentioned by Noth are to be associated with those controversies between the Jewish military colonies in upper Egypt and the Jerusalem temple establishment which appear in the Elephantine papyri. What evidence is there to support such a proposal?

A certain Artapanus, probably an Alexandrian Jew, writing about 200 BCE, told a story about Moses leading an Egyptian army against the Ethiopians when they tried to invade the country. In this story Artapanus has clearly cast Moses in the role of a Greek military hero. It is likely, however, that Artapanus was using an oral tradition about Moses which was already common in the Jewish military colonies which we know existed in Egypt at least from the time of the Persians.³⁷

³⁴ *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Englewood Cliffs 1972) p. 127.

³⁵ *Numbers* (Philadelphia 1968) p. 93.

³⁶ Cf. Dows Dunham, "Notes on the History of Kush 850 B.C.-A.D. 350," *AJA* 50 (1946) pp. 378-388.

³⁷ Artapanus' version of the story is found in Eusebius *FE IX*. 27.

In *Antiquities* 2. 238-257 Josephus has also included a story about Moses leading a military campaign against the Ethiopians. Part of this story is about Moses' siege of the capital city of Ethiopia which he says was called Saba -- but later named Meroe by Cambyses. The city was finally taken because Tharbis, the daughter of the king, fell in love with Moses and agreed to surrender it as part of a marriage pact. A number of scholars have suggested that Josephus told this story to provide an explanation for Numbers 12:1.

The tradition of an Egyptian military campaign led by Moses against the Ethiopians is more likely to have arisen in Egypt than in Palestine.³⁸ Even though a version of the story is extant only from the time of Artapanus, it not necessary to conclude that the origin was with the Jewish inhabitants of Alexandria, or even as late as the Hellenistic period. While Jewish mercenaries were employed by the Ptolemies to garrison the border areas of Egypt, they had earlier been used by the Persians and from that time were settled in fortifications from Migdal on the north-eastern border to Syene in the south.³⁹ What degree of interaction there was between these Jews in Egypt and those in Palestine is unknown except that relations with the Jerusalem establishment do seem to have been strained according to *Cowley Papyrus* #30. Certainly, the fact that Moses was cast in the role of a general leading a successful campaign against the Ethiopians suggests that a military colony would be a likely place of origin. How important the picture of a clever general would have been for the self-esteem of these soldiers during the Persian period is unknown, but Martin Hengel has drawn attention to the importance of this image in the Hellenistic era: "The superiority of the Graeco-Macedonian monarchies over the 'barbarians' lay above all in the technical perfection of the way in which they waged war, beginning with pre-military training in the gymnasium, and progressing through tactics and strategy to the techniques of laying siege."⁴⁰ The continuing existence of the 'military tradition' about Moses suggests that the considerable number of Jewish mercenaries in the Persian and Greek armies must have profoundly influenced Jewish ideas about what characteristics were necessary for a national hero such as Moses. Moreover, the tradition of the Cushite wife is also in line with Egyptian royal traits being attached to the Moses legend since Egyptian pharaohs did take Nubian wives to give themselves Nubian legitimacy

³⁸ T. Rajak, "Moses in Ethiopia: Legend and Literature," *JJS* 29 (1978) pp. 114-115.

³⁹ Cf. J. Harmatta, "Irano-Aramaica: zur Geschichte des fruehhellenistischen Judentums in Aegypten," *AAH* 7 (1959) pp. 337-409.

⁴⁰ *Judaism and Hellenism* (Philadelphia 1974) I, p. 13.

as can be noted from the queen's temple at Abu Simbel. This must have been well-known to Jewish mercenaries located at Elephantine or used in Nubian campaigns.

While Josephus has clearly drawn on Greek geographical references to describe the Ethiopian territory, the fact that he identified the city of Meroe with Saba connects his story to an old biblical tradition related to the identification of the Queen of Sheba as queen of Egypt and Ethiopia.⁴¹ In Is. 43:3 there is the association of a 'Seba' with Cush; in Gen. 10:7 (= I Chron. 1:9) Seba is identified as one of the sons of Cush and Sheba is a grandson. Josephus here relies on a Palestinian tradition, but it too may have originated in the military colonies of Egypt. Perhaps beginning with the use by Assurbanipal of Manasseh's forces in his military campaign against Egypt, Nubia, and Cush (information which is found in the records of that Assyrian king) as well as the fact that there was a Persian military colony of Jewish mercenaries in Elephantine, it seems reasonable to suppose that there were 'Ethiopian traditions' circulating in Palestinian circles. II Cron. 14:8-14, which describes an invasion of Judaea by Zerah the Cushite during the reign of Asa, may also be one of these 'Ethiopian traditions'.

The story of Moses' Ethiopian campaign and marriage with the princess, it appears to me, had its origins in the Jewish military colonies of Persian Egypt and was transmitted from there to Palestine. A kernel of this tradition has found its way into Numbers 12:1, in some way representing the conflict between these military colonies and the Palestine religious establishment. In other words, Numbers 12:1 and Josephus' story represent the same tradition; the historian was not writing an explanation of the biblical passage. If such a conclusion is viable for this small problem, then the work of the Jewish historian may be a useful source for clarifying other obscure biblical passages.

I have tried to illustrate for you some ways in which the writings of Josephus have been important for biblical scholarship. Each generation puts its own questions to its sources, but the appropriate questions are those which fall within the intentions of the sources, and the answers must consider all the evidence. I hope that I have shown examples of both legitimate and illegitimate uses of the works of this Jewish historian because I think they are a paradigm for the way we use, and misuse, all our sources from the past.

⁴¹ *AJ* 8. 159, 165.

CSBS/SCEB ANNUAL MEETING, 1984

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

1. Ian J. Kagedan (University of Winnipeg) "Hosea's Jacob Revisited".

Among the many scholars who have reflected on Hosea's usage of the Jacob legends is H. L. Ginsberg who has argued (*JBL* 80, (1961), 339-347) that Hosea, through his reflections in Hos 12 on the Jacob corpus, suggests that his Ephraim is "more fool than knave", i.e., even more foolish in their behaviour than namesake Jacob/Israel himself. We would argue that Hos 13: 1-2 continues this theme of Hos 12 and makes further use of the Jacob corpus to articulate the prophet's views. The key phrase in our discussion is *glm ysawn*, "they kiss calves," in Hos 13:2b.

2. Robert C. Culley (McGill University) "The Spies, Rahab, and the Fall of Jerico: The Nature of Text".

Joshua 1-11 tells about the conquest of the promised land. It is in the form of a narrative or story yet has a number of remarkable features. Joshua 2 and 6 will be used as a starting point for a discussion of the nature of text, and this will be done in the light of some recent discussions of these narratives.

3. Sven K. Soderlund (Regent College) "The Long and the Short of It: The Test of Jeremiah in Recent Scholarship".

Ever since Origen it has been well known that the Hebrew and Greek texts of Jeremiah contain "many instances" of divergencies as well as "much transposition and variation in the readings of the prophecies" (*Letter to Africanus*). In the course of the centuries scholars have offered numerous explanations for these phenomena, but the issue has been debated with fresh intensity and new perspectives in the post-Qumran era. The paper gives a review and critique of the most important of recent contributions to this age-old problem.

4. Lyle Eslinger (University of Calgary) "Theology and Narrative Perspective in Exodus 1-19".

From its inception the story of Israel's exodus from Egypt has been seen as a symbol of hope for oppressed individuals and groups. The rabbis said that when someone reads the story it is as though (s)he too stands at Mt. Sinai ready to receive the consequent demands of God. The Bible itself contains numerous examples of reflection on the exodus, in which the event is regarded as a triumph for God and

for the rescued people (e.g. Deut 4:20, 32-37; I Sam 12:8; Ps 114). With few exceptions this triumphalistic interpretation has also determined readers' understanding of Exod 1-19. The question is, does that narrative itself present a triumphalistic portrait of the event? The answer, suggested by an investigation of the literary phenomena collectively called "point of view", is that the overall narrative perspective given by the so called "omniscient" narrator of Exod 1-19 is anything but triumphal. The method by which this conclusion is drawn is essentially "close reading"; the theoretical framework for the reading is a synthesis of comparative narrative theory and the work already done on Hebrew narrative technique. The object of the study is twofold: to improve our understanding of the role of the biblical narrator, and consequently, to sketch the theological implications of a non-triumphal exodus narrative.

5. Charles P. Anderson (University of British Columbia) "Why did the Spirit forbid Paul to speak the Word in Asia?"

According to Acts 16:6, on his so-called second missionary journey, Paul was prevented by the Spirit from "speaking the word" in Asia. It is argued in this paper that it was Paul's policy of not missionizing in cities already evangelized that kept him from pursuing a mission in the cities along the highway west from Pisidian Antioch, and that (Jewish) Christian cells had already been established in at least some of those cities, quite apart from any organized mission emanating either from Antioch or Jerusalem.

6. Allison A. Trites (Acadia Divinity College) "The Use of the Old Testament in Luke's Gospel: A Preliminary Inquiry".

There are a number of works on the general subject of the use of the Old Testament in the New. These are generally restricted to specific themes, such as Bruce's book, *The New Testament Development of Old Testament Themes* and Lindars' *New Testament Apologetic*. However, neither book seeks to explain how a New Testament author used the Old Testament in the construction of his gospel or epistle. The purpose of this paper will be to deal with the question as it affects the gospel of Luke, paying special attention to Luke's use of Isaiah and the Psalms.

7. Terry L. Donaldson (College of Emmanuel and St. Chad) "The Curse of the Law and the Inclusion of the Gentiles (Gal. 3:13f)".

Unlike many of his Jewish-Christian contemporaries, Paul appears to have moved easily and directly from his "conversion" experience to the belief that the Gentiles were to be included in salvation. While attempts have been made to explain this on the basis either of Paul's

pre-Christian experience or of pre-Pauline developments within the Hellenistic church, in Gal. 3:13f (and elsewhere, e.g., Rom 3:21-31) Paul himself seems to view the inclusion of the Gentiles as a necessary implication of the gospel of "Christ crucified". The purpose of this paper is to explore the peculiar Pauline logic that leads from "cross" to "Gentiles" in Gal. 3:13f, and thereby to shed further light on the origin of this aspect of Paul's thought.

8. Paul Gooch (Scarborough College) "'Conscience' in Corinth".

Paul appeals to *suneidesis* eight times in I Corinthians 8 and 10 in connection with the eating of food offered to idols. The word is always translated 'conscience', but there are problems in reading the texts with the fully developed moral concept of conscience in mind. (1) There is a logical difficulty: what does it mean to 'build up' a weak 'conscience' (8.10) with the result that it is wrong for the weak to do something not in itself wrong? Precisely what is it that is weak, wounded, polluted, built up? (2) There is a moral difficulty in that the weaker 'conscience' seems to determine the rightness or wrongness of actions for the stronger (10.29).

On the first difficulty, this paper considers suggestions from C. A. Pierce (*Conscience in the New Testament*, 1955) and C. S. Lewis (*Studies in Words*, 1967, ch. 8) that *suneidesis* might best be seen as a bad feeling about the self rather than as internal lawgiver. It comes to a similar conclusion (by qualifying Thrall, *NTS* 14) but confesses difficulties about a uniform translation throughout chs. 8 and 10. On the second issue the paper rejects Pierce's understanding of Paul's advice on eating idol meat, finding that it is not supported by the text and is itself internally inconsistent.

9. Eileen M. Schuller (Atlantic School of Theology) "4Q 380 and 4Q 381: Two Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 4".

Although both 4Q 380 and 4Q 381 are in very fragmentary shape, it is clear that these are both collections of psalmic texts. All of the psalms preserved are non-Massoretic, and not known from other translations, as far as I have been able to ascertain. The headings, patterned after the biblical model, attribute these psalms to such biblical figures as Manasseh, Obadiah, the Man of God, etc. In language, content, and style these seem to be compositions of the post-exilic period, but they do not share the distinctive vocabulary and theology of the Qumran community.

10. B. Barry Levy (McGill University) "Fixing the Hebrew Bible Text in and since the Sixteenth Century".

Most scholarly discussion of fixing the Bible text centres on the

consonants, assumed to be in their massoretic form by the second century. Little attention has been directed at the fixing of the *matres lectionis*, but scribes and rabbinic scholars were frequently confronted by contradictory evidence on the spellings of certain words and offered varying appraisals of the relative value of the orthographic models found in Torah scrolls, massoretic codices, and early rabbinic testimony (as reflected in talmudic, midrashic, and zoharic statements). This presentation will focus on the resolution of this conflict by David Ibn Abi Zimra, a sixteenth century Egyptian rabbinic authority whose statements offer important insights into the dynamic nature of this problem as it relates to the study and printing of and the reliance on massoretic material during his lifetime and since.

11. Harold Remus (Wilfred Laurier University) "Prophet and Non-Prophet: Moses and Balaam in Philo's *Vita Mosis*".

For Philo the great Hebrew hero is the ideal king, and his explicit purpose is to present Moses as such -- the answer to the Hellenistic age's longings and hopes for such a ruler. For Philo, however, one of the necessary aspects of such kingship is prophecy, and he devotes considerable space to portraying Moses as prophet. But then might not some of Philo's contemporaries in Alexandria lump Moses together with the soothsayers and diviners encountered on the streets of the city? Philo's larger-than-life portrait of Moses would serve to lay such slanders to rest, but Philo provides a foil to Moses -- Balaam, the mercenary technician. A comparison of Philo's portraits of these two figures reveals affinities with contemporary conceptions of religious leaders and thaumaturges and affords some insight into Philo's thought and social world and the Alexandrian Judaism of his day.

12. John Sandys-Wunsch (Thorneloe College) "In Praise of the Fathers . . . C. F. Ammon (1766-1850)".

C. F. Ammon is not exactly a well remembered theologian, but he did write one of the first biblical theologies in the modern sense of the term. What he wrote is now of historical interest only, but why he wrote it is still a question worth considering, for his underlying assumptions were not essentially different from those of many modern exegetes. This paper, then, will attempt to describe how Ammon tried to work out a biblical theology starting from an Enlightenment-influenced religious position.

13. John W. Miller (Conrad Grebel College) "Depatriarchalizing God in Biblical Interpretation: A Critique".

Phyliss Tribble's widely accepted argument that there is a

"depatriarchalizing principle" at work in the Bible that subverts the assumption that God is uniformly portrayed there as father is itself based on questionable assumptions about biblical patriarchy and the meaning of the texts she discusses. Patriarchy has to do not simply with male versus female roles, but with the role of the father, and the prominence given to God as father in the Bible is not less but greater than generally recognized. Furthermore, when attributing feminine or maternal qualities to God, it cannot be assumed that the biblical texts imply that God ceases thereby to be thought of as father and is thought of as female or mother instead. A more nuanced understanding of biblical metaphor is required if the uniqueness of the biblical rendering of God as father is to be fully appreciated.

14. Pamela J. Milne (University of Manitoba) "Folktales and Fairy Tales: Joseph Blenkinsopp, Jack Sasson, and the Proppian Analysis of Ancient Near Eastern Texts".

In recent years, as part of an interest in the synchronic analysis of texts, some biblical scholars have explored the viability of using Vladimir Propp's model of the narrative structure of fairy tales to describe the structure of biblical and other ancient Near Eastern texts. This paper examines the work of two such scholars to evaluate how Propp's model has been used. It argues that there are serious flaws in both Blenkinsopp's and Sasson's understanding and application of the model and it offers suggestions about how such models can be used more accurately.

15. Paul E. Dion (University of Toronto) "Formulaic Language in the Book of Job".

The work of Parry and Lord on the use of set expressions in the oral composition of epic literature provided W. Whallon in the sixties and W. J. Urbrock in the seventies with a new key for the analysis of *Job*. In the present paper, crucial distinctions will be applied to the examples collected by those writers and more expressions, whose formulaic character is revealed by parallels taken from *other* literatures of the ancient Near East, will be added to their corpus. It would seem indeed that specific contacts with Akkadian or Ugaritic, which have been interpreted in terms of literary influence or left unexplained, should be understood as borrowings from an international stock of poetic phrases.

*Report of the Treasurer (Dr. D. J. Fox) to the
1984 Annual Meeting of CSBS*

Attached to this report is the financial statement of the Society for the year ending April 30th, 1984, along with the statement of the auditor, Mr. James T. Marquis.

Through the generosity of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Society received two grants during the past year: (1) \$3935.00, which assisted twenty-six of our members with their travel expenses to the 1983 meeting in Vancouver, and (2) \$2835.75 to assist the executive with its travel, secretarial, and printing expenses. We are grateful to SSHRC for these grants.

The past year has seen an increase in the Society's subscription rate for *Studies in Religion*. We now pay \$12 per full member (in 1983, the rate was \$10, and in 1982 and previous years it was \$6). Our dues to the Canadian Federation for the Humanities were increased to \$5 per full-time faculty member (\$3 in previous years).

Due to the generosity of some members of the Society, the Prize Essay Fund enjoyed an increase of about 120%. Our balance now stands at \$4077.61. Part of this amount has been designated to support a Joachim Jeremias Prize and part has been given to honour R. B. Y. Scott in the Essay Fund. We hope that many more members of CSBS will contribute to this fund. All donations are tax deductible.

We now have one hundred and seventy-three members. All our members have full voting privileges, but in terms of the present schedule of dues they are as follows (the figures for 1983 are in brackets):

Life members	7	(7)
Full members	121	(116)
Dual members	21	(22)
Student members	24	(23)
Total	173	(168)

While our financial year ends on April 30th, our membership dues cover the calendar year and are collected in the autumn of each preceding year. The first notice for the renewal of memberships for 1985 will be sent out during the first week of October. I would appeal to all members to respond promptly to that notice.

Submitted by Douglas J. Fox, Treasurer, CSBS.

CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES
FINANCIAL STATEMENT

MAY 1, 1983 - APRIL 30, 1984

CURRENT ACCOUNT

Receipts

Balance, May 1, 1983	\$1439.79
Annual Meeting Travel Grant from SSHRC (May 1983)	3935.00
Executive Grant from SSHRC (1983/84)	2835.75
Members' Dues	3205.00
US Exchange	23.28
Refund from SR	10.00
Grant from Simon Fraser University (for Annual Dinner)	315.90
Annual Dinner Subscriptions	450.00
	\$12214.72

Expenditures

Travel Grant to Members	\$3935.00
Executive Travel	2091.22
Executive Expenses	173.20
Printing and Mailing Bulletin	410.69
Prize Essay	100.00
Printing and Mailing (U of T)	200.00
CCSR Dues	72.00
Annual Dinner	765.90
Postage	238.41
Subscription to S.R.	1894.00
*Transfer to Savings	184.10
Canadian Federation for the Humanities Dues	1575.00
	\$10639.52
BANK BALANCE (as of April 30, 1984)	\$1575.20

*NOTE: Transfer to Savings Account for \$184.10 made in error on January 11, 1984. Corrected on May 22, 1984. Actual Current Account balance is \$1759.30.

SPECIAL SAVINGS ACCOUNT

(for Prize Essay Fund)

Receipts

Balance, May 1, 1983	\$1850.98
Donations	1962.10
Bank Interest	1264.53
	\$4077.61
BANK BALANCE (as of April 30, 1984)	4261.71
Difference	\$184.10*

*NOTE: Deposit on January 11, 1984 for \$184.10 transferred from Current Account in error, corrected on May 22, 1984.

I have examined the Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies, as at April 30, 1984.

My examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests and other procedures as I considered necessary in the circumstances. In my opinion, these statements present fairly the financial transactions and the position of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies as at April 30, 1984, and except as noted above, are in accordance with the books of account.

AUDITOR

J.T. Marquis
May 22, 1984

Statements, Invoices from July 1980 to April 30, 1983 were checked in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, but as this was past history no audit was carried out.

CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES EXECUTIVE 1984

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MEMBERSHIP NEWS

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- , "The Ascension," *The Atlantic Baptist*, April 1984.
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CURRENT RESEARCH

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- , "The Role of Language in Ancient Israelite Perceptions of National Identity." Forthcoming in *JBL*.
- , "The Period of the Judges: Religious disintegration in Pre-Monarchic Israel." To be published in R.K. Harrison Festschrift.
- , *The Book of Ezekiel*. Major commentary in New International Commentary on the Old Testament.
- , "God and the Pouring out of the Holy Spirit on Israel." Article.
- , Several projects translating German works into English.
- Ceresko, A.R. "A Rhetorical Analysis of David's Boast (1 Sam 17:34-37): Some Reflections on Method." forthcoming in *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, January, 1985.
- , "The ABC's of Wisdom in Psalm 34." Forthcoming in *Vetus Testamentum*.
- , "Recent Study of Hebrew Poetry: Implications for Theology and Worship." Forthcoming in *Toronto Journal of Theology*.
- Clarke, E.G. Sabbatical 1984-85. Working on Palestinian Aramaic and a new critical edition to Targum Koheleth.
- Dion, P.E. "Formulaic Language in the Book of Job: International Background and Ironic Distortions." Conference Paper presented to CSBS, Guelph, 1984.
- , "Israel et l'etranger dans le Deuteronomie: quelques remarques." Conference Paper presented to Colloque "L'Alterite", College Dominicain de Philosophie et de Theologie, Ottawa, October, 1984.
- Farris, S. The Relationship of the Concepts of Blessing and Consecration, with special reference to early Eucharistic texts.
- , The Gloria in Excelsis, Luke 2:14.
- , The Tradition of the Flight to Pella.
- Halpern, B. Israelite historiography.
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- , The development of Israelite monotheism.
- Hawkin, D.J. *Christ and Modernity: Christian Self-Understanding in a Technological Age*. Book to be published in *SR* Supplement Series by WLU Press in 1985.

- Gooch, Paul W. "Conscience' in I Corinthians 8 and 10". CSBS Guelph, May 1984, forthcoming in *NTS* 1987 (?).
- , "Two Problems of Evil, to be read at the Society of Christian Philosophers, Eastern Division Meeting, Western Kentucky University, March 1985.
- , "Margaret, Bottom, Paul and the Inexpressible, to be read to the centre for Religious Studies, University of Toronto, March, 1985.
- Horsnell, M.J.A. "Biblical Interpretation and the future of Evangelicalism." Conference Paper presented to Evangelical Theological Society, 36th Annual Meeting, Chicago, December 13, 1984.
- Hurtado, L.W. *One God, One Lord: The Shape of Early Christian Piety and Ancient Jewish Monotheism*. Manuscript in progress during 1984-1985 sabbatical.
- , "Revelation 4-5 in the Light of Jewish Apocalyptic Analogies." forthcoming in *JSNT*.
- Jeffrey, D.L. "John Wyclif's Hermeneutic." forthcoming in *Interpretation* 40, 1985.
- , Continuing work as General Editor for *The Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature*. (Eerdmans)
- , Commentary on Ezekiel.
- Kagedan, I.J. "Theocracy in the Ancient Near East," with particular focus on Mesopotamia and Israel.
- Kampen, J. "The Hasideans in the Books of the Maccabees." Conference Paper presented to SBL, Dallas, 1983.
- , "After the Qumranic Torah: Matthew and Qumran Reexamined." Conference Paper presented to SBL, Chicago, 1984.
- Kloppenborg, J.S. "Q as a non-canonical gospel." forthcoming in *Semia*.
- , "Torah radicalism or wisdom in Q."
- , "Q and Antique Saying Genres." Conference Paper presented at SBL, 1984, Q-Consultation.
- Morrow, W.S. "The Date of the Aramaic Script of the Statue from Tell Fakhiriyah." Conference Paper presented to the Aramaic Section of SBL, 1984.
- Olshen, B.N. *Approaches to Teaching the Hebrew Bible as Literature*. A volume in the Modern Language Association's series "Approaches to Teaching Masterpieces of World Literature". Manuscript due Fall, 1985.
- Pettem, Michael A. "Le premier récit de la multiplication des pains et le problème synoptique", *Studies in Religion* 14 (forthcoming).

- Richardson, P. "From Apostles to Virgins: Romans 16 and the Roles of Women in Early Christianity." Chicago, October, 1984.
- , "Streeter Revisited: Proto-Luke and the Pauline Mission." For SNTS, Basel, August, 1984.
- , "Jerusalem, City of Peace." For University College Symposium, January, 1985.
- Rook, J. Compiling a Greek Workbook in cooperation with Dr. Patrick Gray, York University (Patristics Scholar) and Ms. Kathy Root (Graduate Student).
- Rollmann, H. Working on following MSS: *William Wrede: Leben und Werk* (vol. 2); *Ernst Stadler* (Rowohl Verlag); *Religion in Newfoundland and Labrador: A Reader*.
- Sanders, E.P. *Jesus and Judaism*, SCM/Fortress, 1985 (February 1).
- Scobie, C.H.H., Canonical Criticism.
- , The Structure of Biblical Theory.
- Trites, A.A. Church Growth in the book of Acts.
- , The Transfiguration in the Theology of Luke.
- Westerholm, S. "Bultmann and His Critics." For CSBS Torah/Nomos Seminar.
- Yee, G.A. "The Final Redaction of Hosea 1-3: The Story of Hosea's Marriage." Conference Paper to be presented at SBL Upper Midwest Regional Conference, 1985.
- , Busch Foundation Grant for research and writing on the Literary Device of Ambiguity in 2 Sam 11: The David and Bathsheba Story.

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- Jeffrey, D.L.
Editorial Board, *SEMEIA* (1984-1985).
- Kagedan, I.J.
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THESES AND DISSERTATIONS

- Farris, S. "The Hymns of Luke's Infancy Narratives: Their Origin, Meaning, and Significance." (Dissertation in progress.)
- Kloppenborg, J.S. "The Literary Genre of the Synoptic Sayings Source." (Ph.D. dissertation completed, 1984. University of St. Michael's College/Toronto School of Theology.)
- Matties, G.H. "Ethics in the Book of Ezekiel". (Dissertation in Progress).
- Morrow, W.S. "The Composition of Deuteronomy 14:1-17:1." (Dissertation in progress.)
- Rook, J. "Studies in the Book of Jubilees: The Themes of Calendar, Genealogy, and Chronology." (Ph.D. dissertation completed 1984. University of Oxford.)
- Yee, G.A. "Composition and Tradition in the Book of Hosea." (Ph.D. dissertation completed.)

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