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SENNACHERIB'S EXPEDITION TO PALESTINE[1]

Paul E. Dion

In 705 Sargon II, the founder of the most famous dynasty of ancient Mesopotamia, died on the battlefield in the Anatolian country of Tabal.[2] According to Isa 14, a poem secondarily applied to a king of Babylon (v 4), Sargon's fall was heard in the very depths of Sheol and roused the Rephaim into sarcastic rejoicing. The same news was heard among the recently subdued lands forming much of his empire, as well as in the camps of the Nubian masters of Egypt and the Chaldean tribes of southern Babylonia.

Both of these major opponents of Assyria may have had a hand in Hezekiah's long-meditated rebellion against Sargon's successor. 2 Kgs 20:12-19, written in the light of the destruction of Jerusalem in 587, narrates a kindly visit of Babylonian envoys to the diseased Hezekiah, just too willing to show off his resources. Since Merodach-Baladan, the old champion of Babylonian independence, rose again early in 703 and was not really put down until 700,[3] it seems legitimate to speculate that a more directly political gesture is at the root of 2 Kgs 20:12-19.[4] As for the complicity of Egypt, 2 Kgs 19:9a agrees with the Annals of Sennacherib[5] on the intervention of an Egypto-Nubian relief force against the Assyrian invasion, and oracles of Isaiah such as 18:1-2,4; 30:1-5,6b-8; 31:1-3 voice the prophet's disapproval of the Egyptian alliance.[6]

Thanks principally to the Annals of Sennacherib, we are also informed on Hezekiah's role as ring leader of a Palestinian coalition. It is edifying to see him in league with Sidqa' of Ashkelon, apparently a usurper,[7] and with a revolutionary junta that seized power in Eqrone and sent its deposed king to Jerusalem for custody.[8]

On the northern front, one can well believe the efforts to win the allegiance of the survivors of Israel ascribed to Hezekiah in 2 Chr 30. An influx of northern refugees seems a reasonable explanation for the expansion of Jerusalem to form the Mishneh district on the western hill (2 Kgs 22:14; Zeph 1:10), a development confirmed by Avigad's discovery of a segment of a massive wall in the west part of the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem.[9]

In Judah, the much-debated jars bearing the royal stamp, LMLK and a flying scarab spreading two or four wings, may have been used for ration distribution in preparation for the impending confrontation, although we will never know if they were produced on such a

scale as to justify this assumption. The king had a large host to support; in addition to his own levies and professional soldiery, *ṣābīshu damqūti*, his troops included another, obscure, element which Sennacherib calls *urbi*.<sup>[10]</sup> If they had anything to do with military logistics, the LMLK jars might point to the geographical limits and administrative divisions of Hezekiah's dominions.<sup>[11]</sup> The discovery of some at Gezer,<sup>[12]</sup> Tell Batash (Timnah?),<sup>[13]</sup> Tell es-Safi (Gath)<sup>[14]</sup> and Tel Miqne (Eqron)<sup>[15]</sup> agrees well with the expansion into Philistia mentioned in 2 Kgs 18:8 and Assyrian documents.

Hezekiah's most famous war preparation and contribution to the material character of Jerusalem is certainly the Siloam Tunnel attributed to him in 2 Kgs 20:20. This underground aqueduct carried the waters of Gihon southward, towards a reservoir presumably located within the ramparts.<sup>[16]</sup> The Siloam tunnel is now known to have been over 600 meters long;<sup>[17]</sup> it remained unsurpassed for 200 years, until an even greater underground aqueduct was dug in the island of Samos by Eupalinos of Megara (Herodotus III, para. 60). However, science and technology are not restrained by national boundaries, and in Assyria Sennacherib himself carried out comparable waterworks during the same period.<sup>[18]</sup>

Hezekiah's military build-up was well justified. After dealing with his eastern enemies in 703 and 702, Sennacherib turned in 701 against the Syro-Palestinian coalition. The main records of his operations are the narrative of his Third Campaign preserved in his Annals,<sup>[19]</sup> and a famous relief from his SW Palace in Nineveh, depicting the siege of Lachish.<sup>[20]</sup> Fragments of a more detailed war narrative, pieced together by N. Na'aman, may also belong in this context.<sup>[21]</sup>

Sennacherib's inscriptions are written in the usual bombastic style of such documents; his Annals tell of his victories in Phoenicia and Philistia, his defeat of an Egypto-Nubian relief force at Eltekeh, and his conquest of Judah, taking forty-six strongholds of Hezekiah's, deporting 200,150 of his subjects, locking up the Judaeen king in Jerusalem as in a cage, parcelling out his estates to loyal neighbouring rulers,<sup>[22]</sup> and obtaining from him an enormous tribute of 30 talents of gold and 800 of silver, etc. The more detailed narrative partly restored by Na'aman tells of the siege of the "town of Azekah" and of a "royal [city] of the Philistines (Gath, perhaps?), which H[ezek]iah had captured . . ."

Various features in the Annals look inflated and difficult to believe; this is true above all of the figure of 200,150 for the subjects of Hezekiah driven out of their homes and "counted as booty." Evidently, the royal scribes were trying hard to make up for the discomfiting absence of the normal conclusion of such campaigns, the flight

or capture of the rebel and the storming of his capital city.<sup>[23]</sup> And yet, taking a certain amount of exaggeration into account, there seems to be a reasonable explanation for this astonishing number of Judaeen exiles. As Stephen Stohlmann recently argued, this figure probably covers the whole population of the conquered territory, including the Philistine area previously seized by Hezekiah. Those really deported are mentioned only later (more elaborately in the Rassam Cylinder, the earliest version of the Annals), but their number is not revealed.<sup>[24]</sup>

All in all, 2 Kgs 18:13-16,<sup>[25]</sup> a terse report which makes no bones about the Assyrian conquest of all the fortified cities of Judah and the heavy payment exacted by the conqueror,<sup>[26]</sup> agrees well with Sennacherib's account of the invasion.<sup>[27]</sup> The progression of the Assyrian forces through the Shephelah may be reflected in the obscure series of sinister puns on place names in Micha 1:10-15,<sup>[28]</sup> and other echoes of the misfortune of Judah are found in Isa 1:4-8 and 22:1-14.<sup>[29]</sup> Abundant archaeological evidence is also available, especially from Lachish, where the most important find is Sennacherib's siege ramp, identified by David Ussishkin in 1977;<sup>[30]</sup> less clear is the relevance of a mass burial for 1500 people that was found on the same site in 1935,<sup>[31]</sup> and that some have quoted in this context<sup>[32]</sup>.

2 Kgs 18:13-16 is only the first ("A") of three narratives compiled in 2 Kgs 18-19 and referring ostensibly to a continuous sequence of events. It is followed, in 2 Kgs 18:17-19:37 (paralleled in Isa 36:2-37:38) by a flourish and composite story ("B") about Assyrian demands of unconditional surrender, Hezekiah's stubborn refusal supported by Isaiah's oracles, and the miraculous deliverance of Jerusalem. As perceived a hundred years ago by Bernhard Stade,<sup>[33]</sup> this complex is probably based on two complete narratives, repeating comparable episodes in the same order:<sup>[34]</sup> "B1" (2 Kgs 18:17-19:9ba\*,36-37), and "B2" (2 Kgs 19:9b-20,32ab,34-35).

Our analysis will show that B1 and B2 differ considerably in terms of theological presuppositions and historical reliability. Yet, there is so much tension between these narratives taken globally and the joint testimony of A, Sennacherib's Annals, and other historical data, that many scholars, from Stade to Garbini<sup>[35]</sup> and Smelik<sup>[36]</sup> have dismissed both of these biblical stories, and especially B2, as legends from later times.

However, since George Rawlinson (1858), many scholars, such as John Bright<sup>[37]</sup> and William Shea<sup>[38]</sup> in our days, have hypothesized that B did not refer to the same crisis as A, but to a later event, a foiled attack which allegedly took place ca. 688 B.C., many years

after Hezekiah's humiliation of 701. An assumption like this would eliminate the direct clash between the deliverance story of B and the disaster story of the annalistic reports. It would also improve the credibility of B's reference to "Tirhakah king of Kush" as challenging Sennacherib (2 Kgs 19:9a); such a reference would make perfect sense after Taharqa's accession to power in 690, but in 701 "Tirhakah" (as the Bible calls him) was still a young prince in distant Nubia and the ruler was Shabaka.[39]

Such a bold defense of B's historical value might seem legitimate in view of the correct reflection of Assyrian diplomatic phraseology exhibited by B1. Some of our contemporaries such as C. Cohen[40] have made much of this argument, but in my opinion one should be more cautious. When scrutinized carefully many comparisons appear indifferent or unconvincing.[41]

Indeed, some of the expressions used by the *rab-shakeh* have their best parallels in other Oriental literatures, not in documents from the Assyrian empire. The title *hammelek haggādōl melek 'Aššur* (18:19, 28), for instance, is not a Neo-Assyrian expression, but is well documented in Middle Babylonian, particularly in XIIIth century letters found in Hattusha and elsewhere. To the examples quoted by Cohen himself, one can now add the letter of an Egyptian official to the king of Ugarit, discovered just recently at Ras Shamra.[42] Another case in point is the praise of the fertility of Palestine in 2 Kgs 18:32a, "a land of grain and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of olive trees and honey." Outside the Bible, this hymnic development is paralleled in the "Hadad" inscription from the Aramaean state of Sam'al (KAI 214, lines 5-7), which was written before the Assyrian conquest of this little kingdom of Northern Syria.

My suspicion is that B1 reflects the traditional rhetoric of southwestern Asia, rather than precisely that of Assyria. Nevertheless, B1 does contain quite a few Assyrian contacts, and it is just fair to review the most impressive examples.

In the Nimrud letter ND 2632,[43] for instance, officers of Tiglat-pileser III report on their efforts to talk the citizens of Babylon into opening their gates, just as the *rab-shakeh* addressing the populace of Jerusalem in 2 Kgs 18:17ff.[44]

In discussing frustrated expectations of the enemies, Assyrian royal inscriptions make much of the verb *takālu* ("to trust"), the same way as the *rab-shakeh* repeatedly uses Hebrew *bāṭah* in his propaganda.[45]

Assyrian royal messages are regularly introduced as "Word of the King," just as the second speech of the *rab-shakeh* according to 2 Kgs 18:28.[46] One of these "Words of the King," a letter of

Ashurbanipal to the citizens of Babylon during his brother's rebellion (ABL 301), can be summed up as "do not listen to his lies" *shārā-têshu lā tashimmâ* (lines 19-20), this, once again, just as the speech of the *rab-shakeh* (see 2 Kgs 18:29,31).

The name of Adrammelek given to one of the murderers of Sennacherib in 19:37 has been plausibly traced back to the Akkadian name Arda-Mulishi, which was actually borne by a likely culprit.[47]

One can also find in B1 other specific bits of information, that narrators from much later times would not have any particular reason to make up of whole cloth. This is true, above all, of the composition of the Judaeans party, Eliakim, Shebna and Yoah (18:18), whose selection and titles make good sense in the light of other biblical texts, and yet are clearly independent from them.[48]

Another detail like this is the uncharacteristic appointment of a *rab-shakeh* to carry the great king's challenge; this is intriguing, but Tadmor may be building too much on the details of a good story, when he speculates that the *rab-shakeh* was chosen because an Aramaean or Israelite upbringing had allowed him to learn Hebrew![49]

As generally agreed, the very linguistic situation portrayed in B1, the Hebrew-Aramaic bilingualism of the Judaeans officials while common people only spoke their own Judaeans dialect (2 Kgs 18:26), is entirely plausible. Less than a century later,[50] one can see by the Adon papyrus (KAI 266), an Aramaic letter sent from Philistia to Egypt and discovered at Saqqarah, that Aramaic had already become the lingua franca of the western branch of the "Fertile Crescent"; in view of the long hegemony of Damascus over Palestine in the late IXth century (2 Kgs 10:32; 12:18-19; 13:5-7 22-25) and the deportation of Aramaic speaking elements into the ex-kingdom of Israel (17:24), such a situation probably prevailed already in 701.[51]

Some motifs of the B2 narrative itself are not devoid of historical plausibility. Thus, the scene of Hezekiah spreading the letter in front of YHWH (19:14) has a precedent in the Tukulti-Ninurta epic, where the king of Assyria is portrayed laying down before Shamash the tablet sent by his Kassite enemy, and asking for a divine decision between the two of them.[52]

However, the two campaign theory would not eliminate the most blatantly unhistorical features of 2 Kgs 18:17-19:37.

First, a serious anachronism would remain in B1. Sennacherib's murder did not take place soon after his return to Nineveh as implied by 19:37, but only in 681, some seven years after his postulated campaign of 688.[53] It is gratuitous to dismiss this notice as a belated addition taken from a Babylonian chronicle:[54] the chronicle we have

for this period does report the assassination, but contrary to B1, it does not name the murderer.[55] Neither does the biblical narrator show any clear awareness of the time it took for Sennacherib to be finally punished for his *hybris*. At 2 Kgs 19:36b, the Hebrew verb *wayyēšeb* does place a sojourn in Nineveh between the conqueror's return and his murder:[56] but nothing indicates that such a long sojourn is intended, and 2 Kgs 19:7 ("he will return to his own country, and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own country") certainly puts a direct link between Sennacherib's return and his death.[57]

It is rewarding to compare B1's account of Sennacherib's murder to the interpretation of the same event in one of the earliest inscriptions of Nabonidus.[58] Just as the author of B1, Nabonidus believes the assassination to have been decreed by a god (Marduk), in punishment for his sacrilegious violence against the holy city of Babylon; however, contrary to the biblical writer, Nabonidus is explicit about the long lapse of time separating Sennacherib's crime from its punishment, and he takes care to offer a theological explanation for the discrepancy. Before visiting the fate of Babylon upon Sennacherib, Marduk waited twenty-one years, "until the time was full."

Moreover, even if the second narrative complex as a whole had nothing to do with 701 and did not clash at all with 18:13-16, it would still be hard to take at its face value the number of 185,000 casualties suffered by Sennacherib's army according to B2 (19:35). Scholars have tried to reduce this spectacular act of God to an epidemic outbreak, often blending it with a story in Herodotus about rodents gnawing the leather off Assyrian equipment before a decisive battle in Egypt.[59] But there is no glossing over the incredibility of the biblical figure,[60] a feature closer to the style of Chronicles than to that of Kings,[61] and incompatible with Sennacherib's successful invasion of Babylonia in his campaign of the next year.[62]

In an article of 1985,[63] A. R. Millard compares B2 to another striking example of religious interpretation of history. In a fragmentary inscription from the temple of Ishtar, Ashurbanipal identifies divine interventions at the various turning points in his confrontation with two Anatolian rulers, the king of Tabal and the Cimmerian Dugdammē (Lygdamis for the Greeks). No reader of Bertil Albrektson[64] will be surprised to find in Nineveh much the same supernatural view of history as in Jerusalem; but the conventional topoi used by Ashurbanipal -- fire from heaven, and horrendous diseases -- remain more within the bounds of the possible than the wiping out of 185,000 men.

Such being the case, one may rightly wonder if enough is to be gained by the two campaign hypothesis to justify such an eminently un-parsimonious solution. In fact, no methodologically sound evaluation of the historical import of the B narratives can be achieved without a detailed literary analysis clarifying their genre and origin, a task altogether neglected by historians like Kitchen and Shea in their conflicting reconstructions,[65] but accepted and diligently fulfilled by Gonçalves after many predecessors.[66]

Once B2 is disengaged from B1 and a few more additions (such as 18:32b-35,[67]) bracketed out, B1's harmonious composition in four parts becomes evident. The propaganda pitch of the Assyrian envoy (18:17-32a), harping alternately on the weakness of Hezekiah and his Egyptian allies, and on his abandonment by YHWH, is followed by a subdued Judaeian reaction (18:36-19:5\*), Isaiah's salvation oracle (19:6\*-7), and its punctual fulfillment through Sennacherib's hearing of Taharqa's advance, his return home[68] and his assassination (19:8-9b,36-37).

The central importance of the reassuring oracle, prepared by the emphasis on the confidence motif (*bṭḥ*, 7 times) in the speech of the *rab-shakeh*, and commanding the rest of the events, identifies B1 as a prophetic narrative, even though the numerous specific details it contains distinguish it from most "prophetic legends." Such a classification of B1 is clearly compatible with its literary contacts with Isa 7:1-9 and with the occurrence of holy war language reminiscent of 1 Sam 17.[69]

The true message of B1 lies in the reliable protection extended by YHWH to his people, when they turn to him with undivided trust. Tradition had undoubtedly handed down to the writer various historical facts such as the mission of the *rab-shakeh*, the Nubian intervention and the departure and death of Sennacherib; but these memories function as illustrative materials, that the author may bend freely to his aims. More essential is the role of the prophet, who brings out the divine purpose working itself out through these events.

This story obviously goes back to an admirer of Isaiah, imbued with this prophet's doctrine of absolute reliance on YHWH and condemnation of human pride. Its preservation of a few likely details about participants and its felicitous characterization of Assyrian psychological warfare require a date close enough to the Neo-Assyrian domination of Judah.[70] However, the irreproachable faith attributed to Hezekiah and his people in contrast to the disapproval voiced in many authentic oracles of Isaiah ben Amos,[71] and the anachronistic inclusion of Sennacherib's murder (681 B.C.), preclude the ascription of B1 to an eyewitness.

B1 could have been written as early as the middle of the VIIth century, but it is hard to be more precise. This story of rewarded faith does not proclaim YHWH's protection of Jerusalem to be unconditional; [72] its message does not agree with this popular belief (Mic 3:11; Jer 26:9) rooted in memories from better times and colored by mythical topoi, [73] that found resounding expressions in a number of late psalms and additions to the book of Isaiah. [74] But this is not decisive in terms of chronology; B1's commendable restraint does not necessarily prove it to be earlier than the glowing promises found elsewhere. [75] More significant for a pre-exilic origin of B1 is its genetic priority over B2, which will be discussed presently.

After Gonçalves and many other critics since Stade, one may suspect two main accretions to the substance of B2:

[1] 2 Kgs 19:21-28, (33).

In spite of v 21a, a blatant connector, this poem does not continue smoothly the speech of YHWH beginning at v 20b; one has to wait until v 32 to pick up the thread of v 20. The "mocking song" of vv 21- 28 [76] may be older than B2; it addresses Sennacherib in a lively style close to that of Isaiah and, like chap. 10, it plays admirably on boasts found in Assyrian royal inscriptions. [77] However, these taunts hardly go back to Isaiah himself, since v 24 apparently alludes to the conquests of Esarhaddon, with its talk of "drying up all the streams of Egypt." [78]

[2] 2 Kgs 19:29-31.

This is a chain of post-exilic additions, headed by the announcement of a long-term "sign," out of context in such an emergency as Sennacherib's threat.

What remains is arranged in a manner strikingly reminiscent of B1: in 2 Kgs 19:9b-13, Assyrian "messengers" bring what will turn out to be a letter; [79] they warn Hezekiah against being deceived by YHWH, who will not be able to stop Sennacherib any more than the gods of any other country. Hezekiah, in prayer, protests his contrary belief (vv 14-19). Isaiah ben Amos, of his own accord, proffers a reassuring oracle promising the enemy's repulse (vv 20, 32, 34); and that very night, YHWH's own "messenger" smites down 185,000 Assyrian soldiers. [80]

B2 is not rich in narrative content; the political debate between concrete protagonists, which was still at the forefront in B1, is now replaced by a theological debate with a solution provided by God himself. Whereas in B1 the *rab-shakeh* took YHWH's power for granted and denied his willingness to help an impious Hezekiah, in B2 it is YHWH's very ability to protect that is at stake.

Correspondingly, the language of Hezekiah's prayer, with expressions like "You are God, you alone" (vv 15ab, 19bb), "you have made heaven and earth" (15bb), "they are but the work of a human hand, wood and stone" (18b), is reminiscent of the monotheistic rhetoric found in II-Isaiah, the late deuteronomistic writings, and psalmic literature [81].

Most symptomatic of B2's relationship to B1 is the new look taken on by the deception motif of the *rab-shakeh's* speech, as a result of the monotheistic focus of B2. In B1, Sennacherib's envoy lashed out "Do not let Hezekiah deceive you, for he will not be able to deliver you out of my hand" (18:29); now the royal messengers warn Hezekiah "Do not let your God on whom you rely deceive you by promising that Jerusalem will not be given into the hand of the king of Assyria" (19:10). In a climate of confrontation between religions, an older text is being re-assumed [82] and turned into an outright denial of YHWH's ability to save. [83]

For all these reasons, B2 has to be regarded as an exilic creation based on B1. In addition to the punishment of Sennacherib's blasphemy, the exemplary protection extended to the monotheistic Hezekiah may have been of great significance to the author and his audience, who could feel its contrast with the ruin later visited upon a kingdom fallen into idolatry. [84] But its remoteness from the events and its dependency on earlier writings leave little room for any reliable historical contribution.

As for B1, there is no compelling argument for rejecting its global reference to the same context as 2 Kgs 18:13-16. Considering the freedom of the author's approach, the events of 701 B.C. provide a sufficient frame of reference to account for the main drift of his tale. All the large-scale presuppositions of B1, the Assyrian invasion of Judah, the siege of Lachish, the Egypto-Nubian intervention, Sennacherib's attempt against Jerusalem, and his uncharacteristic departure without taking the city, belong in this context.

The even mixture of plausible details and unhistorical claims found in this narrative is easy to understand. The author gave more importance to the religious meaning of what happened than to bare facts, and in any case, by the time he wrote, many facets of the events must have been irretrievably forgotten. Yet, he still shared the same culture as his characters; in fleshing out his story, familiarity with the milieu allowed him to give quite a free rein to his creative imagination without blundering too obviously. As a result, it is hard to tell how many details proceed from actual remembrance, beyond the few names and titles that I mentioned previously.

Clearly enough, B1 does not place the Assyrian mission to Jerusalem after Hezekiah's surrender. The biblical narrator does not accuse Sennacherib of suddenly demanding more than the penalty previously decreed; neither does the *rab-shakeh* portray the Judaeian king as withholding a submission already pledged. As implied by the allusions to the siege of Lachish (2 Kgs 18:17; 19:8), this parleying before the ramparts is projected between the victorious beginnings of the Assyrian advance (18:13) and Hezekiah's capitulation (18:14-16). But little more than the bare notion of such a diplomatic exchange can be maintained with confidence.

The very climax of the action, Sennacherib's inglorious departure, is not easy to reconcile with the real issue of the struggle; as presented in B1, it would not leave any room for Hezekiah's costly surrender.

It is safe enough to assume that Sennacherib's unusual restraint was caused by some setback,[85] but we do not know what really happened. Originally, B1 seems to have explained the Assyrian withdrawal by the appearance of the Egyptian expeditionary forces (19:7, 9a.ba\*), but few would maintain the historicity of this view against Sennacherib's claim of a complete victory at Eltekeh, and the mention of "Tirhakah, king of Nubia" (2 Kgs 19:9a) does not improve its credibility. One is left to speculate on the real cause of the relatively moderate terms granted to Hezekiah. Perhaps the Assyrian operations in the Shephelah had been slowed considerably by the resistance of Lachish, and Sennacherib was unwilling to undertake another protracted siege before the coming of winter.[86] But this is nothing more than likely, and more scenarios must still be imagined to account for Sennacherib's claims of direct military pressure on Jerusalem, the return of Padi to his throne in Ebron, the final negotiations, and Hezekiah's dispatch of his tribute to Nineveh.

Confronted with the duality of a deliverance story and the grim report on Hezekiah's failure, one might be wiser to imitate the restraint of the deuteronomists; they simply appended B1 as a kind of supplement to 2 Kgs 18:13-16, and renounced the task of harmonizing such heterogeneous sources.

And yet, detailed historical reconstructions aiming precisely at such a full exploitation of all sources are still being written. Among English language contributions, the affiliated efforts of Frank Yurco and Kenneth Kitchen deserve special attention.[87] In 1980, Yurco submitted an elaborate scenario of the operations.[88] Four years later, Kitchen returned to earlier sketches of his own[89] and brushed once again a detailed chronicle of Sennacherib's campaign,[90] piecing together all the data,[91] and of course maintaining adamantly

Taharqa's involvement in the action. Unfortunately, these painstaking reconstructions require two ad hoc postulates: [1] the otherwise unknown co-regency of two Nubian rulers of Egypt, posited by Yurco;[92] [2] a second Nubian challenge to Sennacherib after his victory at Eltekeh, an historian's invention strangely reminiscent of the two campaign hypothesis.

It must be granted to Kitchen and Yurco that the *Annals* place the fight at Eltekeh before the inception of the siege of Lachish, and not after it as in the biblical narrative.[93] But one must take into account the nature of the sources. The author of B1 wrote half a century after the events at the earliest, and was more concerned with religious meaning than with historiographic accuracy. Just as he threw in Taharqa because of this pharaoh's well-known resistance to Assyria in the second quarter of the VIIth century,[94] he placed the vaguely remembered Nubian intervention where it seemed most suitable, as a final check to Sennacherib's insolence.[95] Better admit the inaccuracies and contradictions present in the sources, than duplicate historical events to reconcile everything. As Anthony Spalinger put it after Kitchen's earlier attempts:

It seems possible to combine all of our sources like a vegetable stew, wherein all of the particular odors and tastes are submerged into one palatable but highly undistinguished unity -- but stews make poor history.[96]

Contrariwise, this study has led me to discard the historical reliability of B2 altogether, and to put many strictures on the documentary value of B1 itself. However, when applied to the much debated question of Hezekiah's reforms, my analysis yields quite positive results. As shown by Gonçalves,[97] the *rab-shakeh's* criticism of Hezekiah's religious centralization (18:22) is no late addition, but a genuine part of B1. If this narrative is really pre-Josianic, its contention that Hezekiah removed the local shrines of YHWH must reflect an opinion preceding in time the discovery of the Book of the Law; it can be based, in particular, on an early version of Kings culminating in Hezekiah's reform (2 Kgs 18: 3-4).[98] In any case, 2 Kgs 18:22 does provide serious evidence for a pre-Josianic concern for the centralization of worship, which may go back to Hezekiah himself. Any research into the formation of Deuteronomy must take this passage of B1 into account.



## FOOTNOTES

[1] This paper owes much to F. Gonçalves, *L'Expédition de Sennachérib en Palestine dans la littérature hébraïque ancienne* (EBib n.s. 7; Paris: Gabalda/ Leuven: Peters, 1986). On a much larger scale (578 pages), Gonçalves deals with the same subject matter as B. S. Childs, *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis* (SBT II/3; London: SCM, 1967) and R. E. Clements, *Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem, A Study of the Interpretation of Prophecy in the Old Testament* (JSOT, Supp. Ser. 13; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980), and his method and conclusions do not differ dramatically from theirs; Clements registered his approval of Gonçalves' work in *BL* (1987) 63-64. In this shorter and more purely historical essay, I presuppose the detailed examination of prophetic texts and of 2 Chr 32 undertaken by Gonçalves in Parts II and III and Chap. 13 of his work; on the other hand, I will compare 2 Kgs 18:17-19:37 with examples of Assyrian diplomatic practice and phraseology at greater length than Gonçalves does. Recent essays which Gonçalves did not or could not discuss will be brought into the debate; for references to earlier literature, see *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*.

[2] The main document is H. C. Rawlinson and E. Norris, *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria* (The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia 2; London: R. E. Bowler, 1866) pl. 69. See M. Waefer, "Zu Status und Lage von Tabal," *Orientalia*, n.s. 52 (1983) 181-193.

[3] See J. A. Brinkman, *Prelude to Empire: Babylonian Society and Politics, 747-626 B.C.* (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1984) 57-60. It is mainly for reasons of biblical chronology that some prefer a date ca. 713 for the Babylonian embassy to Hezekiah; so M. Hutter, *Hiskija, Koenig von Juda, Ein Beitrag zur judaeischen Geschichte in assyrischer Zeit* (Grazer Theologische Studien 6; Graz: Institut fuer oekumenische Theologie und Patrologie an der Universitaet Graz, 1982) 67-71; cf. R. Liwak, "Die Rettung Jerusalems im Jahr 701 v. Chr.," *Zeitschrift fuer Theologie und Kirche* 83 (1986) 137-66, esp. p. 157.

[4] So, e.g., Gonçalves, *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 337; cf. 106 n. 16. On the meaning of the display, see B. G. Ockinga, "Hiskias 'Prahlererei,' Ein Beitrag zur Interpretation von 2 Koenige 20,12-19 / Jesaja 39:1-8," *Fontes atque Pontes, Eine Festgabe fuer Hellmut Brunner* (ed. M. Goerg; Aegypten und Altes Testament 5; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983) 342-46.

[5] Edited by E. E. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (OIP 2; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1924); A. L. Oppenheim's translation, *ANET* pp. 287-288.

[6] See Gonçalves, *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 139-65. Liwak ("Die Rettung Jerusalems," 162-63) underestimates the disagreement between king and prophet. Gonçalves' elaborate analysis of the relevant passages in Isa 1-35 (pp. 137-327) gives his monograph a considerable advantage over shorter works such as Liwak's or Hutter's (*Hiskija, Koenig von Juda*).

[7] So H. Tadmor, "Philistia under Assyrian Rule," *BA* 29 (1966) 86-102, esp. p. 96; D. Marcus, "Sharruludari, Son of Rukibtu, Their Former King: a Detail of Phoenician [*sic*] Chronology," *JANES* 9 (1977) 27-30; K. A. Kitchen, "Egypt, the Levant and Assyria in 701 BC," *Fontes atque Pontes, Eine Festgabe fuer Hellmut Brunner* (ed. M. Goerg; Aegypten und Altes Testament 5; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983) 243-53, esp. p. 246 n. 14. Tadmor, followed by Kitchen, believes Sidqa' to have displaced Rukibtu; Marcus demonstrates that Rukibtu had first been succeeded by Sharruludari, who was ousted by Sidqa' but returned to power by the Assyrian victory. On the rulers of Ashkelon in the VIIIth century, see also "Coalition Politics in Eighth Century B.C.E. Palestine," a paper read by C. S. Ehrlich at the Boston Meeting of the SBL, December 1987.

[8] Sennacherib suppressed another revolt in Sidon along his way, but nothing is ever said of a Phoenician involvement in the Palestinian plot.

[9] See N. Avigad, in *IEJ* 20 (1970) 5, 130; see also Pictorial Archive (Near Eastern History) Est., *Student Map Manual* (Jerusalem: Survey of Israel, 1979) Map 14-1. However the size of the area enclosed by this wall may have been much smaller than projected by Avigad; according to A. D. Tushingham, "The Western Hill under the Monarchy," *ZDPV* 95 (1979) 39-55; "The Western Hill of Jerusalem: A Critique of the 'Maximalist' Position," *Levant* 19 (1987) 137-43, the Kenyon excavations demonstrate that the Mishneh did not include the Armenian Garden.

[10] In addition to the studies reviewed by Gonçalves, *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 111-12, see Hutter, *Hiskija, Koenig von Juda*, 96; M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (AB; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1988) 247.

[11] The literature on the LMLK stamps is too large to be listed here. A quasi-consensus on the relevance of both types to the time of Hezekiah has emerged, especially since D. Ussishkin, "The Destruction of Lachish by Sennacherib and the Dating of the Royal Judean Storage Jars," *Tel Aviv* 4 (1977) 28-60. As representative of this basic

unanimity, see A. F. Rainey, "Wine from the Royal Vineyards," *BASOR* 245 (1982) 57-62; N. Na'aman, "Hezekiah's Fortified Cities and the LMLK Stamps," *BASOR* 261 (1986) 5-21, esp. pp. 11-17. However, note the not yet withdrawn opposition of J. S. Holladay, Jr., "Of Sherds and Strata," *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God, Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright* (eds. F. M. Cross, Jr., et al.; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976) 253-293.

[12] "A small basket-full," according to R. A. S. Macalister, *apud* H. D. Lance, "Gezer in the Land and in History," *BA* 30 (1967) 34-47, esp. p. 45.

[13] See G. L. Kelm, "Timnah -- City of Conflict Within the Traditional Buffer Zone of the Shephelah," *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* (1984-1985) 54-61.

[14] See N. Na'aman, "Sennacherib's 'Letter to God' on His Campaign to Judah," *BASOR* 214 (1974) 25-39, esp. pp. 34-5.

[15] See T. Dothan and S. Gittin, note on "Tel Miqne, 1985," *IEJ* 36 (1985) 104-7, esp. p. 107.

[16] Y. Shiloh ("The City of David Archaeological Project: The Third Season, 1980," *BA* 44 [1981] 161-70, esp. 170) maintains Avigad's opinion that the tunnel ended in a pool within the walls; but see N. Shaheen's "The Siloam End of Hezekiah's Tunnel," *PEQ* 109 (1977) 107-12; "The Sinuous Shape of Hezekiah's Tunnel," *PEQ* 111 (1979) 103-8.

[17] See D. Ussishkin, "The Original Length of the Siloam Tunnel in Jerusalem," *Levant* 8 (1976) 82-95.

[18] See, e.g., T. Jacobsen and S. Lloyd, *Sennacherib's Aqueduct at Jerwan* (OIP 24; Chicago: Chicago University, 1935).

[19] The various editions of Sennacherib's Annals and shorter inscriptions narrating his Third Campaign are catalogued in Liwak, "Die Rettung Jerusalems," 138-41, and reproduced in transliteration and translation in Hutter, *Hiskija, Koenig von Juda*, 39-51. One may now add a fragmentary inscription from a private collection; see M. Goerg, "Ein Keilschriftfragment des Berichtes vom dritten Feldzug des Sanherib mit dem Namen des Hiskija," *Biblische Notizen* 24 (1984) 16-17.

[20] The basic edition is A. Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures: The Palace of Sennacherib* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1915) pls. 74-76. This relief has been studied by D. Ussishkin in several contributions, e.g., *The Conquest of Lachish by Sennacherib* (Publications of the Institute of Archaeology 6; Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology, 1982).

[21] See N. Na'aman, "Sennacherib's 'Letter to God' on His Campaign to Judah," *BASOR* 214 (1974) 25-39; "Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah and the date of the lmlk stamps," *VT* 29 (1979) 61-86. The extreme reserve of A. R. Millard ("Sennacherib's Attack on Hezekiah," *Tyndale Bulletin* 36 [1985] 61-77, esp. p. 64 n. 9) about the relevance of this document seems as exaggerated as the quasi-certainty of the majority.

[22] Liwak ("Die Rettung Jerusalems," 143-44) doubts the historical authenticity of this point because the Philistines had rebelled repeatedly against Assyria, and because of the silence of Sennacherib's Bull Inscription No. 3 and Nebi Yunus Inscription. But the recipients of ex-Judaeen territories seem to have been chosen cautiously, and the shorter inscriptions cannot be expected to contain all the measures really taken by Sennacherib.

[23] See H. Tadmor, "Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah: Historical and Historiographical Considerations," *Zion* 50 (1985) 65-80 (Heb.), esp. pp. 74-75; F. Yurco, "Sennacherib's Third Campaign and the Coregency of Shabaka and Shebitku," *Serapis* 6 (1980) 221-40, esp. pp. 230-231; A. R. Millard, "Sennacherib's Attack on Hezekiah," *Tyndale Bulletin* 36 (1985) 61-77, esp. pp. 69-72.

[24] See S. Stohlmann, "The Judaeen Exile after 701 B.C.E.," *Scripture in Context II, More Essays on the Comparative Method* (eds. W. W. Hallo, J. C. Moyer and L. G. Perdue; Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1983) 147-75, esp. pp. 149-61. Few will accept the artificial explanation recently submitted by H. Sauren, "Sennacherib, les Arabes, les déportés juifs," *WO* 16 (1985) 22-35.

[25] Largely because vv 14-16 are missing in Isa 36, many scholars deny their original connection with v 13; but the unity of 2 Kgs 18:13-16 is strongly defended by Gonçalves, *L'Expédition de Sennacherib*, 356-61. One must concede to Liwak ("Die Rettung Jerusalems," 149) that Hezekiah's words of submission to Sennacherib in v 14a (*h̄l'ty . . . šwb m'ly . . .*) are reminiscent of the language of prayer, but in Neo-Assyrian times they are not out of place in the mouth of a vanquished rebel, and do not detract from the political phraseology used in the rest of this short narrative.

[26] After T. Vuk, *Wiedererkaufte Freiheit* (a dissertation of the Antonianum, Rome, 1979) Gonçalves (*L'Expédition de Sennacherib*, 368-70), compares 2 Kgs 18:13-16 to a number of short biblical reports indicating how much had to be paid out to an invader or to a powerful ally to stop an invasion. Like Vuk, Gonçalves thinks that reports like this were probably drawn from annalistic records; however, in the absence of appropriate indigenous epigraphic documentation, it is difficult to imagine what kind of official records may have

preserved the memory of military defeats and other humiliations suffered by the Hebrew kingdoms.

[27] 500 talents of silver is no mean difference, but the basic agreement of the biblical and the Assyrian figures seems more decisive. H. Tadmor's harmonization ("Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah," 67) goes against the plain meaning of 2 Kgs 18:14. He would cancel the discrepancy by adding the precious metal torn off the temple gates according to v 16 to the sum specified in v 14; but this sum is obviously meant as the whole penalty imposed on Hezekiah.

[28] Gonçalves (*L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, Chap. 6) relates this strange passage of Micah to Sennacherib's campaign. The excellent text-critical and literary foundations of this study give it a formidable advantage over a more recent article by C. S. Shaw, "Micah 1:10-16 Reconsidered," *JBL* 106 (1987) 223-29, which advocates a reference to the Syro-Ephraimite war. But, in all likelihood, the purpose of Mic 1:10-15 will never be clarified convincingly. By choosing to build his poem on a series of geographical puns, the prophet may have brought his message home to his contemporaries quite vividly, but this procedure made it irretrievably obscure to distant generations.

[29] See Gonçalves, *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 235-55. Gonçalves excludes Isa 10:27b-32 from his consideration (p. 138 n. 7).

[30] See D. Ussishkin, "The Battle of Lachish, Israel," *Archaeology* 33 (1980) 56-59, announcing the discovery of the Assyrian siege ramp; *The Conquest of Lachish*, 50-54; I. Eph'al, "The Assyrian Siege Ramp at Lachish: Military and Lexical Aspects," *Tel Aviv* 11 (1984) 60-70.

[31] See J. L. Starkey, "Excavations at Tell el Duweir 1935-6. Wellcome Archaeological Research Expedition to the Near East," *PEFQS* (1936) 178-89, esp. pp. 181-82; D. L. Risdon, "A Study of the Cranial and Other Human Remains from Palestine Excavated at Tell Duweir (Lachish) by the Wellcome-Marston Archaeological Research Expedition," *Biometrika* 31 (1939-40) 99-165. According to Risdon, there is no evidence of these people having been massacred, but they may have fallen to an epidemic or other cataclysm which followed the Assyrian attack. As Professor J. S. Holladay, Jr., pointed out to me, comparable mass graves, apparently containing the remains of even more people, and with more evidence of physical violence, have been found at Ashdod and may go back to warfare that took place in the late VIIIth century; unfortunately the stratigraphy is somewhat confused and the bones have not been studied as fully as those from Lachish. See G. Bachi and M. Ben-Dov, "Area D. Stratigraphy and Building Remains. Stratum 3 (VIII). The Mass Burials," *Atiqot*,

English Series 9-10 (1971) 92-94; N. Haas, "Anthropological Observations on the Skeletal Remains found in Area D (1962-1963)," *ibid.*, 212-13.

[32] See J. Bright, *A History of Israel* (3d ed.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1981) 286.

[33] B. Stade, "Anmerkungen zu 2 Koe, 15-21," *ZAW* 6 (1886) 122-192, esp. pp. 173-183; Gonçalves, *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 351-487.

[34] In substance, Stade's distinction between parallel sources is still followed by most (e.g. Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 240-44). Among recent critics who reject it, Hutter (*Hiskija, Koenig von Juda*, 14-16) distinguishes a longer story reporting two Assyrian missions (2 Kgs 18:17-19:14 [or 19:19]), and a shorter narrative bearing on Sennacherib's discomfiture (19:32-37). See also K. A. D. Smelik, "Distortion of Old Testament Prophecy. The Purpose of Isaiah xxxvi and xxxvii," *OTS* 24 (1986) 70-93. Smelik maintains the unity of 2 Kgs 18:17-19:37, and accounts for the recurrence of similar episodes and arguments by deliberate repetitions focusing increasingly on Sennacherib's blasphemy and punishment. However, the mixture of structural similarity and differences in outlook found in 2 Kgs 18-19 seems better explained by the classical solution.

[35] G. Garbini, "Il bilinguismo dei Giudei," *Vicino Oriente* 3 (1980) 209-223, esp. p. 212.

[36] Smelik, "Distortion of Old Testament Prophecy."

[37] Bright, *History of Israel*, 285-88, 298-309.

[38] See Shea, "Sennacherib's Second Palestinian Campaign." Shea's defence of the two campaign hypothesis is derived from: "an Assyrian text previously dated to Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II but now attributed to Sennacherib [the Na'aman join, see *BASOR*, 214], a Palestinian text previously dated in the time of Nebuchadnezzar but now datable to the time of Sennacherib [*Saqqarah papyrus*, *KAI* 266], and an Egyptian text previously attributed to Sheshonk I but now attributed to Tirhakah [*Karnak temple, southern wall of the northern peristyle court of the VIth pylon*]" (p. 417).-- Every link in this chain is open to criticism; find below a few remarks on Shea's reinterpretation of the Saqqarah papyrus.

[39] Recent efforts to demonstrate the chronological possibility of Taharqa's participation in the war of 701 (for bibliography see Gonçalves, *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 129-30) have not won the approval of all experts; see, e.g., D. B. Redford, "Sais and the Kushite Invasions," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 22 (1985) 5-15, esp. p. 13. Shea ("Sennacherib's Second Palestinian Campaign," 415-416) rejects the unattested co-regency postulated by F.

Yurco ("Sennacherib's Third Campaign," 228-30) to enable Shebitku to call his younger brother Taharqa from Nubia to Palestine with an army in 701.

[40] C. Cohen, "Neo-Assyrian Elements in the First Speech of the Biblical Rab-Shaq" *Israel Oriental Studies* 9 (1979) 32-48. Cohen has been quoted approvingly by Gonalves and others.

[41] In Cohen's examples of pp. 44-45, in particular, there is nothing really like the *rab-shakeh's* claim that YHWH himself had commissioned Sennacherib.

[42] See P. Bordreuil, "Découvertes épigraphiques récentes à Ras Ibn Hani et à Ras Shamra," *CRAI* (1987), 297, commenting on the tablet RS 86.2230. For some of the examples known previously, see Cohen, "Neo-Assyrian Elements," p. 39.

[43] See H. F. W. Saggs, "The Nimrud Letters, 1952. Part I, The Ukin-zer Rebellion and Related Texts," *Iraq* 17 (1955) 21-56, esp. pp. 23-34, 47.

[44] For a good treatment and some bibliography, see Gonçalves, *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 407-409. Add, in English., D. B. Redford and A. K. Grayson, *Papyrus and Tablet* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973) 106-7. Other parallels *apud* J. S. Holladay, Jr., "Assyrian Statecraft and the Prophets of Israel," *HTR* 63 (1970) 29-51, esp. p. 45 n. 60. The OT contains another elaborate example of diplomatic discussion, Jiphtah's argument with the "Ammonites," *Judg* 11:12-28.

[45] See Ch. Cohen, "Neo-Assyrian Elements," 39-41; Gonçalves, *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 410-12.

[46] See Holladay, "Assyrian Statecraft and the Prophets of Israel," 41-5; Cohen, "Neo-Assyrian Elements," 45-6.

[47] See S. Parpola, "The Murderer of Sennacherib," *Death in Mesopotamia* (Mesopotamia, Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology 8; ed. B. Alster; Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1980) 171-82, esp. 174.

[48] See Gonçalves, *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 432-4.

[49] H. Tadmor, s.v. *rab-shakeh*, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica* 7 (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1976) 323-325 (Heb.); "The Aramaization of Assyria: Aspects of Western Impact," *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn* (eds. H.-J. Nissen and J. Renger; Berliner Beitrage zum Vorderen Orient 1; Berlin: Reimer, 1982), 2. 449-470, esp. p. 464 n. 45; M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (AB 11; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1988) 230. This suggestion goes back to a Jewish tradition that the *rab-shakeh* was an apostate Israelite (b. Sanh. 60a).

[50] After C. R. Krahmalkov (BA 44 [1981] 197-198), Shea ("Sennacherib's Second Palestinian Campaign," 408-12) would redate

this papyrus to the reign of Sennacherib instead of Nebuchadnezzar's. Contrary to Krahmalkov, Shea considers this document as important evidence for Sennacherib's second Palestinian campaign. This reinterpretation involves unlikely assumptions, such as Sennacherib's designation as "king of Babylon" by his south-western enemies in a pressing military dispatch, and their concern about an obscure Anatolian ruler documented in the mid-670s B.C.

[51] G. Garbini ("Il bilinguismo dei Giudei," *Vicino Oriente* 3 [1980] 209-23, esp. p. 212) gratuitously denies that Aramaic was spoken in the vicinity of Judah in the days of Hezekiah.

[52] See E. Ebeling, *Bruchstuecke eines politischen Propagandagedichtes aus einer assyrischen Kanzlei* (Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft XII/2; Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1938), 20. To the best of my knowledge, this parallel has not been noticed before.

[53] L. T. Geraty shows a great deal of optimism when he writes that the alleged campaign of 688 confirms "the impression gained from 2 Kgs 19:36-37 that Sennacherib died soon after his return to Nineveh" ("Archaeology and the Bible at Hezekiah's Lachish," *AUSS* 25 [1987] 27-37, p. 32).

[54] So, most recently, Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 244.

[55] See A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (Texts from Cuneiform Sources; Locust Valley, N.Y.: J.J. Augustin, 1975) 81.

[56] Gonçalves, *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 130-131.

[57] The ancient authors of 2 Chr 32:21 and Tob 1:18-21 correctly understood 2 Kgs 19:37 as placing Sennacherib's assassination soon after his return.

[58] S. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Koenigsinschriften* (VAB 4; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1912) 270-272; *ANET*, 309.

[59] Herodotus, II par. 141. See the cautious discussions by Gonçalves, *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 120-21, 481-84. Two more attempts at harmonizing this etiology with B2 can be found in F. Yurco, "Sennacherib's Third Campaign...," 234-235; K. A. Kitchen, "Egypt, the Levant...," 245. Others consider the Herodotus parallel as a confirmation of the legendary character of the angel's intervention; so, recently, G. Garbini, "Il bilinguismo dei Giudei", 210-11; J. M. Miller and J. H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986) 349-50.

[60] Cf. S. H. Horn, "Did Sennacherib Campaign Once or Twice against Hezekiah?" *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 4 (1966) 1-28, esp. pp. 27-28, who artificially reduced the figure to 5,180. Horn's suggestion is still favored by Yurco, "Sennacherib's Third Campaign," 233, because this number is "far more reasonable than the

conventional reading of 185,000"; see also Hutter, *Hiskija, Koenig von Juda*, 98-99. K. A. Kitchen ("Egypt, the Levant," 245) simply pretends that no figure is given ("At this point, the Hebrew narrative in turn closes, mentioning only overnight deaths in the Assyrian camp. . .").

[61] E.g., 1 Chr 21:5; 2 Chr 14:8; 17:13-19. No wonder if the Chronicler deleted all traces of the other explanations of Sennacherib's withdrawal (Rofé, *The Belief in Angels*, 210 n. 47).

[62] Liwak, "Die Rettung Jerusalems," 157.

[63] A. R. Millard, "Sennacherib's Attack on Hezekiah," *Tyndale Bulletin* 36 (1985) 61-77. The punishment of the two kings is discussed pp. 74-6. For the historical context, see Millard's contribution to the *Cambridge Ancient History* 3/1 (2d. ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 432.

[64] B. Albrektson, *History and the Gods* (ConBOT 1; Lund: Gleerup, 1967).

[65] K. A. Kitchen, "Egypt, the Levant"; W. H. Shea, "Sennacherib's Second Palestinian Campaign." Both Kitchen and Shea take very seriously "Tirhakah's" mention in 2 Kgs 19:9; but because of their opposite views on his ability to lead an army in 701, Kitchen rejects the two campaign theory (while positing a second Egyptian advance after Eltekeh), and Shea attempts to undergird the two campaign theory with novel arguments.

[66] See Gonçalves, *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, Chaps. 11-12.

[67] With Gonçalves (*L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 386-87) we regard these verses as a secondary importation of the blasphemy theme of B2 into the speech of the *rab-shakeh*, which otherwise appeals to YHWH's prestige instead of attacking it. This overlap is admittedly damaging to the neatness of the literary-critical distinction between B1 and B2.

[68] After Stade, Gonçalves correctly maintains the original reference of *wayyasob* in 2 Kgs 19:9ba to Sennacherib's return to his country predicted in v. 7 (same verb). In the present state of the text, as a result of the insertion of B2, *wayyasob* simply introduces the king's "second" sending of a delegation to Jerusalem; its original function is taken over in 19:36ab by a *Wiederaufnahme*. See *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 376-82.

[69] See Gonçalves, *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 420-23, 430-31, 437-38; Smelik ("Distortion of Old Testament Prophecy," 78-80) similarly shows "that Rabshakeh was a diligent pupil of the prophets" (p. 79).

[70] A campaign of Ashurbanipal against Arab tribes, probably in 644, seems to have given occasion to the last appearance of an Assyrian army in the immediate vicinity of Palestine; Ashurbanipal's forces attacked Ushu (the mainland of Tyre) and 'Akko (ANET, 300). See A. K. Grayson, *ZA* 70 (1980) 227-45, esp. p. 231. No one can tell exactly when the Assyrian control of Judah was definitively slackened.

[71] See Gonçalves, *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, Chap. 5.

[72] See Gonçalves, *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 325-6.

[73] On the mythological aura surrounding Jerusalem, see, e.g., J. J. M. Roberts, "Zion in the Theology of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire," *The Period of David and Solomon* (ed. Y. Ikeda; Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1982) 93-108, and Gonçalves' cautious synthesis (*L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 321-327).

[74] See Gonçalves, *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, Chap. 7.

[75] Contrary to Gonçalves, *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 538-40.

[76] See O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965) 94.

[77] V 28ba, for instance, rightly reminds Liwak ("Die Rettung Jerusalems," 153) of Esarhaddon's Zengirli stele (ANEP, No. 447) and of Ashurbanipal's triumph over the Arab Uaite (ANET 300).

[78] With Gonçalves (*L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 486) it seems best to refer v 24 to the Assyrian conquest of Egypt by repointing *mswr* (cf. Mic 7:12). In this context of violence (23ba; cf. 25b-26), an allusion to Sennacherib's waterworks of mount Musri, a view of H. Tawil retained by Shea ("Sennacherib's Second Palestinian Campaign," 407-408), is more questionable; it is received coldly by Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 237 n. 24.

[79] Stade and many other ancient critics took objection to the apparent discrepancy between messenger and letter; just recently, C. Catastini ("Le varianti greche di II Re 18-20," *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 5 [1982] 75-91, esp. p. 85) followed them in preferring the Greek of 19:10, which omits a formula announcing an oral proclamation. However, it is well known among modern orientologists that in ancient Near Eastern diplomacy, the content of letters was delivered orally by the messengers who brought them. See, e.g., G. Widengren, *Literary and Psychological Aspects of the Hebrew Prophets* (Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift 1948, 10; Uppsala: Lundquist, 1948) 59-61.

[80] The correlation between YHWH's and Sennacherib's messengers has been stressed by H. Tadmor, "Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah: Historical and Historiographical considerations," *Zion* 50 (1985) 65-80, esp. p. 79 (Hebrew). This observation strengthens Gonçalves' defence

of the originality of 2 Kgs 19:35 in B2 (*L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 455), questioned by A. Rofé in his thesis of the Hebrew University, 1969, *The Belief in Angels in Israel* (Hebrew), pp. 209-18.

[81] The rhetoric of monotheism is much more evident in v. 18 than the allusion to Sennacherib's sacrilegious destruction of Babylon suspected by C. Begg ("Sennacherib's Second Palestinian Campaign: An Additional Indication," *JBL* 106 [1987] 685-86). Begg himself realizes that the Assyrian source he quotes does not say in so many words that Sennacherib burned the gods of Babylon. He admits that this detail may have been added by the Hebrew narrator under the influence of the biblical tendency to have idols and their paraphernalia destroyed by fire. But this would be more likely to happen to a narrator who knew about Josiah's reformation, and who was therefore writing too long after Sennacherib to be historically quite reliable.

[82] According to Liwak ("Die Rettung Jerusalems," 163), the reassumption of the verbs *ns'* and *hrp* is insufficient to demonstrate B2's literary dependency on B1; but the relationship between 2 Kgs 18:29ab.30aab and 19:10abb emphasized by Gonçalves (*L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 478-79) is more decisive.

[83] It is hard to understand how Moshe Elat can find a "more subdued" tone in this letter, which he attributes to "Rab-shakeh" ("The Political Status of the Kingdom of Judah within the Assyrian Empire in the 7th Century B.C.E.," *Investigations at Lachish: The Sanctuary and the Residency* [Lachish V] [eds. Y. Aharoni et al., Tel Aviv: Gateway Publishers, 1975] 61-70, esp. p. 62).

[84] So Gonçalves, *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 480.

[85] See the authors quoted above, n. 23. Cf. Smelik ("Distortion of Old Testament Prophecy," 85): "There is no reason to suppose that Sennacherib had been forced to accept Hezekiah's offer . . ." From an orientalist's vantage point, this remark sounds very strange.

[86] See, e.g., Liwak, "Die Rettung Jerusalems," 161.

[87] In Austria, Hutter's reconstruction (*Hiskija, Koenig von Juda*, 85-99) has much in common with Yurco's and Kitchen's; less obviously concerned with proving the Bible right, it is considerably more optimistic than the above analysis allows.

[88] See Yurco, "Sennacherib's Third Campaign," 224-8.

[89] K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1973) 383-86; "Late Egyptian Chronology and the Hebrew Monarchy. Critical Studies in Old Testament Mythology. I," *JANES* 5 (1973) 225-33.

[90] See K. A. Kitchen, "Egypt, the Levant and Assyria in 701 B.C.," *Fontes atque Pontes, Eine Festgabe fuer Hellmut Brunner* (ed. M. Goerg; Egypten und Altes Testament 5; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983) 243-53, esp. pp. 247-51.

[91] From a sheer philological standpoint, Kitchen's treatment of the biblical data is not flawless. He assumes too easily that the *rab-shakeh* had been called back with his troops instead of simply returning to deliver his report; and that this convocation was due to intelligence received by Sennacherib even before leaving for Libnah. The Hebrew of 2 Kgs 19:8-9 is somewhat ambiguous, but it more probably means that the king only heard of the Nubian advance after the return of his envoys.

[92] See Yurco, "Sennacherib's Third Campaign," 228-30.

[93] Yurco ("Sennacherib's Third Campaign" 224) and Kitchen ("Egypt, the Levant . . ." 247) argue less convincingly that the Annals exclude Taharqa's personal involvement at Eltekeh. This Assyrian source seems to imply that no king was in command, but this would not exclude a still little-known Nubian prince.

[94] So A. Spalinger, "The Foreign Policy of Egypt Preceding the Assyrian Conquest," *Chronique d'Égypte* 53 (1978) 22-47, esp. p. 40.

[95] M. Elat ("The Political Status," 61-2) ignores the character of the sources even more than Kitchen, when he follows B1 against the Annals and places the confrontation at Eltekeh at the end of Sennacherib's campaign.

[96] Spalinger, "The Foreign Policy of Egypt Preceding the Assyrian Conquest," 38; cf. Cogan's and Tadmor's cold reception of Kitchen's latest essay (II Kings, 251). The views expressed in the previous paragraphs agree very closely with those of Spalinger, *ibid.*, pp. 38-40. I would only question his inference "from the simple fact that Sennacherib never returned to Palestine . . . that Judah remained quasi-independent." (40; cf. 35). This opinion seems incompatible with the heavy contribution that Hezekiah felt constrained to pay off even after his conqueror's departure; see also Cogan and Tadmor, II Kings, 251.

[97] *L'Expédition de Sennachérib*, 390-91.

[98] So W. Boyd Barrick, "On the 'Removal of the High-Places' in 1-2 Kings," *Bib* 55 (1974) 257-259, modifying the theory of H. Weipert, "Die 'deuteronomistischen' Beurteilungen der Koenige von Israel und Juda und das Problem der Redaktion der Koenigsbuecher," *Bib* 53 (1972) 301-339.

## IN MEMORIAM

## ROBERT BALGARNIE YOUNG SCOTT

The Reverend Professor Robert Balgarnie Young Scott, a founding member of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies, died on Sunday November 1, 1987.

Born in Toronto in 1899, he was the son of the Rev. John McPherson Scott. R.B.Y. Scott was educated at University College of the University of Toronto and Knox College where he completed B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. degrees. He also had the opportunity during the course of his graduate studies to be a visiting student at New College, Edinburgh and Westminster College, Cambridge.

Dr. Scott was ordained to the ministry of the United Church of Canada in 1926, and for two years served as the minister of an Ontario congregation. In 1928 he began his long academic career when he was appointed Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature at Union College in Vancouver. From Vancouver he moved to the United Theological College, Montreal, in 1931 and was a faculty member of this College when it became one of the participating institutions in the establishment of the Faculty of Divinity of McGill University. Dr. Scott served as the first Dean of the Faculty during the year 1948-49. He remained a member of the Faculty of Divinity until 1955 when he became the William H. Danforth Professor in the newly formed department of Religion at Princeton University. He was chairman of the department from 1963 to 1965. On his retirement in 1968 he was appointed emeritus professor.

Dr. Scott was the only scholar from outside Toronto who participated in the 1933 meeting called to form a society to encourage biblical studies in Canada. At the first annual meeting of the Society he was elected Secretary-Treasurer and served in this capacity for seven years. I have not found any reference to him serving as President of the Society, but in 1975 he was made a life member.

Dr. Scott was one of the major Canadian contributors to the field of Old Testament scholarship in his generation. He was the author of numerous articles and at least six books, among which *The Relevance of the Prophets* (1944), *The Psalms as Christian Praise* (1958), and *The Way of Wisdom* (1971) gained international recognition. Of the ten hymns which he wrote one was for the Canadian Centennial in 1967. Probably his best known hymn is "O Day of God, Draw Nigh" which is used in more than 20 hymnals in English, French and German, and sung around the world.

McGill University was a particular beneficiary of his interest in Near Eastern archaeology. He had been a member of several excavations in Jordan and while there in 1951 he played a role in rescuing fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls which were in the hands of private antiquities dealers in Bethlehem. He bought several important fragments on behalf of McGill University, but these fragments ultimately remained in Jerusalem in the Israel Museum. Despite his lack of success in bringing some of the Dead Sea Scrolls to McGill, however, Dr. Scott's particular interest in weights and measures (because of which he carried out the study of the weights found in the Jerusalem excavations directed by Kathleen Kenyon) resulted in his putting together his own antiquities collection. In 1978 the Faculty of Religious Studies acquired this collection and it is housed in the Redpath Museum as the R.B.Y. Scott Collection. It is primarily made up of small items: coins, weights, seals, small pieces of pottery and glass.

Dr. Scott's first wife, Kathleen Cordingley, died in 1979. He is survived by his second wife, Ruth Tretheway Secord; a daughter, Mary Poapst of Toronto; two sons, John of Ottawa and Gavin of Chicago; and eleven grandchildren.

R.B.Y. Scott had a long and productive life in his chosen field of scholarship. It is appropriate at this time that the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies remember his significant contribution to the development of biblical studies in Canada and to the founding of this Society.

Donna R. Runnalls.

## FREDERICK VICTOR WINNETT

25 May 1903 - 22 January 1989

Professor Fred Winnett died on 22 January in his 86th year. He is survived by his son William (Vancouver) and his daughter Marilyn (Barrie), six grandchildren, and one great-grandson.

Professor Winnett has had a seventy-year connection with University College. He took his B.A. in Orientals at University College (1919-23), went on to an M.A. at the University of Toronto (1924), and then pursued theology at Knox College (1923-27) at the same time as he was working on a Ph.D. (1928). After post-doctoral work at Hartford Seminary he rejoined University College in 1930 as Lecturer, moving up through the ranks until in 1950 he became Professor and Head of the Department of Near Eastern Studies. From

1966-69 he was the College's first Vice-Principal.

His academic work centred on archeological excavations and more specifically on North Arabian inscriptions. He was Honorary Fellow in 1938 at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem and was twice Director of that important institution -- in 1950-51 and again in 1958-59. In 1959 he was named Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. He was elected President of the Society of Biblical Literature in 1964 and of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies in 1949.

### NOTICES

Members are reminded of the following *Newsletters* which were initiated under the auspices of the Society:

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### CSBS/SCEB ANNUAL MEETING, 1988

#### ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

Mary Ann Beavis (University of Winnipeg): "Dramatic Interpretations of Biblical Narratives"

At least five canonical books (Job, 4 Maccabees, Mark, John, and Revelation) have been interpreted against the background of Graeco-Roman theatre. This line of interpretation goes back to Theodore of Mopsuestia (5th century A.D.), who argued that the book of Job was a forgery written in the form of a Greek tragedy, and in the twentieth century the gospel of Mark in particular has often been interpreted in terms of categories borrowed from Greek drama. However, dramatic interpretations of biblical narratives have not met with general scholarly acceptance, sometimes undeservedly. The proposed paper would recount this history of interpretation, with special attention to the gospel of Mark, making some observations as to the strengths and weaknesses of such interpretations and making some suggestions as to why such interpretations have so often been discounted by scholars.

Schuyler Brown (St. Michael's College, Toronto): "Jesus, History, and the Kerygma: A Hermeneutical Reflection"

The obstacles to the historical investigation of Jesus today arise not only from the limitations of the gospels as historical sources but also from theological and psychological factors. In particular, R. Bultmann's methodological skepticism stems from his undifferentiated equation between "Christian faith" and the kerygma which proclaims the crucified and risen Christ to be God's eschatological messenger. Since this equation makes Jesus theologically irrelevant, Bultmann declares him to be historically inaccessible. The wall of separation between Jesus and the kerygma is an anachronism today and must be dismantled.

Michèle Daviau (University of Toronto): "A Biblical Town in the Madaba Plain: Excavations at Tell el-Umeiri, Jordan, 1987"

Two seasons of excavation at Tell el-Umeiri have revealed Iron Age occupation levels dating from the 11th-4th cent. B.C. This site flourished during the period of the Ammonite kingdom. Ostraca and seals provide evidence of contacts with Egypt and the surrounding nations.



Part of the Madaba Plain, Umeiri, whose ancient name is unknown, is one of a series of large tells including Hesban and Jallul. Unlike Hesban, biblical-period Umeiri was built above the remains of Early and Middle Bronze Age cities. This paper is a report of the recent excavations.

Paul E. Dion (University of Toronto): "Sennacherib's Expedition to Palestine" [Presidential Address]

The circumstances which led up to Sennacherib's threat against Jerusalem in 701 B.C. are reviewed, and the literary sources commenting on his expedition are compared. In agreement with an exhaustive analysis of the biblical material by F. Gonçalves (Paris, 1986), 2 Kgs 18:17-19:37 is divided into two theologically-oriented narratives. 18:17-19:9b\*, 36-37 is assigned to the VIIth century, close enough to the actual events; the other narrative, derived from this one during the exile, is shown to magnify unrealistically the divine retribution of Sennacherib's blasphemies and of Hezekiah's monotheistic faith. The main contribution of this paper lies in its detailed critique of recent efforts to establish the historical value of 2 Kgs 18:17-19:37 on its affinities for Assyrian phraseology, or to harmonize all the sources by positing a second Assyrian campaign against Hezekiah or by other sleights of hand.

T. L. Donaldson (College of Emmanuel & St. Chad, Saskatoon): "Paul: Zealot and Persecutor"

Recent books by Raesaenen and Watson have argued that Paul's distinctive thought about the Torah was a later development in response to emerging circumstances in missionary activity, rather than a direct result of his initial "conversion" experience itself. What this approach tends to overlook, however, is that before this experience Paul had already formed convictions concerning the relationship of Christ and Torah. That is, as a self-proclaimed "zealot" (Gal 1:14; Phil 3:6)--one prepared to use violence to defend the Torah--Paul had already perceived the Christian gospel as a threat to Torah religion. This suggests that the origins of Paul's Christian convictions need to be sought in his pre-conversion "zealot" activity and that the precise identification of the reasons for his persecuting zeal will shed light on the structure of his basic Christian convictions.

Lyle Eslinger (The University of Calgary): "Allusion and Biblical Intertextuality: A Proem to the HyperBible Project"

The HyperBible project is an experiment in merging hypertext -- a form of electronic authoring and publication of non-sequential text -- and description and analysis of literary allusion in the Bible. Hypertext lets us create electronic links between non-contiguous locations in a document so that readers may travel instantaneously from one to another section of a text. In this electronic form, the physical limitations of paper publication are overcome so that all semantically-related portions of a document can be connected, read, and interpreted virtually simultaneously.

Literary allusion is, likewise, a venerable literary method for linking either separate literary works or physically distant passages within one literary work. Both allusion and hypertext allow an author to link the meaning of separate texts, previously read, with that of the current text. With the advent of hypertext we have a fluid medium within which such links can be made explicit. Texts that have been authored or processed as hypertext ensure that all readers, however naive or poorly read, will recognize a link (allusion) when one is offered and be able to make the appropriate literary connection. Using the HyperBible all biblical readers will be able to recognize and study the many literary allusions in the Bible.

The focus of the project is the surfeit of literary allusions in the Bible. Very early in the history of the study of the Bible, allusions between the two testaments (in Christianity) and between separate books, chapters, and verses (Judaism and Christianity) were noted. Early Christian and Jewish interpreters often modelled their own interpretive practises -- allusion, allegory, typology, and other kinds of associative exegesis -- on the allusive model found so frequently in the Bible. What these early interpreters of the Bible observed was probably a reflection of the oral culture that gave birth to the Bible. Allusions functioned as a common shorthand, allowing the author/story-teller to import aspects and implications of commonly known stories without reproducing, in their entirety, the text or story alluded to.

The essay, of reader-response orientation, will focus on the function of literary allusion in the Bible. Such a theoretical basis should provide some of the necessary theoretical foundation for the HyperBible project.

Dan Fraikin (Queen's University): "What's In the Teaching of the Bible?"

The Bible is the subject of institutionalized instruction. Didactics (to use the technical term for institutionalized transmission of knowledge) appropriates knowledge in a given manner and produces a discourse which carries a meaning of its own. It involves legitimacy, carries value systems, norms, organized and layered knowledge. It socializes people within a given culture or subculture. In this presentation I wish to draw critical reactions upon a research project (the seed for which was J. Melanon's work on the Semiotics of Didactic Discourse) on the particularity of Biblical Didactics and show the potential contribution of this research to the problem of the distinction between Religious Studies and Theology in respect to the teaching of the Bible.

Paul Garnet (Concordia University): "Salvation and Atonement in the Qumran Scrolls Ten Years Later"

Since the appearance of the above monograph (WUNT II.3, 1977), this work has been widely reviewed. In the light of some of these reviews the author would modify his method in certain respects if he were to approach the task again. Nevertheless, the major conclusions as to Qumran soteriology have been confirmed rather than shaken. The only modification he would make in the conclusions is in his assessment of their importance as a means of approaching the salvation teaching of the historical Jesus.

David Granskou (Wilfrid Laurier University): "John's Gospel and his JOB Job"

How does one get to the job of opening the locks of ancient documents? In this session the work is on literary criticism. Would this work in the case of the fourth gospel? In the course of time lots of other interpretive keys have been used. Might one talk about an ironic wisdom drama written by a rabbi about the rabbi Jesus who follows the Law and Moses in wisdom, kingliness, and suffering? Such a drama would work out of images in Proverbs, Wisdom of Solomon, Job, and Isaiah. Intertextuality starts with word and ends with a world of signs and books: Word-wisdom; Water-wine; Light-darkness; Dark-lightness; Angels up; Angels down; Strong-weak-strong; Dumb-wise; 152 fish; Love; love-feed.

David Hawkin (Memorial University of Newfoundland): "Johannine Christianity and Ideological Commitment"

In his Reith lectures, *Christianity and the World Order*, Edward Norman espoused the view that Christianity was concerned primarily with the "relation of God to eternity." He attacked those who committed themselves ideologically in the name of Christianity, especially those who, influenced by liberation theology, see socialism as the vehicle through which Christian living can be best realized here on earth. Taking its cue from the debate which Norman initiated, this paper examines the specific question of whether Johannine Christianity is mystical and contemplative and thus essentially a quietistic faith. It is argued that an examination of major Johannine themes (such as, e.g., "truth") shows that in Johannine theology the way of Christ is neither a purely interior spiritual pilgrimage nor the way of a *realpolitik* which seeks a new social order.

T. R. Hobbs (McMaster Divinity College): "The 'Fortresses' of Rehoboam Reevaluated"

Interpretation of the list of "fortresses" in 2 Chron 11:5-12 either connects the construction with the invasion of Shishak (2 Chron 12:2-12) as part of a defensive policy or dissociates the sites from the reign of Rehoboam altogether. In the latter approach the sites are linked with reigns of either Josiah or, more recently, Hezekiah. It is thought that the historical circumstances of the reigns of these kings provide a better context for the building of fortresses.

This paper reassesses the significance of the list of sites as reflecting a "defensive strategy" on the part of Rehoboam and looks again at the reasons for the textual dislocations in more recent treatments. It concludes that the sites belong in the reign of Rehoboam, ought not to be assigned to any other historical context, and that the use of such places was not for defence but for purposes of tighter administrative control over the southern tribes.

David Jobling (St. Andrew's College, Saskatoon): "The Canon of the Hebrew Bible as a Literary Work"

In *The Great Code*, Northrop Frye proposes an overall literary shape to the Christian canon of scripture in seven "phases" (creation, revolution, law, wisdom, prophecy, gospel, apocalyptic) which, despite their intricate interpenetration, come to the fore in a way that is significantly sequential. The present paper proposes a reading of the Hebrew Bible in eight phases -- creation, election, law, politics,

prophecy, cult, wisdom, and "miscellany." The most striking difference from the Christian canon lies in the near-total lack of "the sense of an ending"; this can be associated, on the one hand, with the relationship of each canon to its apocrypha and, on the other hand, with Jewish and Christian traditions of biblical interpretation. Another issue for exploration is the way the canon invites the reading of pairs of phases in parallel, as well as in sequence (election and law-where there is enclosure rather than sequence; politics and prophecy; cult and wisdom). Some preliminary considerations are offered on how the contradictions embedded in this schematic literary reading invite a socio-literary reading of the canon in the circumstances of its production.

John Kampen (Payne Theological Seminary): "The Messianic Temple of Qumran Sectarianism"

The extensive description of a messianic temple in the longest and most recently published of the major scrolls from Qumran requires that we reevaluate works such as those of McKelvey, Gartner, Fiorenza, and others concerning the perception of the temple in literature attributed to the Qumran sectaries. No longer are references to the temple and cultic practices simply to be understood as allusions to the Jerusalem temple or to an abstract spiritualization of the institution. This paper first of all discusses the nature of the description of the temple in the Temple Scroll. Following this, the major portion of the paper is devoted to an examination of those texts which are important in formulating a view of the temple in the Qumran texts, with particular attention paid to references in the Zadokite Documents and the Community Rule.

Terence Kleven (McMaster University): "Rost's Delineation of Two Styles in I and II Samuel"

The purpose of this essay is to study the two styles in I and II Samuel distinguished by L. Rost in *Die Ueberlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids* (1929). Rost uses the distinction between two styles as the basis for identifying different authors and different purposes in the ark and the succession narratives. Upon inquiry, these styles are shown in fact to be two directly opposing styles; the qualities Rost uses to give an account of the one are directly opposite to his account of the other. Moreover, the delineation of the two styles is similar to discussions of style present in German criticism of classical Greek literature; in particular, the style of the succession narrative is similar to Goethe and Schiller's account of the epic style of

Homer.

Francis Landy (University of Alberta): "Ruth: Romance for Deconstruction?"

Ruth invites radical interpretation: structuralists, feminists, and folklorists have contributed to its understanding. Yet essentially it is uninterpretable: a false resolution covers up a set of irreconcilable antinomies. A close reading of the dialogue of Boaz and Ruth in ch. 3 and of the reactions of the go'el in ch. 4 will constitute the main body of the paper. Therein I hope to examine a set of discontinuities and ambiguities that reveal a clash of social codes and of personal motives, hence intensifying characterization. I will also suggest that one goal of the narrative is to exculpate the go'el.

Margaret Macdonald (Saint Francis Xavier University): "Dealing With Outsiders: A Study of the Relationship Between the Church and the World in the Pastoral Epistles"

Sociological thought on the development of religious sects provides valuable material for an investigation of the relationship between the church and the world in the Pastoral Epistles. It will be argued that the "sectarian" tensions characteristic of the community life of the Pastorals were of fundamental significance for the organizational efforts of the group. A view of the social pressures experienced in dealing with outsiders sheds light on the relentless condemnation of false teaching in 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, and Titus. An understanding of these tensions will also help to explain the interest in household ethics and the desire to affirm the authority of an established leadership which exhibits model household behaviour. Finally, it will be shown that the concern for the impression made on outsiders in the Pastorals is linked with the group's strong desire to evangelize.

Robert MacKenzie (McGill University): "Was the Author of Revelation a Jewish-Christian?"

Until the appearance of the work of R. H. Charles in the early part of this century, the issue of the authorship of the Revelation of John was centred on whether its author was to be identified with John the Apostle, son of Zebedee. Charles began a new phase of the discussion, claiming that John was a Jewish-Christian, otherwise unknown from early tradition. However, the three lines of argument in support of this hypothesis, that the book's form and content are Jewish-Christian, that John used Hebrew sources, and that the language of

Revelation betrays the author's Semitic mother-tongue, are not unproblematic. The evidence can in all cases be interpreted without recourse to Jewish-Christian background and is in fact not strong enough to rule out Gentile authorship.

Isabel Massey (Toronto, Ontario): "Iconography and the Gospel"

Last year Professors Elinger, Granskou, and I had a short discussion. Professor Granskou asked: "What about 'iconographic criticism'?" Those are his words; the paper is a response to his request.

Professor Granskou wanted something fresh -- being a bit tired of the usual "criticisms" exercised in the twentieth century. So, could we draw from the visual commentary on Scriptures of the early centuries? It was as if to say: fresh water might well be found closer to the sources of the historical stream.

We, in the scientific age, are accustomed to direct thinking; but here we also encounter symbolic thinking -- a mode long neglected. In iconography both modes are present; in Scripture both modes are present. From a twentieth-century psychological standpoint, this is a "new" study, for as C. G. Jung wrote in 1961 (cf. *Collected Works*, vol. 18, 264):

The study of individual as well as collective symbolism is an enormous task, and one that has not yet been mastered. But at least a beginning has been made. The results so far gained are encouraging, and they seem to indicate an answer to many of the questions perplexing present-day mankind.

Wayne McCreedy (University of Calgary): "A Second Torah at Qumran -- Reconsidered"

This presentation will deal with the interrelationship between sacred texts and community writings in light of the Qumran scrolls. More specifically, it will deal with the sectarian adaptation of elements of traditionally sacred literature to produce community literature that rivalled, and in some cases superceded, the Law of Moses. It will be proposed that this activity was essential to the Qumranite definition as the true people of God.

Rochelle Miller (University of Nebraska at Omaha): "Simone Weil on the Three Sons of Noah"

Simone Weil's essay on "The Three Sons of Noah and the History of Mediterranean Civilization" contains three basic elements. It is historical, drawing on Weil's immense knowledge of ancient history and

literature; it is exegetical, purporting to interpret specific passages of the Hebrew Bible; and it is, on its most fundamental level, theological. The essay is a direct explanation of her rejection of the theology of the Hebrew Bible at the same time as, through her interpretation of the Noah incident, it constitutes a positive statement of her own beliefs. This paper will describe and discuss Weil's interpretation of Noah, compare her exegesis on some points with that of other commentators, and show how her exegesis is part of the theology she puts forth.

William Morrow (Queen's Theological College, Kingston): "Some Akkadian Parallels to Biblical Apodictic Speech"

A generic relationship can exist between texts which have a similar syntactic form although they differ in content. Previous work on parallels to the second person "apodictic" speech form in the Hebrew Bible has concentrated on content. The original genre of apodictic speech has been variously identified with Ancient Near Eastern treaty stipulations, wisdom exhortations, or the Hittite instructions. The prescriptive use of the Akkadian Present provides a formal parallel to apodictic speech. Although the prescriptive Present is used in treaties, the same form also appears in Akkadian recipes, training texts, and ritual instructions. The paper will suggest how the Akkadian evidence casts light on current opinions about the origins and cultural functions of biblical apodictic speech.

Michael Newton (Memorial University of Newfoundland): "Biblical Studies in the USSR"

A progress report on my work on biblical studies in the USSR. A survey of some recent works and an assessment of resource material available to students of Early Christianity in the Lenin Library in Moscow, the Soviet Union's major research library. Some of the relatively few English-language works in the Lenin Library turn out to be by members of the CSBS.

Dan Nighswander (Toronto School of Theology): "Ethics in the Community Rule From Qumran"

Since very little attention has been given to the ethics of the community represented by the Dead Sea Scrolls, this study begins at the very basic level of describing the ethical content of the one most relevant scroll, 1QS. Probing behind the specific regulations that are identified, the study considers the course of these regulations, the

sanctions by which they were enforced, and the importance of ethics for both community membership and soteriology. The conclusion of this research is that ethical concerns were at the very heart of the community's self-definition and that more attention needs to be given to this feature for a balanced understanding of the community's ethos and world-view.

Barry Parker (Regent College): "Torah in Roman Judaism in the Second Century as Reflected in the Purifactory Washings in the Jewish Christian Church"

Initially, the synagogue was the dominant factor in Roman Christianity. The influence at that time was from primary Jewish sources. This is reflected in the Jewish-Christian understanding of Torah as presented by Paul in his epistle to the Romans.

By the second century, Jewish influence on the Roman Church comes from secondary Jewish sources. This is most apparent in the presence of purifactory washings in the Roman Church at that time. The evidence of Hippolytus suggests that such washings persisted only where there was a predominantly Jewish element. The suggestion is that this is the result of an Essene type of Judaism endeavouring to maintain its perspective on Torah subsequent to the Fall of Jerusalem.

François Rousseau (Université du Québec à Montréal): "Un phénomène particulier d'inclusion dans Lc 24:13-35"

Le récit des disciples d'Emmaus peut se diviser en huit parties, chacune de ces parties comportant en son centre la présence d'un même thème, celui de la mort-résurrection. D'une part ce thème va progressant d'une section à l'autre. D'autre part ce thème central se trouve inséré chaque fois dans une inclusion. Quelques remarques seront requises sur la nature de l'inclusion et d'autres mises au point seront nécessaires pour qualifier différentes espèces d'inclusions mises en oeuvre dans le contexte de ce récit. Enfin, le problème sera posé d'un développement concentrique global de la péripécie.

John Sandys-Wunsch (Thorneloe College of Laurentian University): "Authority and Tradition in the Hebrew Bible"

Authority is that which gives power or ability. Tradition is the transmission of authority from generation to generation. Both authority and tradition are invisible until they are challenged; authority can only be challenged on the basis of other authority, whereas

tradition can be challenged either by another authority or for its failure to transmit completely the authority it is supposed to embody.

This paper argues that while authority and tradition overlap in the Hebrew Bible, they were less identified with each other than elsewhere in the Ancient Near East. This would explain why the Hebrew writings had to be edited before they could become canonical and why even then their authority was much more circumscribed than is sometimes assumed.

Charles H. H. Scobie (Mount Allison University): "Biblical Theology: Does It Exist?"

Although the term "Biblical Theology" is still generally used, there is widespread disagreement as to what constitutes Biblical Theology, and indeed many appear to hold that it either *does* not or *should* not exist. Recent attitudes to historical criticism and developments in tradition criticism, canon criticism, and literary criticism open up the possibility of a fresh approach. This paper seeks to explore how a Biblical Theology for the 1990s might be both "biblical" and "theology." Many consider Biblical Theology to be dead, but it is just possible that in true biblical fashion it may rise again.

Susan Slater (McGill University): "The Sacrifice of Absalom -- 2 Sam 18:9-18"

There is a long tradition of interpreting Absalom's entanglement through the prism of 2 Sam 14:25-26, which mentions the abundance of his hair. Absalom is presumed to have become entangled by the object of his vanity. There are a number of problems with this interpretation, some of which are noted in most major commentaries. Further, the narrative itself seems less interested in making a statement about Absalom than in focussing on the question of what to do with him now that he has been found hanging from a tree. Absalom's unusual predicament awakens resonances with another famous biblical scenario in which a father is faced with the prospect of killing his beloved son but is granted reprieve at the last moment and given an ersatz sacrifice--a ram, caught by his horns in a thicket. Some of the resonances are straightforward; others are ironic. Attention to them suggests an alternative significance for Absalom's entanglement and also draws out the poignancy of David's position.

Dorothy Sly (Guelph, Ontario): "Exclusive Language in Philo: A Study of *Aner* and *Anthropos*"

Scholars have recently become alerted to the ambiguity in such English terms as *man*, *mankind*, *he*, and *his*. As a result, some scholars working with Greek texts have tried to update English translations by exchanging these terms for more inclusive ones, whenever the context does not demand a sex-specific term. One might defend their action by arguing that some Greek terms have traditionally been considered more inclusive than others.

Using Philo of Alexandria as a case study, I shall demonstrate that such distinctions need to be questioned. Neither Philo nor his main sources included women in their generalizations about humanity. Whether they spoke of *andres* or *anthropoi*, they meant "men" in the sex-specific sense.

Allison A. Trites (Acadia Divinity College): "Church Growth in the Prison Epistles"

For the past several years some attention has been paid to Luke's interest in church growth. There is abundant evidence in the Book of Acts of numerical growth, geographical growth, and spiritual growth. It is worthwhile asking the question, "How interested are the Pauline epistles in the same themes?" The present paper is an initial attempt to explore this question by looking in particular at the Prison Epistles. These writings will be studied to see what light they shed on the growth motif. The results will then be compared with the Lukan evidence to notice any significant similarities and differences.

Ruth Vale (Concordia University): "Artifacts, Culture, and Traditional Biblical Archaeology"

This paper compares the culture syntheses, interpretive strategies, and claims of proof favored by traditional BA scholars to the theoretical dialectic culture paradigms of anthropological archaeologists and the technical expertise of archaeological field researchers. Biblical archaeologists must be prepared to encounter the broader questions of cultural structure and complexity raised by an expanding repertoire of patterning techniques, interpretive strategies, and theoretical frameworks. The argument is made that all these different approaches can make a positive contribution to an expanded definition of Biblical Archaeology.

John Van Seters (University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill): "The Creation of Man and the Creation of the First King: A New Look at an Old Problem"

This paper will take another look at the comparison between Gen 2-3 and the oracles concerning the King of Tyre in Ezek 28. Many scholars in the past have argued that behind the primeval man (*Urmensch*) of Genesis lies a royal figure and that this primeval myth of a royal *Urmensch* is reflected in Ezek 28. Yet the extrabiblical parallels for this reconstruction have not been very persuasive. The Mesopotamian creation myths, as seen in Atrahasis and Enuma Elish, hardly reflect such a reconstruction. But a newly published cuneiform text does deal directly with the creation of the king as a specific act in primeval times alongside the creation of mankind in general. This allows for a complete reevaluation of this whole problem. It also raises some interesting questions about the relationship of Ezek 28 to the Genesis creation traditions.

Al Wolters (Redeemer College): "Not Rescue But Destruction: Rereading Ex 15:8"

Ex 15:8 is usually translated: "At the blast of thy nostrils (*'aopeyka*) the waters piled up, the floods stood up (*nissebu*) in a heap (*kemo ned*), the deeps congealed (*gape'u*) in the heart of the sea." I will propose an alternative interpretation which does greater justice to the immediate context of this verse and yields the translation: "At the blast of your anger the waters piled up, the billows *swelled up* (*nisbu*) like a wineskin (*kemo nod*), the deeps *rose up from* the depths of the sea." Not the rescue of the Israelites, but the destruction of the Egyptians is being described.

MINUTES OF ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF CSBS/SCEB

May 30, 1988, 3:30 p.m.

University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario

*Present:* W.E. Aufrecht, E. Bellefontaine, P.S. Brown, W.J. Cotter, C. Cox, R.C. Culley, P.E. Dion (Chair), T.L. Donaldson, L.M. Eslinger, D. Fraikin, G.J. Hamilton, D. Hawkin, T.R. Hobbs, E.M. Humphrey, J.R. Isaac, A. Jervis, D. Jobling, J. Kampen, M. Kiley, T. Kleven, J. Kloppenborg, M.E. Kuban, L. Laberge, R.K. Mackenzie, D.S. MacLachlan, W.O. McCready, S.E. McEvenue, B.H. McLean, B.F. Meyer, J.H.C. Neeb, B.N. Olshen, B.E. Organ, B.F. Parker, K.I. Parker, J. Plevnik, B. Przybylski, A. Reinhartz, D.R. Runnalls, E. Schuller, C.H.H. Scobie, S. Westerholm, B. Wiebe, S.G. Wilson.

1. *Agenda*

Approved (Wilson/Culley).

2. *Minutes*

The minutes of the previous annual meeting [published in the Bulletin] were approved (Hawkin/Reinhartz).

3. *Business Arising from the Minutes*

None.

4. *Remarks from the Chair*

Professor Dion asked Professor Runnalls to read a resolution in memory of Professor R.B.Y. Scott. A memorial silence was held for this founding member of the Society.

5. *REPORTS*

5.1 *Treasurer's Report*

Professor Przybylski presented his report [attached] to the membership and it was formally approved (Wilson/Hawkin).

5.2 *Programme*

Professor Reinhartz, programme coordinator, announced a number of minor changes to the programme and she gave further details of the annual dinner. Professor Kloppenborg was thanked for his assistance as the local representative for the Society. The deadline for titles and abstracts submissions for the annual meetings will be January 10th. The 1989 meeting will be May 29-31 at Laval University. Professor K. Stendahl will give the Craigie Lecture on May 30th.

5.3 *Publications and CCSR*

Professor Hawkin reported on CCSR activities during 1987-88.

(a) The normally scheduled publication of SR has been achieved during 1988. There is an anticipated cost increase of \$2.00 for SR.

(b) J. Lightstone's *Society, the Sacred and Scripture* (sponsored by CSBS) has been published in the SR Supplement Series.

(c) The CCSR sponsorship of a Dissertation Series has begun.

(d) Professor Kim Parker was thanked for taking responsibility for publication of the CSBS Bulletin while Professor Hawkin was away on sabbatical.

5.4 *Nominations*

The following names were proposed by the Executive:

Vice-President: Sean McEvenue

Programme Coordinator: Michel Desjardins

In the absence of further nominations a motion of approval passed unanimously (Meyer/Wilson).

Professor Meyer announced the names of those who have applied for membership and had been approved by the Executive:

Ruth Caldwell; David A. Diewert; Shannon Farrell; Peter Frick; Maureena Fritz; Jakob Geertsema; Terence Kleven; Mark Kiley; Randy Klassen; Michael Kuban; D. Bruce MacKay; Rochelle Millen; Michael Mulhall; Larry Perkins; C.A. Joachim Pillai; Joseph Plevnik; Kevin B. Quast; Caroline Whelan; Joyce L. Rilett Wood.

A motion to approve the list passed unanimously (Meyer/Wilson).

#### 5.5 Canadian Federation for the Humanities

Professor Wilson reported on recent activities of the Federation. Among the topics presented were the following:

- (i) Dr. Paule Leduc is the new president of SSHRC;
- (ii) an internal review committee of SSHRC will examine policies & procedures in the Research Grants Program;
- (iii) CFH has successfully received a Canadian Research Strategy Project grant to deal with applied ethics in the humanities.

#### 5.6 Secretary

None.

#### 6. Other Business

Professor Jobling raised the topic of difficulties Society members have with mailings, membership procedures, and airfare policies with SBL and Scholars Press. The Secretary will make a report at the next annual meeting.

#### 7. Adjournment

It was moved that the meeting be adjourned (Wilson/Eslinger).

The meeting adjourned at 4:15 p.m.

## REPORT OF THE TREASURER

TO THE

1988 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CSBS/SCEB

C.S.B.S. members are continuing to exhibit a cooperative attitude in forwarding address changes and in promptness of paying annual dues.

Through the generosity of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, our Society received four grants during the with their travel expenses to the 1987 Annual Meeting at McMaster University. For the 1988 Meeting \$2,840.00 is available for this purpose. A \$2,710.00 Administrative Grant was utilized executive meeting in Hamilton during the 1987 Annual Meeting and for the meeting in Toronto, January 1988. The Administrative Grant for the present fiscal year is \$3,048.00.

Each year the requests for travel assistance exceed the available funds. Please note the following guidelines for awarding travel grants to C.S.B.S. members. No grants are provided to those living within 200 kilometers of the meeting site. Preference is given to students and members presenting papers or otherwise participating in the programme of the Annual Meeting. Depending on availability of funds, preference may also be given to those who did not receive a grant during the previous year.

As of April 30, 1987, a total of 94 individuals and institutions had contributed \$9,166.40 to the Peter Craigie Fund. During the past year contributions totalled only \$595.00. In order to realize the goal of creating a viable Lectureship at the Annual Meeting in Professor Craigie's honour, we hope that C.S.B.S. members will continue to contribute to this fund. It should be noted that all contributions to the C.S.B.S. Special Funds are tax deductible.

Our Society is continuing to experience membership growth. Present membership stands at 235. Unfortunately, 28 persons are behind in the payment of dues. Paid-up membership thus stands at 207.

According to the present schedule of dues the membership consists of (the figures for 1987 are in brackets):



46 Report of the Treasurer

Life Members	5	(6)
Full Members (\$32.00)	145	(137)
Dual Members (\$20.00)	23	(21)
Student Members (\$20.00)	5	(59)
Retired Members (\$20.00)	9	(0)
Totals	235	

Attached to this report is the financial statement of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies for the year ending April 30, 1988, along with the statement of the auditor.

Submitted by Benno Przybylski, Treasurer

*FINANCIAL STATEMENT*

May 1, 1987 - April 30, 1988

As of April 30, 1987

*Balances:*

Current Account	\$6,430.95
Special Funds Account	15,954.63
Total	\$22,385.58

*CURRENT ACCOUNT*

Receipts	
Balance May 1, 1987	\$6,430.95
Membership Dues - operating expenses	3,674.84
- Journal subscriptions	2,424.00
Members' Travel Grants	5,272.00
Administrative Grants	5,758.00
Annual Dinner Subscription	1,641.94
Registration Fees 1987 Annual Meeting	526.72
Un/Under Employed Contributions	\$75.00
Transfer from Craigie Fund	820.00
Interest	419.11
	<b>\$27,042.56</b>

*Disbursements*

Travel Grants to Members	\$2,460.00
Executive Travel	2,682.01
Subscription to SR	2,424.00
Annual Dinner, Receptions	2,370.52
Dues C.F.H.	780.00
Dues C.C.S.R.	36.00

Annual General Meeting 47

National Forum on Un/Under Employed	300.00
Printing	1,712.13
Postage	552.12
Long Distance Calls	28.97
Bank Charges	37.45
Audit	65.00
Student Essay Prizes	300.00
Annual Dinner Refunds	75.00
Craigie Lecture	820.00
	<b>14,643.20</b>

Balance as of April 30, 1988 \$12,399.36

Bank Balance as of April 30, 1988 \$12,536.11

Difference - Outstanding Cheque no. 165 \$136.75

*SPECIAL FUNDS ACCOUNT*

*PETER CRAIGIE FUND*

Capital Balance May 1, 1987	\$ 9,166.40
Donations	595.00
	<b>9,761.40</b>

Interest Balance May 1, 1987	\$986.51
Interest	729.71
Less Craigie Lecture Expenses	820.00
	896.22
Total	<b>\$10,567.62</b>

*PRIZE FUNDS*

*Founders' Prize*

Capital Balance May 1, 1987	\$ 1,924.10
Donations	155.00
	<b>2,079.10</b>

*Joachim Jeremias Prize*

Capital Balance May 1, 1987	\$1,200.00
Donations	155.00
	<b>\$1,355.00</b>

<i>Unspecified</i>	
Capital Balance May 1, 1987	\$ 2,498.55
Donations	100.00
	2,598.55
Interest Balance May 1, 1987	\$179.07
Interest	438.70
	617.77
	\$6,650.42
Total	\$17,308.04
Bank Balance as of April 30, 1988	\$17,308.04
Total C.S.B.S. assets as of April 30, 1988	
Current Account	\$12,399.36
Special Funds Account	17,308.04
Total	\$29,707.40

#### AUDITOR'S REPORT

I have examined the financial statements of the CSBS as at April 30, 1988, and the ledger of the Receipts and Disbursements for the year then ended. My examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and I accordingly included such tests and other procedures I considered necessary in the circumstances.

In my opinion, these financial statements present fairly the financial position of the organization as at April 30, 1988. The results of its operation for the year then ended have been recorded in an acceptable manner with generally accepted accounting principles.

Dorothy F. Paetzel  
Auditor  
Verity Accounting Services  
Edmonton, Alberta.

#### MEMBERSHIP NEWS

##### RECENT PUBLICATIONS: BOOKS

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- Gasque, Ward, *Handbook of Biblical Prophecy*, ed. with Carl E. Armerding, rev. ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988).
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- Kampen, John, *The Hasideans and the Origin of Pharisaism: A Study in 1 and 2 Maccabees*. Septuagint and Cognate Series 24. (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988).
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- Quast, Kevin, *Peter and the Beloved Disciple: Figures for a Community in Crisis* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, forthcoming 1989). (JSNT Supplement Series).
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Wolters, Albert M., *Creation Regained: Biblical Basics for a Reformational Worldview* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985; second printing 1988). British edition 1986; Dutch edition 1988; Japanese edition 1988.

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Braun, Willi, "Were the New Testament Herodians Essenes? A Critique of an Hypothesis," forthcoming in *Revue de Qumran* XIV/53 (1989).

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DeRoche, Michael, "The Ruah Elohim in Gen. 1:2c," to appear in *Ascribe to the Lord: Biblical and Other Studies in Memory of Peter C. Craigie*.

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- "A Forgotten Scholar: Professor Calvin Goodspeed," in *An Abiding Conviction: Maritime Baptists and Their World*, ed. Robert S. Wilson (Hantsport, N.S.: Lancelot Press, 1988), pp. 197-210.
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- , "The Lost Treasure of the Copper Scroll," *JBL* 107 (1988), 419-429.
- , Review of Jo Ann Hackett, *The Balaam Text from Deir 'Alla* (Chico, 1984) in *WTJ* 49 (1987), 424-27.
- , Review of Harold Mare, *The Archeology of the Jerusalem Area* (Grand Rapids, 1987), in *WTJ* 50 (1988), 170-172.

#### NEW APPOINTMENTS/HONOURS AND AWARDS

- Aufrecht, Walter E., Staff Member, Tel Migne Archaeological Expedition, Israel (Summer 1988).
- Braun, Willi, Special Lecturer, Department of Religious Studies, Erindale College, University of Toronto.
- Couturier, Guy, Commissaire de la Ville de Montréal pour une exposition d'antiquités étrusques et romaines au Palais de la Civilisation, à Montréal, à l'été 1990.
- , Elu membre du Board of Directors du King's College, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, USA.
- , Doctorat honoris causa en Lettres de Stonehill College, North Easton, Massachusetts, USA.

- DeRoche, Michael, I am tenuring a SSHRC post-doctoral fellowship with the Calgary Institute for the Humanities.
- Dion, Paul E., President, Oriental Club of Toronto (1988-89).
- , Graduate Coordinator, Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Toronto.
- Gasque, W. Ward, J. Omar Good Visiting Distinguished Professor, Juniata College, Huntingdon, PA, 1987-88
- , Visiting Fellow, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1988-89
- Horsnell M. J. A., Promoted to Professor of Old Testament Interpretation (July 1988).
- Hurtado, Larry W., Promoted to Full Professor, July 1988.
- Kampen, John, U.S. National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar, "Biblical Law in Historical Perspective," Directors: David Daube and Calum Carmichael, Summer, 1988.
- Kloppenborg, John S., Associate Professor of New Testament, University of St. Michael's College/Toronto School of Theology
- , Editorial Board, *Foundations and Facets*
- Landy, Francis, Associate Professor.
- Miletic, Stephen F., Appointed Academic Dean, Assistant Professor of Sacred Scripture, Notre Dame Apostolic Catechetical Institute [200 North Glebe Road., Arlington, VA 22203]
- Morrow, William, Appointed Assistant Professor of Hebrew Scriptures at Queen's Theological College, May 1988.
- Neeb, John H. C., Lecturer in Old Testament Theology, Waterloo Lutheran Seminary, a federated college of Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario.
- Neumann, Kenneth, Dissertation completed and successfully defended: "The Authenticity of the Pauline Epistles in Light of Stylostatistical Analysis". Th.D. degree to be awarded May, 1989, by Trinity College and the Toronto School of Theology.
- Quast, Kevin, Professor of New Testament, Ontario Theological Seminary, June 1988- [previously Lecturer and Registrar]
- Robinson, Tom, University of Lethbridge Research Funding for: A Bibliography of Works in English on the Early Church. With M. J. Penton. Forthcoming in the American Theological Library Association's Bibliography Series.
- Schuller, Eileen, January-June 1989, Theological Scholarship and Research Award, Association of Theological Schools.
- Smith, Barry, Assistant Professor of Biblical Studies at Atlantic Baptist College.

- Taylor, Glen, Appointed Dean of Students and Lecturer in Old Testament, Wycliffe College.
- Trites, Allison A., Awarded a Harvey Reid Summer Grant (1988) to do research at Exeter University on "Church Growth in the Prison Epistles." Served on the Ecumenical Foundation of Canada.
- Van Seters, John, Honourable mention for the Wallace K. Ferguson Prize of the Canadian Historical Association (1986) for the book *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* [I was only notified this year -- 1988 -- of the award.]
- , Director of a National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar for College Teachers for 1989, on the theme: "History Writing in Ancient Greece, the Near East, and Israel: A Comparative Study."

## COMPLETION OF GRADUATE WORK/DISSERTATIONS

- Burke, Donald, Ph.D., University of St. Michael's College, Toronto. Dissertation: "Hope for Your Future: The Composition and Coherence of Jeremiah 30-33."
- Deller, Walter W. G., "*Tehillim*: The Rhetoric of Ensemble," being submitted to Toronto School of Theology in February 1989 (Th.D. dissertation)
- Morrow, William, Successful defence of doctoral dissertation "The Composition of Deuteronomy 14:1-17:1," April 26, 1988.
- Neeb, John H. C., Dissertation topic: "Genesis 28:10-22: The Function of a Biblical Text in Early Jewish and Christian Communities."
- Smith, Barry, Defended successfully Ph.D. thesis at McMaster University (Department of Religious Studies--Ben Meyer supervisor) in September 1988.
- Wolters, Albert M., "The Song of the Valiant Woman (Prov. 31:10-31): A Pattern in the History of Interpretation (to 1600)," M.A. Thesis, McMaster University, Department of Religious Studies, 1987.

## CURRENT RESEARCH/PAPERS, ETC.

- Ashley, Timothy R., Research/writing of a commentary on the Book of Numbers for New International Commentary on the Old

- Testament (Eerdmans). I have been on sabbatical since July 1, 1988, and will be on sabbatical until June 30, 1989, working on this project.
- Burke, Donald, Composition and Structure of Jeremiah 1-6.
- , Organization of the Book of Jeremiah.
- , Jeremiah and Moses.
- , The Role of the Serpent in Genesis 2-3.
- Culley, Robert C., Monograph on Narrative Action in Biblical Narrative
- Dauids, Peter H., "Sickness and Suffering in the New Testament," read at the Fuller Symposium on Power Evangelism (December 13-15, 1988) and to be published in a forthcoming volume of symposium papers. 1 Peter (NICNT).
- , James (series for Hendrickson).
- DeRoche, Michael, Preparing a literary, holistic reading of Genesis 1-5.
- Desjardins, Michel, Preparing a monograph on "The NT: Book of Peace or Book of War."
- Dion, Paul E., "An Unusual Type of *inclusio* at the Heart of Psalm 103" (paper read at the Annual Meeting of the SBL, Chicago, November 1988).
- Donaldson, Terence L., "Zealot and Convert: The Origin of Paul's Christ-Torah Antithesis," forthcoming in CBQ.
- , "Rural Bandits, City Mobs and the Zealots," forthcoming in the Journal for the Study of Judaism.
- , The structure and origin of Paul's convictions about the Gentiles and the Gentile mission.
- , Cognitive dissonance and Matthew's statements about the law.
- Duhaime, Jean. "A Comparative Study of IQM and 4QMa," SBL Meeting 1988.
- , "La souffrance dans les Psaumes," Congress de l'ACEBAC 1988.
- , *Approches sociologiques de la Bible*.
- Eslinger, Lyle, "The HyperBible Project," a hypertext catalogue of all instances of literary allusion in the Bible. All willing hands welcomed.
- Gasque, W. Ward, Eleven Articles for /fThe Anchor Bible Dictionary/fR (forthcoming). A commentary on the Acts of the Apostles for the New International Greek Testament Commentary (projected date of completion: 1990).

- , Ongoing editorial work on *The Good News Bible Commentary on the New Testament*, 18-vol. work formerly published by Harper & Row but now being reborn as *The New International Bible Commentary* and published by Hendrickson. Contains contributions by Canadian authors, Larry W. Hurtado (Mark), Craig Evans (Luke), Arthur Patzia (Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon), Gordon Fee (Pastorals), and Peter Davids (James).
- , Continued editorial work on *The New International Greek Testament Commentary*, 20-vol. work (Eerdmans/Paternoster, 1978-), with contributions by Canadians, Gasque (Acts), Richard Longenecker (Romans), and Peter Davids (James). Beginning in 1989, there will be at least two volumes published each year for the next five or six years.
- Hobbs, T. R., Eight articles on minor characters in 1 & 2 Kings for forthcoming *Anchor Bible Dictionary*.
- , Continued research on warfare in Old Testament period.
- Horsnell, M.J.A., SSHRC Research Grant--Some Mesopotamian Historical Inscriptions of the First Dynasty of Babylon.
- Hurtado, Larry W., *The Faith of Early Christianity* (a book-length study of the religious beliefs of Christianity in the first two centuries).
- , "The Gospel of Mark: Evolutionary or Revolutionary Document?", a research paper interacting with recent theories.
- Kampen, John, "Images of the Temple in the Temple Scroll and 1 Enoch: A Comparison," Society of Biblical Literature, Chicago, November 20, 1988.
- , "The Messianic Temple and Apocalyptic Literature," Symposium on Qumran and Apocalyptic, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, November 18, 1988.
- Kloppenborg, John S., Jewish Christian Gospels: Translation and introduction for the Gospel of the Hebrews, Gospel of the Nazarenes, and Gospel of the Ebionites for *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. R. Cameron, K. King, A. Y. Collins, H. Attridge.
- Landy, Francis, "Reader, Poetics and Anti-Poetics," paper delivered at AAR/SBL Annual Meeting, Chicago, November 1988.
- Mason, Steve, Josephus and Luke-Acts.
- Miletic, Stephen F., "Fear of Christ"--Eph. 5:21.
- , Introduction to the spirituality of the child with Scriptural Rosary.
- , Sacred Scripture, Revelation, Prayer.

- , Defining the problematic of "pastoral introduction to the New Testament" -- literary theory and philosophy of history.
- , Planning for international conference on Ephesians, 1990.
- Morrow, William, Article on *Ketib/Qere* for Anchor Bible Dictionary.
- Neeb, John H. C., The relationship between Jews and Christians in mid-third-century Caesarea.
- Nolland, John, Gospel of Luke. Vol. 1 of Luke in the *Word Biblical Commentary* Series recently submitted to publisher.
- Quast, Kevin, *The Gospel of the Beloved Disciple* (tentative title) for Baker Book House--an introduction to the background and theology of the Gospel of John.
- , Proposal for Paulist Press on "Ephesian Christianity"--historical reconstruction of Christian diversity and interaction in Ephesus in the 1st-3rd centuries.
- Robinson, Tom, Hypercard Greek Language Computer Programmes for the Macintosh computer.
- , Diversity in Early Christianity.
- Schuller, Eileen, Preparation of a first edition of 4Q 371, 372, 373.
- Scobie, Charles H. H., The History, Methodology, and Structure of Biblical Theology.
- Trites, Allison A., Church Growth in the Prison Epistles.
- , The Transfiguration in the Synoptic Gospels.
- , The Contribution of Dr. W. H. Elgee to Christian Social Ethics in Canada.
- Van Seters, John, Invited paper: "The So-called Deuteronomistic Redaction of the Pentateuch," for the IOSOT Congress in Leuven, August 28, 1988.
- , Writing a book on the historiography of the Yahwist. Giving papers at the American Oriental Society and the Southeastern SBL (March) and guest seminars at McGill (February) and Emory (March).
- Wolters, Albert M., Copper Scroll (3Q15), Balaamite inscription of Deir 'Alla, Hebrew lexicography, Pentateuch.

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