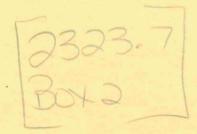
The Bulletin 2006/07

The Canadian Society of Biblical Studies La société canadienne des études bibliques

> Volume 66 Richard S. Ascough, Editor



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Violence and Transcendence in the Development of Biblical Religion

William Morrow

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It is well known that the most common form of poetry in the biblical Psalter, the individual complaint psalm, disappeared as a liturgical genre in the development of Second Temple Judaism. But one also has to ask after the fate of the therapeutic impulse that generated the psalms of individual lament. Surely there was still a place for private or semi-public services for suffering individuals conducted by liturgical experts? Surely, at times, affliction was still analyzed as the result of assaults by hostile agents (the enemies of the lament psalms)? In the later Second Temple period and beyond, this picture is valid for prayers against demonic attack. The purpose of this paper is to describe social and theological forces that resulted in the eclipse of individual lament and the rise of exorcism as the preferred liturgical form for dealing with those afflicted by malevolent forces.

My thesis is reflected in the terms of this article's title, "Violence and Transcendence in the Development of Biblical Religion." In the case of "biblical religion," I mean specifically those forms of early Judaism that referred themselves to some type of authoritative scripture. The term "development" would suggest that the process of scripture formation was not complete and, in fact, I will direct my remarks to the late Persian and Hellenistic periods when the outlines of the biblical canon were still in flux. My concern with "violence" is also limited. Here, I am concerned with the perception, widespread in the ancient world, that physical and emotional maladies as well as serious forms of social conflict could be perceived by their victims and support groups as the results of attacks by external forces and powers (both visible and invisible). That is, the concept of dis-ease in the biblical world and the ancient Near East

included both social persecution and illness. Finally, the term "transcendence" is potentially very large. But I have no intention of providing either a philosophical or a theological discussion of this concept. Its interest for me is in connection to the history of biblical religion. For it is possible to see a development in the religious imagination of ancient Israel in which YHWH's transcendence, his otherness to the created order, became more emphasized as early Jewish intellectuals sought to ascribe to their god the status of the universal and sole deity.

In other words, I contend that developments in the concept of divine transcendence during the Second Temple period affected the liturgical remedies available for perceived victims of violence. My argument proceeds in the following stages. First, I offer a brief description of the thought-world that generated biblical laments. Then I will make a survey of extra-biblical prayers of individual lament to show that they do not envisage liturgical application. Next I will show how prayers against demonic attack filled the therapeutic void left by the disappearance of lament. Finally, I will attempt to connect this shift to the development of the idea of a transcendent deity in biblical religion.

1. Individual Lament and the Enemy-theory of Dis-ease

The biblical Psalter contains a genre of poetry known to scholarship by a number of different terms including lament, complaint psalms, and the arguing with God tradition. For the sake of variety, I will use all of these terms in this paper. These prayers were used in liturgical rites meant to address grave situations of distress experienced both by individuals and by the entire community. The psalms of individual lament make up about one quarter of the Psalter. There is no other genre that comes close to having this kind of weight in the book of Psalms.

Despite the obvious importance of laments in the book of Psalms, scholarship generally recognizes that the tradition of liturgical

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complaint prayer disappeared during the Second Temple period in Judaism.⁴ In this paper, I intend to confine my remarks to the demise of individual lament. There is a widespread assumption that the tradition of corporate lament suffered the same fate in Second Temple Judaism. In fact, this is not entirely correct; but I will leave the case of corporate complaint prayer to other publication. Suffice it to say, community lament did not disappear as completely as individual lament in the post-exilic era.⁵

Complaint prayers represent a structured form of argument with God. The elements of Address, Complaint, Trust, Petition and Praise, which the psalms of individual lament express and play with, presuppose a single social metaphor: an audience with a powerful and righteous judge. Babylonian parallels show a similar mode of argumentation, as if the petitioner has approached some oriental magnate for redress of injustice. In a quasi-legal argument, petitioners call on the (divine) judge to hear their case (Address), set out the distress that they experience (Complaint), while expressing their confidence in the power and justice of the judge and also their own loyalty and innocence (Trust). These arguments condition calls for help, deliverance and destruction of the evil-doers (Petition). Frequently, the individual lament ends with praise expressing assurance that the judge will respond favourably.

From the point of view of their liturgical context, the psalms of individual lament were prayers used when the experience of suffering

Tauc Westermann Prair

¹ John Day, *Psalms* (OTG; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 20.

² Anson Laytner, *Arguing with God: A Jewish Tradition* (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1990), xvii-xviii.

³ Individual lament psalms include Pss 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 13; 17; 22; 25; 26; 27; 28; 31; 35; 38; 39; 40; 41; 42–43; 51; 54; 55; 56; 57; 59; 61; 64; 69; 70–71; 86; 88; 102; 109; 120; 130; 140; 141; 142; 143; see William Morrow, *Protest Against God: The Eclipse of Biblical Tradition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006), 45.

⁴ Claus Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981), 201-213. Westermann's opinion is widely followed in contemporary scholarship; see, e.g., Walter Brueggemann, "The Costly Loss of Lament," *JSOT* 36 (1986): 57; Ottmar Fuchs, *Die Klage als Gebet: Eine theologische Besinnung am Beispiel des Psalms 22* (Munich: Kösel, 1982), 441-45; Karl-Joseph Kuschel, "Ist Gott verantwortlich für das Übel: Überlegungen zu einer Theologie der Anklagen," in *Angesichts des Leids an Gott glauben? Zur Theologie der Klage* (ed. G. Fuchs; Frankfurt: Joseph Knecht, 1996), 228-31; Meinard Limbeck, "Die Klage—Eine verschwundene Gebetsgattung," *TQ* 157 (1977): 13-16; Patrick D. Miller, *They Cried to the Lord: The Form and Theology of Biblical Prayer* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 86.

⁵ Morrow, Protest Against God, 176-77.

⁶ Miller, *They Cried to the Lord*, 47; Oswald Loretz, "Der altorientalische rechtliche Hintergrund der biblischen 'Klage Des Einzelnen'," in *Textarbeit: Studien zu Texten und ihrer Rezeption aus den Alten Testament und der Umwelt Israels: Festschrift Peter Weimar* (ed. Klaus Kiesow and Thomas Meurer; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2003), 287-99.

Werner Mayer, Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen "Gebetsbeschwörungen" (Studia Pohl Series Maior 5; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1976), 119.

required more deliberate intervention than informal prayer could provide. This poetry seems to have been used especially for cases of mortal peril, either through sickness or social conflict. Complaint prayer was probably administered to suffering individuals by ritual experts in a variety of circumstances, including home and temple.⁸

What are the causes of suffering that the petitioners brought to the divine judge? There are two: divine action and enemy action. I will return to the significance of the category of divine affliction later in this paper. Here, I will concentrate on the identification of the enemies. The enemies in the individual laments belong to one of two categories. Some are described as members of the psalmist's social group (e.g., Ps 31:12). But a large number are less identifiable malevolent beings. There can be many, even thousands of them (Ps 3:2, 7). They can be characterized not only as human beings but also as wild animals (e.g., Pss 7:3; 17:12; 57:5).

What is the significance of these two categories? One describes social enmity on the part of the village or community to whom the psalmist belongs. Similar motifs appear in Mesopotamian literature. Akkadian compositions such as "I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom," the "Babylonian Theodicy" and the Sumerian "Man before his God" describe the sufferings of high-ranking persons who are thrust down into the lowest levels of social status as a result of misfortune and disease. Motifs of social ostracism and persecution by former friends, colleagues and companions are prominent in these works.9 The victim's loss of status, for whatever reason, was perceived as the result of divine judgment and afforded a pretext for violence and ostracism by members of the larger group. A primary goal of the biblical complaint psalms was to rehabilitate individuals to the larger group by affirming the undeserved suffering of the petitioner, an affirmation that was intended both to arrest their social exclusion and the justification of group violence against them.10

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But a second group of enemy images is characterized by such wildness and complete hostility that one wonders if these enemies represent interpersonal actors at all. Their status seems to be that of rather undefined demonic powers, able to bring about the end of life through their attacks. This is commensurate with a world-view that did not possess a well-developed concept of impersonal causation for illness. Beside the life-giving realm of God and temple there was also a belief in the presence of deadly, rather undefined, life-threatening powers that had the capacity to harm human beings. The enemy-imagery of the complaint psalms can pass easily from human to inhuman characteristics. Therefore, though one may distinguish social and demonic imagery in theory, in the imagination of the psalmists the agents of social conflict and chaos often combine. Description in the complete that the second conflict and chaos often combine.

2. Laments of the Individual in Inter-Testamental Literature

A number of prayers use the same structured argument as biblical complaint psalms in extra-biblical Second Temple literature found in the Apocrypha, the Pseudepigrapha, and the Dead Sea Scrolls. I am going to argue, however, that these prayers show decisive shifts had taken place in the status of individual lament as early Judaism developed. In particular, there is no indication that extra-biblical individual lament prayers assume the liturgical or therapeutic background that was fundamental to the composition and administration of biblical complaint psalms. But before I substantiate this claim, it is important to address some problems in method in using what are essentially citations from narrative sources.

It was common for ancient storytellers and historiographers to compose speeches and prayers appropriate to the circumstances of the narrative. Drawing conclusions about liturgical practice from written

⁸ Morrow, Protest Against God, 70-71.

⁹ Lea Jakobzen, "The Individual's Sufferings in Psalms and in Mesopotamian Narratives [Modern Hebrew]," *Bet Migra* 168 (2001): 39-55.

Rainer Albertz, Persönliche Frömmigkeit und offizielle Religion: Religionsinterner Pluralismus in Israel und Babylon (Calwer Theologische Monographien Reihe A, Bibelwissenschaft 9; Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1978), 44; Erhard S. Gerstenberger, Der bittende Mensch: Bittritual und Klagelied des Einzelnen im Alten Testament (WMANT 51; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981), 156-60.

¹¹ Albertz, Persönliche Frömmigkeit, 44-46.

¹² Erhard S. Gerstenberger and Wolfgang Schrage, *Suffering* (Biblical Encounters Series; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1980), 62-65; Hans-Peter Müller, "Feinde, Tiere und Dämonen: Ein kleiner Beitrag zu den Klage- und Bittpsalmen des Einzelnen," in *Textarbeit*, 329-30.

¹³ Dating of extra-biblical sources follows opinions found in the *ABD* and introductory articles in *OTP*. Citations of the Apocrypha follow the versification of the NRSV. References to the Pseudepigrapha follow verse and line numbers in Charlesworth's editions. References to the Dead Sea Scolls follow the edition and line numbers in F. G. Martínez, and E. J. C. Tigchelaar. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2000).

documentation in Second Temple times involves considerable speculation.¹⁴ But David Flusser is helpful when he suggests that, although some of the prayers and hymns preserved in Second Temple literature were actual liturgical texts, even merely literary prayers may serve as witnesses for liturgical forms in this era of Jewish history.¹⁵ This means that literary witnesses may reflect patterns of prayer in use at the time of writing.

There is little reason to think that a standard liturgy existed for Jews in the Second Temple period. ¹⁶ There were, however, texts used in certain Jewish circles as standard liturgy for specific occasions. ¹⁷ But so long as analysis is focused on the surface level of the text, it is difficult to make generalizations about the practices of prayer for different groups of Second Temple Jews. This difficulty can be (at least partially) overcome by looking for patterns of prayer rather than trying to focus on texts that might be specific only to a particular Jewish group. A case in point is the sect responsible for the preservation of material in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The fact that there is overlap, e.g., in categories such as penitential prayers or imitations of Lamentations between material in the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Second Temple texts suggests that there were common patterns of prayer in use by various Jewish groups at the time, even if the texts were different.

The benefit of appealing to patterns of prayer also overcomes difficult problems in distinguishing between actual liturgical texts and literary models. For example, some penitential prayers show signs of composition prior to their present context (e.g., Prayer of Azariah inserted into Daniel 3).¹⁸ But it is not clear whether such prayers are

Eileen Schuller, "Petitionary Prayer and the Religion of Qumran," in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. J. Collins and R. A. Kruger; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 45.
 David Flusser, "Psalms, Hymns, and Prayers," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. M. E. Stone; CRINT 2; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), 551.

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records of actual liturgical texts or literary models that informed extemporaneous prayers uttered in liturgical situations. In fact, it is probable that, like early rabbinic authorities, ¹⁹ Second Temple Jewish leaders were experts at formulating prayers *ex tempore*. Consequently, the discussion that follows is mainly concerned with identifying patterns of prayer. Historical inferences drawn from the distribution of these patterns inform my discussion of the fate of individual complaint prayer in Second Temple times.

The following prayers have a structure reminiscent of individual complaint prayers in the Psalter. That is, each of these prayers contains at least an address to the deity, a complaint, and a petition:

4Q372 Frag. 1:16-31

This text contains a prayer of Joseph in which he pleads with God for protection from the gentiles.²⁰

Joseph and Aseneth 12

Joseph and Aseneth is a Hellenistic Jewish novel that tells of the conversion of Aseneth, the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis, prior to her marriage to Joseph. Joseph and Aseneth 12–13 contains the text of a long prayer of repentance and conversion by Aseneth. Though the pattern is not visible in the continuation of Aseneth's prayer, ch. 12 contains many elements common to the individual complaint prayer.²¹

L.A.B. 18

The Liber antiquitatum biblicarum is also known as Pseudo-Philo. This section retells the story of Balaam in Numbers 22. In

¹⁹ See Sarason, "Communal Prayer at Qumran and among the Rabbis," 170.

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¹⁶ Richard S. Sarason, "Communal Prayer at Qumran and among the Rabbis: Certainties and Uncertainties," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. G. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 152-54. According to Sarason (p. 168), post-70 CE rabbinic sources also point to only partial formalization of communal prayers.

¹⁷ Stefan C. Reif, "The Second Temple Period, Qumran Research, and Rabbinic Liturgy: Some Contextual and Linguistic Comparisons," in *Liturgical Perspectives*, 149.

¹⁸ Mark J. Boda, *Praying the Tradition: The Origin and Use of Tradition in Nehemiah 9* (BZAW 277; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1999), 189-90; Carey A. Moore, "Daniel, Additions to," *ABD* 2:19.

²⁰ Identified by Esther G. Chazon, "Hymns and Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1:268. Joseph's lament has the structure: Address (16); Petitions (16-17); Confession of Trust (17-19); Enemy-complaint (19-21); Vow of Praise (22-31).

²¹ The lament in *Joseph and Aseneth* 12 has the structure: Address (1a); Confession of Trust/Praise (1b-2); Confession of Sin (3); Petitions, including motifs of Confession of Sin (4-5a); I-complaint, including Confession of Trust motif (5b-6); Petition (7); Confession of Trust (8); Enemy-complaint and I-complaint (9-10); Petitions, including Enemy-complaint motif (11-12); I-complaint (13); Petitions, including Confession of Trust motif (14-16).

a dialogue with God, Balaam replies to God's request for information with a complaint unprecedented in the biblical parallel.²²

L.A.B. 50

This section of the *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum* contains a paraphrase of Hannah's prayer for a child at the sanctuary of Shilo in 1 Sam 1:11.²³

Prayer of Manasseh

This prayer of individual confession of sin and contrition was apparently written to supply the text of King Manasseh's repentance implied in 2 Chron 33:12-13. The text of this prayer is preserved in the Septuagint and Syriac translations of the Hebrew Bible. ²⁴

Psalm 152.

Psalm 152 is attested only in Syriac; nevertheless, it shows indications of a similar origin to non-canonical psalms attested at Qumran.²⁵ Its superscription identifies it as a prayer of David, who was confronted by attacks of wild animals as a shepherd.

Tobit 3:2-6

Tobit reacts to his distress and the insults he has received with a prayer of complaint that concludes with a petition for the end of his own life.²⁶

²² Balaam's lament has the structure: Address; God-complaint; Confession of Trust; Petition

²³ Hannah's lament has the structure: Address; Disputation; Petition, including Confession of Trust motif.

²⁴ Identified by Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 202. Prayer of Manasseh has the structure: Address (1); Confession of Trust/Praise (2-8); I-complaint (9-10); Confession of Sin (11-12); Petitions, including Confession of Trust motif (13-14); Vow of Praise (15).

²⁵ J. H. Charlesworth and J. A. Sanders, "More Psalms of David," *OTP* 2:615. Psalm 152 has the structure: Address and Petition (1); Enemy-complaint (2-3); Petitions, including a Vow of Praise motif (4-6).

²⁶ Identified by Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 204. Tobit's lament has the structure: Address (2a); Confession of Trust/Praise (2); Petitions (3a); Confession of Sin, including justification of divine righteousness (3b-5); Petitions (6a, 6c); I-complaint (6b, 6d).

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Tobit 3:11-15

Sarah complains after bearing the reproach of one her servant maids. For whenever she marries, a demon comes and kills her husband on the wedding night.²⁷

Wisdom 9

This chapter contains a lengthy paraphrase of Solomon's prayer in 1 Kgs 3:6-9, where he pleads for wisdom to govern the nation.²⁸

How do these extra-biblical Second Temple prayers differ from biblical complaint psalms? One reason for connecting the biblical psalms of individual lament with therapeutic practices associated with the cult was the relative abundance of references to temple-based activities including pilgrimages to the sanctuary, sacrifice and cultic singing. ²⁹ It may be argued that such evidence is irrelevant in Second Temple times when the Jewish diaspora was widespread and access to the temple was limited. Nevertheless, the individual laments of Second Temple Jews do not complain about being excluded from participation in the cult or of being ostracized from the worshipping community. Three additional points can be made: there is an absence of complaints about physical suffering, images of individual and communal affliction are mixed together, and a number of extra-biblical Second Temple laments function as scriptural commentary.

Evidence of a shift in theological perspective is visible in the descriptions of personal suffering. Enemy attack is prominent. Note the emphasis on insults in Tobit 3, the threat of wild animals in Psalm 152 and the danger of gentiles to Joseph and his brothers in 4Q372. Two laments focus on the need for forgiveness of sin (*Joseph and Aseneth* 12 and Prayer of Manasseh) and one for divine guidance (Wisdom 9). The enemy imagery in biblical lament psalms connoted causes of both

²⁹ Morrow, Protest Against God, 71.

²⁷ Identified by Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 204. Sarah's lament has the structure: Address and Praise (11-12); Petition, including I-complaint motif (13); Declaration of Innocence (14-15a); I-complaint and God-complaint (15b); Petition (15c).

²⁸ This lament has the structure: Address (1a); Confession of Trust/Praise (1b-3); Petitions (4); I-Complaint (5-6); Confession of Trust/Retrospect (7-9); Petition (10); Confession of Trust (11-12); Disputation (13-18).

physical illness and social distress. But none of the extra-biblical texts of individual lament contain imagery that implies sickness or disease. Moreover, in contrast to biblical complaints, imminent or premature death is not subject to complaint.

One should also note the problem of separating argumentative prayers for individuals from those for the community. This observation implicates a number of prayers in the lament-form containing petitions for individuals. For example, although Tobit's complaint contains no petitions for the nation, Tobit connects his personal suffering with the collective affliction of the Jewish people. In fact, one could expand the examples of individual complaint prayer listed above by incorporating extra-biblical Second Temple compositions that contain petitions for both an individual and the community. In the cases of the laments of Enoch in 1 Enoch 84, 30 and Noah in Jub 10:3-6, 31 both are personal complaint prayers that also contain supplications for coming generations of the righteous. In addition, the lament of Esther found in Add Esth 14:3-19,32 and Judith's complaint prayer combine personal and communal petitions (Jdt 9:2-14).³³

These extra-biblical prayers of individual lament, therefore, show a typical development of Jewish spirituality, whereby the individual understands himself or herself in terms of identity with the large group. This trend is also illustrated by the poetry of Qumran. Unlike biblical complaints, prayers for help at Qumran are typically concerned with national and universal religious ideas including forgiveness of transgressions, knowledge of the Torah, protection from sin, hopes for peace, complete salvation and the like. Focus on these

³⁰ Enoch's lament has the structure: Address (2a); Confession of Trust/Praise (2b-3); Enemy-complaint (4a); God-complaint (4b); Petitions (5-6).

³¹ Noah's complaint has the structure: Address (3a); Confession of Trust/Retrospect (3b); Petitions, including Enemy-complaint motif (3c-6).

³³ Identified in Westerman, *Praise and Lament*, 204. Judith's lament has the structure: Address (2); Historical Retrospect (2b-4a); Petition (4b); Confession of Trust (5-6); Enemy-complaint (7); Petitions, collective and individual (8-10); Confession of Trust

(11); Petitions, collective and individual (12-14).

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subjects is manifest both in the petitions of the community and individuals.34

Finally, we should note a feature of extra-biblical Second Temple prayers that Judith Newman describes with the felicitous term "scripturalization." Examples of scripturalization among the poems listed here include the extra-biblical prayers of Psalm 152, Enoch, Manasseh, Tobit and the scripture paraphrases in Pseudo-Philo. Psalm 152 is connected to the narrative of David's early life in 1 Samuel 17. But no biblical psalm is connected to the context of 1 Samuel 17; Psalm 152 has been written in imitation of other psalms with superscripts referring to David's life. Enoch's lament in 1 Enoch 84 is a prayer of a covenant mediator, a type that allows for both personal and national intercession (cf. the prayers of Moses in the Pentateuch). It belongs to a series of texts that assure the reader that a righteous remnant will survive the typology of flood and final judgment. 36 In other words, it appears to offer a form of commentary on the flood narrative. Tobit's confession of sin echoes the language of community penitential prayers based on a Deuteronomistic theology. It provides a model for living the pious life while the nation continues to suffer the absence of redemption.³⁷ The Prayer of Manasseh parallels the confession of sin in Psalm 51.³⁸

With respect to the biblical tradition of individual lament, scripturalization does two things. First, it creates a connection between personal prayers and biblical models. But, second, it also particularizes the tradition of arguing with God. The scriptural allusions actually limit the reference value of the description of personal distress.³⁹ The biblical complaint psalms were meant to be of general application for a large number of persons and afflictions. Instead, the lament prayers in extra-

³² Identified in Westermann, Praise and Lament, 202. Esther's lament has the structure: Address (3a); Personal Petition, including I-complaint and Trust motifs (3b-4); Confession of Trust/Retrospect (5); Confession of Sin, including justification of divine righteousness (6-7); Enemy-complaint (8-10); Petitions, collective and individual (11-14); Declaration of Innocence (15-18); Petitions (19a).

³⁴ Bilhah Nitzan, Oumran Prayer and Religious Poetry (STDJ, 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994),

^{35 &}quot;Scripturalization" is defined in Judith H. Newman, Praying by the Book: The Scripturalization of Prayer in Second Temple Judaism (Early Judaism and its Literature 14; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 11-17.

³⁶ G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Bible Rewritten and Expanded," in Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period, 95.

³⁷ Rodney A. Werline, Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: The Development of a Religious Institution (Early Judaism and its Literature 13; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 162-65.

³⁸ Charlesworth, "Prayer of Manasseh," 630

³⁹ Esther M. Menn, "No Ordinary Lament: Relecture and the Identity of the Distressed in Psalm 22." HTR 93 (2000): 302.

biblical Second Temple literature appear to be *ad hoc*, connected to a particular person in a particular situation.

Though the discussion of the nature of extra-biblical Second Temple laments could be augmented, I think enough has been said to make the point that these prayers are different from the poems in the arguing with God tradition that are found in the Psalter in a number of significant ways. Most importantly, there is no indication that these narrative prayers assume a model of care for suffering individuals, which had a liturgical application. Just as important, they do not recognize physical affliction as a significant opportunity for lament.

3. Prayers against Demonic Attack in Second Temple Sources

But what happened to the therapeutic impulse that generated the psalms of individual lament? Surely there was still a place for private or semi-public services for suffering individuals conducted by liturgical experts? In the later Second Temple period and beyond, this picture is valid for prayers against demonic attack.

The goal of this section is not to present a comprehensive discussion of beliefs related to demonic affliction in Second Temple Judaism. Exorcism in the ancient world used a variety of methods and is a complex subject. 40 Prayers against demonic attack constitute one aspect of a constellation of therapeutic and cultic practices often loosely referred to as "exorcism." In this connection, it is important to distinguish two different kinds of demonic affliction. The term exorcism can apply both to remedies for attacks by demonic agency external to the sufferer and for possession, in which an evil spirit somehow takes up residence in the victim. Evidence is best for the concept of external demonic attack in Mesopotamia and in the biblical material. 41 Beliefs in both external demonic attacks and possession appear in various later Second Temple Jewish texts, including the New Testament.

Three types of compositions used to ward off demonic agencies are of particular interest to my discussion. These include psalm-like

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compositions, incantation texts, and apotropaic prayers. All three types seem mainly focused on driving off demonic attacks. In that sense, they conform to the dominant biblical worldview (including the psalms of individual lament) that was concerned with repelling externally caused affliction rather than with exorcism of possessed persons.

The Talmud knows of the use of two psalms in order to ward off the danger of demonic attacks: Psalms 3 and 91.⁴² The sages were insistent, however, that these psalms were not to be recited over afflicted persons, but as a preventative measure. Psalm 3, of course, is an individual lament psalm. Its restriction to a preventative function is a reverse of its use in biblical times. The talmudic constriction seems to be connected to a prohibition on using the Tetragrammaton in incantations. But there are indications that other authorities allowed for more latitude in the case of Psalm 91. Rabbinic commentary on Num 6:24-26 recognizes the benefits of both the Aaronic blessing and Psalm 91 in warding off demonic attack.⁴³

The Dead Sea scrolls are the most important witness for incantation texts and apotropaic prayers belonging to the Second Temple period. Both functioned as liturgical interventions for victims of demonic attack but in different ways. 44 11Q11 is the foremost example of a collection of incantations meant to drive away demons who are afflicting an individual. 45 11Q11 contains at least four poems. Characteristics of these incantations include direct address to demons asking for their identity, formulas of adjurations, invocations in the name of God

⁴⁵ Alexander, "Demonology," 345; Eshel, "Genres of Magical Texts," 398-406.

⁴⁰ John J. Rousseau, "Jesus, an Exorcist of a Kind," in *Society of Biblical Literature:* 1993 Seminar Papers (ed. Eugene H. Lovering; SBLSP 32; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 134-41.

⁴¹ Eric Sorenson, *Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament and Early Christianity* (WUNT 2/157; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 30–31, 53–54.

⁴² Nizan, Qumran Prayer, 228; see j. 'Erub. 10:11.

⁴³ Esther Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period," in *Liturgical Perspectives*, 71.

⁴⁴ Esther Eshel ("Genres of Magical Texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Die Dämonen/Demons* [ed. Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger and K. F. D. Römheld; Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003], 396) distinguishes between texts meant to cure demonic affliction and apotropaic psalms meant for protection. Philip S. Alexander ("The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years*, 2:344-45) divides the Qumran material into three categories by assigning 4Q560 the status of a recipe book for amulets that "a professional magician would have copied out and personalized for a client's use". The songs of the *maskîl* are another form of apotropaic prayer. Texts such as 11Q11 were intended for use when demonic affliction was diagnosed. The major difference between the categories of Alexander and Eshel is in the analysis of 4Q560, a difference that does not substantially affect my argument.

(including frequent use of the Tetragrammaton) and threats against the demons.⁴⁶

The collection in 11Q11 ends with a version of Psalm 91 that is derived from the Masoretic text but reworked in order to adapt it for defense from demonic attack. In the form it possesses in 11Q11, Psalm 91 is the oldest Hebrew magical text known from Second Temple times. Its appropriation in 11Q11 is through its assimilation to a world-view that is dualistic in nature, occupied by both angels of light and demons. Psalm 91 does not belong to the complaint psalm genre, so one cannot easily argue that such appropriation is related to the liturgical use of the lament psalms.

Apotropaic prayers or hymns were also used to oppose demonic attack. There are more of these texts attested at Qumran than the incantations listed above. Although many of the apotropaic prayers preserved in the Dead Sea Scrolls cannot be considered sectarian in origin, some are—perhaps the most well known being the songs of the *maskîl*. Common elements in the apotropaic prayers include references to the knowledge of God and divine law, pleas for protection against sin, requests for forgiveness, and pleas for purification. Unlike the incantations, they do not address demons directly nor do they adjure them. Pather, these texts suggest that demons may be frightened off by reciting the praise of God. So

Of the various types of compositions listed above, incantations for victims of demonic affliction and apotropaic prayers were most likely to have been administered by recognized liturgical experts. For example, *L.A.B.* 60 contains the text of a song David (a skilled musician and putative author of many psalms) was supposed to have played so that the evil spirit might depart from Saul. This seems to be a literary imitation of

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an incantation against demonic attack. References to the *maskîl* in 4Q510–511 also suggest mediation by a liturgical expert.⁵¹

Attacks by demonic agency link the religious concerns of later Second Temple Judaism with the concerns of biblical complaint prayers. Their common interests also manifest themselves in the fact that one apotropaic prayer against demonic attack is written in the form of a lament: *Jub* 10:2-6. However, the complaint prayer form is uncharacteristic of prayers against demons in extra-biblical Second Temple texts. Moreover, the biblical psalms do not specifically refer to such demonic agencies as "bastard angels," Lilith and evil spirits.

4. Divine Transcendence and the Eclipse of Lament

What happened to the lament-form so that it became compromised in the religious imagination of early Judaism? To reiterate a point made earlier, lament psalms were broad enough to encompass the possibility of demonic theories of dis-ease in the biblical thought world. The enemy-imagery of the psalms of individual lament shows that they were concerned with attack by demonic agencies as well as human beings. There is also evidence that the motif of enemy attack gained prominence in later biblical psalms of individual lament. Moreover, attacks by the enemy are prominent in the literary imitations of complaint prayer that characterize extra-biblical Second Temple sources. But, in contrast to the biblical tradition, the form of argumentative prayer was not favoured when addressing the problem of demonic attack.

Part of the problem is that the Bible is quite reticent about the existence of a demonic world, even if one can read between the lines in the complaint psalms. Comparison with the Mesopotamian individual lament texts is instructive. Mesopotamia was a culture with a strongly developed demonology. Moreover, it is generally granted that the psalms of individual lament have parallels with the form of incantations used by

⁴⁶ Eshel, "Genres of Magic Texts," 403-404. A precedent for the incantation formula found in the Dead Sea Scrolls is attested in the seventh century plaque found in Arslan-Tash (see Nizan, *Qumran Prayer*, 229-30).

⁴⁷ Émile Puech, "Les deux derniers psaumes davidiques du rituel d'exorcisme, 11QpsAp^a IV 4–V 14," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; STDJ, 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 89.

⁴⁸ Alexander, "Demonology," 344-45; Eshel, "Genres of Magical Texts," 406-410.

⁴⁹ There are other differences also, see Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 87-88.

⁵⁰ Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 74, 79. Eshel refers to Noah's prayer against demons as *Jub* 6.1-7, but I follow the numbering in *OTP*.

⁵¹ Alexander, "Demonology," 344. Bilhah Nitzan ("Hymns from Qumran—510–511," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, 63-64) describes the *maskîl* as a sort of magician.

⁵² Gerstenberger and Schrage, *Suffering*, 64-65. Müller ("Feinde, Tiere und Dämonen," 329) contends that demonic imagery in the psalms of individual lament is only metaphorical and refers in all cases to social conflict. I disagree, however, in part because Müller himself is able to document analogies between the imagery of the complaint psalms and the demonology of ancient Mesopotamia.

⁵³ Fuchs, *Die Klage als Gebet*, 344.

Mesopotamian ritual specialists to deal with demonic attack.54 Nevertheless, there appears to be no well-developed demonology in biblical culture during the late Iron Age and exilic period. In fact, the Hebrew Bible is rather hostile towards the various classes of professional exorcist in the ancient world,⁵⁵ probably because it is opposed to magic in general.56

This is not to deny certain parallels to later apotropaic prayers as instruments for warding off demonic attack in the biblical world. I have already noted that the Aaronic blessing was functionally connected with powers to ward off demonic violence. Protective blessings have also been discovered at the Iron Age sites of Kuntillat Ajrud and Kirbet el-Oôm. 57 But we do not have evidence for a well-developed lore of demon protection in the documents of biblical religion, which were transmitted in scribally trained circles. Of course, there may well have been a stratum of popular religion contemporary with the psalms that was much more explicit about the existence of demons and the means to ward off their attacks. But a tradition of prayers and rituals to protect oneself against an external violence explicitly recognized as demonic only becomes apparent in a scribally transmitted literature found in extra-biblical Second Temple texts. What has happened to precipitate this shift?

I suggest that the eclipse of the psalms of individual lament as a tool against demonic attack corresponds to a shift in worldview which developed a concept of God much more transcendent than the deity presupposed by the theology of lament. This conceptual transformation precipitated a number of theological developments that the affected the credibility of the arguing with God tradition. First, the need to reckon with the horizons of imperial politics in the conception of God interfered with the political fiction of the lament. Second, an emphasis on divine transcendence undermined the ability to question God, which is a hallmark of lament theology. Finally, the increased distance between God and creation required the invention or acknowledgement of intermediary figures, both angels and demons. All three of these developments can be linked to Israel's emergence into the intellectual revolution known as the "Axial Age."

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According to the philosopher Karl Jaspers, the Axial Age encompassed 800-200 B.C.E. with a center at approximately 500.58 Jaspers used the epithet "Axial" because this epoch heralded fundamental and revolutionary changes in human social, religious and intellectual history. Many civilizations were affected including those of ancient China, Greece, Iran, India and Israel. While the idea of an Axial Age has been hotly debated by intellectual historians, recent scholarship continues to acknowledge that a number of ancient civilizations experienced some fundamental transformations in the first millennium B.C.E. According to Björn Wittrock, "axiality is a form of reaction to a new type of human condition where neither the structures of kinship and physical proximity, nor those of a self-legitimating empire suffice any longer to embed the individual in a context of meaning or familiarity."⁵⁹ The appositeness of this description to the conditions faced by Judah's intellectuals during the Exile and its aftermath should be obvious.

The civilizations affected addressed the problems posed by axial conditions in diverse ways. In the case of early Judaism, axiality resulted in the perception of a significant degree of tension between the transcendental and mundane orders of reality.60 Human societies typically perceive the divine or spiritual realm as somewhat different. usually higher and more powerful, than everyday reality. In pre-Axial Age ancient Near Eastern civilizations, this higher world was symbolically structured according to principles very similar to the mundane or lower one. In other words, the two worlds were thought to operate by similar principles and accessed by similar means. By contrast, in the Axial Age there developed the perception of a sharp disjunction between the everyday and transcendent worlds. The divine reality was no longer simply human reality writ large. Such a distinction created numerous problems in the construction of social institutions with respect to the cosmic order.61

⁵⁴ Sorenson, Possession and Exorcism, 19-20.

⁵⁵ Sorenson, Possession and Exorcism, 48-49, 59. ⁵⁶ See Nizan, Oumran Prayer, 227-28.

⁵⁷ Puech, "Les deux derniers psaumes davidiques," 84-87.

⁵⁸ Karl Jaspers, Vom Ursprung und Ziel der Geschichte (Zürich: Artemis-Verlag, 1949),

⁵⁹ Björn Wittrock, "The Meaning of the Axial Age" in Axial Civilizations and World History (ed. J. P. Arnason, S. N. Eisenstadt, and B. Wittrock; Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 4; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 68.

⁶⁰ Wittrock, "Meaning of the Axial Age," 73-74

⁶¹ These remarks are based on S. N. Eisenstadt, "The Axial Age Breakthroughs-Their Characteristics and Origins," in The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations (ed.

Axial Age social, political, religious and intellectual processes were closely connected with the emergence of new social elites. Examples include Buddhist monks, the Chinese scholar-class, Greek philosophers and Jewish prophets. They created new institutions and practices to manage the perceived tension between the transcendental and mundane orders. These new types of thinkers differed from the elites that had been ritual, magical and sacred specialists prior to their society's Axial Age revolution. Radical changes in the nature of knowledge partly account for the rise and influence of these new religious specialists. The Axial Age did not simply involve transformations in social structures; it portended significant changes in the conceptual worlds of human beings. In fact, these new elites produced the first true ideologies in that they offered comprehensive views of the world and how people should live in it.

What does the Axial Age have to do with the demise of the argumentative prayer tradition? Chronologically, the post-exilic era can be located within the emergence of the Axial Age. During this time, Israelite religion was subject to ideological innovation. The emergence of early Judaism into the Axial Age is associated with the development of its monotheistic faith into a universal religious claim. Though there are antecedents, the late exilic prophet called the Second Isaiah can be considered the endpoint of the evolution of an unambiguous and universal monotheism in Israel. Second Isaiah proclaimed YHWH not only sovereign over Israel, but the sole existing deity whose sway was universal. Moreover, YHWH was immeasurable, unteachable and incomparable. These characteristics suggest a sharp distinction between transcendent reality and the human world.

S. N. Eisenstadt; SUNY Series in Near Eastern Studies; Albany: State University of New York, 1986), 1-3.

⁶² Eisenstadt, "The Axial Age Breakthroughs," 4-6.

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This theology was the product of a history of intellectual speculation that had been taking place among Israel's prophetic elite. One has only to compare the more anthropomorphic picture of YHWH in Isaiah 6 (mid-8th century) with that of Ezekiel 1 (early 6th century) to realize that a belief in a more transcendent deity, less amenable to the human imagination had been developing for some time. The result was a deity more transcendent and more powerful than the one envisaged in the complaint psalm tradition, king not only of Israel but unmatched emperor of the universe.

How did such an ideological development affect the social imagery that lament prayer is based on? Here, I will offer three observations. First, Axial Age theology compromised a felt intimacy with God, which was connected to the lament tradition. Second, there was a new emphasis on the righteousness of YHWH, which was difficult to accommodate to the pattern of argumentative prayer. Thirdly, the distance opened up between Creator and creation required the assumption of intermediary spiritual beings, including angels and demons.

In the first case, I have noted that the prophets were responsible for taking the god of a small independent state and making him into a universal deity. They did so under the pressure of, and partly in reaction to, imperial imagery and claims made by Israel and Judah's overlords and conquerors: the empires of Assyria, Babylon, and Persia. ⁶⁷ In this triangular process, the common object of desire for both Israelite and ancient Near Eastern intellectuals was a deity competent to control history. The politics of empire was an impetus for the emergence of the Axial Age and the need to envision a sufficiently transcendent order to comprehend this new international reality. ⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Moshe Weinfeld, "The Protest against Imperialism in Ancient Israelite Prophecy," in *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations*, 178-81.

⁶³ Peter Machinist, "On Self-Consciousness in Mesopotamia," in *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations*, 183.

⁶⁴ S. N. Eisenstadt, "Introduction: The Axial Age Breakthrough in Ancient Israel," in *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations*, 128-29.

⁶⁵ Benjamin Uffenheimer, "Myth and Reality in Ancient Israel," in *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations*, 168; John J. Scullion, "God in the OT," *ABD* 2:1042-43.

⁶⁶ Scullion, "God in the OT," 1043.

⁶⁸ Marcel Gauchet, *The Disenchantment of the World: A Political History of Religion* (New French Thought; Princeton: University Press, 1997), 41. By contrast, Karen Armstrong (*A History of God: The 4000-Year Quest of Judaism, Christianity and Islam* [New York: Ballantine Books, 1993], 27) emphasizes the rise of market capitalism as a stimulus for the emergence of the Axial Age. But the development of monotheism in Israel appears to have been more closely tied to changing political circumstances. Besides the thesis of Gauchet, see Baruch A. Levine, "'Ah, Assyria! Rod of My Rage' (Isa 10:15)—Biblical Monotheism as Seen in International Perspective: A Prolegomenen [Modern Hebrew]," *Eretz Israel* 27 (2003), 136-37.

The lament psalms work with a legal metaphor which assumes the availability of God as a kind of local ruler, accessible to the people. Stories about individuals seeking redress of legal problems in the presence of human potentates show similar kinds of argumentative rhetoric. 69 However, once political power was concentrated into the hands of an imperial ruler hundreds of miles away and, in any case, protected by a vast bureaucracy, the political metaphor that sustained the lament tradition was no longer as viable. YHWH was simply no longer as close to the world as he once was.

Second, there is an implication in the structure of individual lament that a religion with a more transcendent emphasis found difficult to comprehend. Many complaint psalms imply criticism of God, even when they lack expressions of direct protest that either challenge divine absence or charge YHWH with injustice because the affliction that the psalmists believe comes from God is considered to be out of proportion to their guilt. Even the psalms that present violent attacks of the enemy as the only problem that YHWH should concern himself with implicitly suggest that if YHWH fails to act, he is compromising his own claims of sovereignty (cf. Pss. 3; 5; 7 17; 31; 54; 56; 57; 64; 86; 120). In fact, it would not go too far to say that lament theology views YHWH as a deity who has obligations as well rights, and duties as well as privileges. As Creator, YHWH has a responsibility to ensure the good order of his creation. And creatures have the right to complain when they do not see the good king caring for his creation in the way that he should.

Such a theological perspective is alien to a theology that assumes that God is, by definition, always in the right. The faith tradition reflected in complaint psalms accepted the possibility of inexplicable and even arbitrary absences of the divine presence.⁷⁰ But in the post-exilic period Israel's religious imagination required the construction of a less compromised God. To a certain extent, in the Axial Age YHWH's absence was structured into the universe because of his greater transcendence. But as an imperial deity, ruler of the universe, YHWH had to be portrayed as completely sovereign. Consequently, all of YHWH's absences must be defensible; such a deity's actions were not to be subject to criticism by mere mortals.

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Third, the eclipse of the psalms of lament as a tool against demonic attack corresponds to a shift in worldview which was much more explicit than the biblical tradition about the existence of a demonic realm in conflict with the divine. Later Second Temple Judaism shows evidence of a dualistic worldview with an elaborated angelology and demonology that is not directly derived from the biblical material. Reasons for the emergence of this aspect of the Jewish religious imagination in the Persian and Hellenistic periods are not entirely understood.⁷¹ But the demise of lament is appropriate to a theological need to rid God of the suspicion that he may be capable of arbitrary or demonic actions.

Above, I indicated that the theology of complaint psalms imagines that affliction can be caused by God as well as by other agents (cf. 1 Sam 26:19).⁷² In fact, the biblical record contains a number of indications that YHWH could act in a negligent and even abusive manner on occasion.⁷³ A more sharply dualistic world with a demonic adversary allows for a deity free of evil. 74 In that sense, prayers of exorcism support a worldview that requires a more completely righteous God than the theology of the psalms of lament could provide.

5. Summary remarks and conclusion

The most important result of this study is to propose that the history of the arguing with God tradition is symptomatic of significant challenges in the religious imagination of ancient Israel. Ironically, the Axial Age processes that led to the canonical status of the psalms undermined the therapeutic utility of the genre best represented in the Psalter: the prayer of individual complaint. The result of this process both preserved lament and vitiated it at the same time. This paradox, however, need not be regarded simply as a contradiction; in fact, it is more in the nature of a creative tension that is characteristic of biblical religion and its capacity to puzzle, challenge and provoke its readers to

⁶⁹ Morrow, Protest Against God, 17, 48.

⁷⁰ Samuel E. Balentine, The Hidden God: The Hiding of the Face of God in the Old Testament (Oxford: University Press, 1983), 166.

⁷¹ Joanne K. Kuemmerlin-McLean, "Demons: Old Testament," ABD 2:139.

⁷² Morrow, Protest Against God, 52-53.

⁷³ Walter Brueggemann, Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), 359. A number of biblical narratives portray God as a rather frightening and unfair presence; see David Penchansky, What Rough Beast? Images of God in the Hebrew Bible (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1999).

⁷⁴ Karl van der Toorn, "The Theology of Demons in Mesopotamia and Israel: Popular Belief and Scholarly Speculation," in Die Dämonen/Demons, 83.

engage with its symbols. If I may paraphrase Brutus at the funeral of Caesar, I have not presented this lecture either to praise lament nor to bury the canon. On the contrary, what I hope to have offered is a small celebration of the complexity of the scriptural symbol system that members of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies work with, and a recognition of the kind of creative paradox that continues both to inspire and sustain our mutual commitment to biblical studies.

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Minutes of the 2006 CSBS Annual General Meeting

York University, Toronto, Ontario May 28, 16:00 – 17:00

Present: John Marshall, Mary R. D'Angelo, Robert Jewett, Richard Ascough, Derek Suderman, Dietmar Neufeld, Kari Tolppanen, Duncan Reid, Rene Baergen, Agnes Choi, Murray Baker, Erin Vearncombe, Lee Johnson, Anne Moore, Margaret MacDonald, Harold Remus, Glen Taylor, Robert Webb, John Kloppenborg, Ingrid M. Haare, Dina Teitelbaum, Hindy Najman, Kimberly Stratton, William Gilders, Daniel Miller, Fiona Black, Lincoln Blumell, Jenn Cianca, Steven Scott, John Van Seters, Adele Reinhartz, Christiana de Groot, Rebecca Idestrom, Sean A. Adams, Setven Muir, Alex Damm, Russell Martin, Jeffrey Keiser, Nicole Hildebrand, Tim Goltz, Rick Last, Tony Chartrand-Burke, Jo-Ann Brant, Cecilia Wassen, Patricia G. Kirkpatrick, Fred Wisse, Ian Henderson, Ellen B. Aitken, Dan Poxon, Kenneth A. Fox, Mark Boda, Tony Cummins, Steve Wilson, Willi Braun, Keir Hammer, John F. Horman, Tyler F. Williams, Ken Ristau, J. Richard Middleton, Patricia Dutcher-Walls, Eve-Mari Baker, Harry O. Maier, Judith Newman, Terry Donaldson, Wayne McCready, Peter Richardson, Gabriel Alalade, Francis Landy, Bill Richards, Christine Mitchell, John L. McLaughlin, Ellen White, Heather Weir, Mona Tokarek LaFosse, William Arnal, Bill Morrow, Michele Murray

- 1. Approval of Agenda (J. Van Seters/M. Boda)
- 2. Approval of Minutes of last Annual General Meeting, May 29, 2005 (J. McLaughlin/P. Dutcher-Walls); carried unanimously
- 3. President's Report (Bill Morrow)

Bill stated that 'twas an engaging but not an "interesting" year (à la the Chinese proverb), mostly because the society is running well. He said that it has been a pleasure to be president.

The 2007 Craigie Lecturer was announced: Mark Smith from New York University has agreed to be our speaker.

Bill noted that Dietmar Neufeld, who has served for 6 years (two full terms) as Treasurer and Membership Secretary, is stepping down; Diet was thanked heartily for his diligent and meticulous work – he introduced the electronic way of handling the finances to the Society. He shall be missed!

4. Executive Secretary's Report (Michele Murray)

Michele announced the dates for Congress next year: Sunday, May 27th to Tuesday May 29 at the University of Saskatchewan, in Saskatoon. Congress 2008 will be in Vancouver at the University of British Columbia, 2009 at Carleton University in Ottawa, and 2010 in Montreal.

Michele discussed how the CSBS benefits from being linked with thousands of Canadian scholars through our association with the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences (CFHSS) and the Canadian Corporation for the Study of Religion (CCSR). One concrete way that the CCSR benefits our society is through book series. In particular, Studies in Christianity and Judaism/Études sur le christianisme et le judaïsme (ESCJ) has served our members well. Stephen Wilson, Editor of the ESCJ series, reported that the following books are now out: Willi Braun (ed), Rhetoric and Reality in Early Christianities; Scott G. Brown, Mark's Other Gospel: Rethinking Morton Smith's Controversial Discovery; Elizer Segal, From Sermon to Commentary: Expounding the Bible in Talmudic Babylonia; Richard S. Ascough (ed), Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Smyrna and Sardis, and Leif E. Vaage (ed), Religious Rivalries in the Early Roman Empire and the Rise of Christianity

Two representatives from the CHFSS, Suzanne Crosta and Diane Belanger, came to the AGM and spoke about some of the issues that the Federation is working on (e.g., open access publishing, Women and Equities Issues – for which an association representative will be sought). Crosta noted that SHRCC received a small increase from the federal government this year. Diane reported that financial support for academic authors from ASPP increased from \$7,000 to \$8,000, and 40 books written by new scholars will be funded. In addition to this, there will be funding for five translations – this is admittedly not a lot, but it is better than what we had before (i.e., nothing!). Two recent publications from the Federation were described: *Renewing Scholarly Associations* and *Manual of Best Practices for New Scholars*. Both are available on the Federation's web site.

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5. Student Liaison Officer's Report (Derek Suderman)

Derek offered his thanks to Tony Chartrand-Burke and Mona Tokarek LaFosse for their help in organizing student events, he also thanked the executive for their interest in student issues. He stated that the student and new members lunch, held earlier in the day, was successful. CSBS seems to be doing well in attracting graduate students; Derek noted that out of 38 new members, 15 are students. This year there are 21 students giving papers, which is approximately a third of the papers by students. Derek congratulated the two winners of the student essay competition this year: Sean Adams and Paul Evans.

Derek thanked members for their participation in the interesting discussion held during the student session on the topic, "Introducing the Bible to Students and Students to the Bible;" he thanked in particular the panelists: Ellen Aitken, Keith Bodner, and Christine Mitchell. He invited members to contact him with ideas for student sessions. Derek concluded his report by encouraging students to consider giving a paper and reminded them that travel funding is available especially for students.

6. Vice-President's Report and Nominations (Mary Rose D'Angelo)

After providing opportunity for nominations from the floor (of which there were none), Mary Rose named the individuals nominated earlier either by the membership or by the executive to the four vacated executive positions: 1) Vice-President: J. Glen Taylor (Wycliff College, University of Toronto); 2) Student Liaison Officer: Derrick Suderman (Emmanuel College, Toronto School of Theology); 3) Executive Secretary: Michele Murray (Bishop's University); 4) Treasurer and Membership Secretary: Robert Derrenbacker (Regent College). Each of these individuals was approved unanimously by the membership and duly elected.

Mary Rose noted that the present two research categories (New Testament and Old Testament/Hebrew Bible) leave out a significant number of CSBS scholars when it comes to nominations for Vice President of the society. It was suggested that, for now, the format could be someone from Hebrew Bible or Ancient Judaism one year, and then someone from New Testament the next year. This provides better flexibility, and might better address the interests of our members. If necessary, a formal introduction of a third category (and thus a rotation of three) could be introduced in later years, if the membership deemed this necessary.

7. Programme Coordinator's Report (Christine Mitchell)

Christine noted that 66 paper proposals were submitted this year, and in the final programme 62 papers are included; this is up from 56 last year. Christine noted that this year there are three concurrent sessions operating due to the high volume of papers.

She reminded members of the Joint Lecture, this year led by the Canadian Patristic Society, at which Bart Ehrman will speak on the Gospel of Judas. A reception will follow.

Christine expressed thanks to Tony Chartrand-Burke, the Local Arrangements Co-ordinator, for setting up the membership dinner as well as the lunch for students and new members. She thanked Ellen White for organizing the Women Scholars' lunch.

It was noted that there are two on-going seminars this year: Religion and Travel in Antiquity (second year three), and Ancient Historiography (first year of three). There are this year three Special Sessions: Literary Approaches to the Hebrew Bible (final year), Curses and Curse Stories (first of two years), and Women Interpreters (first of two years). Christine announced that the executive had approved a new two-year special session, led by Cecilia Wassen, on the Dead Sea Scrolls, beginning next year in Saskatoon.

8. Communication Officer's Report (Richard Ascough)

Richard noted that email communication continues to be an economical and effective way to diseminate information, and he reminded members that if they received a paper copy of the second mailing it means that he does not have their address. He asked that members please forward to him email addresses in order to receive communication by email.

Richard stated that there are three judges for each of the book awards – and that these people provide extremely valuable service to the society, but that they must remain anonymous. He thanked them for their work. This year, 10 books were nominated for the Beare award, and 5 for the Scott award. Richard encouraged members to continue to nominate outstanding books and reminded members that self-nominations are accepted.

It was announced that Wabash Teaching Centre is offering Workshops beginning this summer: one is for Pre-tenure Theological School Faculty, another is for Pre-Tenure Religión Faculty at Colleges and Universities, and a

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final one for Mid-Career Faculty Teaching at Theological Schools. All participants involved in the week-long workshops receive all expenses paid, plus a stipend, and in addition to this, there is a \$7,000 (U.S.) research award. This is a great opportunity for thinking more deeply about pedagogy.

9. Treasurer/Membership Secretary's Report (Dietmar Neufeld)

Diet noted that membership is stable and growing: the total number of members is 343 (up from 311 last year). The names of 39 new members were read, and it was moved that the society accept all of these as new members (D. Neufeld/P. Richardson); carried unanimously.

There are four funding sources for CSBS: 1) membership renewals; 2) donations; 3) the SHRCC travel grant; 4) investments. Regarding the travel grant, students got 80% of what they asked for and full-time members received 40% of what they asked for. As for investments, Chair of the Endowments Committee, Wayne McCready, reported that since 1998 a rolling plan of investments has been fruitful; presently, society investments are valued at a market value of \$120,000. The goal is \$270,000, so we are well on our way to this. About \$5,000 income is generated annually, and since this amount surpasses our annual expenditures, we have been able to reinvest. Thus, thanks to investment and to member donations, our finances are secure.

10. Other Business

There was none.

11. Adjournment at 5:13 PM (R. Martin/W. Braun)

(Minutes were prepared by Michele Murray, June 5, 2006)

CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL POSITION

as at August 31, 2006

the designation of	41.44	General Fund	9-	Restricted Funds	ESCJ Fund		2006 Total	61,	2005 Total
ASSETS									
Cash Accounts receivable (Note 3)	\$	16,718 788	\$	7,350	\$ 1000	\$	24,068 788	\$	21,749 1,305
Investments (Note 4) Funds held by CCSR (Note 5)				73,109	11,753		73,109 11,753		73,049 14,753
Charge of the Control	\$	17,506	\$	80,459	\$ 11,753	\$	109,718	\$	110,856
the series are leastly.		1 147				í	12 -4	'n	45 g s
LIABILITIES									
Accounts payable Deferred revenue (Note 3)	\$	788	\$		\$	\$	788	\$	6,636 1,305
		788			-		788		7,941
FUND BALANCES									
Unrestricted Restricted		16,718 -		- 80,459	11,753		16,718 92,212		11,930 90,985
	apple.	16,718	10	80,459	11,753	h	108,930	ui.	102,915
	\$	17,506	\$	80,459	\$ 11,753	\$	109,718	\$	110,856

APPROVED BY THE BOARD:

Director	Director

CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS AND CHANGES IN FUND BALANCES for the Year Ended August 31, 2006

	Gene	eral I			Restricted Funds			und	
	2006		2005	2006	20	005	2006		2005
REVENUE									
Membership dues	\$ 15,714	\$	14,960	\$ - \$	5	- 9	\$ -	\$	
SSHRC travel grant	4,755		4,755	-			-		
CFHSS academic support	-		6,350			-	11.7		
CSBS dinner	3,945		3,275	48.82					-
Congress registration	1,506		1,054	-		-	20-7		-
Subscriptions	99		30	-		-			
Donations			-	4,098	3	3,587			
Investment income		, E		5,941	9	9,602	-		-
TA REE	26,019		30,424	10,039	13	3,189	40%	I ICH	102
EXPENSES									
Accounting and audit	1,980		1,552			-	30.00		
Bank charges	252		145	4.51		-	-		-
Computer software	658		-	100			100		The same
Congress expenses	201		5,430			-			100
Craigie Lecture			en e		1	,021			-
CSBS dinner	4,324		3,716	4.50		-			
Dues and memberships	2,162		2,162	-		-	-		
Executive	2,384		4,060			-	-		-
Member travel	4,604		3,880			-	-		
Office, printing and postage	1,611		1,369			-	-		-
Publication costs	-		-	-		-	3,000		4,127
Student awards	-		-	1,650	2	2,000	-		-
Subscriptions	6,763		6,636	-		-			
Teleconference	454		490	-		-	-		-
	25,393		29,440	1,650	3	3,021	3,000		4,127
EXCESS OF REVENUE									
OVER EXPENSES	626		984	8,389	10	,168	(3,000)	(4,127
BALANCE, OPENING	11,930		4,303	76,232	72	2,707	14,753		18,880
INTERFUND TRANSFERS	4,162		6,643	(4,162)	(6	5,643)			
BALANCE, CLOSING	\$ 16,718	\$	11,930	\$ 80,459 \$	76	5,232	\$ 11,753	\$	14,753

STATEMENT OF CASH FLOWS for the Year Ended August 31, 2006

	Gener	al F	und		Restrict	ed	Funds	ESC	JFu	ınd
150	2006		2005		2006		2005	2006		2005
D FO	R)						The same of the sa			ran
\$	626	\$	984	\$	8,389	\$	10,169 \$	(3,000)	\$	(4,127
	517		(263)					-		
	155				(60)		(12,045)			de antico
	+10		*		-			3,000		4,127
	(6,636)		6,636		-			-		
	(517)		263		-					-
	4,162		6,643		(4,162)		(6,643)	ma fo		1
	(1,848)		14,263		4,167		(8,519)			Ĵ
	18,566		4,303	10	3,183		11,702	100.1		
\$	16,718	\$	18,566	\$	7,350	\$	3,183 \$		\$	10
	\$	\$ 626 517 - (6,636) (517) 4,162 (1,848) 18,566	2006 D FOR) \$ 626 \$ 517 (6,636) (517) 4,162 (1,848) 18,566	517 (263) 517 (263) 	2006 2005 D FOR) \$ 626 \$ 984 \$ 517 (263)	2006 2005 2006 D FOR) \$ 626 \$ 984 \$ 8,389 517 (263) - (60) - (6636) 6,636 - (517) 263 - (4,162) (4,162) (1,848) 14,263 4,167 18,566 4,303 3,183	2006 2005 2006 D FOR) \$ 626 \$ 984 \$ 8,389 \$ 517 (263) - (60) - (6636) 6,636 - (517) 263 - (4,162) 6,643 (4,162) (1,848) 14,263 4,167 18,566 4,303 3,183	2006 2005 2006 2005 D FOR) \$ 626 \$ 984 \$ 8,389 \$ 10,169 \$ 517 (263) (60) (12,045) (66,636) 6,636 (517) 263 (6,643) (1,848) 14,263 4,167 (8,519) 18,566 4,303 3,183 11,702	2006 2005 2006 2005 2006 D FOR) \$ 626 \$ 984 \$ 8,389 \$ 10,169 \$ (3,000) 517 (263) (60) (12,045) 3,000 (6,636) 6,636 3,000 (517) 263 (517) 263 (1,848) 14,263 4,167 (8,519) - 18,566 4,303 3,183 11,702 -	\$ 626 \$ 984 \$ 8,389 \$ 10,169 \$ (3,000) \$ 517 (263) (60) (12,045) 3,000 (6,636) 6,636 3 (517) 263 (517) 263 (517) 263 (1,848) 14,263 4,167 (8,519) - (1,848) 14,263 4,167 (8,519) - 18,566 4,303 3,183 11,702 -



CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS August 31, 2006

1. PURPOSE OF THE ORGANIZATION

Canadian Society of Biblical Studies is an unincorporated non-profit organization, the purpose of which is to stimulate the critical investigation of the classical biblical literatures, together with other related literature, by the exchange of scholarly research both in published form and in public forum.

The Society is a registered charity and is income tax exempt.

2. SIGNIFICANT ACCOUNTING POLICIES

(a) Basis of Presentation

These financial statements have been prepared in accordance with Canadian generally accepted accounting principles and are presented in Canadian dollars.

(b) Use of Estimates

The preparation of financial statements in conformity with Canadian generally accepted accounting principles requires management to make estimates and assumptions that affect the amounts reported in the financial statements. Actual results could differ from those estimates.

(c) Fund Accounting

Canadian Society of Biblical Studies follows the restricted fund method of accounting.

The General Fund accounts for the operation and maintenance of the Society. This fund reports unrestricted resources.

Various restricted funds account for endowment resources that have been donated for specific purposes. These donations are invested and the income earned thereon is used for grants, prizes and other awards in accordance with donors' wishes.

The ESCJ Fund (Etudes/Studies in Christianity and Judaism) is a publication subsidy program managed through the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion ("CCSR") – see Note 5.

(d) Investments

Investments are stated at the lower of cost and market value.

(e) Fixed Assets

No value is accorded to fixed assets for reporting purposes. Fixed asset purchases are charged as an expenditure in the year of acquisition.

CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS August 31, 2006

2. SIGNIFICANT ACCOUNTING POLICIES, continued

(f) Revenue Recognition

Contributions related to general operations are recognized as revenue in the General Fund in the year services are performed or related expenses are incurred. The Society's share of Congress net revenues is recorded in the General Fund in the year of receipt. Restricted contributions are recognized as revenue of the appropriate restricted fund. Investment income earned by the restricted funds is recognized as income of the designated fund.

(g) Donated Materials and Services

Donated materials and services are recognized only when their fair value can be reasonably estimated and the materials and services would be paid for by the Society if not donated.

During the year ended August 31, 2006 the value of donated materials and services recorded in the accounts was \$nil (2005 - \$nil).

3. DEFERRED REVENUE

As at August 31, 2006, the Society was owed \$788 by the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences ("CFHSS") in connection with Congress 2006. This amount is shown in the financial statements as deferred revenue.

4. INVESTMENTS

As at August 31, 2006, the market value of the Society's investment portfolio was \$114,091 (August 31, 2004 - \$107,126).

5. FUNDS HELD BY CCSR

As at August 31, 2006, the amount of \$11,753 was held on behalf of the Society by the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion. Of this amount, \$3,141 was designated for the ESCJ program and \$8,612 was designated for the UM Book Series.

CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES SCHEDULE OF RESTRICTED FUNDS for the Year Ended August 31, 2006

		General	S	tudent		RBY Scott		N Wagner	-	Publication
	E	ndowment	Re	esearch		Award		Award		Fund
CAPITAL										
Balance, opening	\$	9,833	\$	1,283	\$	8,743	\$	10,321	\$	2,406
Donations		311	*	-	*	2,000	•	100		300
Expenditures						_		1000		and of
Interfund transfers		-					V	diz.		10.10
Balance, closing	my l	10,144		1,283		10,743		10,321		2,706
INCOME ON HAND										
Balance, opening		-		96		48		10		35
Investment income		762		98		743		787		195
Expenditures				-		(495)		(500)		4.
Interfund transfers	mg /	(762)		(100)		(200)		(200)		(200)
Balance, closing	12			94		95	-	97		30
FUND BALANCE, CLOSING	\$	10,144	\$	1,377	\$	10,838	\$	10,418	\$	2,736
		Beare		Craigie		Founders'		Jeremias		
		Award		tureship		Prize		Prize		Total
CAPITAL										
Balance, opening	\$	12,072	\$	16,130	\$	7,168	\$	7,892	\$	75,848
Donations				37		700		750		4,098
Expenditures				-				Same.		
Interfund transfers		-		•						-
Balance, closing		12,072	107	16,167		7,868		8,642		79,946
INCOME ON HAND										
Balance, opening		49		29		18		99		384
Investment income		921		1,232		573		631		5,941
Expenditures						(250)		(405)		(1,650)
Interfund transfers		(900)		(1,200)		(300)		(300)		(4,162)
Balance, closing		70		61		41		25		513
FUND BALANCE, CLOSING	\$	12,142		16,228	\$	7,909				80,459

ROBERT W. R. BISHOP

Chartered Accountant

January 16, 2007

13308 Crescent Road, South Surrey, BC V4P 1K4

Tel 604-538-1288 Fax 604-538-1248

AUDITOR'S REPORT

To the Directors of Canadian Society of Biblical Studies

I have audited the statement of financial position of Canadian Society of Biblical Studies as at August 31, 2006 and the statements of operations and changes in fund balances and cash flows for the year then ended. These financial statements are the responsibility of the Society's management. My responsibility is to express an opinion on these financial statements based on my audit.

Except as explained in the following paragraph, I conducted my audit in accordance with Canadian generally accepted auditing standards. Those standards require that I plan and perform an audit to obtain reasonable assurance whether the financial statements are free of material misstatement. An audit includes examining, on a test basis, evidence supporting the amounts and disclosures in the financial statements. An audit also includes assessing the accounting principles used and significant estimates made by management, as well as evaluating the overall financial statement presentation.

In common with many non-profit organizations, the Society derives revenues from membership dues, donations and activities, the completeness of which is not susceptible to satisfactory audit verification. Accordingly, my verification of these revenues was limited to the amounts recorded in the records of the Society and I was not able to determine whether any adjustments might be necessary to revenue, assets and fund balances.

In my opinion, except for the effect of adjustments, if any, which I might have determined to be necessary had I been able to satisfy myself concerning the completeness of the revenue items referred to in the preceding paragraph, these financial statements present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of the Society as at August 31, 2006 and the results of its operations for the year then ended in accordance with Canadian generally accepted accounting principles. As required by the Society Act (British Columbia), I report that, in my opinion, these principles have been applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

"Robert W.R. Bishop"

CHARTERED ACCOUNTANT

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Appointments, Promotions, Awards, Honours

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- Couturier, Guy. Doctorat en théologie, *Honoris Causa*, Collège universitaire dominicain, Ottawa, le 29 octobre, 2006.
- Donaldson, Terence L. Director of Advanced Degree Programs, Toronto School of Theology.
- Duhaime, Jean. Editor of the French section of www.jcrelations.net, a website devoted to Jewish Christian relations.
- Dunn, Matthew W. I. Adjunct Instructor, Religious Studies Department, Iona College, New Rochelle, New York.
- Dutcher-Walls, Patricia. Associate Dean, Vancouver School of Theology, Jan 1, 2006 [part time administrative position].
- Eberhart, Christian A. Tenure at the Lutheran Theological Seminary Saskatoon, SK.
- Erhlich, Carl A. Franz-Rosenzweig-Gastprofessor, University of Kassel, Germany, 2006.
- Hamilton, Gordon. J. Frank Cross Award for best book published in Ancient Near Eastern Epigraphy in 2006 (ASOR).
- Idestrom, Rebecca G. S. Centre for Mentorship and Theological Reflection Research Scholarship. 2007-08.
- Knoppers, Gary N. Canadian Friends of the Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem Fellowship.
- Miller, Daniel R. Assistant Professor, Dept. of Religion, Bishop's University.
- Moore, Anne. Promotion to Senior Instructor.
- ______. Tenure (effective July 1, 2007).
 ______. Teaching Excellence Award Honourable Mention from University of Calgary Student's Union 2006.
- _____. Fortress Press Award for Innovative Teaching in an Undergraduate Setting, November 2007.
- Muir, Steven C. Assistant Professor, Concordia University College of Alberta.
- Penner, Ken M. Assistant Professor of Biblical Studies, Acadia Divinity College.
- . Canadian Society of Biblical Studies Norman E. Wagner Award for the Innovative Use of Technology relating to Biblical Scholarship.
- Penner, Todd. Appointed Chair of Religious Studies Department.
- . 2006 Millicent C. McIntosh Fellow Awarded by the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation (2006-2007): "Speaking with Authority: Christian and Greek Constructions of Male Cultural Identity in the Second Century C.E."
 - __. Member of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas (August 2006).

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- Stichele, Caroline Vander. Research Grant from NWO (Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research) for research project on 'Gender-Critical Reflections on Early Christian Literature.'
- Suderman, W. Derek. Lecturer in Religious Studies (Old Testament), Conrad Grebel University College and the University of Waterloo.
- Taylor, Marion. Mentoring Award by the SBL Committee on the Status of Women.
 - Promotion to Professor at Wycliffe College.
- Webster, Jane S. Tenure at Dept. of Religion and Philosophy, Barton College.
- Williams, Ritva H. Promotion to Associate Professor, September 2005.
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- Boda, Mark. J. Co-leader with Michael H. Floyd of study project on Tradition in Haggai/Zechariah 1-8 (Continuum); Co-leader with Paul Redditt of study project on the Unity and Disunity of Ezra-Nehemiah: Redaction, Rhetoric, Reader (Sheffield Phoenix); Co-leader with Jamie Novotny of study project on Temple Building Texts and Rituals in the ancient Near



East and Hebrew Bible (Ugarit-Verlag); Personal research on Chronicles, Judges, Zechariah, Penitence in Old Testament Theology.

Calvert-Koyzis, Nancy. Nineteenth-century women's interpretations of the three Marys. in conjunction with the new SBL program unit that I chair on the history of women's interpretations of the Bible; History of the interpretation of Romans 16:7 (Junia).

Cox, Claude E. commentary on the Old Greek translation of Job.

Duhaime. Jean. Annotated translation of the War Scroll (1QM); Contribution to a new French annotated translation of the non-Biblical Scrolls from Qumran.

Dunn, Matthew W. I. The Bible and "theologies of religions."

Gilmour Michael L. postcolonial criticism and Salman Rushdie (Graduate thesis for the Department of English Literature, University of Manitoba).

Helfield, Michael W. Literary and thematic structure of Josephus' *Judean War*.and the ways in which this work may have been informed by *Second Maccabees*.

Humphrey, Edith M. "Open Heaven and Case Closed: The Rhetoric of Vision in the New Testament"; Vision reports in the New Testament—the interplay between argumentation and aesthetics; "Catholicity and Worship in Four Dimensions" – historical/geographical and biblical study of Christian worship that aims to address the "worship wars" of our generation.

Jeal, Roy R. Socio-Rhetorical Commentaries on Colossians and Philemon for the Rhetoric of Religious Antiquity Series (Vernon K. Robbins and Duane F. Watson, eds.); The rhetoric of social formation in the NT; Translation of LXX Wisdom of Solomon for the Lexham Interlinear Septuagint Project; Theological and Pastoral approaches to Harm Reduction among substance abusers.

Kloppenborg, John S. James: A commentary (Hermeneia); Associations in the Graeco-Roman World; Papryological Commentary on the Parables (Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament: Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht).

McLaughlin, John L. Monograph on Ancient Israelite Religion; Monograph on Prophets and Justice.

Moore, Anne. Call Narratives as a means of understanding the role of the women in the Gospels; Ethnomedical approach to the exorcisms of Jesus; Comprehending the kingship/kingdom of God as metaphor rather than symbol; Protevangelium of James.

Penner, Todd. *Die Judenfrage* and 'Hellenistic Judaism': Foregrounding the Backgrounds Approach to Early Christianity; Myth of Origins: The Quest for James and the History of the Early Jerusalem Church; A Gender-Critical Approach to Early Christian Literature; Tertullian's

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Veiled Discourse: 1 Corinthians 11 and the Gendered; Construction of Early Christian 'Heresy.'

Reinhartz, Adele. Study of Caiaphas in ancient sources and the history of interpretation, including art, music, literature, drama and film.

Schuller, Eileen. Preparation of a new edition of the Hodayot/Thanksgiving Psalms scroll from Qumran, based on the reconstruction and commentary of Hartmut Stegemann, with translation by Carol Newsom.

Taylor, Marion Ann. Biographical History of Women Biblical Interpreters for Baker Academic Press.

Vander Stichele, Caroline. Gender-Critical Reflections on Early Christian Literature; Representations of Mary Magdalene in Film.

Van Seters, John. Historical and literary critical monograph on the David story.

Webster, Jane S. Teaching Biblical Literature in the Liberal Arts Context: Symposium Results.

Wray Beal, Lissa M. 1-2 Kings Commentary for Apollos Old Testament Commentary Series by IVP Press.

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