

The Bulletin

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

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Richard S. Ascough, Editor

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**Imperial Interests, Biblical Interpretation and Canadian
Content**

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A few years ago I was fortunate enough to teach a Vancouver School of Theology summer course called *The World Jesus Lived In: Sex, Religion and Politics under Rome*. Its focus was Roman imperial politics and the ways that ancient Jews and early Christians addressed the imperial moral propaganda. The students were pastors and people with ministerial experience, and all were mature students, by which I mean, astonishingly enough, that most were even more mature than I. They revealed a truly impressive range of experience with empire. My favorite account came from a man whose first charge was in a town so far in the north of Ontario that the civic structure consisted of the Mountie, the Anglican priest (himself) and the Hudson's Bay representative. His narrative set me thinking about the Canadian experience of empire and its effect on both my own interest in the impact of imperial Rome on ancient Judaism and the origins of Christianity, and the increasing interest in the Roman order in the wider scholarly world.

My concern with Rome and empire did not originate during my sojourn in and relationship with Canada; it actually goes back to and in some ways even predates my years in graduate school. But it has become increasingly clear to me that the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies has fostered this interest, and in various ways given me mental space to pursue it as well as actual space to articulate it. I'm not competent to survey the history of Canadian Biblical scholarship on the Roman context of the New Testament or even in the CSBS, let alone of imperialism in Canadian experience. The first part of my remarks sketches out a few thoughts about three aspects of scholarship on the empire and ancient Judaism and Christianity: first, some suggestions about why and how the Roman rule became invisible in scholarship; second, some of the ways in which the CSBS contributed to the empire's current triumphal reappearance; third, some observations about the dialectic of resistance and accommodation to imperial moral propaganda

in the ancient Jewish and early Christian texts. The second part of the essay illustrates a few of the complex ways that Roman visual and literary moral propaganda interacted with ancient Jewish and Christian self-presentation.

I. Three Observations:

Empire and the Eclipse of Rome in Scholarship on Christian Origins

To begin with, then, the role of Roman imperial interest in the formation of the NT was eclipsed in much twentieth-century scholarship. There are I think, multiple reasons for this. On the whole this disappearance of the imperial order was peculiar to Christian or post-Christian scholars studying the New Testament and what is generally called Hellenistic Judaism – i.e. Jewish texts in Greek between the mid-second century BCE and the end of the second century CE. Imperial amnesia was never characteristic of students of early Christianity from the second to the sixth century, perhaps because their texts made the presence of the empire so clear. Scholars of rabbinic Judaism likewise seem to have been fairly consistently conscious of the impact of the wars with Rome and the intrusions of the Roman order into Jewish life.

At one level, the disappearance of the Roman imperial interest from the context of the New Testament was the product of collaboration between the ancient texts and their nineteenth- and twentieth- century interpreters. For the earliest Christian texts and many of the texts of early imperial Judaism, the Roman order, as the largest political reality in their world, seems to have been either too obvious or too threatening to invite mention. Thus in Philo's corpus, *Flaccus* and *Legation to Gaius* are entirely devoted to addressing the Roman rule and its administrators, but do so by castigating Roman rulers for their infidelity to Roman standards. Outside these two works, there is only one explicit reference to things Roman.¹ As a result, scholarship on Philo can argue either that the philosopher was adamantly opposed to the Roman rule or that he was its apologist to the Jews of Alexandria.² Similarly in the undisputed

¹ *Probus* 118-119 praises the resistance of the Xanthians to Brutus, as one who had betrayed his leader and benefactor (Caesar).

² The latter position is argued by Maren Niehoff in *Philo on Jewish Identity and Culture* (TSAJ 86. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), against the older view represented by Erwin Goodenough in *The Politics of Philo Judaeus: Practice and Theory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938). See John J. Collins' measured discussion of Philo's politics in

letters of Paul, only Rom 13:1-7 speaks openly of the political order and these verses command submission to the governing authorities in terms that can hardly have been ambiguous in Paul's own time. Easily transferred to later states, the claim that "the one who resists authority opposes the decree of God" (Rom 13:2) was invoked over the centuries in support of untrammled political power, most notoriously in Christian justifications of apartheid. Likewise the gospels seem to speak of Rome only when they are forced to: when they recount the death of Jesus. From these accounts, the empire's agents have emerged as reluctant instruments of envious Jewish leaders (Mark 15:10). Only in Revelation is condemnation of the Roman imperial rule both explicit and central to the work.³

The reticence of the earliest Christian texts in regard to Rome was abetted by the political contexts of the formative periods of NT scholarship. The nineteenth- and twentieth- century imperial cultures in which classical and biblical studies were formed (Germany, England, France, the United States) were deeply and explicitly identified either with the Roman empire itself (Germany, England, France), or the imperial republic (France and the United States). These identifications left visible traces in national iconography. Imperial German helmets could be surmounted by the Roman eagle, who also made an appearance in the carpet under Napoleon's feet in the 1806 Ingres portrait.⁴ Britannia wears the plumed military helmet of Roma, sits upon a Roman shield transformed by the Union Jack, and often carries Neptune's trident.⁵ Liberty was depicted with the fasces and an eagle on the seal of the Deuxième République.⁶ Statues and coins showed George Washington,

Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora (2nd ed.; Biblical Resource Series; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans: 2000), 131-138.

³ Allan Aubrey Boesak, *Comfort and Protest: Reflections on the Apocalypse of John of Patmos* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977).

⁴ Images can be found at

<http://www.dra.de/online/hinweisdienste/wort/2004/januar24.html> and

<http://www.sai.msu.su/wm/paint/auth/ingres/>.

⁵ See e.g. <http://www.savebritannia.org/history.jpg>;

http://www.geocities.com/traditions_uk/Britannia.gif

<http://www.arthist.umn.edu/aict/Tennielweb/intro.html>;

<http://my.telegraph.co.uk/VirtualContent/96040/20080127075202.jpg>;

<http://www.cartoonstock.com/lowres/csl02481.jpg>;

http://newsimg.bbc.co.uk/media/images/41376000/jpg/_41376828_britannia.jpg

⁶ See <http://perso.orange.fr/pierre.gay/PagesFra/EmbSceFR>.

“father of his country,” sporting a toga, whether over his nude torso (in imitation of Cato) or over a full set of nineteenth century gentleman’s haberdashery.⁷ Scholars of both classical and Biblical literature in these milieux were generally inclined to see the empire as either beneficent (as the scholars tended to see the governments they frequently served) or as neutral (as they saw themselves). By no means all classical and NT scholars of the period ignored Roman realities, but attention to the Roman context was the exception rather than the rule.

At another level, methodological approaches and theological concerns directed attention away from the Roman context. Discussion of context was (and in some circles continues to be) largely narrowed to attempts to prove influence in the same way that literary dependence is established. This approach automatically relegated Latin texts and inscriptions to secondary status, or even excluded them from consideration. At the same time, texts written in Greek were seen as “Hellenistic” and read in terms of the Greek intellectual past with little attention to its rearticulation in the Roman political present. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Biblical scholarship largely dichotomized the context of Christian origins into Judaism and Hellenism, often Judaism versus Hellenism. The question about context thus emerged as whether any specific aspect of an early Christian text was an outgrowth of Jewish tradition or a product of Hellenistic influence.

Framed this way, the question bore a heavy load of theological apologetic. Proving that something was truly Jewish either guaranteed its religious character or discredited it as legalistic, while “Hellenization” could be seen as either a positive, universalizing force or a negative, corrupting influence. The formative pressures of Roman imperial politics were obscured by this long-term practice of assigning either problematic or beneficent aspects of Christian origins to either “Jewish background” or “Hellenistic influence.” While “background” and “influence” could be

⁷ See http://jroberts.blogs.com/photos/roman_america/washington2.html; <http://www.kittytours.org/thatman2/search.asp?subject=18>; <http://www.coins.nd.edu/ColCoin/ColCoinIntros/WashDRAPED.intro.html> Trolling the internet has not enabled me to find any similar imagery for personifications of Canada; Canadian self-representation has been rather heavily beaver-oriented. There are a few representations of Johnny Canuck and a few entertaining exceptions that represent Canada as an innocent girl torn between the pressures and seductions of a bosomy Britannia in a matronly tea gown, imperial sash and plumed helmet, and Uncle Sam or between John Bull and Uncle Sam. For a selection, see: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Personifications_of_nations.

and were used interchangeably in these discussions, there is a real sense in which what was “Jewish” was seen as “background,” while what was “Hellenistic” was generally treated as “influence.” Judaism was thus relegated to the past of Christian origins, and treated as a source either of patriarchal prescriptions and attitudes beyond which Christian faith ought to have progressed, or of true prophetic messages which must be preserved from secular or Hellenistic taint. Hellenism, on the other hand, was generally positioned as “influence” – an external force that could be understood either as having corrupted the originally pure prophetic (or egalitarian, or non-patriarchal) teaching of Jesus, or as having introduced a universalizing intellectualism into the narrowly particularistic concerns of Jewish thought. Hellenistic Judaism was sharply distinguished from Palestinian Judaism, and measured against standards of “pure” Judaism and “real” philosophy. Here too, politics was at work; struggles for the emancipation of the Jews, and in Britain and Ireland (and among their émigrés in the US and Canada) of Catholics, probably played a covert role in this discourse. In most cases, Rome entered the picture only occasionally, through the neutral matrix of the *pax Romana*, which allowed Hellenism scope to contend with Judaism over the rather inert matter of a reified Christian message.

One very simple illustration of this collaboration of ancient and more recent politics is translation. The only explicit reference to Roman rule or personages in the Pastorals is 1 Tim 6:13-14, where the writer commemorates “Jesus Christ who made the good confession under Pontius Pilate.” But the Pastorals are saturated with imperial imagery and concerns. Yet the NRSV continues to translate βασιλέων 1 Tim 2:2 as: “pray for all human beings, especially *kings* and all those who are in authority.” This translation had special benefits for those who prayed some version of “God save the King” or, in the U.S. “the state.” While it is not impossible that the writer wished to include some of the client-kings in this command, it is virtually certain that the letter’s concern was with the Roman rulers usually called “emperors” in English.⁸ Similarly both the KJV and the Douay-Rheims translated δούλος not *slave*, surely the most appropriate reading in a first century context, but *servant*. This translation had multiple benefits: it erased the increasingly problematic institution of slavery from the Biblical texts; it distanced ecclesiastical

⁸ Martin Dibelius and Hans Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972) 36; LSI s.v. βασιλεύς III.3 and ὑπεροχή II.1.

leaders who wished to appropriate the ancient Christian images of servitude for communal service from the brutal reality in which it was based. At the same time, the commands to ancient slaves in the household codes could find a destination in people relegated by class or ethnicity to domestic service. Rethinking is underway, but proceeding slowly. The KJV and Douay Rheims use “servant” throughout; the RSV and NRSV use “slave” in the household codes, but “servant” for Paul’s signature in Phil 1:1, reserving “slave” for the footnote. The NAB uses “slave” in both places, but “servant” to translate παῖς in Matt 8:6.⁹

Canadian Content in the Rediscovery of Rome

My second observation suggests that the recent rediscovery of the empire and its politics was powered in part by work done in the CSBS. Some disclaimers are in order. First, I am not under any impression that Canada or Canadians are innocent of the pleasures of empire or its seductions. On the contrary, it is the *experience* of empire, the historic ties to empire and commonwealth reflected in my Anglican friend’s first charge, as well as the intricately negotiated relationship with the empire next door, that have made Canadians alert, sometimes critically, sometimes too enthusiastically, to the tropes and the possibilities of empire.¹⁰ It is this experience that I suspect has made Canadian Biblical scholarship and the CSBS in particular hospitable to recognition of Rome’s rule in the context of Christian origins. Secondly, I am not on the trail of some essence of Canadianness in scholarship. I can hardly avoid recognizing that the CSBS has been subject to a longterm infestation of expatriate American scholars, who have contributed their own bemusement at the remnants of the British empire, and their often equally bemused horror at the imperial antics across the

⁹ For a rather different reading of παῖς, see Theodore W. Jennings Jr. and Tat-Siong Benny Liew “Mistaken Identities But Model Faith: Rereading the Centurion, the Chap and the Christ in Matthew 8:5-13” *JBL* 123 (2004) 467-94. Jennings and Liew reject the reading of *pais* as meaning “slave” (euphemistically translated servant), reading the word as indicating the centurion’s “boy-love.” I prefer to retain the meaning slave, but to recognize that the ancient world would have assumed that a soldier’s personal servant was sexually available to him, and might have seen the centurion’s concern as an indication of a master’s homoerotic attachment to a favored slave.

¹⁰ For an excellent example of irrational exuberance on the imperial potential of the US, see Michael Ignatieff. “The American Empire: The Burden,” *NYTimes Sunday Magazine* (January 5, 2003).

border.¹¹ The Canadian scholars who have trained or who have taught in the US add yet another layer of complexity to the exchange. Third, I don’t want to overstate the importance of what I am about to describe. Any broad intellectual change of real significance proceeds from multiple forces, and this is also the case with recent willingness to look at the role of the empire in Christian origins. There have always been some scholars who, in some contexts at least, fully recognized the role of Rome.¹² Liberation, feminist and political theology and academic critique of scholarly ideology in the humanities and social sciences have called into question both the veracity and the ethical propriety of claims of scholarly neutrality. The disasters left in the wake of colonial empires’ dissolution or withdrawal have fostered skepticism of the historical empires and empowered postcolonial analysis across a wide range of disciplines.

What I want to focus on here is a specific choice made in Canadian scholarship and particularly in the CSBS; the decision to make an effort to look at Jews and Christians side-by-side and alongside texts and remains of other religious thinkers from antiquity on topics that could be addressed across the spectrum of ancient thought and practice. This decision owed a great deal to the desire in Canada (as elsewhere) to address the longterm scholarly misrepresentations of ancient Judaism and its descendants, misrepresentations whose results have been so disastrous, especially in the last century. The studies on self-definition sponsored by McMaster University and funded by SSHRC formed on important starting point. Apparently conceived by E. P. Sanders (who began his career and is ending it in the US, but did his most definitive work here), the three volumes of the self-definition study were done by Canadians and international scholars in conversation and devoted severally and respectively to Christian, Jewish and “Greco-Roman” groups. Despite the division into three volumes, *Jewish and Christian*

¹¹ My years in Canada coincided with not only the royal wedding but also the accession of Ronald Reagan; like many Americans, I’ve been watching my government in openmouthed horror for twenty-seven years.

¹² Good examples of these exceptions are the classicist Andreas Alföldi, see *Der Vater des Vaterlandes im römischen Denken* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971; first published in Museum Helveticum 1950-54), and *Redeunt Saturnia Regna* (Trans. Elizabeth Alföldi-Rosenbaum; ed. Elizabeth Alföldi-Rosenbaum, Sheila Campbell, Alison Easson, Carmen Arnold-Biucchi. *Antiquitas* 3. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GMBH, 1997) and Dibelius and Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*.

Self-Definition to some extent genuinely placed Jewish and Christian groups side by side and among the multiple civic and religious associations of antiquity.¹³ Even if some individual contributors continued to read “Judaism” and ancient philosophical groups as “Background to the NT” the enterprise as a whole moved the question, and has been (and continues to be) tremendously influential in US scholarship. Each of the three volumes attended to the diversity of these traditions, attempting to cover a wide range of Christianities and Judaisms as well a broad range of associations from the Roman world. The question of self-definition also inherently contributed toward evading the concept of “influence” by treating the communities and thinkers as active and creative in their milieux. It was by no means insignificant that the longest of the three volumes was the second volume, *Aspects of Judaism in the Greco-Roman Period*.

A number of the seminars in the CSBS have also contributed, in particular the seminars on Voluntary Associations, on Religious Rivalries, and the current seminar on Travel and Religion. They set aside the question of whether some aspect of early Christianity or Greek-speaking Judaism was “Jewish” or “Hellenistic” for increasingly intense investigation of particular context, of highly specific local and geographical context. And that very concern with the local, the geographical, the material world, city practice and city planning inevitably brought Rome out of the shadows. The results of this sustained study have likewise been very influential in the US, in part through publication, including, but not limited to publication of the seminar volumes, and in part through the broad participation of CSBS members in the SBL.¹⁴ It is by no means the case that these questions were not

¹³ *Vol. 1, The Shaping of Christianity in the Second and Third Centuries* ed. E.P. Sanders (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980); *Vol 2, Aspects of Judaism in the Greco-Roman Period*, ed. E. P. Sanders, A. I. Baumgarten and Alan Mendelson (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981); *Vol. 3, Self-Definition in the Greco-Roman World* ed. Ben Meyer and E. P. Sanders (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982).

¹⁴ Important examples: Terence L. Donaldson (ed.), *Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Caesarea Maritima* (ESJ 8; Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000); Richard S. Ascough (ed.), *Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Sardis and Smyrna* (ESJ 14; Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005); Leif E. Vaage (ed.), *Religious Rivalries in the Early Roman Empire and the Rise of Christianity* (ESJ 18; Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006); Peter Richardson, *Building Jewish in the Roman East* (Waco, Tex: Baylor University Press, 2004); *City and Sanctuary: Religion and Architecture in the Roman Near East* (London: SCM, 2002).

raised in the US, nor do I suppose that everyone in CSBS seminars has the same perspective on and methodological approach to the ancient world. But it seems to me that there was in the CSBS an earlier and more commonly held consensus that the world within which Jews and Christians of antiquity defined themselves and their various communities, made and remade associations, contested for their own truths and traveled to sacred places and under divine impulse was a Roman world.

Thirty years ago, the rule of Rome played a role in the interpretation of the NT largely through a rather grudging and by no means universal recognition that in some sense Jesus died in the Roman imperial interest. Today there is widespread willingness to see both ancient Jews, including Jesus, and early Christians in conflict with the imperial order, particularly among Christian interpreters. Suddenly the empire is everywhere in interpretation of the NT and ancient Judaism. In particular, American and German scholars have been pouring out literature on the Roman political context.¹⁵ In the US this shift has been partially enabled by shifts in the political atmosphere. For years I’ve been snapping at budding American homilists, “No, we are *not* just like the Pharisees. We’re the Romans in this picture.” Recently this recognition has become a leit-motif of American culture, including popular culture. One salient example is Botch, the hardcore metal group that produced an album called “We Are the Romans” (2002) which begins with a track dedicated “To Our Friends in the Great White North” (who would that be?) and includes another called “Saint Matthew Returns to the Womb.” More recently Gary Wills entitled his review of the new Greek and Roman rooms at the Metropolitan Museum of Art,

¹⁵ The bibliography on this is enormous; in the US, one influential starting point has been the research of Richard A. Horsley, beginning with his article “Ancient Jewish Banditry and the Revolt Against Rome, AD 66-70,” *CBQ* 43 (1981), 409-32; Horsley and John S. Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets and Messiahs: Popular Movements in the Time of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1985), and Horsley *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence: Popular Jewish Resistance in Roman Palestine* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987). Horsley’s *Jesus and Empire: The Kingdom of God and the New World Disorder* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003) has received particularly widespread attention. In Germany, an early example was Klaus Wengst, *Pax Romana: Anspruch und Wirklichkeit: Erfahrungen und Wahrnehmungen des Friedens bei Jesus und im Urchristentum* (München: Kaiser, 1986) translated as *Pax Romana and the Peace of Jesus Christ* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987).

“We Are All Romans Now” and Cullen Murphy devoted a volume to the question *Are We Rome?*¹⁶

In a number of ways, this change has been highly beneficial. It is by no means the least of these benefits that the historical context of ancient Christianity and Judaism is more adequately and fully illumined.¹⁷ If placing ancient Jews and Christians side by side helps their Roman context to emerge, the reverse is also true: recognition of the Roman context makes it easier to see them as “Rebecca’s Children” (in Alan Segal’s image) and so to alleviate the continuing problem of supersessionism.¹⁸ In theory at least, recognizing Rome as a political force in the career and fate of Jesus ought to alleviate a concern that I share with the late Lloyd Gaston: the problematic character of a search for the uniqueness of Jesus.¹⁹ It is possible, instead of mining the sayings attributed to Jesus for a ‘distinctiveness’ that signals religious genius or divine revelation, to conceive the uniqueness of Jesus as a real historical uniqueness, a qualitatively human uniqueness: the uniqueness of historical circumstance, and in particular of the multiple pressures and occasional opportunities of the Roman imperial interest on the diverse and shared attempts of ancient Jews to live out the heritage of Israel.

Major methodological issues remain in attempting to read our texts and reconstruct their context in light of Roman rule. This material is extremely diverse, and I am by no means confident that I have a full grasp of its extent. Even so, studies tend to bifurcate; either they explore Roman context to demonstrate ancient early Christian resistance or they read the texts in terms of their accommodation of the imperial order. Reconstructions of Jesus, readings of the gospel, and some readings of Paul and other letters focus on, almost assume, resistance; readings of the Pastorals, Acts and early Christian texts from the first two centuries,

¹⁶ *NYRB* 54:9 (May 31, 2007); Cullen Murphy, *Are We Rome? The Fall of an Empire and the Fate of America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007).

¹⁷ One historically oriented example is John Kloppenborg’s article, “*Evocatio deorum* and the Date of Mark,” *JBL* 124 (2005) 419-50. Whether or not one finds the *evocatio* definitive for dating, the material collected in the article illuminates the context of Mark and of the war.

¹⁸ *Rebecca’s Children: Judaism and Christianity in the Roman World*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986).

¹⁹ “The Uniqueness of Jesus as a Methodological Problem,” *Origins and Method: Toward a New Understanding of Judaism and Christianity*; ed. B. Hudson McLean (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993) 271-81.

especially readings in terms of gender see these texts (and sometimes gospel texts) primarily as accommodationist.

The Moral Order in the Dialectic of Accommodation and Resistance

My third proposition is that it is essential to recognize that the relations of all early Christian and ancient Jewish texts with the Roman rule were complex, that all are caught in a dialectic of accommodation and resistance, and that the focal point of this dialectic is the moral order.²⁰ In part this focus derives from the Roman empire’s claim to promote a moral order, and especially what might be termed family values. Like the presence of the empire, this moral claim has been largely overshadowed by another collaboration between ancient and modern texts: the ancient Jews and Christians laud their own mores as being “not like the Gentiles” and on the whole later commentators have been content to take them at their word, ascribing moral teaching to the Biblical laws and their interpretation, though often seeing the latter as enhanced by the philosophical tradition. Among the very few exceptions is the essay by Allison Keith and Leif Vaage on imperial asceticism.²¹

Whether they sought to condemn or to convert the empire, ancient Jews and the earliest Christians, like the apologists of the later second century, chose moral issues, including and especially issues of family and sexual practice, on which to take their stand. Their claim to surpass the Gentiles in moral excellence might be paraphrased: “we practice the family values the Romans only preach.” Given the subject status of both Jews and Christians, accommodation and resistance were interdependent, because to some extent in every conversation the terms are set by the dominant partner. In the matter of mores, the terms were at least in part set by recurrent imperial campaigns on family values which received their ideological form and impetus from Augustus.

²⁰ See on this “Early Christian Sexual Politics and Roman Imperial Family Values: Rereading Christ and Culture,” in *Papers of the Henry Luce III Fellows in Theology* 6, ed. Christopher I. Wilkins (Pittsburgh: Association of Theological Schools, 2003,) 23-48.

²¹ “Imperial Asceticism: The Discipline of Domination,” in *Asceticism and the New Testament*; ed. Leif E. Vaage and Vincent L. Wimbush (New York and London: Routledge, 1999) 411-20.

II. Illustrating the Dialectic of Resistance and Accommodation

Roman Moral Propaganda: Imaging Morality

Already in the later republic, the Romans justified their rule of the world on the grounds of their moral superiority, and the Roman elite made their claims to imperium with a “politics of immorality” by attacking the moral character of their rivals with accusations of adultery and *impudicitia* while promoting their own sexual integrity and civic virtue.²² These claims were revised, reorganized, and broadly propagated by Octavian, as part of his transformation from bloodied triumvir to Augustus, first citizen and *pater patriae*.

The extraordinary length of Augustus’s principate – longer than that of any other ruler in the entire history of the empire – and his status as refounder meant that his reign generated a nearly unlimited storehouse of imagery from which his successors could draw in their attempts to follow his example by restoring the *res publica*. Much of this imagery is accessible through the Latin and Greek literary legacy of the Augustan years but a vast fund of visual imagery also served to propagate the Augustan program throughout the empire.²³ Philo, for instance, refers to the monuments and inscriptions that transformed the cities of the empire, with special mention of the temple of Augustus in Alexandria (*Legatio* 150). Through this visual imagery, Octavian marshalled and redirected the late republican “politics of immorality” to create a new politics of morality. One central focus was the Roman virtue *pietas*, the virtue that most closely resembles what has recently been termed “family values.” *Pietas* describes devotion and duty displayed toward the divine and toward all with whom one has ties: parents, children, husbands, wives, patrons, clients, the emperor and his family, masters and even in some cases slaves. Seneca would summarize its meaning in the *Consolation* he addressed to his mother on his own exile: “the understanding of dispensing every duty rightly, the knowledge of things human and

²² Catharine Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

²³ For two important examples of work that takes visual imagery into account in reading the imperial context of ancient Christianity, see Ellen Bradshaw Aitken, “Portraying the Temple in Stone and Text: The Arch of Titus and the Epistle to the Hebrews,” in J. Neusner and J. F. Strange, *Religious Texts and Material Contexts: Studies in Ancient Judaism* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2001), 73-87, and Harry O. Maier, “A Sly Civility: Colossians and Empire,” *JSNT* 27 (2005) 323-49.

divine” (*omnium officium recte dispensandorum ratio, humanorum divinorumque scientia; Ad Helviam* 9:3)²⁴

Pietas in the Culture Wars of the Late Republic

In the late republic, *pietas* played a significant role in political discourse and was highly contested in the internecine conflict of the civil wars. Coinage was one arena for propagandistic competition among the great aristocrats. In 47-46 BCE, Julius Caesar had a coin struck whose obverse showed a female head representing either Venus (whom Caesar claimed as ancestor through her son Aeneas) or *Pietas*. Its reverse offered the familiar figure of Aeneas carrying his father on his shoulder in his escape from the conflagration of Troy.²⁵ Although this image had appeared in Greek and Etruscan art since at least the sixth c. BCE, its multivalent potential allowed it to be remade to serve the political vicissitudes of the late republic. On Caesar’s coin, Aeneas’s right hand carried before him the Palladium, the armed statue of Athena which supposedly guaranteed the survival of Rome. Advertising Caesar’s claim to descent from the legendary founder of Rome, it associated his military campaigns with the founding efforts of Aeneas. At the same time, it proclaimed Caesar’s familial and ancestral piety, asserting his part in a piety toward the gods that was the source of Rome’s safety. Apparently in response, Sextus Pompeius advertised his filial vengeance with a coin bearing the head of his father Pompeius Magnus and *Pietas* on the reverse; he also adopted the cognomen Pius (45 BCE).²⁶ The moneyer C. Livineius Regulus, who issued coins for the triumvirs in 43 BCE, chose the image of Aeneas carrying his father to signal Octavian’s lineage.²⁷ But it also dramatized Octavian’s cause as a deed of *pietas*: vengeance for the murder of his (adoptive) father. In 41 BCE, when conflict arose

²⁴ Seneca was exiled by Claudius on his accession (41 CE), ostensibly for adultery with Gaius’s sister, Julia Livilla; he was recalled in 49 CE.

²⁵ For the coin see Stefan Weinstock, *Divus Iulius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971) pl. 19, #13; discussion 253-54; also Jane A. Evans, *The Art of Persuasion: Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992) 40-42. On the late republican competition of images see also Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Jerome Lectures 16; trans. Alan Shapiro; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988) 33-77; for the coin, p. 35 fig. 27a.

²⁶ Weinstock, *Divus Iulius*, pl. 19, #17 and 18; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 35 fig. 27b.

²⁷ The coin struck for Aemilius Lepidus celebrated the Vestal Aemilia as his ancestor, while that struck for Marcus Antonius represented Hercules; Weinstock, *Divus Iulius*, 254-55, Evans, *Art of Persuasion*, 41-42.

among the triumvirs, Antony laid claim to *pietas* toward the dead Caesar, issuing a coin representing *Pietas* with her symbol the stork. From 42-38, Sextus Pompeius responded with coins bearing the image of two Sicilian brothers who were celebrated as examples of *Pietas* for carrying their parents out of an eruption of Etna, asserting for his Sicilian origins a double dose of *pietas*.²⁸ His coins also displayed his newly adopted cognomen, Pius.

Pietas in the Program of Augustus

After his victory over Antony and Cleopatra in 31 BCE put an end to this competition and left him unchallenged as the first man in Rome, Octavian's deployment of *pietas* underwent shifts in medium and content. Although coins were no longer the medium in which it was promoted, filial and patriotic *pietas* continued to offer justification for his role in the civil wars: not only vengeance for his murdered and divinised father Julius, but also retribution against those who had revolted against the republic.²⁹ But as he donned a divine aura with the name Augustus and strove to consolidate his power in peacetime, Octavian turned toward demonstrating *pietas* toward the gods and the *patria*.³⁰ In the preceding generation, complaints of neglect of the gods and their temples and the desuetude of ancestral rites had inspired the antiquarian work of M. Terentius Varro and formed part of Cicero's political repertoire.³¹ Octavian made restoration of ancient rites and of decrepit or neglected temples and shrines a major focus of his program.³² Drawing upon the researches of Varro, he was able at the same time to produce himself as the advocate of ancestral practices and to orchestrate religious observances in the service of his political agenda.³³ New public buildings and their temples were also manifestations of his "piety toward the gods and the fatherland." In addition to the vast and spectacular building

²⁸ Weinstock, *Divus Iulius*, pl. 20 #1; Zanker, *Power of Images*, 41, fig. 31b.

²⁹ *Res gestae* 2, cf. Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 10.1-2.

³⁰ See on this *Res gestae* 85-100.

³¹ Cicero *Leg.* 2.33; *ND* 1.82, 2.7, 9, *Div.* 1.25, 27-28, 2.71 *Att.* 7.7.3

³² *Res gestae* 20; see Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 289-91.

³³ See e.g. the "restoration" of the *Ludi Saeculares*, Zanker, *Power of Images*, 167-72. On the effect of an "expert" approach to religion and the *mos maiorum*, see Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "Mutatio Morum: The Idea of a Cultural Revolution," in *The Roman Cultural Revolution*, ed. Thomas Habinek and Alessandro Schiesaro (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 3-22.

projects that displayed his *pietas* toward the gods and the ancients, Augustus promoted himself as restorer and protector of the *mos maiorum*, the ways of the ancients, through the paradoxical means of legal innovation. Salient among his legal measures were the laws criminalizing adultery and *stuprum* and promoting marriage and child rearing. Their import was further disseminated through festivals and celebrations, coinage and other means.³⁴

Among the most important of Augustus' new buildings was his Forum.³⁵ Undertaken to house the temple of Mars Ultor that Octavian was supposed to have vowed on his defeat of the conspirators (*DA* 29.1-2), the Forum also provided new meeting room for the Roman courts. Its artistic program reoriented Roman history to locate Augustus as its culmination. The colonnades were populated by statues of the great men of the Roman past, whose pedestals were engraved with carefully constructed biographies. Its two exedra enshrined depictions of Aeneas and Romulus, facing each other across the Forum, Romulus as the representation of *virtus* and Aeneas as *pietas*.³⁶ Although the Aeneas statue group did not survive, it is known from a chain of copies: it was copied first in a sculpture group in the building of Eumachia at Pompeii, then in a painting on the wall of one of Eumachia's clients. In the painting, as on Caesar's coin, Aeneas carries his father Anchises on his left shoulder. While the coin depicted the Palladium in Caesar's right hand, in the Forum statue, his right hand led his young son Ascanius, or Iulus, the supposed founder of the Julian line. Thus the image was reoriented to emphasize the intergenerational import of Aeneas' exemplary piety. The motif of piety towards the gods did not disappear: Anchises carried the Penates in a box (or perhaps a house-shrine).³⁷ The statue group may have been conceived as a dramatization of Virgil's narration of this flight in the voice of Aeneas.³⁸ Indeed the *Aeneid* would

³⁴ On the centrality of the laws and the games to this program, see Beth Severy's theory of a "third settlement" in 18-17 BCE; *Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire* (New York: Routledge 2003) esp. 33-61.

³⁵ Zanker stresses Augustus financial and ideological responsibility for the Forum and its artistic program; *Power of Images*, 195.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 201-03; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 204.

³⁷ Zanker, *Power of Images*, 201-3. The inclusion of Ascanius was not new. For the Penates in a house-shrine, see the representation of Aeneas sacrificing to the Penates in such a shrine on a frieze of the Ara Pacis; *ibid.*, 157.

³⁸ *Aeneid* 2.705-24; 730-804 provides an explanation of the unnerving absence of Creusa from this little tableau. See also 1.378-9: *sum pius Aeneas, raptos qui ex hoste Penatis/*

make the phrase *pius Aeneas* a watch-word not only to Romans with even minimal education, but also to centuries of western culture and even generations of secondary school students. This imagery received a new impetus in 2 BCE when Augustus "accepted" the title *Pater patriae*, actually in use for him in the early twenties, and had it inscribed on the chariot in his forum.

The representation of divine and intergenerational *pietas* in the person of Aeneas with Anchises and Ascanius was widely disseminated in public monuments of Italy and the provinces during the reign of Augustus and throughout the first century CE.³⁹ Official dissemination of the image during and after the principate of Augustus produced abundant private appropriations of the image in a wide variety of media (funerary art, lamps, rings, etc.) during the first two centuries of the common era.⁴⁰ Two first century examples deserve special mention. On a Ligurian grave relief dedicated to Petronia Grata, the portrayal of Anchises, Aeneas and Ascanius expresses the intergenerational devotion between daughter and mother.⁴¹ The second instance, from Pompeii or Stabiae, is the famous parody of the statue group; Aeneas and Ascanius are represented as ithyphallic dogs, while the old dog Anchises carries a dice box in place of the Palladium or Penates.⁴² The doggy Aeneas is usually interpreted as an anti-Augustan parody, but at least one scholar has convincingly interpreted it as an elaborately punning joke, but one inspired in part by the *Aeneid*'s opening words and pro- rather than anti-Augustan.⁴³

classe veho mecum.

³⁹Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 204; see e.g. the altar relief from mid first century Carthage; *ibid.*, 87, fig. 38.

⁴⁰Zanker mentions finger rings, lamps and terra cotta statuettes; *Power of Images*, 210.

⁴¹Zanker, *Power of Images*, 209, fig. 163.

⁴²Zanker describes them as apes with dogs' heads; *ibid* 209.

⁴³Zanker sees them as anti-Augustan; *Power of Images*, 209. Barbara Kellum offers the theory of a pun, in which the dog (*canis*) is read as a reference to the opening of the *Aeneid* (*cano*) and the dice-box evokes the high throw (Venus) and the low (*canis*); see "The Phallus as Signifier: The Forum of Augustus and Rituals of Masculinity," in *Sexuality in Ancient Art*, ed. Natalie Boymel Kampen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 75-78; *idem*, "Concealing/Revealing: Gender and the Play of Meaning in the Monuments of Augustan Rome," in *The Roman Cultural Revolution*, ed. Thomas Habinek and Alessandro Schiesaro (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 158-81.

The image of Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius functioned amid a forty-five year flood of other imagery and of propagandistic honors; isolating it both overemphasizes its importance and gives an inadequate view of its richness. From the multiplicity of other images and monuments that communicated the imperial *pietas*, there is one which finds few echoes in Latin and Greek literature but seems to emerge in 1 Maccabees and the Pastoral letters.⁴⁴

Εὐσέβεια/Pietas Among the Cardinal Virtues

In the climactic final chapters of the *Res gestae*, Augustus celebrates an honor awarded to him by the Senate in 27 BCE: a golden "shield of virtues" (or of virtue: *clupeus virtutum* or *virtutis*) dedicated to him by the Senate "because of courage, clemency, justice and piety" (*virtutis, clementiaeque et iustitiae, et pietatis causa*; RG 34). In the Greek version of the *Res gestae*, virtues are ἀρετή, ἐπιείκεια, δικαιοσύνη, εὐσέβεια.⁴⁵ A marble copy from Arles qualifies *pietatis* with the words *erga deos patriamque*.⁴⁶ The inscription has been widely interpreted as a revised version of the four cardinal virtues of the philosophical tradition.⁴⁷ Appearing already in Plato as courage, moderation, justice and understanding (ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη, and σοφία or φρόνησις), the cardinal virtues were

⁴⁴ Among the other important imagery promoting *pietas*, *castitas* and childrearing was the *Ara pacis*, which displayed an idealized imperial family in procession to sacrifice, accompanied by two little barbarian slaves or hostages. Pax (or Italy, or Tellus) was displayed nurturing babies in a field of plenty, opposite a now nearly obliterated depiction of Roma in her military helmet and seated upon a pile of shields; for a discussion, see Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 141-53.

⁴⁵ Augustus appears to have put a high value on the shield; it has been suggested that its inscription may have guided aspects of the *Res gestae*'s composition and the program of the Forum of Augustus. See Edwin S. Ramage, *The Nature and Purpose of Augustus' Res Gestae* (Historia: Einzelschriften 54; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1987); Frederick Shipley, *Res Gestae* (LCL 152) 401; on the Forum, Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 204. The text of *Res gestae* is known from inscriptions on an imperial temple in Ancyra (Ankara). The Greek, which was inscribed on the outer walls of the temple appears to be a paraphrase rather than a translation of Latin (which was inscribed on the inner walls) and its relationship to Augustus himself is unclear.

⁴⁶ In Musée d'Arles Antique. See Zanker, *Power of Images*, 95-96, fig. 79; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 87, fig. 37.

⁴⁷ See Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "The Emperor and His Virtues," *Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte* 30 (1981), 298-323 for an account of the origin of this idea (see esp. 298-300).

standardized by the Stoics and were made central to the Roman philosophical and rhetorical repertoire by Cicero. In earlier dialogues of Plato, and in the works of some later authors, the four virtues were joined by piety toward the gods (εὐσεβεία or ὀσιότης). They all had multiple synonyms, and while the canonical virtue list endured, it was accompanied by many variant lists of four virtues.⁴⁸

Although the shield was commemorated in monuments and coins, the inscription does not seem to have been widely echoed in literary sources. A few Latin virtue lists appear to respond in some degree to Augustus' list.⁴⁹ Around 7 BCE, Dionysius of Halicarnassus invoked a similar virtue list in justifying Fortune's choice of the Romans as masters of the greatest *imperium* ever, on the grounds that "no city, Greek or barbarian, bore men either more pious (εὐσεβεστέρους) or more just, using greater moderation all their life or better contestants in matters of war" (1.5.2-3). The legislation Dionysius attributes to Romulus illustrates what makes a city "pious, temperate, exercising justice, and excellent in war" (2.18.1-2). In both of these texts, piety (εὐσεβεία) displaces understanding (φρόνησις) from the list of the cardinal virtues as it does on the shield. Moderation remains in Dionysius' list, perhaps because clemency was a form of moderation specialized for the role of the princeps.⁵⁰

Εὐσεβεία: Imperial Virtue for Jews and Christians

If Augustus's virtue list received little attention through most of the first century CE, interest appears to have revived at the turn of the second century. This change may be signaled by Pliny's address to Trajan on behalf of the senate (ca. 100 CE), which cites the people's acclamation of the emperor as "most brave" with their praise of his "piety, moderation, clemency."⁵¹ In the very late first or early second

⁴⁸ Helen F. North, "Canons and Hierarchies of Virtues," in *The Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in honor of Harry Caplan*, ed. Luitpold Wallach (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966), 165-83.

⁴⁹ Virgil: *quo iustior alter nec pietate fuit nec bello maior et armis* (*Aeneid* 1.544; ca. 18 BCE); Seneca: *iustitia, continentia, prudentia, pietas, omnium officium recte dispensandorum ratio, humanorum divinorumque scientia* (*Ad Helviam* 9.3; sometime between 41 and 49 CE).

⁵⁰ On *clementia* as the virtue of an emperor, see Seneca's *De Clementia* esp. 1.2-4.

⁵¹ "...hunc fortissimum personat.... huius pietatem abstinentiam mansuetudinem laudat" *Pan* 2.6. The use of some synonyms would have been particularly effective if the speech was delivered in the Curia and the shield on display there. See also *Epistulae* 1.22, in

century, one Jewish and one Christian text seem to make central use of a list of virtues identical (or nearly identical) with that of Dionysius and the Greek equivalent of Pliny's (see synopsis below).⁵²

Fourth Maccabees makes εὐσεβείας λογισμός (pious reasoning) the theme of its discourse (1:1), with εὐσεβεία as its synonym, it is the source of the other cardinal virtues: justice, courage and moderation.⁵³ It is this virtue that as the ruler, indeed emperor (αὐτοκράτωρ), of the passions (1:7) enables the elderly Eleazar, the seven youthful brothers, and their aging mother to defy the tyrant Antiochus.

Εὐσεβεία is also the central virtue in the Pastorals; so much is this case that 1 Timothy identifies a hymnic tradition communicating "the core of the message of salvation" as the mystery of εὐσεβεία (3:16).⁵⁴ While the NRSV translates this phrase as "the mystery of our religion," this declaration's position in regard to the household code and the description of the church as the household of God (3:15) strongly evokes the familial and imperial functions of *pietas*.⁵⁵ Moderation and justice also play important roles.⁵⁶ Only courage/manliness is missing, perhaps because this warlike virtue was not suited for those who would seek "a peaceful and quiet life" within the imperial order (1 Tim 2:1-2). This omission is particularly striking in Titus 2:12, which cites the virtues in the same order as the shield – but without the martial virtue.

which a revered friend is praised for his excellence in *castitate, pietate iustitia, fortitudine*.

⁵² The dating of these works is contested, but both give evidence of a context in the reign of Trajan or even Hadrian, emperors who invested heavily in Augustan imagery, stressing *pietas* in particular. There is no evidence that either of these texts is in any way dependent upon or even cognizant of the other. For a fuller treatment of the dates and an earlier but more detailed version of other aspects of this argument, see Mary R. D'Angelo *Εὐσεβεία: Roman Imperial Family Values and the Sexual Politics of 4 Maccabees and the Pastorals*, *Biblical Interpretation* 11 (2003) 139-65.

⁵³ Fourth Maccabees uses εὐσεβεία more frequently than all the other books of the LXX combined; εὐσεβείας and other forms of the word are also frequent. The interchangeable use of εὐσεβείας λογισμός and εὐσεβεία becomes manifest in 5:16-36 and continues throughout. See also Jan Willem van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviors of the Jewish People: A Study of 2 and 4 Maccabees* (Leiden: Brill 1997) 281-84.

⁵⁴ Dibelius and Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 61. Εὐσεβεία and related forms appear in 1 Tim 3:16, 4:7, 8, 5:4, 6:3, 5, 6, 11; 2 Tim 2:12, 3:5; Titus 1:1, 2:12.

⁵⁵ Elsewhere the NRSV translates εὐσεβεία with "godliness," a term that would have served well in 3:16.

⁵⁶ For δικαιο- see 1 Tim 1:9, 6:11; 2 Tim 2:22, 3:16, 4:8; Titus 1:8, 2:12, 3:5, 7. For σωφο- see 1 Tim 2:9, 15, 3:2, 2 Tim 1:7, Titus 1:8, 2:4, 5, 6.

Augustus Shield, <i>Res gestae</i> 34	Dionysius 1.3.4	4 Maccabees 1:1-4 and throughout	Pastorals (Tit 2:12 cf. 2 Tim 3:12)
<i>virtus</i> (ἀρετή)	εὐσεβεστέρους	εὐσεβῆς λογισμός, εὐσέβεια	
<i>clementia</i> (ἐπιείκεια) <i>iustitia</i> (δικαιωσύνη) <i>pietas</i> (εὐσέβεια)	δικαιοτέρους σωφροσύνη πλείονι χρησαμένους	δικαιοσύνη ἀνδρεία σωφροσύνη	σωφρονῶς δικαιῶς εὐσεβῶς
	τὰ πολέμια κρείττους ἀγωνιστάς		

In both the Pastorals and 4 Maccabees, εὐσέβεια reflects the Roman meaning of *pietas*: the combination of piety toward deity and *patria* with familial virtues. The portrait of the mother in 4 Maccabees and the directives of the household codes in 1 Timothy and Titus reflect Roman legal stipulations and gender exigencies. Both texts present pictures of familial and patriarchal virtue that match, indeed exceed, Roman family values. To some extent, this is unsurprising in the Pastorals, whose desire “to become part of the world” has received scholarly attention.⁵⁷ By contrast, 4 Maccabees’ portrayal of the martyrs appears to be a call to resistance. But the Pastorals also celebrate Jesus and Paul as martyrs and God as king of kings and Lord of lords (1 Tim 6:13-16, 2 Timothy throughout, but esp 4:6-8) and extend to the reader the invitation to “join in suffering” (συγκακοπάθησον 2 Tim 1:8, 2:3). Yet the resistance mounted in 4 Maccabees has another side; the narrator claims that the tyrant Antiochus used the virtue and courage of the martyred youths as an example for his soldiers (17:22-23).

In conclusion, this very brief reading of 4 Maccabees and the Pastorals has provided an illustration of some methodological aspects of my three observations that can perhaps best be underlined in reverse order. First, then, resistance and accommodation are intertwined in both

⁵⁷Dibelius and Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 39-40; the literature cited in n. 29 is more explicit about the Roman political character of that world.

texts, though in differing degrees; for both, resistance to the empire’s totalizing claims requires the faithful to vie with and excel the moral claims of the imperial order, and at least in part, upon the empire’s terms. Second, looking to the Roman context illuminates the two works in part because it places them side by side, underscoring the particularities of their response to the empire and so avoiding the trap of seeing 4 Maccabees as the “background” of the Pastorals. Third, the erasure of the empire and minimisation of the Roman order in earlier scholarship has left more recent investigators with plenty to do.

**Minutes of the 2007 CSBS
Annual General Meeting**

University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
May 27, 16:00 – 17:00

Present: Tony Chartrand-Burke, John Marshall, Rene Baergen, Agnes Choi, Erin Vearncombe, Rachel McRae, Daniel Miller, Keir Hammer, Bill Morrow, John Van Seters, Ryan Schellenberg, Sherri Trautwein, Jan Woltmann, Rebecca Idestrom, Lissa Wray Beal, Daniel Epp-Tiessen, Michael Helfield, Ehud Ben Zvi, Edith M. Humphrey, Iain Provan, Phil Long, Gary Knoppers, Louis Jonker, Robert Munshaw, Bill Richards, Tyler Williams, Richard Ascough, John L. McLaughlin, Derek Suderman, William Arnal, Willi Braun, Susan Wendel, Mona Tokarek LaFosse, Christine Mitchell, John Kloppenborg, Cecilia Wassen, Dorothy M. Peters, David M. Miller, Tony Cummins, Terry Donaldson, Kwan Byung Choie, Kyung Baek, Eva Mroczek, Sonya Kostamo, Robert Webb, John F. Horman, Cyndee Morehouse, Ted M. Erho, Eileen Schuller, Gary Yamosaki, James Bowich, Mark Boda, Michel Desjardens, Mary Louise Mitchell, Anne Moore, Wayne McCready, Steve Wilson, David Hawkin, Mary Rose D'Angelo, Glen Taylor, Bob Derrenbacker, Steve Muir, Michele Murray

1. Approval of the Agenda + Business Arising (John Van Seters/Cecilia Wassen)

2. Approval of the Minutes of the Last Annual General Meeting, May 28, 2006 (Bill Morrow/John Kloppenborg)

3. President's Report (Mary Rose D'Angelo)

Mary Rose reported that things went very well this year; she expressed appreciation to the Society for the opportunity to serve and to the executive for being very enjoyable to work with.

Two CSBS members died this year: Lloyd Gaston and Susan Haber. In their honour, the membership stood for a minute of silence.

It was announced that Christine Mitchell's and Derek Suderman's terms as Programme Co-ordinator and Student Liaison Officer, respectively, on the executive are over.

4. Executive Secretary's Report (Michele Murray)

Michele explained that our society is linked with other societies in Canada in two important ways: through our participation in the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion (or the CCSR) on the one hand, and through our involvement in the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences on the other.

The CCSR is a consortium of 7 academic societies in the field of religious studies. Together we coordinate research and publications, in particular by overseeing the publication of the journal *Studies in Religion*, and sharing in the maintenance of the CCSR web site. At the board meeting in January it was stated that editors of *SR* would like to see more French articles as well as more articles written by women published in the journal. Other news is that CSBS member Nicola Denzey, who has maintained the site for many years, is going to step down this year, and one of the recommendations made during the board meeting was to assess the state of the web site and see if it requires updating (or a complete overhaul) by Fall (Communications Officers of the various associations will be contacted). CCSR's finances are doing very well under the stewardship of treasurer Bill Richards; a committee was struck to look into how to invest some of the surplus funds, and there is also discussion about CCSR creating an annual fellowship to encourage the participation of graduate students in research and publication. Different options are being considered, and soon Michele will be asking Richard to send out a copy of the options and the membership will be asked to send your comments to Theo de Bruyn.

The CCSR also oversees the publication of scholarly books through Wilfrid Laurier University Press and Les Presses de l'Université Laval. One of the book series that has served our society members particularly well is *Studies in Christianity and Judaism/ Études sur le christianisme*

et le judaïsme, edited by Stephen Wilson. In his update, Steve mentioned that there are two manuscripts currently under review; he encouraged the membership to consider sending manuscripts to this series.

In our association with the Federation, our society is linked with 66 other societies and 69 universities and colleges, comprising over 50,000 scholars and students across Canada—the largest multidisciplinary gathering of scholars in North America. The Federation, therefore, speaks with a strong voice in the promotion of scholarship in the humanities and social sciences. It is of course under the auspices of the Federation that our Annual meeting is taking place. On behalf of CSBS, Michele attends the Board meetings and General Assembly of the Federation in November and March in Ottawa each year.

Michele introduced two executive members of the Federation, who came to update the membership regarding a few of the issues on which the Federation has been focusing: Noreen Golfman, President of the Federation, and Jody Ciufo, Executive Director of the Federation. Noreen and Jody noted that Chad Gaffield was appointed as the new president of SSHRC, is former President of the Federation, and is attending Congress. Dr. Gaffield is getting up to speed on the travel grants, and he will be making a decision soon—probably by the end of the summer. It was noted that SSHRC received 11 million additional funding in the Federal Budget, but Noreen noted that this money is tied to the government priorities of finance, business and management, which were determined without input from the social sciences and humanities community. She stated that open access is the direction that publication of scholarly journals is going; the Federation is taking the lead in addressing what this means for the associations, and also how to measure the quality and use of open access journals. Jody reported that there is a Membership Campaign currently underway, and that the Federation is in the process of creating an interactive website and database promoting scholarly associations.

CSBS Congress dates for next year at the University of British Columbia are June 1-3, 2008. Members were encouraged to book accommodation early, as the expectation is that 10,000 people will register for the meeting. Future Congress locations are as follows: 2009: Carleton

University; 2010: Concordia; 2011: University of New Brunswick and St. Thomas University; 2012: Wilfrid Laurier and University of Waterloo.

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

Derek reported that the student and new member lunch went well, and that it was well attended; he thanked Christine Mitchell for coordinating the lunch. This year's student session entitled "Making Priorities: CV Advice for Graduate Students" was very successful. Panelists were Willi Braun, John Kloppenborg, Eileen Schuller, and Tyler Williams, and Derek expressed appreciation for the willingness of members to participate on the various panels.

Derek noted that student membership of CSBS continues to increase, and suggested that one significant reason why this is so is due to the well-deserved reputation of the CSBS of being student-friendly. He encouraged students to continue to participate and give papers; this year around 40% of the presentations are by students, and students make up approximately one third of the total membership. Derek congratulated this year's winners of the annual student essay competition, Mark Scott and Ryan Shellenberg. He encouraged students to plan to attend the CSBS banquet next year — there is a reduced price for students, and it is a good way to meet colleagues.

Derek announced changes to the student essay competition that will be in place from next year forward: 1) 3 hard copies of the essay are now required, and 2) the hard copies must be received by the deadline in order to be considered for the prizes. Mary Rose thanked Derek for his hard work over the past two years.

6. Vice-President's Report + Nominations (Glen Taylor):

Glen began by congratulating Derek Suderman for successfully defending his dissertation, and for landing a job. He then put forward the names of nominees for the three vacant positions: Vice President: Terry Donaldson; Programme Co-ordinator: Tony Chartrande-Burke; Student Liaison Officer: Agnes Choi. There were no nominations from the floor, and it was moved to close the nominations (John McLaughlin/Bob

Derrenbacher). The nominees, who exited the room, were acclaimed to their positions, and applauded heartily as they re-entered the room. Glen put forward a motion to thank Mary R. D'Angelo, Christine Mitchell, and Derek Suderman for their great work on the executive (John Kloppenborg).

7. Programme Coordinator's Report (Christine Mitchell):

Christine noted that there were 60 proposals, and that the final programme contains 55 papers. This is down from 62 last year (at York), but matches the number of papers given in London in 2005.

Christine was able to secure funding from the CFHSS for the Craigie lecture, given by Mark Smith this year, through 2 different funds: the Aid to Interdisciplinary Outreach Fund, which provides money through our joint application with CSSR and CSPA, and the International Keynote Speaker's Fund, which was a competitive programme. These funding infusions were extremely helpful.

It was announced that two new proposals were accepted for seminars and/or special sessions for 2008 and following:

1. Concepts in Ancient Jewish Discourse: Continuity and Transformation (6th c. BCE through 3rd c. CE)—Special Session, accepted for 3 years (2008-2010)
2. Renewal of the Travel and Religion in Antiquity Seminar, renewed for 2 years (2008-2009)

Christine stated that she thoroughly enjoyed serving as Programme Coordinator; she noted that a Local Arrangements Organizer is needed for next year in Vancouver.

8. Communication Officer's Report (Richard Ascough):

Richard announced that the *Bulletin* is at the printers, and now that the minutes have been approved, he will tell the printers to go forward with the job.

The recent CCSR website problems were addressed: Richard reminded the membership that the CSBS web site is hosted on the CCSR website,

therefore Richard has no control over our site. He has begun discussions with the executive regarding the possibility of our hosting the CSBS web site separately.

Richard noted that email continues to be the most cost-effective and efficient means of communication for our society; currently about 95% of the membership receives correspondence via email; members were encouraged to please let Richard know of address changes and updates. Regarding the Fall and Spring Mailing: Richard asked that members please read to the end of these missives, as there is important information that is sometimes missed.

Richard laid down some "book announcement ground rules": he reminded members that it is necessary to ask him to make the announcement, and from now on he will circulate to the wider membership the precise message that is sent to him; he noted that he sends the book announcements out in intervals, so as not to overwhelm members' inboxes, and asked members to be patient.

Richard reminded members that there are two book awards, one in Hebrew Bible and one in New Testament, with a prize of \$500 each. It is necessary to explicitly nominate a book for the prize (announcing the publication of a new book, and including it in the Membership News does not mean that the book is nominated). Self-nominations are accepted. Each book prize is judged by 3 anonymous individuals—Richard thanked them for their hard work. He further noted that financial donations to these awards are much appreciated.

It was announced that tonight will be the last time we announce the book winners and technology winner at the dinner; from next year forward they will be announced at the AGM.

10. Treasurer's Report (Robert Derrenbacher):

Bob thanked his predecessor, Dietmar Neufeld, for leaving the treasury books in great shape. He encouraged those members who had not already done so to pay their 2007 dues. In response to a question regarding the possibility of using credit cards to automatically renew membership dues, Bob noted that it is not automatic even at SBL (it must

be done each year), and that using credit cards is costly. The best option seems to be the Pay Pal system—the executive is exploring this possibility and will be getting back to the membership on this.

Bob noted that CSBS membership is relatively stable; the correct number of total members in 2007 is 379 (not, as recorded in the written report, 382); there were 37 new members this year. Bob moved to accept these new members (John Kloppenborg); passed unanimously.

It was announced that the SSHRC travel grant of \$4,755 was distributed to 28 members who applied for travel funds (for a total of \$15,297.51) based on the formula of 21.5% for full members and 43% for students.

Bob reported that the financial state of CSBS is strong, with \$15,300 generated from membership renewals. This year there was \$3,593 contributed (\$3,787 in 2006). CSBS expenses continue to be matched by income; projected expenses are at \$17,085; total revenue from membership dues will likely be about \$16,000, and there should be another \$1000 from Bulletin subscriptions and registration fee refunds from Congress. Thus, any shortfall will be negligible, if anything.

Wayne McCready reported on behalf of the Endowment Committee that there is currently approximately \$127,000 in the endowment, which is a 123% increase from the initial investment in 1998 of \$56,425 (13.6% per year over 9 years). The annual investment income of \$6245 is from the following sources: ARC Energy Income Trust (pays monthly: \$200 x 12 = \$2400 for 1000 units), EPCOR Power LP Fund (pays quarterly: \$189 x 4 = \$756), Citadel Multi-Sector Income Fund (pays monthly: \$41.48 x 12 = \$497), Versacold (pays monthly; \$83.33 x 12 = \$999), Yellow Pages (pays monthly: \$42.98 x 12 = \$515), RioCan REIT (pays monthly: 44 x 12 = \$528), and the Province of Saskatchewan Investment Income Bond (pays annually: \$550). The latter two are new investments made this year.

11. Other Business

Mary Rose thanked the executive.

12. Adjournment

The meeting was moved to adjourn at 5:20 (Richard Ascough/ John Van Seters)

Minutes were prepared by Michele Murray on June 4, 2007.

CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES
STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL POSITION
As at August 31, 2007
(Unaudited)

	General Fund	Restricted Funds	ESCJ Fund	2007 Total	2006 Total
ASSETS					
Cash	\$ 12,743	\$ 14,524	\$ -	\$ 27,267	\$ 24,068
Accounts receivable (Note 3)	446	-	-	446	788
Investments (Notes 4 and 5)	-	106,226	-	106,226	73,109
Funds held by CCSR (Note 6)	-	-	11,753	11,753	11,753
	\$ 13,189	\$ 120,751	\$ 11,753	\$ 145,693	\$ 109,718
LIABILITIES					
Deferred revenue (Note 3)	\$ 446	\$ -	\$ -	\$ 446	\$ 788
	446	-	-	446	788
FUND BALANCES					
Unrestricted	12,743	-	-	12,743	16,718
Restricted	-	120,751	11,753	132,504	92,212
	12,743	120,751	11,753	145,247	108,930
	\$ 13,189	\$ 120,751	\$ 11,753	\$ 145,693	\$ 109,718

APPROVED BY THE BOARD:

Director

Director

CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES
STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS
For the Year Ended August 31, 2007
(Unaudited)

	General Fund		Restricted Funds		ESCJ Fund	
	2007	2006	2007	2006	2007	2006
REVENUE						
Membership dues	\$ 14,045	\$ 15,714	\$ -	\$ -	\$ -	\$ -
SSHRC travel grant	4,755	4,755	-	-	-	-
CFHSS academic support	1,450	-	-	-	-	-
CSBS dinner	2,923	3,945	-	-	-	-
Congress registration	1,552	1,506	-	-	-	-
Subscriptions and other	15	99	-	-	-	-
Donations	-	-	6,843	4,098	-	-
Investment income (Note 5)	-	-	(1,401)	5,941	-	-
	24,740	26,019	5,442	10,039	-	-
EXPENSES						
Accounting and audit	5,120	1,980	-	-	-	-
Bank charges	293	252	-	-	-	-
Computer software	469	658	-	-	-	-
Congress expenses	764	201	-	-	-	-
Craigie Lecture	-	-	1,668	-	-	-
CSBS dinner	2,640	4,324	-	-	-	-
Dues and memberships	2,162	2,162	-	-	-	-
Executive	5,381	2,384	-	-	-	-
Member travel	4,899	4,604	-	-	-	-
Office, printing and postage	2,067	1,611	-	-	-	-
Publication costs	-	-	-	-	-	3,000
Student awards	-	-	2,200	1,650	-	-
Subscriptions	6,330	6,763	-	-	-	-
Teleconference	854	454	-	-	-	-
	30,979	25,393	3,867	1,650	-	3,000
EXCESS OF REVENUE OVER EXPENSES	\$ (6,239)	\$ 626	\$ 1,574	\$ 8,389	\$ -	\$ (3,000)

CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES
STATEMENT OF CHANGES IN FUND BALANCES
For the Year Ended August 31, 2007
(Unaudited)

	General Fund		Restricted Funds		ESCJ Fund	
	2007	2006	2007	2006	2007	2006
BALANCE, OPENING	\$ 16,717	\$ 11,930	\$ 80,460	\$ 76,232	\$ 11,753	\$ 14,753
CHANGE IN ACCOUNTING POLICY (Note 4)	-	-	40,981	-	-	-
	16,717	11,930	121,441	76,232	11,753	14,753
EXCESS OF REVENUE OVER EXPENSES	(6,239)	626	1,574	8,389	-	(3,000)
INTERFUND TRANSFERS	2,264	4,162	(2,264)	(4,162)	-	-
BALANCE, CLOSING	\$ 12,743	\$ 16,718	\$ 120,751	\$ 80,459	\$ 11,753	\$ 11,753

CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES
STATEMENT OF CASH FLOWS
For the Year Ended August 31, 2007
(Unaudited)

	General Fund		Restricted Funds		ESCJ Fund	
	2007	2006	2007	2006	2007	2006
CASH PROVIDED BY (USED FOR)						
OPERATIONS						
Excess of revenue over expenses	\$ (6,239)	\$ 626	\$ 1,574	\$ 8,389	\$ -	\$ (3,000)
Unrealized change in market value (Note 5)	-	-	13,836	-	-	-
Changes in non-cash working capital:						
Accounts receivable	342	517	-	-	-	-
Investments	-	-	(5,973)	(60)	-	-
Funds held by CCSR	-	-	-	-	-	3,000
Accounts payable	-	(6,636)	-	-	-	-
Deferred revenue	(342)	(517)	-	-	-	-
Interfund transfers	2,264	4,162	(2,264)	(4,162)	-	-
CHANGE IN CASH	(3,974)	(1,848)	7,174	4,167	-	-
CASH, OPENING	16,717	18,566	7,351	3,183	-	-
CASH, CLOSING	\$ 12,743	\$ 16,718	\$ 14,525	\$ 7,350	\$ -	\$ -

CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES
 NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS
 August 31, 2007
 (Unaudited)

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 6.

(d) 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.

(e) 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.

CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES
 NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS
 August 31, 2007
 (Unaudited)

2. SIGNIFICANT ACCOUNTING POLICIES, continued

(f) 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, 2007 the value of donated materials and services recorded in the accounts was \$nil (2006 - \$nil).

3. DEFERRED REVENUE

As at August 31, 2007, the Society was owed \$446 by the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences ("CFHSS") in connection with Congress 2007. This amount is shown in the financial statements as deferred revenue.

4. CHANGE IN ACCOUNTING POLICY

Effective January 1, 2007, the Society adopted, on a prospective basis, the recommendations of CICA Handbook Section 3855 "Financial Instruments - Recognition and Measurement". This section prescribes when a financial asset, liability or non-financial derivative is to be recognized in an entity's financial statements and at what amount, requiring fair value or cost-based measures under different circumstances. Section 3855 recommends that financial assets and liabilities classified as held for trading be measured at fair value with gains and losses recognized in income in the periods in which they arise. The Society classifies its marketable securities as held for trading. The effect of this change in accounting policy was to increase the opening balance of restricted funds by \$40,981 and to reduce investment income for the year by \$13,836.

5. INVESTMENT INCOME

	2007	2006
Realized investment income	\$ 12,435	\$ 5,941
Unrealized change in market value of investments	(13,836)	-
Investment income	\$ (1,401)	\$ 5,941

CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES
NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS
 August 31, 2007
 (Unaudited)

6. FUNDS HELD BY CCSR

As at August 31, 2007, 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, 2007
 (Unaudited)

	General Endowment	Student Research	RBV Scott Award	N Wagner Award	Publication Fund
CAPITAL					
Balance, opening	\$ 10,144	\$ 1,283	\$ 10,743	\$ 10,321	\$ 2,706
Donations	3,628	-	2,000	-	600
Expenditures	-	-	-	-	-
Interfund transfers	-	-	-	-	-
Balance, closing	13,772	1,283	12,743	10,321	3,306
INCOME ON HAND					
Balance, opening	-	94	95	97	30
Change in accounting policy (Note 4)	5,200	658	5,507	5,291	1,387
Investment income	(201)	(22)	(197)	(173)	(51)
Expenditures	-	-	(500)	-	-
Interfund transfers	(312)	(46)	(307)	(326)	(85)
Balance, closing	4,686	684	4,598	4,888	1,281
FUND BALANCE, CLOSING	\$ 18,458	\$ 1,967	\$ 17,341	\$ 15,209	\$ 4,587

	Beare Award	Craigie Lectureship	Founders' Prize	Jeremias Prize	Total
CAPITAL					
Balance, opening	\$ 12,072	\$ 16,167	\$ 7,868	\$ 8,642	\$ 79,946
Donations	-	415	100	100	6,843
Expenditures	-	-	-	-	-
Interfund transfers	-	-	-	-	-
Balance, closing	12,072	16,582	7,968	8,742	86,789
INCOME ON HAND					
Balance, opening	70	61	41	25	513
Change in accounting policy (Note 4)	6,188	8,287	4,033	4,430	40,981
Investment income	(203)	(275)	(133)	(146)	(1,401)
Expenditures	(500)	(1,668)	(594)	(606)	(3,867)
Interfund transfers	(347)	(400)	(209)	(231)	(2,264)
Balance, closing	5,208	6,005	3,138	3,472	33,962
FUND BALANCE, CLOSING	\$ 17,280	\$ 22,587	\$ 11,106	\$ 12,214	\$ 120,751

ROBERT W. R. BISHOP
Chartered Accountant

13308 Crescent Road, South Surrey, BC V4P 1K4

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

REVIEW ENGAGEMENT REPORT

To the Directors of
Canadian Society of Biblical Studies

I have reviewed the statement of financial position of Canadian Society of Biblical Studies as at August 31, 2007 and the statements of operations, changes in fund balances and cash flows for the year then ended. My review was made in accordance with Canadian generally accepted standards for review engagements and accordingly consisted primarily of enquiry, analytical procedures and discussion related to information supplied to me by the Association.

A review does not constitute an audit and consequently I do not express an opinion on these financial statements.

Based on my review, nothing has come to my attention that causes me to believe that these financial statements are not, in all material respects, in accordance with Canadian generally accepted accounting principles.

"Robert W.R. Bishop"

CHARTERED ACCOUNTANT

May 15, 2008

Membership News

Monographs, Edited Volumes

- Becker, Eva-Marie. *Das Markus-Evangelium im Rahmen antiker Historiographie*, Tübingen 2006 (WUNT 194).
_____ with D. Hiller: *Handbuch Evangelische Theologie. Ein enzyklopädischer Zugang*, Tübingen/Basel 2006 (UTB 8326).
- Ben Zvi, Ehud, ed. *Perspectives in Hebrew Scriptures II: Comprising the Contents of Journal of Hebrew Scriptures, vol. 5*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007.
- Boda, Mark J. *After God's Own Heart: The Gospel according to David*. Phillipsburg, N.J.: Presbyterian and Reformed, 2007.
_____ with Daniel K. Falk, and Rodney A. Werline, eds. *Seeking the Favor of God, Volume 2: The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism*. SBLEJL 22. Atlanta/Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature/Brill, 2007.
- Crook, Zeba A., Anselm Hagedorn and Eric Stewart, eds. *In Other Words: Essays on Social Science Methods in Honour of Jerome H. Neyrey*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007.
_____ and Philip Harland, eds. *Identity and Interaction in the Ancient Mediterranean: Jews, Christians and Others. Essays in Honour of Stephen G. Wilson*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007.
- Donaldson, Terence. *Judaism and the Gentiles: Jewish Patterns of Universalism (to 135 CE)*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007.
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_____ with Mark J. Boda and Rodney A. Werline, eds. *Seeking the Favor of God--Volume 2: The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism*. SBLEJL 22. Atlanta/Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature/Brill, 2007.
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- Kloppenborg, John S. with Robert L. Webb (eds.). *Reading James with New Eyes*. Library of New Testament Studies. London and New York: T. & T. Clark International, 2007.
- Knoppers, Gary N. with Oded Lipschits and Rainer Albertz. *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007.
- _____. with Bernard M. Levinson. *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007.
- MacDonald, Margaret Y. with Carolyn Osiek. *El lugar de la mujer en la iglesia primitiva*. Madrid: Sigueme publications, 2007.
- McLaughlin, John L. *Syn marnotrawny czy rozrzutny ojciec? Najpiękniejsze przypowieści Jezusa w interpretacji znanego biblisty*. Krakow: Wydawnictwo eSPe, 2006. (Polish translation of *Parables of Jesus*. Ottawa: Novalis Press, 2004)
- _____. *Parábolas de Jesus*. São Paulo: Editoria Ave-Maria, 2007. (Portuguese translation of *Parables of Jesus*. Ottawa: Novalis Press, 2004).
- _____. *A wy za kogo Mnie uważacie? Trzydzieści trudnych pytań Jezusa—refleksje znanego biblisty*. Krakow: Wydawnictwo eSPe, 2007. (Polish translation of *The Questions of Jesus*. Ottawa: Novalis Press, 2001)
- _____. *Perguntas de Jesus*. São Paulo: Editoria Ave-Maria, 2007. (Portuguese translation of *The Questions of Jesus*. Ottawa: Novalis Press, 2001)
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- Richardson, Peter and Douglas Richardson, with photographs by John de Visser, *Canadian Churches, An Architectural History*. Richmond Hill: Firefly, 2007.
- Runeson, Anders, with Donald D. Binder & Birger Olsson. *The Ancient Synagogue from its Origins to 200 C.E.: A Source Book*. Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 72. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Stichele, Caroline Vander with Todd Penner. *Mapping Gender in Ancient Religious Discourses*. Biblical Interpretation Series 84. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Stratton, Kimberley. *Naming the Witch: Magic, Ideology, and Stereotype in the Ancient World*. Columbia University Press, 2007.
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- Wilson, Andrew. *Transfigured: A Derridean Re-reading of the Markan Transfiguration*. LNTS; Playing the Texts; New York: Continuum, 2007.
- Wray Beal, Lissa M. *The Deuteronomist's Prophet: Narrative Control of Approval and Disapproval in the Story of Jehu (2 Kings 9 and 10)*. LHBOTS 478. New York & London: T. & T. Clark, 2007.

Articles, Chapters, Published Conference Proceedings

- Adams, Sean A. "Luke's Preface (1.1-4) and its Relationship to Greek Historical Prefaces: A Response to Loveday Alexander." *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 3 (2006) 177-91.
- _____. "Feminist Biblical Interpretation." *Dictionary of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, 107-08. London: Routledge, 2007.
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- _____. "Ideological Strategies in James." In *Reading James with New Eyes: Methodological Reassessments of the Letter of James*, ed. Robert L. Webb and John S. Kloppenborg, 6-26. Library of New Testament 342. London: T. & T. Clark, 2007.

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- _____. "Amt und Autorität im frühesten Christentum." In *Logos – Logik – Lyrik. Engagierte exegetische Studien zum biblischen Reden Gottes*. FS K. Haacker, ed. V. Lehnert et al., 71-86. Leipzig, 2007.
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- Zerbe, Gordon with Muriel Orevillo-Montenegro. "The Letter to the Colossians." In *A Postcolonial Commentary on the New Testament Writings*, ed. R. Sugirtharajah and F. Segovia, 294-303. New York: T. & T. Clark, 2007.
- _____. "Christ, Canon and Confession: The Bible and the Confession of Faith in Mennonite Perspective." *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 81 (2007) 327-350.

Appointments, Promotions, Awards, Honours

- Aitkin, Ellen B. Dean, Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University (as of 1 June 2007).
- Becker, Eva-Marie. Since 1.8.2006 Professor for New Testament Exegesis, Faculty of Theology, University of Aarhus. Since March 2005 Venia legendi for New Testament/Privatdozent at Faculty of Theology, University of Erlangen, Germany, 2004.
- Ben Zvi, Ehud. 2007 Research Excellence Award (Full Professor Level) – Faculty of Arts (University of Alberta)
- Bertone, John A. Assistant Professor of New Testament (Limited Term Appointment) at Concordia University, Department of Theological Studies, Montreal, Quebec.
- Calvert-Koyzis, Nancy. A one-year appointment at King's University College at UWO 2006-2007; teaching award from the University of Western Ontario; Dean's List for Teaching Excellence at King's.
- Eberhart, Christian. Chair of the new SBL Consultation "Sacrifice, Cult, and Atonement."
- Humphrey, Edith M. Promoted to Full Professor, William F. Orr Chair of New Testament.
- Idestrom, Rebecca G.S. Scholarship from the Canadian Friends of the École Biblique for research at École Biblique, Jerusalem, July and August 2007.
- Jervis, L. Ann. Faculty Associate, Centre for Ethics, University of Toronto; Lilly Theological Scholars Grant of \$12,000.
- Knoppers, Gary N. Endowed professorship, Edwin Erle Sparks Professor of Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies, Religious Studies, and Jewish Studies.
- Mitchell, Christine. Granted tenure, July 1, 2007.
- Racine, Jean-Francois. Associate Professor, Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley Vice-president, Association Catholique des Études Bibliques au Canada (ACÉBAC).
- Schuller, Eileen. Acting Chair, Dept. of Religious Studies, McMaster University.
- Snow, Robert S. Program Head of Christian Studies at Ambrose University College.
- Suderman, W. Derek. Assistant Professor in Religious Studies, University of Waterloo and Conrad Grebel University College.
- Wassen, Cecilia. Lecturer, Umeå University, Sweden.
- Wray Beale, Lissa M. Director-at-Large for Institute of Biblical Research 2007-09.

Dissertations/Theses Completed

- Gilmour, Michael. *Goats and Gods, Demons and Dogs: Zoomorphism in Salman Rushdie's Novels*. M.A. University of Manitoba (Department of English) 2007.
- Novacs, Frank Z. *The Covenant in Luke-Acts*. M.Th. North-West University, 2006.
- Snow, Robert S. *Daniel's Son of Man in Mark: A redefinition of the earthly temple and the formation of a new temple community*. University of Manchester, 2007.
- Suderman, W. Derek. *Prayers Heard and Overheard: Shifting Address and Methodological Matrices in Psalms Scholarship*. Toronto: University of St. Michael's College, 2007.
- Verncombe, Erin. *Rounding Cape Malea: The Function of Travel Experience in Paul's Struggle for Status, 2 Corinthians 11:25-26 and Romans 15:19-20*. M.A. Toronto: University of St. Michael's College, 2007.

Research in Progress

- Adams, Sean A. Paul and Greek Epistolography; Luke-Acts and Greek Historiography; Greek Grammar and Linguistics
- Aitkin, Ellen B. Early Christianity and Hellenistic & Roman Hero Cult, including a planned book on the Epistle to the Hebrews.
- Ascough, Richard S. Commentary on 1 and 2 Thessalonians; *Lydia: Paul's Cosmopolitan Hostess*; Associations in the Ancient World.
- Batten, Alicia. "Wealth Display" in antiquity and in early Christian Literature. 20th century French Protestant biblical interpretation.
- Becker, Eva-Marie. Synoptic Gospels, esp. Mark; Greek "Literaturgeschichte" of the Hellenistic-Roman Period; Pauline letters, esp. Second Corinthians; Hermeneutics, co-editor of: "Lexikon der Bibelhermeneutik".
- Bertone, John A. A social-scientific interpretation of Paul's "Koinonia of the Spirit".
- 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 Judges, Zechariah.
- Cox, Claude A. IOSCS Commentary on Old Greek Job.

- Crook, Zeba A. English Reader's Synopsis; Representations of Jesus in Modern Fiction.
- Damm, Alex. Applications of ancient rhetoric to the synoptic problem.
- Duhaime, Jean. Annotated translation of the War Scroll (1QM); Contribution to a new French annotated translation of the non-Biblical Scrolls from Qumran.
- Fontanille, Jean-Philippe. Monograph entitled The Coins of Herod the Great; "The Most Extreme Rarities in Judaean Coins".
- Humphrey, Edith M. A popular book on worship provisionally entitled, *Grand Entrance: Worship in Heaven as in Earth*; A monograph probing the motif of entrance, as associated with worship, in New Testament texts; A popular book on "Mystery, community and the NT".
- Idestrom, Rebecca G.S. "The Glory of the Lord in the Old Testament."
- Jervis, L. Ann. Paul's Ethics for Hendrickson; St. Paul Reads Aristotle
- Kloppenborg, John S. James; Parables of Jesus.
- McLaughlin, John L. Monograph on Prophets and Justice for Novalis Press. Monograph on Ancient Israelite Religion for Paulist Press. Monograph and the Ancient Near East for Abingdon Press.
- Middleton, Richard A. Commentary on 1 and 2 Samuel. Book manuscript on holistic eschatology. Tentative title: *A New Heaven and a New Earth: The Bible's Holistic Vision of the Redemption of Creation*.
- Mitchell, Christine. Colony and Empire in Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.
- Reinhartz, Adele. Caiaphas the High Priest, for the Personalities of the New Testament Series, edited by D. Moody Smith. (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press). Study of Caiaphas in ancient sources and the history of interpretation, including art, music, literature, drama and film.
- Schuller, Eileen. Research on the Thanksgiving Psalms (Hodayot) from Qumran: preparation of the reconstructed text done by Hartmut Stegemann for publication in Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, Volume 40; Research on Canadian involvement in the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls.
- Snow, Rob. Mark and historiography.
- Stichele, Caroline Vander. Contextualizing Gender in Early Christian Discourse; The Cultural Reception of Herodias and Salome.
- Tolppanen, Kari. "A Source Critical Reassessment of the Gospel of Luke: Was Mark Really Luke's Source?" (Dissertation in progress; Supervisor: John S. Kloppenborg)
- Verncombe, Erin. Socio-economic interpretation of the parables.
- Wray Beale, Lissa M. 1 and 2 Kings. Apollos OT Commentary.

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