

**Judge, Edwin. *Out Here Down Under: Ancient History in the Antipodes*. A. D. Macdonald (ed), (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2023). 286 pp. \$61.60 paperback.**

## Introduction

Edwin Judge made his academic mark with his pathbreaking book : *The Social Pattern of Christian Groups in the First Century* (1960). As a work of 77 pages this is a small book by the modern standards. His latest book here reviewed is *Ancient History in the Antipodes: Out Here Down Under*. In the introduction he indicates this is the eighth volume of his collected articles and papers. His choice not to focus on monographs may cause discomfort to some after the renown of his 1960 monograph.

Many small books changed the world, including Marx's *Communist Manifesto* and Orwell's *Animal Farm*. Edwin Judge's 1960 book, *Social Pattern*, was the foundation for a theory of Ancient History social aspects of the New Testament, declared a consensus in 1977 by A.J. Malherbe in his book: *Social Aspects of Early Christianity* (1977, p.31). Judge's observation was that the first century Christians display attributes and social patterns like any other historical group living under Roman rule. The first century Christians were viewed by secular classicists as, perhaps, a historical novelty, or a tangent of Jewish theology. Judge proved they were real people of a community with identifiable distinctives. They were a part of Roman history and Ancient History, not just a belief system, and thus were a valid topic for Ancient Historians to study.

Judge's powerful observation, subtly presented, became an enduring consensus. In hindsight, Judge's observation was so self-evident it is now taken for granted. Many academics would not be aware this New Testament historicity at one time had to be perceived and then argued into existence. Nor will many be aware of who the pioneer of that methodology was. Beyond the silent consensus, Judge's second breakthrough by implication was to allow the study of Christianity (and the Bible) previously excluded from the Classics, to be included as part of the study of Ancient History. The New Testament corpus and the Classics of Roman history could now be studied side by side. However, for this to occur the very discipline of Ancient History itself had to be promulgated, through a battle of ideas. That Ancient History as a discipline, also something now taken for granted, had to be born through determination and many academic battles, may come as another surprise for many in the profession. Documenting this battle is the purpose of his latest book reviewed here.

In the preface Judge indicates in somewhat New Testament language, that a generous benefactor of the study of early Christian history at Macquarie University Sydney Australia (down under) requested that Judge should write an autobiography, in response to which he states "I declined". To honour the benefactor's request however, Judge has included personal notes at the beginning of each chapter and is candid and generous in content. The book

chapters are a compilation of published and unpublished papers spanning the period 1966-2020. Three chapters are reflections by other authors who invariably mention Judge and are thus second person biographical. The remaining chapters are papers by Judge spanning the period indicated and, being written by him about his experiences, are thus first-person accounts. With first, second and third person accounts, the book is essentially biographical, if not closely autobiographical.

### **The History of history in history**

Edwin Judge would seek for us to understand that the aspects of history were traditionally only studied under two disciplines: History general, or via the Classics. More so, that the other part of ancient times, the Bible, was traditionally studied in isolation as a third place, the province of the Church and Theology. The initial battle was not what we may presume, to include Biblical Christian studies into historical studies or the Classics. Importing general world history into the Classics was rejected by Classical studies. How can this be explained? Simply Judge clarifies, that the Classics focussed exclusively on the ancient documents of the Greek and Roman writers. The qualifier was that study of the Classics and the ancient societies which produced these documents, was only done via Philology, restricted to the texts and their linguistic and literary form. It was ancient history studied via Latin and ancient Greek. The inclusion of evidence and artefacts of archaeology was not in the method. Neither were ancient documents of the New Testament corpus despite their being both written in Greek and contemporaneous with first century Roman history. Perhaps the division is hard to imagine today, yet it persisted long after Judge's efforts to remedy it. The disposition is reflected in the introduction to *The Oxford History of the Roman World* (2001): "The incompatibility of some pagan virtues with Christianity draws attention to an important aspect of the scope of this book. Jesus and Christianity are in principle not included...[they] do not belong in a history of the classical world". (p.7, 1-12).

In the struggle to bring forth an Ancient History discipline in Australia, Judge suggests that there was a history of the emergence of Ancient History. A struggle for relevance which had roots in the tacit prejudice of colonialism and the priority of England. This difficulty included the bastions of Oxford and Cambridge, within whose walls the strongholds of Classics and History stood firm and protected. From this colonial view the development of Australian universities was a circumstance only tolerable if the forefront of their academy was based upon the Classics and History - English history that is. For in a young colony how could there be any other history, and when Australian History emerged it was, prior to Manning Clark, English History of Australia for three reasons. Firstly, Indigenous history was not included as via Forster's *Werke* they and Australia's population were both regarded as new arrivals. Secondly, in the colonial view, a colony so recently settled could not and should not have a sense of its own destiny. Thirdly there had been significant efforts, indeed a race, by European powers to find and settle the presumed south land first, whereby England's victory in the race

to claim Australia created a tacit sense of British ownership. These eager contests were outlined in work by Klein Schriften 1789, and M. C. Sprengel, *Neuholland* 1787, with summary of the race by Georg Forster 1798, all of which showed a great importance in settling Botany Bay. The contention of La Perouse, given that Captain Phillip had arrived just days before, and the French claim to Australia, was not challenged by the French due to their reluctance to go to war (again) with England, this time over half of Australia. Otherwise, a divided Anglo/French Australia was a real possibility. The current Western Australia border running north to south is a relic of that potential Anglo/French divide. The English victory manifest a sense of ownership of Australia, with no room for its own history.

The paradox for Judge is that, despite such historical urgency, Australia was deemed just too remote to matter academically - being the title of Judge's first chapter of this book under review. The striking out into a new discipline could not help but raise the eyebrows of the sandstone strongholds of Oxford and Cambridge and was not attempted by the sandstone universities of Australia, lest they lose their generous benefactors. The demarcation between Classics and general History remained. The breakout could only be brazenly attempted by a new (purely state funded) Macquarie University, built not of sandstone but of brick and poured concrete, whose concrete forms are now glorified as the architectural style of "brutalism". The similarity between Roman punishment and exile, is paralleled in the last line of the book's first chapter: an academic career down under was experienced as something akin to punishment and exile to the Australian colonies – this metaphor for the academic struggle is the tangent Judge invites us to ponder. The New Testament line " can anything good come out of Nazareth" (John 1:46) or from a land of convicts, too remote to matter, is tangible in his experience.

### **Autobiography Interlude**

Chapter two is the most autobiographical of the "personal notes". Here we learn that the Oxford Rd crosses Judge's historical family home base in the village of Stokenchurch which lies to the east of Oxfordshire. He points out his grandfather, also Edwin, was on the Stokenchurch school board, and literate. The greater Judge clan was based at High Wycombe, noted for its furniture industry and Roman remains. High Wycombe is a suburb of Perth WA, but the High Wycombe to which Judge refers is part of wealthy London's Chiltern Hills north of Oxfordshire, and a stone's throw or more from Oxford University. His father, with only primary school education, left the mother land at age 21 heading for Christchurch New Zealand. In 1915 his father enlisted in the New Zealand Medical Corps who were assigned to Gallipoli on the hospital ship *Marquette*, which was torpedoed, with 167 losing their lives, including 32 New Zealanders and 10 nurses. Judge's grandfather was from Pembrokeshire Wales and married into a large family from London. Edwin's mother benefitted from a good girls' school education and was an editor of the *Littleton Times*, a notable newspaper started in 1851; she also sang in the cathedral choir. This information tells us Judge's mother was a

high Anglican, and his father an ANZAC. Judge's origins being so close to Oxford is a little ironic, so close and yet a world away.

Judge also received a certain education or grounding in social realities from childhood experiences during World War Two. Completing school in 1944 he was too young for conscription. Having avoided one conscription, he explains he was subsequently conscripted by Victoria University College as a Warden, whose towering edifice loomed over Wellington. He was trained "to shoot" in a cadet battalion at high school, he notes aged 12 to 16. With the fall of Singapore in 1942 the New Zealand officials feared invasion and in response the local New Brighton beach near his home was fenced with barbed wire, trenches were dug along his street, and the sense of war and rumours of war was complete with a bomb shelter in the garden of his family home (p.14). This rather childhood military engagement gave him experience of the social disruption war creates. It included serving the cause, requiring him, if needed, to ride his pushbike like Paul Revere, in this case, warning that the Japanese were coming. A Japanese invasion was a Pacific nations reality, which New Zealand was spared. His adolescent military service was cut short by childhood rheumatic fever which saw him drop out of both the cadets and sport. He dropped mathematics and science too and perhaps surprisingly, history. In place of these were languages, English, Latin, French and German being requisites for him to contest the 1944 New Zealand national scholarship examinations. As the war came to an end in 1945, the social impact war had on him, together with the development of scholarly events, would help define the direction of his future life work. Compulsory scripture study in state schools required the study of the Epistles of St Paul of the New Testament. Upon leaving school he informed his career advisor that he "intended to explain how we had the radically two different literary corpora, classical and biblical from the same historical setting" (p.15). This was an early recognition by him that there was a demarcation between biblical literature and the Classics. Cutting a path through classical and historical academia strongholds to merge the Classical/Biblical divide, was the mission beneath everything he wrote and did from then on.

### **The Battle for Ancient History**

The notable Sir Karl Popper, famous for rejecting inductive method in science via his 1945 work *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, which "was an assault on the idealism of Plato" Judge notes (p.243), therefore broke new ground in favour of the empirical method of data and evidence in science. This too is now taken for granted, but Judge is at pains to emphasise it was not so in the early twentieth century. It was historically fortuitous that Judge enrolled in Popper's classes at Canterbury University College. Popper's book broke away enough of the traditional classics stronghold to encourage Judge to keep his own foot jarring the door of historical method open.

Chapter two "Omnia Mutantur" (everything changes) is by J Marc Schmidt and was originally an article in 1995, written as a retrospective on Judge's role in the establishment of Ancient History in the NSW High School curriculum. It is preceded by a quote by J.H. Salmon on teaching history, where in 1962 in the face of post war industrial rush for new disciplines of "nuclear physics, highway engineers, and polymer scientists", Salmon warns that history may be needing to defend its very existence. He poses the question "what is the use of it?" (p.15). One main role Judge held was on the Ancient History School Syllabus Committee, which was so new as a concept, it held its first meeting in 1964. This was the end of the *Leaving Certificate* and the advent of the *Higher School Certificate* system. Determined efforts were being made to incorporate Ancient History into the syllabus, but first there was a need to define the purpose of Ancient History. Ancient History's competitor was the other new field of Sociology and its offspring Social Science. The stakes here should not be underestimated. Not only the truth of history but the truth in history was at stake. In 1963 the History Teachers Association meetings, with Alanna Nobbs also attending, called for cultural studies to be included in the syllabus. The irony was that Judge had already included this as a comprehensive methodology in his 1960 Halsean Prize winning book *Social Pattern*. The Board of Senior School Studies had concurred and Social History would be represented by the Classics texts of Virgil, Horace, Pliny, Cicero and more. Yet these were to be studied in their English translation, which was strongly opposed by some of Judge's Committee peers from Sydney University. The Board was deadlocked, but as Chair of the Ancient History Syllabus Committee, Judge used his casting vote, which unwillingly but necessarily opposed his peers and friends - the Classics were in, but only in their English translations, to the dismay of the Classicists, of which Judge was one. However, he felt it was better to have Classics studied in English than not at all.

The professionals still found ways to swerve around the requirement until in 1976 the study of a set text was made compulsory for 2- and 3-unit courses. The context of this was profound. My own experience of High School during this period saw no Classics texts or anything of Ancient History on the syllabus. Students had the choice of French, German, Indonesian and Chinese, but Latin and Greek were absent, despite affirmations from TV celebrity Julius Sumner Miller that Latin should still be taught. The Latin debate had been lost both in New Zealand and Australia, and the Classics and Ancient History would also be lost if not defended. Upon leaving High School in 1978 the study of Ancient History had never been on the curriculum of many High Schools despite being on the syllabus for a decade prior. This was the tide Judge was seeking to hold back, and he didn't stop there. Near Eastern studies was made an elective. Its inclusion on the syllabus of NSW "made NSW unique in the world" (p.21). Just a year earlier Judge's book *Social Pattern* had been declared a consensus by Malherbe as noted. He was, we may presume, vindicated and energised by this. His methodology was right. In a formal statement noted in the syllabus "the main values of modern society were attained in the Classical and Biblical periods ..." - this statement had a familiarity with the classical/biblical parallel that Judge had told his careers adviser way back

in 1944, some 30 years prior. He hadn't forgotten it. Destiny had positioned him where he could press his vision and mission to combine the study of Classics and New Testament side by side, imported into the very foundations of the high school generations in NSW.

### **Translation or Transportation**

Chapters three to five focus on the significant careers of Australians, New Zealanders and "non-British classicists in the antipodes". Clearly, they draw directly on the book title and are precluded by the concept of perishing without a name. Far more than a passing reference to "publish or perish", this is a reference to those who, despite prominence in publishing and academic contribution, may still pass unnoticed, especially if from the antipodes. The Latin chair at Cambridge was named after B. H. Kennedy and we are informed in Judge's style, that Kennedy was "translated" in 1867 from Shrewsbury to Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge. 'Translated' was the ancient classical world term for one who had acquired the afterlife and joined the gods, and a term which the Christians had adopted. The term persisted until the early twentieth century especially in Anglican theology books. The fourth holder of the Kennedy chair, Houseman, lamented in 1903 about one academic whose reputation had preceded him with praise in Europe, yet was nevertheless at home "excluded from academic preferment" (p.29) and eventually "transported" to the antipodes. These three chapters are a review of the careers of various high achievers in Australian and New Zealand academics. The point is made that to become a name in Classics (be translated) one had to gain a Doctorate from Oxford or Cambridge and be in academic residence there. To graduate and take up residence in the antipodes, Edwin seeks us to understand, was tantamount to colonial transportation.

### **Brutalism breakthrough - The Macquarie era**

Prior to the second world war Classics exams in Australia, Judge points out, were set and marked abroad (p.47). One notable Ronald Syme, whose work focused on explaining the *Roman Revolution*, explained the rise of the Augustan aristocracy in Ancient Rome. He was critiqued by the great biblical historian Arnaldo Momigliano. Judge is sympathetic on one hand noting Syme endured "relentless scorn" by his peers (p.50), but does critique the span of the book, which being 60BC to AD14 he says should have been double that, ending at AD68, the death of Nero. Of course, this would have required Syme to combine first century Roman history side by side with the Christian history - these two great corpora.

Judge's book moves to chapter six: *Ancient History in a Modern University*. In the 1960s in NSW there were two significant events. Firstly, Macquarie University was founded and established in 1964. The second significant event was that Edwin Judge took up the first Chair of Ancient History at Macquarie University in 1969. He notes that of the four candidates the others were all more senior and more published than he. His controversial appointment was on the strength of his discourse on how Western civilisation can only be understood by

those ancient societies that it evolved from, Rome (the Classics) and Christianity. This fitted well with the charter of this new modern University, which sought innovation and to prosper all things Australian. This included an Australian official Dictionary, *The Macquarie Dictionary* which included Australian idioms. Its content and gum leaf cover design were a commanding break away from the Oxford standard. This new brazen brutalist antipodean University, with its own Dictionary, needed an academic who would build the Ancient History faculty, but not as a photocopy of the traditional classicist form. The work Judge had done on the Ancient History school curriculum had not gone unnoticed. It is to be remembered Manning Clark had released the landmark and controversial *A History of Australia* in 1962, ultimately being a six-volume work. Clark immediately came under criticism for writing Australian history from a, well, Australian (not British) perspective, and this criticism of Clark still reverberates in History circles today. Clark like Syme was hounded but Clark, unlike Syme, had the last word as his volumes were runaway best sellers. Australia had been in the mood for its own brand of modern history, and now Ancient History too.

Australia's Universities have a peculiarity of being interconnected as if a dynasty. The sandstone Sydney University spawned a regional offshoot in Armidale amidst the New England high country of NSW. Its grand Victorian estate house and land was gifted to the institution by a wealthy local bachelor. High on a hill, it overlooks the town of Armidale. This rural division of Sydney University, originally built to study rural sciences, eventually became the independent University of New England, which pioneered "distance learning" by combining correspondence and weekend residency, or External Studies as they called it. When in 1964 Macquarie University was formed, its Executive management were close to Sydney University too, and this facilitated a number of academics to migrate across from Sydney, which in 1969 is what Edwin Judge did.

The development in Ancient History caused a bitter dispute within the History faculty at Macquarie, mainly due to concerns that the growth of Ancient History would slow the growth of Modern History (p.90). The old demarcation between Classics and History rose again. Ironically, despite its own criticism of Clark, the History department was riding high on the back of Clark's modernist work. One cannot detract from the fact that Judge had long held to a methodology of original sources (philology, artefacts, evidence, and data). Clark would use this same methodology, especially original sources, in his *History of Australia*, drawing upon (rediscovering) original source materials such as Colonial Government reports, Governor's journals, correspondence of notable elites such as the Macarthur and Macquarie families, explorer journals, and an endless array of obscure documents. So much so, that he wrote a book listing all these sources and where to find them. Manning Clark simply demolished the traditional strongholds of (modern) History sources. Judge would do the same with Ancient History, Australian style, with his own original sources approach, which he pioneered at Macquarie University (p.92) and which remains the standard today, some 30 years after his retirement. Clark at the Australian National University Canberra, and Judge at

Macquarie University in Sydney would present a two-pronged pincer movement against the strongholds of traditional historical method.

Matters at Macquarie became politicised. The University was not going to formerly facilitate study of languages of the Classics. Judge extended an olive branch suggesting that the Modern History fraternity could run the languages as part of their significant language skill base. It is reported that the terse response was for Ancient History to do it themselves, which they did. The task fell to Professor Judge and Dr Alanna Nobbs (Emmett). Nobbs had been Sydney University's first PhD in Latin, which displays how new all this was in Australia. Judge had been through the best Latin and Greek training. The practice of classical language study being externalised to Sydney University or its offspring, the University New England would, via Judge and Nobbs, end. Such controversy in universities as occurred among historians at Macquarie is not uncommon. The formation of Cambridge University came from a bitter internal dispute at Oxford and a breakaway group formed Cambridge.

Judge's history policy was an inclusive one-liner - "the modern world is the ultimate product of an ancient revolution in thought" (p.100). This primer for Modern Historians, was enough of a challenge on its own. Yet there was much more. This revolution in (ancient) thought, was manifest in the rise of Christian philosophy in the first century, and the challenge it posed for Greco-Roman society. This could only be understood by including early Christian studies with or at least side by side with Ancient History. This was attempted via a new journal *Antichthon*, but Judge notes, it evolved into another pure Classics journal.

### **From out of Egypt**

There emerged through archaeological digs in Egypt numerous ancient papyrus letters whose form, nomenclature and philology were identified as being Christian, or tangentially Christian authorship by ordinary people. It was a remarkable work by Adolf Deissman *Light from the Ancient East* published 1910 (a work still highly relevant today) which launched this ancient papyri approach to New Testament studies. Yet these humble papyri in Greek were the bridge between Classics philology and Biblical studies that Judge had wanted. Where other methods had struggled to bridge the divide, these documents provided clear in situ evidence, artefact, and data, that the early Christians were an intrinsic part of the early AD centuries of the Roman world. There is a great debate here as to whether the first Christians were common lower classes, their rise thus being a Marxist type revolution, or were an elitist top down eventual takeover of Rome. Deissman believed the former, Judge favoured the latter. In reality it can be argued both are correct, no revolution is devoid of both social stratas. Yet those papyri, being so common, some a mother's shopping list, proved a significant presence of the common people in Christianity's rise. The proof perhaps is that the early Christian church involved both lower classes and elites together, cutting through Roman Patron/client fixed social strata. While Judge believes the Deissman lower classes argument to be a myth, he does concede there was combined strata of Christians, but for Judge it was driven by the

status, social power and erudite rhetoric of its elites, such as Paul of Tarsus. On this he is certainly correct. For one seeking to understand Edwin Judge's philosophy and method, they may start reading this book at chapter nine, or specifically pages 125-127. For Judge the rise of Christianity was a clash of ideas with Rome.

### **The Power of Ideas**

Of all that we may think or presume ancient history and empires are influenced by, for Judge it is the melting pot of ideas, and the clash of ideology that emanates from the "market of ideas" which operates in any community both at the intellectual and popular levels" (p.123). A market of ideas amidst the "social patterns" of ancient communities. For Judge it is ideas which overthrow empires in ways that swords and armies cannot. You can kill the leader of Christianity, but you cannot kill the idea of him or that he carried. It is this "idea" for which mighty Rome ultimately had no answer, which took over ancient Rome eventually under Constantine, and went on to create the Western world as we know it. This is pure Judge - the impact of Paul's ideas upon the classical world was a revolution in thought and (ancient) history would never be the same. This revolution was carried by the idea(s) contained in Paul's letters - "Where else (he asks us) can we see a whole new way of life being argued out in real time from the troubles of whole new communities? Where else is there an intellectual pioneer (Paul) who thinks out our problems by exposing his own disasters and humiliation?" Therefore Judge asserts Paul's letters are unique (p.137). This revolution in philosophy was inaugurated by Paul, namely the removal of ethnicity (neither Jew nor Greek), removal of rank (neither slave nor free), removal of gendered social division (neither male nor female). Such things the modern times seek to claim as new and progressive. Such modern progressiveness is revealed as being a revival of a sentiment 2000 years old – history repeating itself. Judge laments that Ancient Historians, in seeking to deny the influence and historical self-evidence of Christianity, often declare that the conversion of Rome (to Christianity) did not matter, that Rome would have collapsed anyway. Yet Judge knew the power of an idea to change history and he had an idea for Ancient History as a discipline.

*Can there be the History of a Book?* is the title for chapter eleven and is a review by Judge of *A New Testament History* by F. F. Bruce written in 1969. The chronology should not concern us, that such an early book review appears in such a recent book. The reason will become clear and is worth the journey. The reader is drawn into Judge's world of challenging, breaking down and reconsidering the presumed familiar ways of thinking. What might Bruce mean by a history of the New Testament? Is it an introduction or assessment of the history of how the New Testament corpus came to be, or how such ancient documents were coalesced into a codex? The history of ultimately its Gutenberg form? Is it a history of its preservation or influence? It could be a historical background of New Testament events. In the event it was any of those, Judge points out it would carry much assumed knowledge in the reader - it does not explain the theology that sits behind the history, or the history behind the theology. This

he notes leads the writer to be inevitably caught in a circular argument trap. Such traps are something N T Wright (1992, p.96) refers to as "ideological strongholds" which have held back so much detail by preventing the inclusion of data.

The way out, Judge assures us, is to recognise and discuss the New Testament in terms of the historical importance of ideas. We are enticed to consider that all of which we normally regard as history, as suggested above, are actually the symptoms caused by the manifestation of ideas in history. The importance of ideas - hold that thought for now. A review of Bruce's book by M. Devine in 1989 is cited, Bruce suggested any history of the New Testament is merely that propagated by generations of Theologians. The counter argument, by Paul Barnett, is that historians "bypass the primary historical phenomena documented within the New Testament itself, pursuing instead its consequences in later times"(p.145). We are again, via Judge's formal review of Bruce's work, invited to consider that a history of the New Testament is " the study of its cultural and social setting" (p.145). Having held the thought while he de-engineered our concept of history, he now re-engineers our understanding of New Testament history to be "the point of intersection (of the New Testament) with the general history of its time" (p.145). Having done all this, he challenges us that one needs to come to terms with the New Testament as a phenomenon of history. The subtle hint here within the mastery of Judge's perception, is that it is difficult to write a history *of* the New Testament, because the New Testament *is* history.

### **What is a Book? revisited**

The book engages a brief discussion of the impact socially and culturally but also historically of the (idea of) New Testament in late antiquity. The chapter title *Scriptural Civilisation in Late Antiquity* is a composite extract of two papers written for the Society for the Study of Early Christianity (SSEC) newsletter in 1992. It was inspired by the 2016 book *Scriptural Universe of the New Testament* by Stroumsa, which Judge describes as a "remarkable work", which probably means we should read it. By scriptural universe Stroumsa means that a civilisation determines the form and content of written things, but especially the form. Also, the written things determine the nature of the civilisation. (The New Testament is history and defined the civilisation that beheld it, up to the present day). The book world of these early civilisations was not as we know it. They had scrolls. Rolled up written things with no punctuation or spaces between the words, just continuous sentences with no breaks, all in upper case. Erudite people read from a scroll and libraries were a collection of scrolls, not books. These early Christians had notes, parts of scrolls, wax note boards, and folded sections of papyrus. They were not distributed and not collected, therefore it is surprising they survived at all. And yet they did. Some people saved Paul's letters which form the basis of the New Testament. Acts tells us Theophilus commissioned Luke to write a history of the Jesus movement – a written work so long, it is intriguing to think it must have been a scroll kept in a library or hidden inside a wall, in order to survive as was the custom (2 Chron 34:14, 2 Kings 22:8).

Christian writings were ultimately collected and form the corpus we know, but their historicity was regularly challenged by other ideas from Origen, Celsus, and Porphyry; Porphyry particularly saw the Old and New Testament as full of historical inconsistencies. There was also Chrysostom's difficulty with the role of male and female, and Judge notes, everyone's trouble with the meaning of the left hand not knowing what the right hand was doing (Matt 6:3), and Augustine's clarity of it. Mostly this chapter is brief as its purpose is to note that challenging the history is OK - but to do so we must study the Bible documents in their ancient history social setting, or risk projecting modern ideas and conceptions back onto it. Collected allusions to biblical passages in classical writings are within Rinaldi's *Biblia Gentium*. The importance for Judge is that the New Testament literature was not traditionally included as part of Classics literature of the same period, and that it should have been.

### **The Two great Literary Corpora Converge**

The traditional classical history, with its sidelining of Biblical history, met its apocalypse when in the mid-19th century, the name Ramesses Pharaoh was discovered inscribed on massive stone monuments in Egypt. The name was hitherto unknown to historians except as it appeared in the Old Testament, but which historians regarded as mythical. The discovery of the Ramesses name prompted a flood of amateur and professional academics to descend upon Egypt seeking further evidence to confirm Biblical history, inaugurating the discipline of Egyptology. The end of rejection of New Testament history by Classicists came with the discovery of ancient papyri, in the sand of Oxyrhynchus near Alexandria Egypt, written in Greek. Buried two millennia ago, these documents were now raised again from the sands of Egypt into the light of Deissman's *Ancient East* and Judge's *Ancient History Documentary Research Centre*. The cache of papyri unearthed in Deissman's era was an awakening. The hot dry sands of Egypt's desert preserved these ancient delicate documents long before archaeologists learned how to. Many more document piles were found leading to a steady flow of similar documents which hint at and challenge our conception of early Christians. The range and very nature of the papyri Judge heralded, supplied "a growing pool of data, both linguistic and cultural, which varies the picture of the contextual framework within which the language of the New Testament must eventually be located."

This, Judge asserted, has radiated combined interest including linguistic, archaeology, historical, philosophical, classical, and biblical "which has situated the New Testament as an object of study within a wide range of related ancient world topics". (p.158). And there it is. Judge's original vision of the New Testament and classical texts being studied side by side, as ancient history was now proven and facilitated by the Egypt papyri - not ancient Egypt (BCE) but the (CE) Roman period. This also meant the academic world was turned upside down, or it may be said, right way up, not dominated and limited by a philological only classic paradigm, but with both Classic and New Testament - those two radically different literary corpora side by side as a subset of Ancient History. The year of Judge's writing this was 1976. His

work *Social Pattern* had been declared a consensus the prior year. His theory that Christians were part of Ancient and Roman history and living under Roman rule was now proven unequivocally by the papyri left in the sands of Roman Egypt by converts during the first Christian centuries so long ago.

The overview of the Ancient History Documentary Research Centre (AHDRC) occupies the next two chapters. This naturally follows discussion of the Egypt papyri, as the AHDRC was dedicated to analysis and classification of the Alexandrian Egypt Oxyrhynchus papyri and inscriptions. The AHDRC focus was studying the changes in them which reflect New Testament influence, publishing them in a ten-volume series: *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*. The centre established by Judge with the support of the University gained international recognition and a formal identity around 1981, due to its work on the documents and establishment of a Diploma in Ancient Documentary studies. Destiny intervened once more. Two benefactors emerged in the early 1980s just as the new government policy requiring University self-funding saw government funding dry up. The initial funding gift allowed the formation of the Macquarie Ancient History Association. This government policy change saw Universities switch from a teaching focus to a research focus, this too perhaps was good timing as research was the primary activity of the documentary research centre (AHDRC).

Behind the scenes, the true nature of the funding policy switch was likely not known to academics. The government had come under increasing pressure to step away from blank cheque University funding, seen as a type of academic social security. It was coeval with the other new policy of Australia as the Clever Country. Government would not fund Universities but would fund research instead. As a result, Universities restructured their focus to research. Regular degree programs had name changes to "research" degrees and the flow of government funding continued, kick-starting the commercialisation of education which has not abated. Judge alludes to this when recalling a Museum of Ancient Cultures for Macquarie was flagged by a Federal government representative of the Department of Home Affairs and Environment. He notes it was high on the funding agenda "before disappearing in the face of economic rationalism" (p.181). Eventually the dream of the Museum was realised fuelled by artefacts from the Australian Museum, Tel Aviv Institute of Archaeology and Macquarie's own excavations in Egypt. It is an impressive exhibition for any visitor to Macquarie University today.

The importance of a museum for Judge is not so much the visual aspect, but that these coins, inscriptions and papyri are original sources and types of textual items which are retrieved in their original form directly by modern discovery. He notes this is distinct from literary texts (the traditional Classics method) which are handed down to us through centuries of repeated copying of manuscripts. There is the sense in Judge's method that these artefacts may be personified and ancient individuals may be animated, in that "we are drawn into a personal engagement with the one we encounter" past or present. For those artefacts at least

there may be an engagement with the ancient one who made them or more intriguingly, incidentally left them *in situ* for us to find.

### **What is Truth?**

One topic central to Judge's writing is "truth in history". This is the philosophical legacy of Judge's early contact with Popper. The next two chapters explore truth as a philosophical concept. We may sense a hint of Pontius Pilate's declamation "what is truth?" (John 18:33). It echoes the much-debated level of truth in Gaius Julius Caesar's claim that he had no choice but war once his opponents had crossed the Rubicon. The first Nobel prize for literature was a multi volume history of Rome by Mommsen which, we are prompted to observe, only covered half the millennium of Roman history, stopping at the date of this same Caesar 49BCE. However, to venture further on Rome would have required Mommsen to enter the Christian era, the truth of the Christians is, for some, elusive. Judge observes that the history of a modern nation state may singularly focus only on itself, omitting the context of the nation in the global culture around it. Is this truth? The paradox is both yes and no. And so, *Must History Teach National Truth?* is the chapter heading and question we are left with. What is truth? Determining truth is important – after all, Jesus said "truth will set us free".

All of this leads to the next paradox that "history repeats itself", and *Can One Learn From History?* as the next chapter. The phrase "don't worry be happy" is the chorus of a modern song by Bobby McFerrin, yet the phrase, Judge points out, first appears on an ancient Syrian tomb. The modern Australian vernacular "she'll be right" a derivative of the Be Happy phrase, has its pedigree Judge observes, in ancient history (p.223), as an expression on a tomb from the deceased to passers-by – history repeating. The second last chapter considers *History or Literature?* It may seem strange that after a career in the pursuit of history spanning nearly 80 years (1944-2023), there is still the unresolved question of Classics or history, aren't they the same? Well no, "the terms are not commensurate" was the academic compromise. Judge explains: "We after all cannot yet define literature, but we can define the Classics at least in time". Thus the truth in history itself seems fractured, modern, ancient, and Classics being disconnected from the truth central to them all. Yet as we have seen, Classics deems itself as the parent, yet Ancient History sees Classics as a subset. Yet Judge's perception penetrates to the core of the issue "the classics we enjoy were indeed selected for us in antiquity" (p.236) and thus Classics is arbitrary, whereas ancient history is what the evidence provides – thus the complete truth of history cannot be found in Classics alone. Whatever Classics hold to, it is unavoidable to acknowledge they have their roots in ancient history.

### **How Religion Created Science**

The journey concludes at chapter twenty, *How Religion Created Science*. This is not a final broadside, or right of reply from someone who has been doing this longer than anyone else. For Judge it is a simple self-evident truth. Whether Classics, history, artefact, or evolution for that matter, he notes, the more one journeys into ancient history one must arrive at Genesis, that point of creation where all science, ancient history, and history itself began. This can be understood as follows. Judge had focussed his career on removing the separation of biblical and classical writings. Likewise he sees no reason for the divide between religion and science. His primer is to pose the question why and how did the West develop the science and technology which has “flooded” the world? Therefore he considers “the explosion of the West” as a chapter subheading (p.249). While the West gained the term science from the Latin which meant knowledge, it was not Latin or Greek culture from which we gained scientific method, the method itself he notes emerged in seventeenth century Europe. The Greek equivalent for knowledge was *episteme*, understanding. The other Greek term *gnosis*, also knowledge, was only used for describing knowledge of God. The Greeks understood the scientific quest but diminished the experimental method which has delivered the Western technological revolution. The ancient method was to observe the natural world, deduce a logical narrative of explanation, with the proof being by demonstration: QED, *quod erat demonstrandum* “which is what had to be proved” (p.248). Even with this it was historical method that came first.

There was Homer’s fabled character, *Histor*, the arbitor who must settle disputes by finding things out. Yet it was Thucidides’ historical method to reject his own impressions and to hear from witnesses (Thuc. *History*, 1.22.2-3) – a witness test which ironically has moved out of science, becoming embedded as a first principle in law. It was Plato’s logic theory that the universe was stable, and to be stable it must be permanent, unchanging and thus immortal. This became an ideological stronghold which held back the emergence of science because the Church embraced Plato’s model too. The Church saw merit in Plato’s perfect immortal universe, which to the Church was what God would create and what was explained in Genesis. Yet Plato was not quite there. His cosmos (universe) was an organism that embraced God. Judge notes it would take until the second century CE for an “explicit doctrine of the world as the object of God’s separate making, as distinct from the classical [Platonic] view of the cosmos as an organism embracing God” (p.209). The Church was still comfortable with this: Plato’s universe was perfect, immortal and created by God.

The Plato universe was an anthropomorphic focus, with humanity at the centre as God’s favourite creation. Humanity at the centre meant that Earth was at the centre, and therefore Church was importantly at the centre. The Church, after all, saw itself as representing God. Roman maps had Rome at the centre of the world. The famous *mappa mundi* had Jerusalem at the centre. This was nation state centric culture, only possible in a pre-science world. Judge points out (citing Willis Glover, *Biblical Origins*, 1984) it was in the seventeenth century and especially in England that the doctrine of creation emerged, which

finally “opened the doors to the liberation of science from theory, replacing logic demonstration (QED) by experimental testing” (p.209).

Scientific breakthrough of the West, Judge informs us, is explained by an Australian, Peter Harrison of Queensland, as a change from the symbolic (mythological) interpretation of Genesis giving a way to viewing Genesis literally (p.249). A literal Genesis had to be proved, and it could be tested by scientific method seeking how nature worked, thus proving the Genesis narrative. It was infamously Galileo who overturned all the nation state centric maps, breaking through the ideological stronghold, letting in new data to prove that the sun, not humans, the Earth, or Church, was at the centre. Forced by an Inquisition to recant and stay under house arrest, Galileo is said to have left the courtroom mumbling “but the Earth still goes around the Sun”. This was the beginning of the separation of science and religion. Judge does not mention Galileo. We now know Galileo was right and the Church was wrong. Science had been caught, Judge points out, in Plato’s ideological stronghold of the immortal, perfect, unchanging universe. Judge also notes this is what liberated the biblical West, whose technology swamped the world. Judge boldly states “We are happy enough to agree now that the world [universe] sprang from a point of infinite density” (p.250); thus displaying an impartiality to the coalescing of science and the biblical narrative, side by side. This is a familiar theme of combining New Testament literature and first century Greco-Roman literature, which became his enduring consensus. This new task of bringing science and biblical concepts side by side is not his battle, this one he leaves for us, the new generation of scholars.

## Conclusion

Today, the Macquarie University website acknowledges that its Ancient History department began in 1969, with just one staff, but doesn’t mention this one staff member was Edwin Judge. Also, in Macquarie University today there is no Ancient History department, but instead, it is the Department of History and Archaeology. Edwin’s long fight for the primacy of Ancient History as an academic faculty has been subsumed into a broad history department, the very thing he spent his career opposing. Ronald Syme left the antipodes and took up residency at Cambridge. He was vindicated eventually, being knighted for his work on Tacitus and Rome. Judge, too, succeeded in his quest to unite the New Testament and Greco-Roman corpora, as studying these two great corpora alongside each other is now taken for granted.

Is it too simplistic to say if we don't learn from history, we are bound to repeat it? For Judge, history is taught as an evolution of barbaric societies to classical societies, through to the western modernity. To understand this, we need to understand the history of Europe, USA and England. To do so we must engage Roman England, Britannia and Londinium. This must lead to a study of ancient Rome, Greece and first century Judaism, for from these first century societies and their social patterns emerged Christianity, which rose to conquer them

all, including Rome, culminating in the global West. It was an idea. The Christian idea, that saw Rome disappear. It is for this reason Judge seeks us to understand the history of Ancient History in Australia, and his struggle to give it a place of its own as a distinct faculty, and why we should read this book.

Ancient History, that *mysterion* that Judge spent his life pursuing, was always there, it just needed someone to define it, defend it, and give it a name. That is precisely what Edwin A Judge did for 40 years.

**Craig L. Hall**

*Alphacrucis University College, Parramatta NSW, Australia*