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Editor: David J. Hawkin

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EDITORIAL

In the past twelve months two former Presidents of the CSBS -- Venon Fawcett and Bob Osborne -- have died, and Peter Craigie, who had begun his term as President in June, died as the result of a car accident in September. They were all well known in the CSBS and will be greatly missed. At its meeting in January the Executive deemed it appropriate to include memorial tributes to all three in this issue of the bulletin.

The CSBS is one of the constituent societies of the CCSR (Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion/Corporation Canadienne des Sciences Religieuses) the purpose of which is to publish a journal and other materials "to serve the needs of scholars working both in the French and English languages in all fields of the academic study of religion." The journal, *SR*, is received by all members of the CSBS. Many members of the CSBS have published in it and some help in its production (Peter Richardson has recently been appointed production manager and Steven Wilson is on the advisory board). The CCSR also publishes several book series including *SR Supplements* and *Editions SR*. The list of publications in these series (itemized in the back of each issue of *SR*) shows that members of the CSBS are among the authors who have published under the auspices of the CCSR. In view of this involvement of CSBS with CCSR, the debate over non-sexist language in the publications of CCSR scheduled for the annual meeting of the CCSR in Winnipeg is of more than passing interest. The CSBS Executive has arranged for a special session in Winnipeg (9:00 a.m., June 3) to discuss the issue. Members having opinions on this matter should attend the meeting, so that the CSBS voting representatives at the CCSR meeting might know their views. There will be in fact two motions on the floor at the CCSR meeting. A statement from Joanne McWilliam-Dewart, who is proposing one of the motions, is found in this bulletin. At its meeting in January the CCSR Board decided it would propose an alternative motion: "That we pursue a policy of non-sexist language, i.e., gender neutral and inclusive, when appropriate, in all our publications."

Members who are especially interested in this matter might wish to read *On the Treatment of the Sexes in Research/Le traitement objectif des sexes dans la recherche* published by SSHRCC. This booklet may be obtained from SSHRCC, Box 1610, Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 6G4.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

RELIGION AND ARCHITECTURE:

A STUDY IN HEROD'S PIETY, POWER, POMP AND PLEASURE

Peter Richardson

I. Introduction

My paper will examine one small portion of the accomplishments of a man who, through skill and craft, successfully governed a bilingual and multicultural community for better than three decades. He was a politician who began his colourful career on the crest of a law-and-order programme.

He was a publicist who fought tirelessly to put his province on the world map, so that he was as famous abroad as he was notorious at home.

He was a ruler who singlehandedly breathed new life into the Olympic games.

He was a visionary whose architectural constructions were as expensive as they were expansive.

He was a friend of those more powerful than he, whose ability to switch positions at just the right moment kept him in power.

No, this paper is not a tribute to Montreal's Mayor Jean Drapeau, but rather a modest homage to the remarkable achievements of Judea's Herod the Great.¹

In tackling the architecture and religion exemplified in Herod's building programme I do so as a closet architectural determinist, using that phrase in two senses: (i) architecture determines attitudes and behaviours, and (ii) culture determines architecture. I shall attempt, therefore, before I conclude to say something about how religious beliefs are expressed in, and also shaped by, Herod's building programme.² The most vigorous cultural determinant for Herod's buildings is obviously Hellenistic architecture. This exuberant post-Hellenic movement, exemplified best in Asia Minor,³ expressed a kind of magnificence and richness that classical Greek architecture never achieved. By many, Hellenistic architecture--like Baroque--is seen as a degeneration, but for sheer pomp and excitement nothing exceeds

some of the great urban developments of the late Hellenistic period, such as Pergamum, Palmyra, Baalbek, Lepcis Magna. Herod shares in this set of influences and carries some of these tendencies even further than the earlier high points of Hellenistic architecture.⁴

Herod is also a Romano-phile. There are aspects of his buildings that can only be compared to and understood against the developments of Roman architecture,⁵ which was itself, of course, influenced by both Greek architecture and Hellenistic architecture.⁶ Many of these Roman influences are best seen in technical and technological aspects of his buildings,⁷ such as the use of arch and dome or the use of opus reticulatum, a concrete wall faced with brick in a diamond pattern. In more formal design-oriented questions the influence is not so great, and in fact we should consider the possibility that some of the apparent influences actually require a more complex explanation. There may even be some influence of Herodian structures on later Roman structures, so that comparisons sometimes made between Augustus and Herod should be turned on their ear.⁸

Third, Herod is influenced by the Orient; he is an oriental despot whose need for power and pomp and pleasure is to be understood more against the background of the East than in the light of the western Imperial power of Rome. Augustus is at heart not like Herod. And Augustus's building programme, while like Herod's in many respects, is motivated more by piety towards the Roman state and Roman gods than it is towards power and pomp and pleasure.⁹ In these latter respects Augustus is far more conservative than Herod (though I will argue that Herod does have a conservative streak in him and will claim that his buildings are in part expressions of his piety).

No, Herod does not model himself on Augustus so much as on an earlier and independent model—the oriental despot.

These three influences—Hellenistic, Roman, and Oriental—infuse Herod's buildings with an eclectic excitement that is rare in the ancient world.¹⁰ His architectural conceptions are exhilarating, conveying the same Baroque sense of panache that one finds in the seventeenth century. If it were not for the tragedy of his personal life, his family's reputation, his emotional deterioration, and of course the somewhat ironic Roman destruction of most of his buildings, Herod would be more widely viewed as one of the world's greatest builders.¹¹

II. His Building Programme

In the appendix I have given a brief survey of Herod's aggressive building programme, within and without his realm. In this activity he was not unique among oriental despots. A good example from an earlier period, of significance to biblical scholars, is Antiochus IV Epiphanes' project to build a great temple in Athens to Olympian Zeus, a project not finished until the time of Hadrian; fortunately one can still get some sense of its impact.

Herod's programme is both conservative and innovative,¹² and in that balance he is reflecting a religious tension, perhaps a tension both in himself and in the people he rules. The tension can be seen most clearly in the Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem, but it underlies other parts of his programme as well. He expresses, for example, his piety to Yahweh in the careful way he rebuilds the Second Temple, he expresses another kind of piety in his activities in Olympia and in his athletic and cultural edifices, and he expresses his devotion to the Empire through the pious act of building temples honouring Augustus in Sebaste, Caesarea and Paneion. The motivations are complex; I have tried to summarize them in my subtitle in one way. Let me try here to summarize them in another:

a) There is a personal motivation buried in Herod's psyche, or simply in his role as an Oriental despot: a love of magnificence and splendour that only "the Royals" know and understand, coupled with a need for security.¹³

b) There is a political motivation related to his concern for Jewish communities in the lands bordering the Mediterranean.¹⁴ He hopes to make their lot easier by showing how the Judean homeland is really a part of mainstream Hellenistic culture.¹⁵

c) And that is a third motivation, to draw the Jewish state and people into the rest of the Greco-Roman world. His buildings for athletic games, for cultural purposes, for religious devotions, for civic pride, throughout the east could only impress people with the sophistication and wealth of this small Judean client-kingdom.¹⁶

d) His fourth motivation, of course, is to show how devoted he is to the person of Augustus and to the state of Rome, after his earlier dabbling with Augustus's enemies.¹⁷ When Paul, the great missionary to the Roman world, said that he had preached the good news of Christ all the way from Jerusalem to Illyricum on the Adriatic, he unconsciously echoed what Herod might have claimed—that he had built the good news of Judea from Jerusalem to Nicopolis on the Adriatic. The strategy of both is somewhat similar, to cover in a wide sweep the world that most deeply affects the people of Judea. This

world includes the eastern sea-coast of the Mediterranean, across Asia Minor, including especially its west coast, and into the central and western regions of Greece.

At Athens, on the Acropolis, have been found inscriptions to Herod as *philokaisaros* and *philoromaïos*.¹⁸ According to Josephus Athens, as well as Nicopolis (a new city created to celebrate the future Augustus's victory over Antony at Actium), Lacedaemon (Sparta), and the famous city of Pergamum all were "laden with Herod's offerings." He gave liberal gifts to Lycia, Samos, Ionia, and helped to lighten taxes there and in other places.

In Rhodes he restored the city, provided money for shipbuilding, and rebuilt the Pythian Temple. In Cos he provided revenue for the gymnasiarch.

Unfortunately we can know little specifically of the nature of these gifts. But it is possible to describe in slightly greater detail his relationship to Olympia. The games at Olympia had gone downhill, to a large extent because of the devastation of the Roman victory over the Achaian League in 146 B.C.E. and later of the Civil Wars, with their tremendous destruction of men and resources. Herod was named life President of the Games at the 192nd Olympiad in 12 B.C.E.,¹⁹ an action without precedent in the previous 768 years.²⁰ As a result Herod provided an endowment so large that the games were restored to their normal stature.²¹

It is clear archeologically that it was during exactly this period that the Temple of Zeus and the other decaying buildings of Olympia were restored. While we have no epigraphic or literary evidence of Herod's direct involvement in those building projects, it is a reasonable conjecture that in this case his unique prominence in Olympia was connected with a significant restoration project. It would be hard to exaggerate the extraordinary role of Herod in restoring the athletic contests at Olympia to their time-honoured prestige. The fact that it was the client-King of a minor Jewish state that accomplished this is not diminished because he was also the protege of Augustus.

When one comes closer to Herod's own kingdom, his activities reflect this same athletic interest. During his era, in fact, an Olympic wreath was awarded for the first time to an athlete from the Eastern Mediterranean (from Sidon in 24 B.C.E.). In Tripolis, Damascus and Ptolemais (Acco) he built gymnasia for local athletes to train. He probably also provided gymnasia in Jerusalem and in new cities such as Caesarea and Sebaste; he created new games at both Jerusalem and Caesarea.²² The gymnasium is, of course, the offensive building referred to in 1 Macc. 1:14-15 as part of the background to the Maccabean revolt. During the Hellenistic period the form of the

gymnasium underwent impressive developments that turned it into an important cultural centre with libraries and lecture rooms.²³ Because of this it was one of the favoured objects of benefactions. But it was also, in Jewish eyes, a place where nakedness was the rule, where pederasty might be encouraged, and where religious rites inseparable from the gymnasium were required.

Herod's projects in these adjacent areas were not limited to gymnasia: in Damascus, a theatre in addition to the gymnasium; in Byblus, walls; in Berytus (Beirut) and in Tyre, halls, porticoes, temples and market-places; in Sidon, a theatre; in Laodicea-on-the-sea, an aqueduct; in Ascalon, baths, fountains and colonnades beside the council chamber.²⁴

Special mention must be made of his gift to Antioch-in-Syria, a broad street provided with roofed colonnades, probably the first such colonnaded street in the Hellenistic world, and the precursor of today's enclosed mall.

Herod's building programme in the world beyond his own rule was extensive, so generous that after his death his Judean tax-payers complained about it.²⁵ But his activities inside his own kingdom were greater, so vast in fact that he singlehandedly changed the face of Judea. He built or rebuilt cities at Sebaste (Samaria), Caesarea Maritima (on the site of Straton's Tower), Anthedon (renamed Agrippium), Antipatris, Phasaelis (north of Jericho), Paneion.²⁶ The fortifications of Judea were enormously strengthened, including new or rebuilt fortresses at Herodium, Alexandrium, Cypros, Hyrcania, Masada, Machaerus, and the Antonia²⁷ and the three towers dedicated to Phasaelis and Mariamme and Hippicus in Jerusalem. He built numerous royal palaces, to which we will return, and treated the public to projects aimed at the good of all: aqueducts, hippodromes, theatres, stadia, porticoes, harbours, promenades.

The Temple in Jerusalem deserves full consideration of its own.²⁸ Let me stress only three unusual features of it. First, on the south, the great Royal Stoa, with a wide central aisle and a clerestory, closed off a U-shaped stoa on the west, north and east in exactly the manner that had recently become common in Hellenistic urban design.²⁹ Second, while it was usual in Hellenistic terms to surround a temple with an arcaded court, it was very rare to put the axis of the Temple at right angles to the axis of the temenos or sacred precinct. Indeed, while the Jerusalem Temple may not be unique, it was followed--to our great surprise--partially by the Temple of Peace built by Vespasian in Rome to mark the destruction of Jerusalem.³⁰ Third, the entrance:³¹ Hellenistic architects had begun to experiment with dramatic entrances to temples when the precinct, as so often,

stood above the surrounding territory. There are some interesting second century B.C.E. examples from Cos and Lindos,³² both places Herod had visited. But no entrance is so dramatic as Herod's solution. The Huldah gates go under the Royal Stoa, neither through it nor interrupting it, so that one has to traverse a dark tunnel and climb a flight of stairs to emerge beyond the stoa with the Temple directly in front, seen not frontally but laterally. Such a solution required daring, imagination, and a sure sense of visual and architectural effect. One might add, as a footnote, the sharply contrasting effect, also tied deliberately to the architectural character of the Royal Stoa, of entering the Temple precinct via Robinson's stairway on the south-west and through a corner structure or tower--equally dramatic but with a very different effect.

Let me summarize this section by noting a few superlatives.

a) Herod built the first colonnaded street in the world (at Antioch).³³

b) He erected the first Roman (as distinct from Greek) theatre in the Eastern part of the Empire (at Caesarea).

c) He built the largest artificial harbour of the period (at Caesarea), bigger than the Piraeus and earlier than Ostia.³⁴

d) He built the only hippodrome with a theatre structure attached, with buildings on the raised podium behind the theatre (at Jericho).³⁵

e) The Temple precinct in Jerusalem was the largest precinct anywhere in the Mediterranean world.³⁶

f) His role as President of the Olympian games was unique.

g) His use of opus reticulatum at Jericho is the earliest and the most significant use of this technology in the east.

h) He experimented--albeit hesitantly--with arches and domes, most notably in the Huldah and Beautiful Gates and the substructure below the Temple.

i) His villas, to which I now turn, were among the most imaginative in the Greco-Roman world.³⁷

III. Herod's Villas

All that is by way of an extended introduction, to establish the claim that Herod is one of the world's greatest builders. I turn now with more detail to his villas, especially those at Jericho, Masada and Herodium.³⁸ He also had palaces at Jerusalem (the raised platform--like those under the Temple, under the monument to Abraham at Hebron, and under his temples to Augustus at Sebaste and Caesarea--covered an area of about 110 by 110 m.),³⁹ at Caesarea (no ruins seem to remain), at Sebaste, at Paneion (or Caesarea Philippi), at Machaerus, and no doubt living quarters at some of his other fortresses.

Royal Palaces form one of the most intriguing and illuminating classes of buildings from ancient times. While attention in digs is no longer focussed so much on such dramatic and impressive buildings, they still reveal the warp and woof of the upper strata of society, the social and religious values of the decision-makers, and the external influences shaping those values.

At the end of the Republic Roman domestic architecture had broken out of its long slow development of the urban atrium house; together with its own tradition of suburban and country villas, it had incorporated recent Hellenistic experimentation, and was creating a fresh approach to housing exemplified in the Imperial Villa.⁴⁰ We know little, unfortunately, from excavation of these upper-class houses in the late Republic and early Empire. Pompeii and Herculaneum give a partial picture, as in the seaside villas represented on the walls of the House of Lucretius Fronto and the Villa of Pompey at Albanum. We know that they were often built on terraced platforms, that they incorporated galleries and other structures, and that often they were designed to look out onto the landscape, not inward as in the atrium house.⁴¹ Often they were beside water and incorporated gardens as oases of relaxation. When we come to a later period there is also in the villas important experimental use of concrete and vaulting to break open their spatial effects, as in Nero's Domus Aurea or the Villa of Domitian.⁴²

We know, however, of no archeologically confirmed villas from the period of Herod that are as dramatic examples of the ideals of Romano-Hellenistic architecture as Herod's own villas. Some are palace-fortresses, some are genuine villas, but all exemplify in innovative ways some of the highest ideals of Romano-Hellenistic building. There may have been equally innovative villas elsewhere; and it is possible that Herod learned from others. But the current evidence points towards Herod being a major force for innovation.

a) Jericho

A convenient place to begin is Herod's Winter Palace at Jericho on the Wadi Qilt.⁴³ There had been an earlier, probably Hasmonean, palace on the site, to the north of the Wadi and west of the main Herodian site, together with an aqueduct that brought water to it. The Hasmonean buildings included a large central building (50 m. x 50 m.), a swimming pool surrounded on three sides by a courtyard, and a garden pavilion. Herod probably used this palace in the early years of his reign, and he seems to have modified it in conjunction with his later work on the other two palaces.

A second palace, called by the original excavators a gymnasium, was created by Herod, south of the Wadi Qilt, along with new irrigation projects, including a huge pool (175 m. x 145 m.).⁴⁴ The building was rectangular, 46 m. x 87 m., with a large central court enclosed by rooms on three sides, a triclinium or dining room with columns along three of its walls, and a bath-house of six rooms.

The third and most imaginative palace, also by Herod, shared a number of features with the second palace, but gives evidence of much greater originality than the earlier Herodian structure.⁴⁵ It was far more innovative both in form and design, spanning both sides of the Wadi Qilt and formally framing the Wadi by arcades, with a bridge crossing from one side to the other.

Noteworthy among the unusual elements is the surprising use of the natural feature of the Wadi, which would have been dry most of the year but in spate during the winter rains. Jericho was selected as the site of Herod's Winter Palace for its climate, but he avoided the most obvious natural feature--the gushing springs at the oasis that accounts for Jericho's wonderfully wealthy fruit-growing areas--and instead selected the challenge of building beside the Wadi.

On the southern side of the Wadi is a long facade with decorative niches and a terraced hemisphere at the centre, in front of which ran a long water channel. At either end of the sunken garden contained behind this facade was a richly decorated stoa, elevated above the garden.

This southern building formed a single unit with the structures on the north side of the Wadi, to which we will come in a moment.

West of the garden was yet another large pool, discovered in the 1970s, of about 90 m. x 42 m., with a long concrete wall north of it (partly covered with opus reticulatum) integrating it into the rest of the scheme.

Also included in the complex is a large artificial mound which probably had a vaulted structure of 16 m. diameter, perhaps used as a reception hall or pavillion, or even as an elevated Roman bath.

There is some uncertainty whether this structure was round or square.

To the north of the Wadi is a complex palace built in two sections, the larger eastern part is about 85 m. x 35 m. with two courtyards, a large reception hall, a five room bath, and smaller service buildings. This northern wing was built of mud brick covered with opus reticulatum and opus quadratum, though some parts (the dome over the apse in the courtyard and the bath) were built of concrete. It is the earliest and most important example of opus reticulatum in the East.

There is evidence of highly decorative frescoes imitating marble on the walls, and decorated ceilings using stucco mouldings. The most ornate and sophisticated decoration is found in the two small rooms between the two main courtyards; these formed the main entrance at the northern end of the bridge across the Wadi.

To the west was another courtyard with rooms on the north; to judge from the fresco and stucco fragments, also very well decorated. It is likely that a portico, facing south ran the full length of the northern wing, broken only by the site needs to get around a small wadi joining the Wadi Qilt from the north.

This almost continuous portico matched exactly the portico on the south side forming a single integrated scheme that defined the major natural feature of the site, the Wadi Qilt.

The magnificent Herodian villa shows a subtle use of architectural elements, both rectangular and (probably) round, an early use of new Roman building technologies matched with traditional mud-brick methods of construction,⁴⁶ and a thorough understanding of site and climate. There are no defensive elements in this scheme, except for the fortress at Cypros at the top of a near peak. With respect to religion, no synagogue has been found, but neither were any decorative elements or artefacts found that would conflict with Jewish religious sensibilities.

b) Masada

Of the two large and complex palaces at Masada, the so-called Western Palace is the more prosaic; it bears the same relationship to the Northern Villa that Herod's second palace at Jericho bears to the Villa beside the Wadi Qilt. The Western Palace at Masada stands entirely within the casemate wall that surrounds the top of Masada, not far from the point in the western wall where the Roman ramp was constructed to allow the Legions to breach the Zealot defences in 74 C.E. The total floor area is close to 4000 sq. m. including several large storehouses which form the south-west wing. The other three

parts include an administrative wing in the north-west with apartments for officials, a service wing in the north-east, and the royal apartments in the south-east.⁴⁷

The main entrance to the complex is from the north, through a long decorated corridor into a central courtyard from which access is obtained to each wing. Entrance to the royal quarters is through a series of two or three small rooms and into a large central reception hall with a plastered floor. Off this was a throne room, identified by four plastered depressions designed to hold a canopy or a throne, connected to the court by a triple opening with Ionic columns. The walls were white plaster decorated to look like stone panels.

Bedrooms, a smaller court with a fine mosaic floor, a typical bath (again with a very fine small mosaic floor), and an upper level over some, if not all, of the royal residence, completed the Herodian palace.

The two mosaics uncovered here both show Herod's sensitivity to Jewish religious views. They are geometric designs of a Hellenistic kind mixed with designs prominent in Jewish art, such as olive branches, pomegranates, fig and vine leaves.

The complex as a whole was designed to be completely self-sufficient, with its own storerooms, water system (collected from the roof), service and administrative areas.

There is, however, nothing that dramatically sets it apart from other large peristyle villas of the period.

This is not the case, of course, with the Northern Villa at Masada which is, simply put, one of the most dramatic private building structures anywhere in the then contemporaneous world. No structure of the period shows more panache in its use of the site, more concern to solve the problems of climate, more imaginative combinations of square, round, and semi-circular architectural elements.

The Villa of Augustus at Capri, dramatic and imaginative as it is, is probably later than Herod's villa at Masada and still does not capture the dramatic effects of the site as effectively as Herod's does. If, as I suspect, Augustus's building programme lagged behind Herod's, he may even have derived some of his inspiration from Herod's great project; the question of influences on Herod and Herod's influences on others has yet to be tackled. Certainly Tiberius's later villa on Capri is larger and more dramatic than Augustus's, but still does not achieve the effect of Herod's Northern Palace or Villa.

The Northern Palace falls outside the casemate wall, partly because the inclusion of such a project would have created a difficult line of defence, and partly, no doubt, not to obscure the natural magnificence of the site. The villa occupies an almost impossibly

narrow "prow" of the fortified hill-top, so narrow that it had to be artificially built up with an adaptation of typically Herodian platforms; it is spread on three terraces, the middle of which is about 20 m. below the top, and the lower about 15 m. below the middle terrace.

The upper terrace was in two parts. On the south (the "land" side) was a relatively prosaic set of four bedrooms surrounding a courtyard, simply but well finished. Floors, for example, had in one case an inoffensive but elegant hexagonal mosaic; walls were finished in stucco painted to imitate marble.

Immediately south of this residential area was a large and very fine bath-house, no doubt for the use of Herod and his wife or guests. The whole was separated from the rest of Masada's plateau by a much larger complex that included the huge storerooms and administrative areas, all controlled by a single gate at the western edge.

The second element of the upper terrace was a semi-circular porch, with a double portico of Ionic and possibly Corinthian columns that commanded a staggering view to north, east and west. The combination of baths, living areas and dramatic porch on this upper terrace must have been unequalled.

The middle terrace was 20 m. below the upper terrace and connected to it by a hidden stair. The major portion of the middle terrace is occupied by a circular building (of 15 or 16 m. in diameter), whose purpose is uncertain; it is in form not unlike the circular pavilion artificially constructed at Jericho.⁴⁸ Adjacent to the circular building and against the bulk of the rock face was a complex of spaces, large and small rooms, well decorated and designed for rest and relaxation. The whole again commanded unexcelled views of the surrounding territory.

The lower terrace, 15 m. below the middle terrace, was a large rectangular colonnaded court with Corinthian columns (painted in gold paint) and exposed on three sides to the view. Remarkably, a small bath-house with four rooms was attached to it at a lower level on the east, almost hanging out over a sheer drop of about 350 m.

It is hard not to use superlatives in describing the effect this palace complex must have had on visitors. Its daring concept was unequalled, its use of the site stunning, its finish rich given the constraints of building in the Judean desert.

Like Jericho, Masada has no paintings, mosaics or other building elements to damage Jewish susceptibilities. Unlike Jericho, Masada has a synagogue, the earlier stage of which is probably Herodian. The combination of these two factors makes one wonder whether Herod was not more concerned than he is usually given credit for to

provide a religiously satisfactory environment for himself and his family. There is no doubt that in these villas he was largely concerned for pomp and pleasure, like other Hellenistic oriental despots; but it remains remarkable that in his own private buildings, where he had the most liberty, there is nothing to offend.

c) Herodium

In many ways Herod's most remarkable structure was the fortified palace cum mausoleum called Herodium. Again it is too well known to require more than a brief description.⁴⁹ It stands at the top of a conical hill, a circular fortress reinforced with one round and three semi-circular towers.⁵⁰ Inside this beautifully articulated structure is a palace complex apparently designed to serve as Herod's own burial place.⁵¹ When the complex was finished the exterior walls were covered with earth, continuing the line of the hill on which it was built, so that Josephus could claim Herod raised the hill and made it look like a perfect breast. That might be not altogether whimsical evidence to settle an architectural question, that the one round tower continued above the height of the rest.⁵²

At Herodium, somewhat like Jericho, there were surrounding buildings, in this case at the bottom of the hill, including a mammoth pool, with a circular pavilion in the centre of it, a hippodrome-like race-course at the end of which was a monumental building, and several other buildings, including at least two very large palace-complexes and service buildings. It is reasonable to suppose that the twin needs of fortification and burial demanded the greater separation, as compared with Jericho, between the royal palace and the rest.

The parallel outer walls of the fortress complex (62 m. in outside diameter) contain a 3.5 m. corridor, with the whole founded on a series of vaults designed to level the top of the existing hill. The palace itself has two main sections. The eastern half is occupied by a garden, 33 by 12.5 m., enclosed by columns on the north, south and west sides and by a pilastered wall on the east side. There were exedrae on the north and south of this peristyle garden, near which were entrances to either side into the circular corridor.

The western half contained the dwelling and service areas. In the middle was a cruciform courtyard, to the south of which was a dining room (triclinium) and to the north a finely appointed bath-house, one room of which has an early and important vault. There seems to have been a second floor above these rooms for living quarters, and there is also evidence of one or two more floors above the circular corridor and in the east tower.

What is most intriguing about this palace-fortress is its architectural form. The nearest analogy I can find to this form is the mausoleum that Augustus began for himself in 27 B.C.E.⁵³ This mausoleum was also circular, was also covered with earth so that it resembled a tumulus, and was also entered via a tunnel below grade. I suggest that it is precisely this mausoleum form that inspired Herod to build his fortress in this unusual--dare I say unique--form in the Judean wilderness. If so, he was not content with the existing kind of mausoleum, but designed a structure to do triple duty: as a mausoleum, as a fortress, and as a royal palace. Not even Augustus did that.

The date of Herod's structure at Herodium is uncertain; it was probably just a bit later than Augustus's mausoleum, but it is still evidence of the very fast spread of architectural ideas in the Roman world. Herodium, however, has a flair and élan that the more conservative Augustus did not choose, or dare, to match. It says something for Herod's views of life and death that he chose to live in his mausoleum, in a glorified tumulus, entered via a mausoleum-type below-ground entrance,

Herodium is not exactly a villa-type structure.⁵⁴ But it shares with his other villas a dramatic site near the Wadi Quereitun, overlooking the Judean wilderness, taking advantage of the natural features. As in the other two, nothing was found even in this most private of places to offend the restrictions against figurative representations.

d) Axial Considerations

Among the many architectural and planning features of Herod's villas, I wish to comment a little further on one. I have already referred to their dramatic site planning and use of the natural topography, their appreciation of climatic conditions, their imaginative use of water and gardens, their concern for the display of power and pomp and pleasure. The additional feature has to do with their axi-ality.

In the Hellenistic period there is a concern for a dynamic visual balance that is much more than mere symmetry. In urban designs such as the Agora in Athens or the precincts of the Temple of Zeus in Pergamum or the Temple of Asclepius in Lindos, architectural axes, often at obtuse angles to each other, make an important contribution to the final effect. The eye in plan, and the person in reality, is led from one element to another in the design.⁵⁵

Ehud Netzer has attempted to show, in the two cases he studied closely, Jericho and Herodium, that this same axial concern was

present in these two Herodian designs. I agree with this conclusion; like him, I regret that we do not yet have the complete layout at Herodium in order to complete the axial analysis there.

Netzer further concluded that at Masada there was no such concern, or at least none that could be determined. I am not prepared to accept the former conclusion, though I cannot yet say what these axial relationships might be. About the major elements of Caesarea and Sebaste and Jerusalem, there is still not enough site information. Of the Temple in Jerusalem, however, I think it is possible to suggest in a preliminary way several axial elements: the entrance from the stair at Robinson's arch was on the long axis of the Royal Stoa; the western Huldah gate was on an axis with the south-east tower of the Antonia, the tallest of the towers, so that as one came up the main entrance to the Temple one was visibly reminded of Herod's vigilant security; the eastern Huldah gate was probably aligned with the face of Nicanor's gate; the lateral axis of the Royal Stoa was on an axis with the central division of the Temple building complex. Because of the uncertain state of the reconstructions of the Temple area, none of these can be particularly certain, nor certainly significant. But there is enough to suggest a high degree of attention to precise spatial and formal relations. The relationships are more dynamic than is usual in comparable Roman constructions, with an avoidance of "mere" symmetry. Instead what seems to motivate the spatial relationships is a concern for symbolic significance, especially at Herodium and the Temple.

VI Results

In conclusion, I will merely state the results that flow from the study, and suggest a few important future lines of enquiry.

1. The study has borne out what I thought antecedently likely: there are strong elements in Herod's architecture of the Oriental, Hellenistic and Roman. Of these, the Hellenistic influence is the strongest; it is in this stream that one finds the greatest exuberance, the Baroque elements that characterize some of Herod's structures. This raises a question I have not touched on yet: who is the mastermind, if it is one person, behind these buildings? It is not possible to say, of course. But I suspect that, while one or more Hellenistic architects were used by Herod, one of the strongest driving forces behind his architecture was Herod himself, who combines in his own person the necessary elements. In many ways he reminds one of an exaggerated

Henry VIII with his learning and culture combined with lust and cruelty, his artistic nature joined to depravity.

2. The Hellenistic stream is strong in Herod, yet I think it unlikely that Herod was much responsible for increasing that Hellenistic element in Jewish life, for two reasons. First, as we well know from scholarship of the last fifty or so years, Herod's kingdom was already hellenized to a large extent. The work of Goodenough, Tcherikover and Hengel, to name only three from very different perspectives, has shown the considerable extent to which Hellenistic culture, ideas, ideals, practices and pursuits had penetrated Jewish religion, society, and state. The Temple courtyard, for example, is a very Hellenistic structure, but not a peep of protest was raised about it, except the protest over the famous eagle on the pinnacle. The only major question, according to Josephus, was who would actually do the work on the Temple proper. There were protests over Herod's actions and beliefs, but not many on grounds we would recognize ordinarily as related to Hellenism. Second, in Herod's most private of buildings, which I have been using to test this question, there is no hint of decorative elements--or indeed other elements--that would offend a good Jew. His villas could serve as well for conservative Jews as for Herod, a fact underscored by the later Zealot use of them.⁵⁶

3. This leads me to claim that, within Herod's own view of things, he led an exemplarily pious life. He persecuted Jews--yes. But he did so on anti-nationalist grounds, not on anti-Jewish grounds. His perception of his own piety is attested several times in Josephus, nowhere more clearly than when he is quoted as saying (B.J. 1:462), "I have served the deity so faithfully that I hope for long life." He also is quoted (B.J. 1:400) to the effect that his ambition was directed towards works of piety. This seems to me to be largely true, as long as we try to understand it in Herod's own terms.

4. This piety is expressed within Judaism supremely through his rebuilding of the Temple of Yahweh. For Herod this, like the Tomb for Abraham at Hebron,⁵⁷ is a work of piety. Our knowledge of Herod's synagogues, indeed whether he built synagogues at all, is extremely limited. If he did, and it seems likely that the Masada synagogue had a Herodian phase, this too would be a mark of one kind of piety. If he did not, it might even be arguable that he was a real conservative religiously and be evidence for another Temple-oriented piety. In any case, we cannot avoid emphasizing his personal practice in the decoration of his palaces, and his public practice

in the building of the Temple and the Patriarch's Tomb, as evidence for his attachment to the Jewish religion.

5. The case is more difficult with other religious practices, but I postulate that in non-Jewish milieux, also, Herod adopted an appropriate piety. I do not think it likely that he simply pretended to be a good Jew in Judea, and underneath was unreligious and without convictions. Rather, I think he adopted in an exaggerated fashion the kind of view that Hillel and Paul adopted in other ways: be all things to all people.⁵⁸ Herod observed a kind of piety towards the Olympian gods in Olympia, Lindos, Athens, Cos. He even adopted, perhaps, the local piety of the Hauran towards Baal-Shamim at Si'a. Similarly, in a Roman setting he was one of the first to express his devotion to Augustus, both in the Temples he erected to Rome and Augustus, and in the naming of cities and towns and towers and parts of palaces even. We cannot, at this remove, enter Herod's psyche; but his building programme is more understandable if the above interpretation of his convictions and piety is correct than if he had no convictions at all. Put simply, he was fundamentally "religious," though not a religious fundamentalist.

6. Herod's architecture, then, is a part of Herod's culture. Yet to say that prompts another question: Why does the record suggest that Herod, an Idumean, built in a very limited way in his own cultural area? It is only in the beautiful colonnade in Ascalon, and perhaps a palace there, that Herod offered any boondoggles to those closest to him. This may offer support for the view that Herod views himself genuinely as a Jew, as a Hellenist, as a Roman. He is no longer the Idumean concerned for that cultural inheritance.

7. There is little evidence that in Judea, unlike Italy, there is an upper class that shares Herod's pleasure in country villas. It is true that there are three other small palaces or villas on Masada, and there are additional villa structures at lower Herodium and in the Winter Palace complex at Jericho. But these seem all to be either royal establishments or closely related to the palaces. In Rome, by contrast, there is a wealthy upper stratum of society that built country and sea-side houses in the local watering spots, and this is true also for some other parts of the Empire. Some of the best villas known in the Empire are in France and Britain, for example, but few exist in the Eastern provinces.

8. Herod, then, stands out in his villa-building. He seems not to be following a Syrian practice. He follows Roman practice; yet he does not follow the practice of the Emperor Augustus himself, who stood only on the fringes of the movement, preferring to live in simple surroundings. The Herodian innovations bring into villa

architecture Hellenistic and even Greek elements that were only slowly making their way into the corresponding Roman villas. He seems independently responsible for major advances in his villas.

9. In this set of developments he was also reflecting a tendency, at root religious. His buildings indicate an emphasis on man; it is an architecture that centres on the human being, and in this it reflects an essential characteristic of Hellenistic architectural feeling. Greek architecture, it has been said, focussed on nature, and Roman architecture in the Imperial period focussed on space and spatial relationships, exemplified in the preoccupation with experimental ways of covering ever larger, more complex and more dynamic spaces.⁵⁹ Like Hellenistic architects, Herod was a builder in the best humanistic tradition; his architecture could be compared, in fact, to the humanism of the renaissance and, in its more flamboyant forms, to the baroque architecture that flowed out of it, curiously as a part of a conservative movement not unlike the conservatism of the Empire.

I find in Herod's buildings a kind of consistency of approach and style that suggests a dominating personality behind it--and that personality is probably Herod's own. He is a creature of his time, a participant in three religious traditions, actively involved in all of them but not entirely captive to any of them. Eclectic, imaginative, daring and skilled, he contributed enormously to the "golden age" of Judean architecture.⁶⁰

Footnotes

(1) Josephus was the first to refer to Herod as "the great" (*ho megas*; *Ant.* 18:130, 133, 136). H.G.A. Ewald, *Geschichte Israels* (1st ed. 1843-55, 5:473 note; trans. by J.E. Carpenter, *The History of Israel* [London: Longmans, Green, 1874]) was the first to query whether *megas* meant "great" or simply "elder," the latter intended to distinguish him from his children also mentioned in this section of *Antiquities*. See also J.M. Jost, *Geschichte des Judentums und seine Secten* (Leipzig: Dorffling und Franke, 1857), 319 n.2. F.W. Madden was the first to bring the question to the attention of the British public in his article "Herodian Family," in W.L. Alexander (ed.), *Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature* (Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1864), 2:286-92, and *ibid.*, *History of Jewish Coinage* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1864), 82-83. M. Avi-Yonah, *History of Jewish Coinage* (r.p. New York: Ktav, 1967), xxvii, agrees with Madden and Ewald.

(2) Useful studies of Herod's buildings, often restricted to those in Judea, include the following: Ilana d'Ancona Porte, *The Art and Architecture of Palestine Under Herod the Great: A Survey of Major Sites* (Harvard Ph.D., 1966; see *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 71 [1966], 341-344), not available to me; Axel Boethius and J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 414-417; A. Schalit, *Koenig Herodes: Der Mann und Sein Werk* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969), 328-403; Th. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem: von Salomo bis Herodes* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 1017-1063; S. Perowne, *The Life and Times of Herod the Great* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1956), 103-142; Lee I. Levine (ed.), *The Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies of the History, Archeology, Geography and Ethnology of the Land of Israel*, vol. 1 (1981), contains several useful articles by Netzer, Levine, and a bibliography by Goldschmidt-Lehmann on the Temple; G. Foerster, "Art and Architecture in Palestine," in CRINT vol. 2 (1976), 971-1006; A. Momigliano, "Herod of Judea," in C.A.H. vol. 10 (1966), 316-339.

(3) W.B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (London: Batsford, 1902, 1975) sees Hellenistic architecture as a decadent phase, see especially 266. He has very useful discussions of building types. On cities, see also R.E. Wycherly, *How the Greeks Built Cities* (London: MacMillan, 1962 rev.).

(4) Josephus, *Ant.* 15:298, says of Herod's Sebaste: "He also made it splendid in order to leave to posterity a monument of the humanity that arose from his love of beauty." A little later (*Ant.* 16:141) he says: "And they say that Caesar himself and Agrippa often remarked that the extent of Herod's reign was not equal to his magnanimity, for he deserved to be king of all Syria and of Egypt."

(5) A.W. Laurence, *Greek Architecture* (= Pelican History of Art, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1957, 1962 rev.), 224: "The only chance of progress [for Hellenistic Architecture] lay in the adoption of Roman forms, and in the case of temples this began even before the time of Christ, at any rate in the work of Hellenized monarchs such as Juba or Herod the Great, if not among genuine Greeks."

(6) C.G. Starr, *Civilization and the Caesars* (New York: Norton, 1965), correctly makes this point (11); Frank E. Brown, *Roman Architecture* (New York: Brazillier, 1961), 9-30.

(7) See now the superb book by K.D. White, *Greek and Roman Technology* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985), especially chaps. 7, 8.

(8) A good example of this can be seen in A.G. Mackay's comment about the similarity of Herod's Northern Villa at Masada to Augustus's and Tiberius's Villas on Capri. The latter is obviously

later, and Mackay himself argues for a date late in the reign for Augustus's Villa. In other words Herod's Villa is the earliest of the three. See A.G. Mackay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1975), 218-219.

(9) See, among others, H. Kaehler, *The Art of Rome and Her Empire* (New York: Crown, 1963), 41-81; D. Earl, *The Age of Augustus* (London: Elek, 1968); A. Toynbee (ed.), *The Crucible of Christianity* (New York: World, 1969), especially chap. 2 (A. Schalit), chap. 4 (A.H.M. Jones), chap. 5 (A.N. Sherwin-White), chap. 6 (J.G. Gage), chap. 7 (J.M.C. Toynbee); John B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Architecture* (New York: Abrams, 1977); W.L. MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*, vol. 1, (New Haven: Yale, 1965); Margaret Lyttleton, *Baroque Architecture in Classical Antiquity* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1974), esp. chaps. 6, 7; G. Picard, *Living Architecture: Roman* (London: Oldbourne, 1965).

(10) For a slightly different assessment, see Axel Boethius and J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), chap. 18, especially 412.

(11) S. Perowne, *Life and Times*, 115: "With the possible exception of the Emperor Hadrian, Herod the Great was the most passionate builder of antiquity."

(12) Cf. his coinage which never uses human representations and adopts the imagery of his Hasmonean predecessors, but was unilingually Greek, used gentile imagery (the caduceus, tripod, thymiaterion), and avoided specifically Jewish imagery such as the menorah.

(13) See Schalit, *Koenig Herodes*, 340-341.

(14) See Bo Reicke, *New Testament Era* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), 97-104, who stresses Herod's effect on the business contacts, patrons, adherents of Jews in the Diaspora. In 22 B.C.E., in Mitylene and Lesbos, Herod acted as an advocate for the Jews; Josephus, *Ant.* 16:6.1-7.

(15) This is partly what Josephus is getting at in *Ant.* 15:330 when he provides a surprisingly apologetic view of Herod's activities inside and outside Judea. In a very real--and positive--sense, Herod does what Paul says he himself does: "I became all things to all men, in order that I might gain them . . ."

(16) See V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (New York: Atheneum, 1970) for the general situation; E.R. Goodenough sheds much light on the degree of Hellenistic penetration of Jewish culture. Less useful for our purpose is M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 2 vols.

(17) His three temples to Augustus (Caesarea, Sebaste and Paneion) are sufficient evidence of this. He also named towers and parts of palaces after the Emperor and his family.

(18) See Dittenberger, *OGIS*, 627-628 (#414); *IG*, vol. 2, #3440, #3441; *IG*, vol. 3, #551; cf. also the inscription at Si'a, W.H. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (Paris: 1870), 540; cf. Dittenberger, *OGIS*, 628 (#415). There are also several interesting inscriptions referring to Herod's family at Si'a, Athens, Delos, Cos.

(19) Not available to me were E. Laemmer's articles: "Eine Propaganda Aktion des Koeniges Herodes in Olympia," *Koelner Beitrage zur Sportwissenschaft* (= *KBSW*), 1, 160-173; *ibid.*, "Griechische Weltkaempfe in Jerusalem und ihren politischen Hintergruende," *KBSW* 2 (1973), 182-227; *ibid.*, "Die Kaiserspiele von Caesarea im Dienste der Politik des Koeniges Herodes," *KBSW* 3 (1974), 95-164.

(20) Josephus, *Ant.* 16:149.

(21) See especially M.I. Finley, H.W. Pleket, *The Olympic Games: The First Thousand Years* (Toronto: Clarke-Irwin, 1976), 99, a refreshingly revisionist approach.

(22) See Josephus's comments on the "departure from the customs" in establishing athletic contests, a theatre and an amphitheatre in Jerusalem; *Ant.* 15:267-276.

(23) N. Yalouris, O. Szymiczek, *The Olympic Games in Ancient Greece* (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1976), 61.

(24) See John Garstang, "The Excavations at Askalon" *PEFQS* (1922-23), 112-116; *PEFQS* (1924-25), 24-35.

(25) Josephus, *Ant.* 17:304-314; cf. 17:204-205; B.J. 2:85.

(26) On Herod's cities, see A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1937), 270-277.

(27) The Antonia raises very vexed questions of archeology and reconstruction. Among others, see L.H. Vincent, "L'Antonia et le Pretoire," *RB* 42 (1933), 83-113; P. Benoit, "L'Antonia d'Herode le Grand et le Forum Oriental d'Aelia Capitolina," *HTR* 64 (1971), 135-167; L.H. Vincent, "L'Antonia, palais primitif d'Herode," *RB* 61 (1954), 87-107; Jan J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1952), 374-435.

(28) Herod's care not to offend Jews in the rebuilding of the Temple is reflected, according to Josephus, much earlier when Herod prevented Sossius and his foreign allies from plundering or entering the Temple: ". . . he regarded victory as something more bitter than defeat if any of the things forbidden to men's eyes should be seen by them" (*Ant.* 14: 482-486; cf. *Ant.* 15:388-390; 420-425).

(29) See John Onians, *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic Age: The Greek World-View 350-50 B.C.* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979) for a very imaginative appreciation of urban forms, especially chapter 5, and pages 165-179 (and see further, below).

(30) I have earlier, in an unpublished paper "Roman Jerusalem and the City of Peace," tried to show the symbiotic relationship between Vespasian's Temple of Peace and the Jerusalem Temple built by Herod.

(31) See Spencer Corbett, "Some Observations on the Gateways to the Herodian Temple in Jerusalem," *PEQ* (1952-53), 7-14.

(32) Onians, *Art and Thought*, 175-177.

(33) See J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Architecture* (New York: Abrams, 1977), 274 where he lists as Herod's contributions, with little discussion, the Theatre at Caesarea Maritima, an amphitheatre at Caesarea, the use of concrete and of opus reticulatum, the first colonnaded street at Antioch, an aqueduct at Laodicea, bath buildings at Masada and Ascalon, and an Italic-type temple at Samaria.

(34) It is quite possible as J. Ringel *Cesaree de Palestine: Etude historique et archeologique* (Paris: Editions Ophrys, n.d. [1975?]), 31-33, argues, that Claudius copied Caesarea's port at Ostia in his great construction work there. Ringel also notes that the painted floor of the theatre is the first of two extant examples of painted floors in the Greco-Roman world (47-50). On Caesarea, see further Lee I. Levine, *Roman Caesarea. An Archeological-Topographical Study* (= Qedem, Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1975) and *ibid.*, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 1975).

(35) According to Levine, *Roman Caesarea*, 27-29, Herod's hippodrome at Caesarea is right up to date in style; it is possible to claim that his experiment in Jericho's hippodrome is way ahead of fashion. Indeed it may, like the old Chrysler Airflow in the thirties, be so far ahead that it was never copied.

(36) It is not altogether clear whether Herod's love of the dramatic platform--as at the Jerusalem Temple, the Palace in Jerusalem, the Temples of Augustus at both Caesarea and Sebaste, the Monument at Hebron--is but a logical step from the Hellenistic use, or whether some of the more dramatic Hellenistic sites--Baalbek, Jerash, for example--are later and derived from Herod. For a partial discussion, see J.W. Crowfoot, K.M. Kenyon, E.L. Sukenik, *The Buildings at Samaria* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1942), 126-127.

(37) See A.G. Mackay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman*

World (Ithaca: Cornell, 1975); Axel Boethius, *The Golden House of Nero: Some Aspects of Roman Architecture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1960).

(38) Too late, I learned that E. Netzer's Ph.D. dissertation was on these same palaces. He summarizes some features of the dissertation in *Greater Herodium* (Qedem; Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1981), 108-110. Among other things, he points to the paucity of truly Hellenistic analogies to Herod's palaces, and to the fact that the best Roman analogies are later than the Herodian buildings. He does not, as I do, lean to the view that Herod's palace buildings are rooted in the Roman Villa tradition. His dissertation is *An Architectural and Archeological Analysis of Building in the Herodian Period at Herodium and Jericho* (Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Ph.D. dissertation, 1977).

(39) See D. Bahat and M. Broshi, "Excavations in the Armenian Garden" in Y. Yadin, *Jerusalem Revealed* (Jerusalem: IES, 1975), 55-56.

(40) These are often classified as "rustic" (i.e. farming villas), "suburban," and "maritime"; see Mackay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World*. See also J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Architecture*, 50-51.

(41) They can be classified as "peristyle" villas, built around a Hellenistic peristyle courtyard, or as "porticus" villas, built along a colonnade usually opening out to the view.

(42) Architectural historians seem so preoccupied with the development of concrete, arches and vaults in late Republican and early Imperial times that they tend to neglect the important formal and design developments.

(43) For what follows, see especially E. Netzer, "The Hasmonean and Herodian Winter Palaces at Jericho," *IEJ* 25 (1975), 89-100; J.L. Kelso, "The First Campaign of Excavation in New Testament Jericho," *BASOR* 120 (1950), 11-21; J.L. Kelso, D.C. Baramki, *Excavations at New Testament Jericho and Khirbet En-Nitla* (AASOR 29-30, 1949-51; pub. 1955).

(44) See J.B. Pritchard's views, revised by E. Netzer, *op. cit.*

(45) So Netzer.

(46) Something of the same approach is found in the very unusual hippodrome at Jericho, also by Herod (cf. above and E. Netzer's reconstruction in Lee I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem Cathedra*).

(47) See Y. Yadin, *Masada* (London: Sphere, 1971), 117-139; *ibid.*, "Masada," in M. Avi-Yonah, *Encyclopedia of Archeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall,

1975), 793-816; *ibid.*, *The Excavation of Masada 1963/64: Preliminary Report* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1965); M. Avi-Yonah, N. Avigad, *et al.*, "The Archeological Survey of Masada, 1955-56," *IEJ* 7 (1957), 1-72.

(48) The proposed reconstruction of this middle pavilion is quite unconvincing and requires a fresh analysis and proposal: Schalit, *Koenig Herodes*, 351 and n. 703, thinks it was a memorial for Mariamme. There are several antecedents for such a round structure: the Philippeion in Olympia, the Tholos at Epidauros or at Delphi, all in the east; several round temples in Rome. But most scholars overlook Herod's own round structure (probably) at Jericho and the round pavilion in the pool below Herodium. These make a memorial very unlikely at Masada's middle terrace, as does its location between two other terraces whose purpose is clearly enjoyment. See also E. Netzer, *Greater Herodium*, 28.

(49) See E. Netzer, *Greater Herodium* (= Qedem 13, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1981); *ibid.*, "Herodium," in Avi Yonah.

(50) S. Perowne, *Life and Times*, 106-108, believes that the fortress system as a whole goes back to Ptolemy I. He was writing before the excavation of Herodium, which certainly refutes the suggestion.

(51) Netzer, *Greater Herodium*, calls this into question on the basis that the eastern round tower, traditionally thought to be the site of Herod's burial, has a solid base. He thinks Herod was likelier to be buried elsewhere in Greater Herodium, but not in the palace proper. There is considerable force to this argument, but the debate has not yet been concluded.

(52) See also Netzer's architectural discussion.

(53) Independently arrived at, but confirmed by Busink, *Der Tempel*, 1026, citing also A. Segal, *IEJ* 23 (1973), 27-29; per contra E.J. Vardaman, *IEJ* 25 (1975), 45-46. Segal seems to assume that Herod could not have been the innovator of this form and so dates Herodium between 24 or 22 and 15 B.C.E. Netzer, *Greater Herodium*, 100-101, offers the most thorough analysis of the problem of the origin of the form, and then withdraws from the idea that Augustus's Mausoleum was the prototype. He elects, instead, this suggestion: "Inspired by the soft and undulating nearby landscape of the Judean Desert, having the freedom of the vacant space all around, they designed the building along the general lines of the Antonia--but circular in plan." This is contradicted by the tightness of the concept, the unusualness of the form, and the tumulus/entrance/mausoleum analogies.

(54) Netzer claims (*Greater Herodium*, 109-110) that when squared off it is like a Roman villa. This is not quite correct, and in any event is not the right way to perceive it. Herodium is a circular palace built around a rectangular peristyle court.

(55) See Onians, *Art and Thought*.

(56) The excavations at Herodium last summer uncovered what appeared to be a pagan statue. If this discovery is confirmed and can be dated it might form the one important exception to this claim. Professor William Klassen, who informed me, attributed the information to Jo Zias, curator of the Rockefeller Museum.

(57) It has been pointed out that Abraham is the common ancestor of all Herod's diverse genetic strands, and supposed that Herod therefore felt a special affinity for Abraham. That the Patriarch's monument of Hebron is a smaller "model" of the Temple in Jerusalem is probably not accidental. See Michael Grant, *Herod the Great* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1971), 101-103.

(58) For a review of Paul and Hillel see P. Richardson and P.W. Gooch, "Accommodation Ethics," *Tyndale Bulletin* 29 (1978), 89-142; P. Richardson, "Pauline Inconsistency: 1 Cor. 9:19-23 and Gal. 2:11-14," *NTS* 26 (1979-80), 347-362.

(59) See, with somewhat the same point, Talbot Hamlin, *Architecture Through the Ages* (New York: G.P. Putnam's, 1953), 137-140.

(60) I was ably assisted in the preliminary research for parts of this paper by Mr. Peter D. Gooch and Mr. Martin B. Shukster, both graduate students in the Centre for Religious Studies at the University of Toronto.

Note: The original lecture was accompanied by slides. In this printed version I have tried to eliminate specific references to the visual material.

Appendix

A CHECK-LIST OF HEROD'S BUILDINGS

A. In Jerusalem

1. Temple, Temenos, Courtyards, with porticoes, stairs, etc. [19 B.C.E. - c 63 C.E.; Forecourts 19-11 B.C.E.; Temple 1 year 5 months]

2. Antonia Fortress, with porticoes connecting it to Temple, apartments, cloisters, bath, four towers [prior to 31 B.C.E.; perhaps 37-35 B.C.E.]

3. Royal Palace (two buildings: Caesareum and Agrippicum) banqueting halls, one hundred guest rooms, cloisters, courtyards, pools [23 B.C.E.]

4. Phasaelis, Mariamme, Hippicus Towers at north end of palace [about 30 B.C.E.?)

5. Amphitheatre and Theatre [both before 28 B.C.E.]

6. Hippodrome [before 28 B.C.E.]

7. Family Tomb [before 30 B.C.E.?)

8. Aqueducts

B. In His Own Territory

1. Sebaste rebuilt, walls 20 furlongs, Temple to Augustus, Forum (?), gate (?) and fortifications, pre-Basilical building, stadium, aqueducts [27-20 B.C.E.]

2. Paneion, Temple to Augustus, palace

3. Cypros above Jericho, with guest buildings (also Threx and Taurus? and Docus?)

4. Caesarea Maritima with palaces, harbour, mole and breakwater, towers, landing places, promenade, Augustan Temple, Amphitheatre, Theatre, Hippodrome, quinquennial games, aqueducts (Synagogue?) [22-10 B.C.E.]

5. Anthedon = Agrippium, port, refounded and rebuilt

6. Antipatris, north-east of Yaffa, new city

7. Phasaelis, village north of Jericho, new town

8. Herodium, city on Arabian frontier (unknown)

9. Herodium, fortress with towers, palace, water supply, stadium,

other palaces around it for friends, pool, monumental building, service buildings, aqueducts [23-15 B.C.E.]

10. Alexandrium--restored [30s B.C.E.]
11. Jericho, Winter Palace, Hippodrome, Theatre, Amphitheatre, pools, aqueducts [various dates: third palace c 18-9 B.C.E.]
12. Betharamphtha--palace?
13. Gaba in Galilee (?)
14. Hebron, memorial to Abraham
15. Hyrcania, fortress rebuilt (?)
16. Heshbon in Perea
17. Masada, esp. Palaces, baths, fortifications, storehouses, cisterns, administrative buildings, barracks, synagogue [rebuilt 37-31 B.C.E., Northern Villa later]
18. Machaerus, ramparts, towers, city, palace, cisterns [rebuilt in 20s B.C.E.]
19. Sepphoris, palace (?), theatre
20. Si'a, Temple of Baal-Shamim

C. In Adjoining Areas

1. Tripolis--gymnasium
2. Damascus--gymnasium and theatre
3. Ptolemais (Acco)--gymnasium
4. Byblus--walls
5. Berytus--halls, porticoes, temples, market-places
6. Tyre--halls, porticoes, temples, market-places
7. Sidon--theatre

8. Laodicea-on-sea--Aqueduct
9. Ascalon--baths, fountains, colonnades, palace
10. Antioch in Syria--broad street paved, colonnade
11. Batanea in Syria

D. In Hellenistic World

1. Rhodes--restored city, rebuilt Pythian Temple, money for ship-building
 2. Cos--revenue for gymnasiarch
 3. Lycia--gifts
 4. Samos--gifts
 5. Ionia--liberality
 6. Athens*
 7. Lacedaemon*
 8. Nicopolis*
 9. Pergamum*
 10. Elis-Olympic Games--President, endowed with funds, restoration work?
 11. Phaselis in Lycia**
 12. Unnamed towns in Cilicia**
 13. Chios
- * "Laden with Herod's offerings"
 ** lightened taxes

IN MEMORIAM

S. VERNON FAWCETT

Vernon Fawcett was born on January 31, 1920 in Edmonton, Alberta. A son of the manse, his father was a Methodist and then United Church minister for 40 years in the Alberta Conference. He graduated from the University of Alberta with a B.A. degree in 1941 and a B.D. degree in 1945. His Diploma in Theology was received from St. Stephen's College, Edmonton, in 1943, and he was ordained by the Alberta Conference in that year. He pursued graduate studies in the University of Chicago in 1943-44 and in the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California, 1944-46, from which he received the Th.D. degree, *magna cum laude*, in 1951.

He served as minister of Mayerthorpe United Church, Alberta, 1946-47, from which he was called to Union College, Vancouver, as Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature, and served as Registrar of the College during his 21 years there. In 1968 he was called to the Old Testament Chair at Emmanuel College, and was due to retire at the end of June 1985. During his years at Emmanuel he was Chairman of the Biblical Department of the Toronto School of Theology, and for the last 10 years Registrar and Director of the M.Div. Programme at Emmanuel. In 1979-80 he was President of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies.

His Publications include *The Roots of Christianity*, Canadian Council of Churches, Toronto, 1964, and articles in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, Nashville, 1962. His main scholarly contribution, however, was preparing persons for ministry in the Church and teaching and directing students in advanced degree programmes, where he was highly regarded as a meticulous scholar.

Professor Fawcett was a very well respected teacher, an efficient administrator, and a colleague beloved of faculty, staff, and students alike. During the fall and winter terms of 1984-85, he fought a battle with cancer and with a heroic effort was able to finish teaching his courses in the second term. Although he had been assured that the battle had been won, the cancer recurred and after a stay in Princess Margaret Hospital he died on Thursday, June 6, and was buried in Monday, June 10 from Leaside United Church.

As his colleague Greer Boyce said at the funeral, he had fought a good fight and finished the course.

PETER CAMPBELL CRAIGIE

Professor Peter Campbell Craigie (born 18 August, 1938) died as the result of a car accident on September 26, 1985, at the age of 47. At the time of his death he was Vice-President (Academic) of the University of Calgary. His wife Elizabeth and his children Gregor and Gillian survive him, along with his father and two brothers.

Peter Craigie came to Canada in 1968 to pursue his Ph.D. at McMaster University, after having completed the M.Th. at Aberdeen in Semitic Studies, a Dip. Theol. at the University of Durham, and a B.A. in Semitics at the University of Edinburgh. Upon completion of his Ph.D. in 1970 he taught at Carleton University for one year and then moved back to the Department of Religion at McMaster from 1971-74. He then moved to the University of Calgary, where he was successively Chairman of the Department of Religious Studies, Dean of Humanities and Vice-President (Academic).

He became an important figure in the study of religion in Canada, and a strong and vigorous advocate of the humanities nationally. He was, in this current year, the President of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies, having been Executive Secretary earlier for several years (1975-78). He had also been extremely active in the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion (President, 1979-81; Vice-President 1977-79) and the Canadian Federation for the Humanities. Churches, study groups, universities, and colleagues sought him out as a scintillating, witty and provocative speaker. His legacy will be most closely associated with his work with Ugaritic literature. Among his recent publications are *Word Commentary on the Psalms 1-50*, *The Problem of War in the Old Testament*, *Ugarit and the Old Testament*, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, *The Book of Ezekiel*, *The Twelve Prophets* vol 1. Most of these were written while he was heavily involved in university administration and they testify to his dedication to scholarly pursuits. As a scholar, teacher, administrator and public figure his achievements were outstanding and his potential almost unlimited.

Peter was a man of exceptional grace and charm. By nature warm and friendly, he impressed those who met him only briefly. To those who knew him well the wisdom and tact, the light humour and ready wit, the ability to take his tasks but not himself seriously and the constant twinkle in the eye will be sorely missed. My own memories, which go back some twenty years, leave me with a profound sense of sadness at his passing, but a profound sense of gratitude that he was here.

The Canadian Society of Biblical Studies is establishing a memorial fund, aimed at creating a lectureship in religious studies in his name which would bring scholars of international stature to lecture in Canada on the occasion of the annual meeting of the Learned Societies. Contributions (made out to "CSBS: Craigie Fund") may be sent to S. G. Wilson, Department of Religion, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5B6. Tax-deductible receipts will be issued. The family will be notified of the list of donors to the fund.

ROBERT ERNEST OSBORNE

Professor R. E. Osborne died of cancer on February 2, 1986, in Victoria, B. C. He leaves his wife, Beverley, and four children.

Born in 1920, in Sherbrooke, Quebec, he served from 1940-45 in the Grenadier Guards in World War II. After the war he began a lengthy period of study, earning a Teachers Certificate (McDonald College, 1946), B.A. (Sir George Williams, 1950), B.D. and S.T.M. (McGill, 1953-54) and Ph.D. (Edinburgh, 1966). He was ordained in the United Church and served parishes in Sutton, Quebec (1953-55) and St. John, New Brunswick (1957-61). In 1961 he was appointed to the staff of Emmanuel College, Toronto, and in 1968 he moved to the Department of Religion, Carleton University -- from which he retired in 1985.

Professor Osborne was for many years an active member of the CSBS, and served as President in 1970-71. His articles were published in the *Canadian Journal of Theology* and the *Journal of Biblical Literature*. His abiding passion, however, was for teaching, at which he was an acknowledged master. Several generations of students at Emmanuel and Carleton, and those who attended the Ottawa Lay School of Theology, were enthused and captivated by his teaching. For many it was their first exposure to Biblical Studies and led to a lasting commitment to the discipline. His skill as a teacher and the consistently high ratings he achieved were recognized by a provincial (OCUFA) teaching award in 1978.

Professor Osborne was looking forward to a long and active retirement. He will be much missed by friends and colleagues alike.

(The memorial statement for Vernon Fawcett has been taken from the minutes of the Senate of Victoria University. The one on Peter Craigie, written by S. G. Wilson, has been reprinted with permission from SR.)

CSBS/SCEB ANNUAL MEETING, 1985

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

1. Guy Coutourier (Université de Montréal) "Un Nom Divin en Osée 2, 23a"

Le verbe 'e 'eneh ("je répondrai") en Osée 2, 23a, utilisé sans complément d'objet direct ou indirect, fait difficulté au plan littéraire; cette aussi avec difficulté que l'on essaie de lui donner un sens. Par contre, si on le situe bien dans le développement du troisième oracle introduit pas *laken* ("c'est pourquoi": 2, 16-25), on voit qu'il joue un rôle essentiel à la fois comme nouveau nom de Dieu et comme confession de foi en Yahweh, dieu de fertilité. On proposera même d'y voir une référence au nom négatif de Dieu en 1, 9: *lo' 'ehyeh* ("Je ne serai pas") qui est remplacé, dans l'alliance nouvelle, par celui de "Je répondrai".

2. Lyle Eslinger (University of Calgary) "Explicit and Implicit Evaluation in the Book of Joshua"

The paper discusses the problem of conflicting information presented within the book of Joshua about the success of the conquest. Following Robert Polzin's suggestions, (*Moses and the Deuteronomist*) about the ironic tone of explicit narratorial evaluations of the conquest (e.g., 11:23; 21:43-45) the paper examines all explicit evaluations of the conquest in the book. The conclusion is that the narrator is indeed ironic in his explicit evaluations -- his narrative presentation undercuts his evaluations.

3. Peggy L. Day (Harvard University) "Satan in the Hebrew Bible"

The Old Testament figure that eventually developed into the archetype of evil, Satan, is portrayed variously as messenger of Yahweh sent to steer a prophet off a perilous course (Num 22), a zealous protector of the purity of Israel's priesthood (Zech 3), and an acrimonious misanthrope (Job 1-2). This paper will attempt to reconcile these varying images by placing the character and his actions against the backdrop of the divine assembly.

4. John F. Horman (Waterloo) "The 'Awful' Greek of the Book of Revelation"

The Greek grammar of the Book of Revelation is generally agreed to be extremely ungrammatical. The usual explanation is incompetence. Either the author himself, presumed to be a recent immigrant from Palestine, could not write proper Greek (e.g., Charles), or he suffered from an incompetent translator (e.g., Torrey). These hypotheses explain many, but not all of the unusual features of the Book of Revelation. In this paper I will explore the hypothesis that the unusual Greek of the Book of Revelation is artfully contrived, and indeed part of the message of the author.

5. Michel Desjardins (University of Toronto) "The Dissidents in 2 Peter and Jude: Do they Tell Us More About the 'Godly' Than the 'Ungodly'?"

This paper is about the dissidents in 2 Peter and Jude. Two aspects are examined: what do the letters tell us about these dissidents and how does one then use this information? The answer to the first question turns out to be consistent with the scholarly consensus on this matter, but it is the second question that leads to departure from the norm. I argue that the information gathered about these dissidents does not warrant the conclusion that they were gnostics, and that it has a lot more to tell us about the "godly" members of these communities than the "ungodly". The reconstruction of the author's *Weltanschauung* then concludes the study.

6. E. G. Clarke (University of Toronto) "Noah: A Righteous Man or a pure Man"

In two passages in Genesis (6:9 and 7:1) Noah is called a righteous man. Nowhere in the Bible is Noah called "pure". When one examines the targumic witnesses to the Noah story there is a division between whether Noah is "righteous" or "pure". The rabbis reflect the same debate. The New Testament (2 Peter 2:4-5 and Hebrews 11:7) presents Noah as "righteous" and there is no reference to his "purity". Why should such a dichotomy appear in the Targums (as well as in rabbinic writings)?

7. Charles H. H. Scobie (Mount Allison University) "The Origin of the Conception of a Closed Canon"

The term "canonical" can be used in a variety of senses. It can refer

to (1) a work which is regarded as *authoritative*, (2) a work which belongs to an authoritative *collection* of sacred scripture, or (3) a work which is part of a *closed* collection of authoritative writings. Both the "traditional" and the "critical orthodox" views of the formation of the Old Testament canon have come under heavy fire in recent discussion. This paper raises the question of whether pre-Christian Judaism ever subscribed to the idea of a "closed canon", and of whether the origins of this idea are not to be sought rather in certain aspects of early Christian thought. These questions in turn suggest some observations on the differing shapes of the Jewish and Christian canons.

8. John C. Hurd (Trinity College) "Character Fonts for Humanists and Multilingual Word Processing"

The paper discusses the evolution of writing machines and the present state of word processing software for microcomputers. It explains the next steps in the evolution of these systems and tries to instill a healthy dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs. In particular, it discusses critically the proposed solutions to the world community's need for a way to represent non-Roman alphabets.

9. Claude Cox (Meaford) "The Epilogue of Job according to the Septuagint"

Abstract unavailable.

Literary Studies of Biblical Texts

1. Richard Bevis (UBC) "Quo Vadis -- Epiphanies from Scripture to Joyce"

Between the Magi in Bethlehem and Joyce's Stephen Dedalus, an "epiphany" has developed from religious experience to psychological crisis to aesthetic consideration. Starting with the root meaning, this paper works towards a more general literary definition and analyzes epiphanic moments in a dozen Biblical, classical and English texts.

2. John North (University of Waterloo) "Donkeys and Dreamers: The Humbled Prophet in the Bible and Literature"

Balam, the donkey-humbled Gentile seer, prophesies of the Messiah from the desert. Like him are Abraham, King Saul, Abigail, Jesus.
Continued on page 44

MINUTES OF ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF CSBS/SCEB

June 5, 1985, 2:00 p.m.

Université de Montréal

Present: G. P. Richardson (Chair); S. G. Wilson; D. J. Hawkin; P. C. Craigie; D. J. Fox; L. Gaston; A. Reinhartz; W. O. McCready; G. Coutourier; R. Seale; P. David; D. McLachlan; C. Cox; S. Westerholm; A. Brunet; D. Fraikin; J. T. Horman; D. Runnals; E. G. Clarke; B. Przybylski; M. Pettem; H. Remus; J. C. Hurd; P. J. Milne; E. Bellafontaine; W. H. Shepherd; C. H. H. Scobie.

1. Minutes

The minutes of the previous AGM were approved (Wilson/Hawkin).

2. Treasurer's Report

(a) The Treasurer's Report was approved with minor emendations (Fox/McCready).

(b) Prof. Fox presented the following list of applications for membership: K. D. Christensen; P. H. Davids; S. Farris; R. Hiebert; R. Kooistra; H. J. Kugelmass; R. Richardson; W. Ziffer; N. L. Steeves; A. Walters; B. Wiebe; R. G. Wismer; E. Humphrey; N. T. Wright; M. Steinhauser; R. L. Seale; R. Lavoie; F. Landy.

A motion to approve these applications (Fox/Gaston) was unanimously accepted.

3. Programme

(a) Prof. McCready proposed a formal note of thanks to Prof. G. Coutourier for his activities as local representative.

(b) Further details about the CSBS banquet were announced.

(c) Prof. McCready noted that the Annual Meeting in 1986 would be held June 3 - 5 at the University of Manitoba.

4. Publications and CCSR

Prof. Hawkin made the following announcements:

(a) That, as CSBS representative on the Consultative Committee on *SR*, he would be glad to receive suggestions or comments.

(b) That the papers from the Torah-Nomos seminar would appear in the July edition of *SR*.

(c) That the editor of *SR* was anxious to receive more articles on Biblical topics.

(d) That several volumes by members of the Society published under the auspices of CCSR, had appeared or were due to appear.

(e) That CCSR proposed to debate a motion on the use of inclusive, non-sexist language in its publications. The debate will be at the next Annual Meeting of CCSR. After some debate it was agreed (i) that the Secretary would keep members informed of the material circulated by CCSR in advance of the meeting, and (ii) that the Society would establish a slot for discussion of this issue in 1986, prior to the Annual Meeting of CCSR.

5. Nominations

The following nominations were proposed by Prof. Craigie:

Vice-President	L. Gaston
Secretary (2 year extension)	S.G. Wilson
Treasurer	B. Przybylski
Member-at-Large	H. Remus

A motion to approve these nominations (Craigie/Hurd) was passed unanimously.

6. Secretary's Report

(a) Prof. Wilson announced that a request from CAUT to decline the invitation from Memorial University to meet there in 1988 had been deferred. It appeared that the issue would be resolved for all Societies by Memorial withdrawing its invitation in the near future.

(b) Prof. Wilson presented a request from the National Foundation for Civil Liberties that the Society formally endorse its campaign for abolition of capital punishment. After some discussion it was agreed that it would be inappropriate to endorse a campaign not directly associated with the aims and function of the Society. It was noted, however, that it might be useful for the Society to make public what it considered to be the Biblical teaching on capital punishment.

(c) Prof. Wilson reported on the activities of CFH and SSHRCC.

(i) The CFH is currently making representation on behalf of the Humanities in two reviews of SSHRCC policy: assessment of research proposals and funding for academic journals.

(ii) A five-year plan for the funding of SSHRCC is currently under consideration by the Federal Government. It was noted that intensive lobbying might be required in support of this plan (which contains a number of innovative proposals which benefit the Humanities) and that the Secretary would inform members when and how this could be done.

7. Other Business

(a) Prof. Richardson noted the presence of four past-Presidents at the meeting.

(b) Prof. Richardson proposed a formal thanks to Prof. Fox, Treasurer for 5 years, and Prof. McCready, Programme Chairman for 3 years.

(c) Prof. Craigie announced the winners of the prize essay competition: D. Dewart, Toronto, (Founders Prize), and E. Humphrey, McGill, (Joachim Jeremias Prize.) He also urged members to encourage submission of papers from graduate students.

8. A motion to adjourn (Fox/Hawkin) was passed at 3:15 p.m.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER (DR. D. J. FOX)

TO THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE CSBS/SCEB

Attached to this report is the Financial statement of the Society for the year ending April 30th, 1985, along with the statement of the auditor, Mr. James T. Marquis.

Through the generosity of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Society received two grants during the past year: (1) \$2559.00, which assisted twenty-six of our members with their travel expenses to the 1984 meeting in Guelph, and (2) \$2269.00 to assist the executive with its travel, secretarial and printing expenses. We are grateful to SSHRCC for these grants.

Our Society's subscription rate for Studies in Religion is calculated on the basis of \$12.00 per full member, which was the rate set in 1984. Our dues to the Canadian Federation for the Humanities will remain unchanged at \$5.00 per full-time faculty member.

The Prize Essay Fund of CSBS continues to grow. A total of \$785.00 was donated during the year, and the account earned \$467.04 in bank interest. The present balance of the fund stands at \$5179.65. It should be noted that at present an additional \$2000.00 is in the special savings account earning interest while it is not being otherwise used. Because of this fund we are able to award two prizes in Biblical Studies of \$150.00 each: the Founder's Prize and the Joachim Jeremias Prize. We hope that many more members of CSBS will contribute to this fund. All donations are tax deductible.

We now have one hundred and eighty-two members. All our members have full voting privileges, but in terms of the present schedule of dues they are as follows (the figures for 1984 are in brackets):

Life members	7	(7)
Full members	124	(121)
Dual members	25	(21)
Student members	26	(26)
Total	182	(173)

Since this is my fifth and final annual report as Treasurer of CSBS, I wish to record my gratitude for the opportunity which this position has given me to become personally acquainted with members of the society whom otherwise I would not have known.

Submitted by Douglas J. Fox, Treasurer, CSBS.

CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

May 1st, 1984 - April 30th, 1985

CURRENT ACCOUNT

Receipts

Balance, May 1st, 1984	\$1575.20
Annual Meeting Travel Grant from SSHRCC (May 1984)	2559.00
Executive Grant from SSHRC (1984/85)	2269.00
Members' Dues	4565.40
U.S. Exchange	75.67
Annual Dinner Subscription	585.00
Donations (transfer to savings)	180.00
Prize (transfer from savings)	150.00
Transfer (error on January 11, 1984 corrected)	184.10
	\$12143.37

Expenditures

Travel Grant to Members	\$2559.00
Executive Travel	1014.55
Postage	276.57
Bulletin Printing	280.25
Prize Essay	150.00
Printing (U of T)	116.53
Audit	60.00
Annual Dinner	1009.87
Canadian Federation for the Humanities Dues	605.00
Studies in Religion	1824.00
Transfer (for interest income)	2000.00
Transfer (Donations for savings)	180.00
	\$10075.77
Balance (as of April 30th, 1985)	\$2067.60
BANK BALANCE (as of April 30th, 1985)	\$2205.31
Difference (Outstanding cheque)	\$137.71

SPECIAL SAVINGS ACCOUNT (for prize Essay Fund)

Receipts

Balance, May 1st, 1984	\$4261.71
Donations	785.00
Bank Interest	467.04
Transfer (interest income)	2000.00
Total	7513.75

Transfer (to correct error on January 11th, 1984)	\$184.10
Transfer (Prize)	150.00
BANK BALANCE (as of April 30th, 1985)	\$7179.65

I have examined the Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the Current Account and Special Savings Account of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies as at April 30th, 1985. My examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and included such tests, and other procedures as I considered necessary in the circumstances. In my opinion these statements present fairly the financial transactions during the year and the position of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies as at April 30th, 1985, and are in accordance with the books of the account.

J. T. Marquis, Auditor
London, Ontario
May 25th, 1985

CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES EXECUTIVE 1985

President: P. C. Craigie
Office of the Vice-President (Academic)
University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta T2N 1N4
Died September 26, 1985

Acting President (from October, 1985): G. Peter Richardson
Principal, University College
University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1A1
(416) 978-3160 (O); (416) 961-3746 (H)

Vice President: L. Gaston
Vancouver School of Theology,
6000 Iona Drive, Vancouver, British Columbia V6T 1W6
(604) 228-9031 (O); (604) 224-6931 (H)

Secretary: Stephen G. Wilson
Department of Religion
Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5B6
(613) 231-3863/4 (O); (613) 238-4818 (H)

Treasurer: Benno Przybylski
North American Baptist Divinity School,
11525-23 Avenue, Edmonton, Alberta T6J 4T3

Publications Coordinator: David J. Hawkin
Department of Religious Studies
Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's,
Newfoundland A1C 5S7

Programme Coordinator: Adele Reinhartz
Department of Religious Studies
St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario

Member-At-Large: H. Remus
School of Religion and Culture
Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario, N2L 3C5

Non-Sexist Language

by

Joanne McWilliam Dewart

"The importance of language rights is grounded in the essential role that language plays in human existence, development and dignity. It is through language that we are able to form concepts; to structure and order the world around us" (The Supreme Court of Canada ruling on the Manitoba Act, 1870).

It is precisely because language does form concepts and structures and orders the world that feminists consider it essential that (a) male terminology must not be used to refer to humankind, female and male, and (b) that the Deity of the Jewish-Christian tradition must not be exclusively, or even predominantly, referred to as male.

(a) English and French have no word corresponding to 'anthropos' or 'homo'; their words for humankind -- 'man' (or 'mankind'), 'l'homme' -- are the same as that for the male person. While it is grammatically correct, therefore, to use 'man' or 'l'homme' in a gender inclusive way, there is inherent in the equivocal character of the term the danger of the male becoming normative for the human person and the female either deviant or invisible.

Non-sexist language is easy to ridicule, as shown by Bernard Levin's column in the *Times* of London last summer. Terming the one who asks that non-sexist language be used as "the Pest" and his/her aim as "rubbish", Levin used his considerable skill to hold up 'spokesperson' and 'the human species' to scorn. My point in introducing the Levin argument, is to illustrate that resistance to non-sexist language is, in some cases at least, based on more than concern for linguistic purity, and assertions of difference slide without apology into those of inequality. Levin wrote:

Vive la difference. For what is behind this wearisome non-sense has nothing to do with discrimination against women. It is part of the worst of all the plagues of our world, the desire to pretend that all human beings are, or if not they should be, obliged to become, identical. Since inequality is built into the human gene structure -- so that most of us . . . could never run a mile in four minutes or play the violin like Sir Yehudi Menuhin . . . -- and since people who direct the movement I have described [feminism] cannot . . . bear to face that elementary truth, those who wish to push their mad

and odious view forward . . . must pretend that our inability to rival Sebastian Coe or Sir Yehudi is due only to our environment, and . . . find instances in which the names of things can be made equal even if the things themselves cannot.

(b) Because of this assumption that sexual differentiation implies superiority and inferiority, male terms have -- almost without exception -- been applied to the God of the Jewish-Christian tradition as the more suitable, and the conception has been fostered -- intentionally or unintentionally -- that God is indeed male. I presume sufficient sophistication among the members of the societies represented in the Corporation to be assured that none of us thinks that this is the case, that we recognize that God transcends all human categories, including that of gender, and that therefore all language, including the anthropomorphic, is metaphorical at best.

Nevertheless, old habits die hard, and I urge the acceptance of the motion of which notice was given at the CCSR annual general meeting, June 4, 1985, at the Université de Montréal. It reads:

"That the Corporation implement a policy of non-sexist (i.e., gender neutral when appropriate) language in its publications."

In practice this would involve:

(a) that 'l'homme', 'man', 'mankind' and the related pronouns and adjectives not be used to designate the human race or hypothetical individuals as representative of the race.

(b) that male terms not be used predominantly of the God of the Jewish-Christian tradition (i.e., that female terms be used with equal frequency and/or gender neutral terms be employed).

Continued from page 35

English writers exploring these issues include Spenser (Una), Shakespeare (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*), and Wordsworth ("The Idiot Boy"). This comparative study applauds the Incarnation, avoiding the trap of Biblical typology which, as Dorothy Sayers warns, evades it.

3. Archie Young (University of Western Ontario) "The Two Voices in the Book of Samuel"

The emergence of character in Saul and David by the dramatic use of special narrative technique -- the use of multiple "voices".

MEMBERSHIP NEWS

RECENT PUBLICATIONS: BOOKS

- Combs, E., *Modernity and Responsibility* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983).
- Donaldson, Terrence L., *Jesus on the Mountain: A Study in Matthean Theology* (JSNT Supplement Series 8; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985).
- Eslinger, L., *Kingship of God in Crisis: A Close Reading of I Samuel 1-12* (Almond Press, 1985).
- Hawkin, D. J., *Christ and Modernity: Christian Self-Understanding in a Technological Age* (SR Supplement Series 17; Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1985).
- Remus, H., (ed.) *Council on the Study of Religion Directory of Departments and Programs of Religious Studies in North America, 1985 Edition* (Council on the Study of Religion, 1985).
- Richardson, P. and D. Granskou, *Anti-Judaism in early Christianity Vol I: Paul and the Gospels* (Waterloo: WLU Press, 1986).

RECENT PUBLICATIONS: ARTICLES

- Beavis, Mary Ann L., "The Trial Before the Sanhedrin, Reader Response, and Greco-Roman Readers" forthcoming in *CBQ*.
- , "Anti-Egyptian Polemic in the Letter of Aristeeas 130-65 (The High Priest's Discourse)" forthcoming in *JSJ*.
- , "The New Covenant and Judaism" *TBT* 22 (1984), 24-30.
- Ceresko, A. R., "A Rhetorical Analysis of David's 'Boast' (I Samuel 17:34-37): Some Reflections on Method," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 47 (1985), 58-74.
- , "The ABCs of Wisdom in Psalm xxxiv," *Vetus Testamentum* 35 (1985), 99-104.
- , "Recent Study of Hebrew Poetry: Implications for Theology and Worship," *Toronto Journal of Theology* 1 (1985), 98-112.
- Cotter, Wendy J., "For It Was Not the Season for Figs," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* Jan., 1986.
- Couturier, G., "Rapports culturels et religieux entre Israël et Canaan d'après Osée 2:4-25 dans M. Gourgues ed. *L'Altérité*, Montréal-Paris, Bellarmin-Cerf, 1986," 159-210.

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- , "The Potrayal of the Dissidents in 2 Peter and Jude" forthcoming in *JSNT* (1986).
- , "The Sources for Valentinian Gnosticism: A Question of Methodology", *VC* (1986).
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- , "The 'Curse of the Law' and the Inclusion of the Gentiles", *NTS* 32 (1986), 94-112.
- Gooch, P. W., "Socrates: Devious or Divine?" *Greece and Rome* (1985), pp. 32-41.
- , "Margaret, Bottom, Paul and the Inexpressible," *Word and World* to appear in July 1986.
- Hawkin, D. J., "Anglican Theology in a Technological Society", *Newfoundland Churchman* 29 (1985) January, pp. 21ff.
- , "Thirty Years Later: A Retrospective on H. E. W. Turner's *The Pattern of Christian Truth*", *Churchman* (England) 99 (1985), pp. 51-56.
- , "The Role of Religious Education in a Technological Society", *Newfoundland Churchman* 29 (1985) April, pp. 16ff.
- , "The Technological 'Fix'", *Catholic Worker* 52 [5] (1985), pp. 1 & 3.
- , "A Christian Perspective on the Ecological Crisis", *Newfoundland Churchman* 29 (1985) September, p. 24ff.
- Horsnell, M. J. A., "Myth, Mythology," in *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* 3rd. ed. (1986), vol III, pp. 455-463.
- Hurd, J. C., "Paul Ahead of his Time: I Thess 2:13-16" in *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity, Vol I: Paul and the Gospels*, ed. P. Richardson and D. Granskou (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986), pp. 21-36.
- Hurtado, L. W., "New Testament Christology: Retrospect and Prospect," *Semeia* 30: *Christology and Exegesis: New Approaches* (1985), pp. 15-27 (also Guest Editor of this issue).
- , "Revelation 4-5 in the Light of Jewish Apocalyptic Analogies," *JSNT* 25 (1985), pp. 105-124.
- , "The Binitarian Shape of Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism," *Society of Biblical Literature 1985 Seminar Papers* ed. K. H. Richards, (Decatur: Scholars, 1985), pp. 377-391.
- Kloppenborg, J. S., "A Synopsis of Q 11:14-26," *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), pp. 127-132.

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- , "Bibliography on Q," *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), pp. 103-26.
- Landy, F., "Are We in the Place of Averroes? Response to the Articles of Exum and Whedbee, Buss, Gottwald and Good," *Semeia* 32 (1985), pp. 131-148.
- Milne, Pamela J., "Folktales and Fairy Tales: An Evaluation of Two Proppian Analyses of Biblical Narratives," *JSOT* 34 (1986).
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- Richardson, P. G., "On the Absence of Anti-Judaism in I Corinthians," in D. Wenham (ed.) *Gospel Perspectives V: The Jesus Tradition outside the Gospels*, (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), pp. 55-74.
- Richardson, P. G., and Peter Gooch, "Logia of Jesus in I Corinthians," in D. Wenham (ed.) *Gospel Perspectives V: The Jesus Tradition outside the Gospels*, (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), pp. 39-62.
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- Trites, A. A., "An Assessment of the Baptist-Reformed Dialogue," *The Reformed World*, 38 (1985), pp. 385ff.
- , "The Transfiguration in the Theology of Luke: Some Redactional Links," to be published in a memorial volume for George Caird (Oxford University Press, 1986).
- Wright, N. T., "'Constraints' and the Jesus of History", *ScJTh* Spring, 1986.

RECENT APPOINTMENTS AND AWARDS

- Ceresko, A., Acting Dean, Faculty of Theology, University of St. Michael's College, Toronto, July 1, 1985-June 30, 1986.
- Combs, E., Associate Dean, Social Sciences (Studies) 1985-1988.
- DeRoche, M., Post-Doctoral Fellow with Department of Religious Studies, University of Calgary.
- Dempster, S., Appointed Assistant Professor, Atlantic Baptist College, Moncton, New Brunswick (Biblical Studies).

- Fox, D. J., As of November 1, 1986, Vice Principal of Huron College, University of Western Ontario.
- Landy, F., Assistant Professor, Judaic Studies, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1984.
- Milne, Pamela J., Assistant Professor, Hebrew Bible (1984), Department of Religious Studies, University of Windsor.
- Parker, K., Tenure-track appointment in Hebrew Bible at Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Trites, A., Awarded a Harvey T. Reid Summer Grant for 1985 by Acadia University.
- , Awarded an SSHRCC Small Universities Grant for 1985.
- , Appointed to the Ecumenical Foundation of Canada.
- Hurtado, L. W., Awarded the 1985 Rh Institute Award for Outstanding Research in the Humanities (carries a \$3,000 research-related award).
- Wright, N. T., University Lecturer in New Testament, Oxford, England; Fellow and Chaplain of Worcester College, Oxford.

DISSERTATIONS AND THESES

- Beavis, Mary Ann L., *Covenant in Hebrews* (M.A., Manitoba).
- DeRoche, M., *The Dynamics of Promise: Narrative Logic in the Abraham Story* (Ph.D., McMaster University).
- Dempster, S., *Linguistic Features of Hebrew Narrative: A Discourse Analysis of Narrative from the Classical Period* (Ph.D. University of Toronto, 1985).
- Milne, Pamela J., *Narrative Structure in Daniel 1-6*, (McGill, 1982).

CURRENT RESEARCH

- Beavis, Mary Ann L., Dissertation on the Function of 4:11-12 in Mark, from the Perspective of Ancient and Modern Literary Theory (for Cambridge University).
- Ceresko, A., "Psalm 149: Its Poetry, Themes (Exodus and Conquest), and Social Function," *Biblica* (forthcoming).
- , Commentary articles on the book of Jonah and the book of the prophet Habakkuk for the *New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (1990).

- Combs, E., Close and comparative study of biblical and other ancient texts for purposes of discerning their teachings about human ('political') order.
- , The appropriation and development of biblical teaching in modern political philosophy and institutions.
- Cotter, Wendy J., "Mark 2:23-28: The Reinterpretation of a Sabbath-Observance Controversy Story"
- , Conference paper for the CSBS Torah/Nomos Seminar, Winnipeg, 1986.
- DeRoche, M., The *ruah* of God problem in Gen 1:2c.
- , The structure of Gen 1:1-2:3.
- Dempster, S., Job 3: Poetic Function and Interpretive Function.
- , Judges 3:12-30: Narrative Technique in the Ehud Story.
- Desjardin, M., Working on dissertation: *Sin in Valentinianism*.
- Fox, D. J., Completing the translation of Barhebraeus's *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* along with a critical edition of the Syriac text. The late Professor Stewart McCullough (a founding member of the CSBS) translated a substantial part of this work prior to his death in 1982.
- Gooch, P. W., "Sovereignty and Freedom: Some Pauline Compatibilisms," for the Society of Christian Philosophers, Eastern Division, Richmond, Virginia, April, 1986.
- Graham-Heggie, Norma, "Matthean Messianism Against the Background of Jewish Messianic Expectation" (for A. Reinhartz).
- , "The Acts of Paul and Thecla: Authorship and Provenance" (for P. Richardson).
- Granskou, D., Working on: Parables; Fourth Gospel; Irony and Humour in the New Testament; New Hermeneutics in the New Testament.
- Hurd, J. C., Completing the index to the *Journal of Biblical Literature* vols. 61-100.
- , Working to transfer his Greek teaching programmes from the U. of T. academic computer to IBM PCs.
- , "Concerning Character Fonts for Humanists and simple Multilingual Word Processing on a Microcomputer", paper read at the University of Toronto, June, 1985.
- Hurtado, L., *One God, One Lord: The Shape of Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism*, a book manuscript in progress.

- , Solicited articles on the Gospel of Mark in recent study.
- , Work as Associate Editor of *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature* (D. L. Jeffrey, Chief Editor).
- Landy, F., "The Midrashic Interpretation of Song: Structure and Theme in the Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael tr. Shirata ch. 1" for *AJS Review*.
- , Co-editing issue of *Semeia* entitled *Penelope's Web: Biblical Poetics, Deconstruction, and Indeterminacy*.
- Milne, Pamela J., *Vladimir Propp and the Study of the Structure in Biblical Narratives* (manuscript accepted for publication by Almond Press).
- Morrow, W., Working on dissertation: *The Composition of Deuteronomy 14:1-17:1*.
- , Recent paper: "Word-Processing with Semitic Languages on Microcomputers".
- Parker, K., "Narrative Tension in I Kings 1-11" (Ph.D. dissertation).
- , "The 'supremacy of God' as guaranteeing 'fundamental rights and freedoms': The Canadian Charter of Rights and John Locke's biblical politics."
- Reinhartz, A., "An Analysis of *The Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel* by R. A. Culpepper -- to be given at the CSBS meeting in Winnipeg, 1986.
- , "The Meaning of *nomos* in Philo's 'exposition of the law' -- given at the CSBS meeting in Montreal, 1985.
- , Currently working on literary-critical approaches to the Fourth Gospel.
- Richardson, P., "Once Again: Who were the Herodians?" -- CSBS Annual Meeting, 1986.
- , "Law and Piety in Herod's Architecture" -- McMaster graduate seminar, Nov, 1985.
- , "From Apostles to Virgins," four lectures on the roles of women, Hamilton, 1985.
- , Herod's Architecture; post-Pauline views of Paul; Paul and Jesus.
- Shankman, R., Implicit-explicit patterning in Cain-Abel (Gen 4).
- , Application of Literary Methodology to Biblical Texts.
- Trites, A. A., Preparation of nine Adult Class lessons for the American Board of Education and Publication, Valley Forge, PA.
- , Preparation of Teaching/Learning Resources for two units of study on "The Gospel of Luke" for *The Baptist Leader*.

MEMBERSHIP LIST

- Anderson, C.P., 19615 - 86 Avenue,
Langley, BRITISH COLUMBIA. V3A 6Y3
- Amerding, C.E., Regent College, 2130 Wesbrook Mall,
Vancouver, BRITISH COLUMBIA. V6T 1W6
- Ashley, T.R., Acadia Divinity College,
Wolfville, NOVA SCOTIA. B0P 1X0
- Aufrecht, W.E., Religious Studies, University of Lethbridge,
Lethbridge, ALBERTA. T1K 3M4
- Baergen, R., 718 Community Row,
Winnipeg, MANITOBA. R3R 1H7
- Barron, S.M., 367 Terry Drive,
Newmarket, ONTARIO. L3Y 5E6
- Bater, B.R., Queen's Theological College,
Kingston, ONTARIO. K7L 3N6
- Baumgarten, A., Department of Jewish History,
Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan, ISRAEL.
- Beare, F.W., 903-21 Dale Avenue,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M4W 1K3
- Beavis, M. A., 7 Eltisley Avenue,
Newnham, Cambs., ENGLAND. CB3 9JG
- Bellefontaine, E., Mount St. Vincent University,
166 Bedford Highway,
Halifax, NOVA SCOTIA. B3M 2J6
- Block, D.I., Bethel Theological College, 3949 Bethel Drive,
St. Paul, MINNESOTA, USA. 55112
- Bound, J.F., RFD (Mineral Brook Rd, Berk),
Enosburg Falls, VT 05450, U.S.A.
- Braun, Willi, 35 Charles Street W., Apt. 1017,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M4Y 1R6
- Brower, K., 83 Dene Road, Didsbury,
Manchester, M20 8TB, ENGLAND.
- Brown, P.S., St. Michael's College, 81 St. Mary's Street,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M5S 1J4
- Brunet, A.M., 2715 Ch. Cote Ste. Catherine,
Montreal QUEBEC. H3T 1B6
- Burke, D., 1016-411 Cumberland Avenue,
Winnipeg, MANITOBA. R3B 1T7

52 Membership List

- Cahill, P.J., Department of Religious Studies, University of Alberta,
Edmonton, ALBERTA. T6G 2E6
- Carson, D.A., Trinity Evangel Divinity School, 2065 Half Day Road,
Deerfield, ILLINOIS, USA. 60015
- Ceresko, A.R., 81 Regal Road,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M6H 2J6
- Christensen, K. D., 1 - 4615 West 10th Avenue,
Vancouver, B.C. V6R 2J3
- Clarke, E.G., Department of Near Eastern Studies,
University of Toronto,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M5S 1A1
- Combs, A.E., Faculty of Social Sciences, McMaster University,
Hamilton, ONTARIO. L8S 4K1
- Cooper, A.M., Department of Religion, McMaster University,
Hamilton, ONTARIO. L8S 4K1
- Corbett, J.H., Humanities Division, Scarborough College,
1265 Military Trail,
West Hill, ONTARIO. M1C 1A4
- Cotter, W.J., 74 Wellesley Street West,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M5S 1C4
- Couturier, G., University of Montreal, Box 6182, Station A,
Montreal, QUEBEC. H3C 3J7
- Cox, C., Grove Park Church Home for the Aged,
Box 460, Barrie, ONTARIO. L4M 4T7
- Culley, R.C., Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University,
3520 University Street,
Montreal, QUEBEC. H3A 2A7
- D'Angelo, M.R., St. Thomas Theological Seminary,
1300 South Steele Street,
Denver, COLORADO, USA. 80210
- Dahms, J.V., 4400 Fourth Street,
Regina, SASKATCHEWAN. S4T 0H8
- Daviau, P. M., 87 Wolverleigh Blvd.,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M4J 1R8
- Davids, P.H., Regent College, 2130 Wesbrook Mall,
Vancouver, BRITISH COLUMBIA. V6T 1W6
- Davis, P.G., University of Prince Edward Island,
Charlottetown, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND. C1A 4P3
- Day, P.L., Semitic Museum, 6 Divinity Avenue,
Cambridge, MASSACHUSETTS, USA. 02138

Membership List 53

- De Fillippi, W., 714-110 Jameson Avenue,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M6K 2X9
- DeRoche, M., 319 Bedridge Pl. N. E.,
Calgary, ALBERTA. T3K 1M6
- Dempster, S., 27 Pasadena Drive,
Moncton, NEW BRUNSWICK. E1G 1H7
- Desjardins, M.R., Religious Studies, Robarts Library,
University of Toronto,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M5S 1A1
- Dion, P.E., Department of Near Eastern Studies,
University of Toronto,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M5S 1A1
- Donaldson, T.L., College of Emmanuel and St. Chad,
1337 College Drive,
Saskatoon, SAKATCHEWAN. S7N 0W6
- Dressler, H.H.P., 3358 S.E. Marine Drive,
Vancouver, BRITISH COLUMBIA. V5S 3W3
- Duhaime, J.L., Faculté de Theologie,
Université de Montréal, C.P. 6128, Succ. 'A'
Montréal, P.Q. H3C 3J7
- Eckert, L.E., Concordia College, 7128 Ada Boulevard,
Edmonton, ALBERTA. T5B 4E4
- Eslinger, L.M., Religious Studies, University of Calgary,
2500 University Drive, N.W.,
Calgary, ALBERTA. T2N 1N4
- Farris, S., 6 Princeton Place,
Amherstview, ONTARIO. K7N 1E6
- Fast, P., 217 Niagara Street,
Winnipeg, MANITOBA. R3N 0V1
- Foley, C.M., St. Thomas More College, 1437 College Drive,
Saskatoon, SASKATCHEWAN. S7N 0W6
- Forestell, J.T., St. Michael's College, 81 St. Mary's Street,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M5S 1J4
- Forrest, R.W.E., Department of Religion, Bishop's University,
Lennoxville, QUEBEC. J1M 1Z7
- Fox, D.J. Huron College,
London, ONTARIO. N6G 1H3
- Fox, Harry, Department of Near Eastern Studies,
University of Toronto, 280 Huron Street,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M5S 1A1

54 Membership List

- Fraikin, D., Queen's Theological College,
Kingston, ONTARIO. K7L 3N6
- Frost, S.B., History of McGill Project, 3459 McTavish Street,
Montreal, QUEBEC. H3A 1X9
- Garnet, P., 597 Church Street,
Beaconsfield, P.Q. H9W 3T7
- Gasque, W.W., 2130 Wesbrook Mall,
Vancouver, BRITISH COLUMBIA. V6T 1W6
- Gaston, L., Vancouver School of Theology, 6000 Iona Drive,
Vancouver, BRITISH COLUMBIA. V6T 1L4
- Gold, J., R.R. #2,
Baden, ONTARIO. N0B 1G0
- Gooch, P.D., Centre for Religious Studies,
14th Floor Robarts Library,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M5S 1A5
- Gooch, P.W., Humanities, Scarborough College,
University of Toronto, Scarborough, ONTARIO. M1C 1A4
- Graham-Heggie, N.E., 214 Wychwood Avenue,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M6C 2T3
- Granskou, D., School of Religion and Culture,
Wilfrid Laurier University,
Waterloo, ONTARIO. N2L 3C5
- Greidanus, S., 10836-147 Street,
Edmonton, ALBERTA. T5N 3E2
- Guenther, H., 55 O'Shea Crescent,
Willowdale, ONTARIO. M2J 2N4
- Guillemette, P., Université de Montréal, Théologie,
CP 6128 Succ. A, Montreal, QUEBEC. H3C 3J7
- Guillemin, E.M., 191 St. George Street, # 402,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M5R 2M6
- Halpern, B., 246 Vanier College, York University,
4700 Keele Street, Downsview, ONTARIO. M3J 1P3
- Hamilton, G., Humanities Institute, University of Calgary,
2500 University Drive N.W.
Calgary, ALBERTA. T2N 1N4
- Hartzfeld, D.F., Canadian Theological Seminary,
4400 Fourth Avenue, Regina, SASKATCHEWAN. S4T 0H8
- Hawkin, D.J., Religious Studies,
Memorial University of Newfoundland,
St. John's, NEWFOUNDLAND. A1C 5S7

Membership List 55

- Henderson, H.G., 880 Hellmuth Avenue,
London, ONTARIO. N6A 3T8
- Hibbitts, J.B., 1625 Preston Street,
Halifax, NOVA SCOTIA. B3H 3V2
- Hiebert, R., 44 Jackes Avenue, Apartment 1913,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M4T 1E5
- Hillmer, M.R., McMaster Divinity College,
Hamilton, ONTARIO. L8S 4K1
- Hird, C.L., 25-3725 Dupuis Avenue,
Montreal, QUEBEC. H3T 1E5
- Hobbs, T.R., McMaster Divinity College,
Hamilton, ONTARIO. L8S 4K1
- Hollingsworth, R., Site #2, PO Box 11, R.R. #3,
Tiverton, ONTARIO. N0G 2T0
- Horman, J., 132 Erb Street West,
Waterloo, ONTARIO. N2L 1T8
- Horsnell, M.J.A., McMaster Divinity College,
Hamilton, ONTARIO. L8S 4K1
- Humphrey, E., 5209 Connaught,
Montreal, P.Q. H4V 1X5
- Hurd, J.C., Trinity College, University of Toronto,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M5S 1H8
- Hurtado, L.W., Department of Religion, University of Manitoba,
Winnipeg, MANITOBA. R3T 2N2
- Irwin, W.H., Theology, St. Michael's College, 81 St. Mary's Street,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M5S 1J4
- Jackman, E.J.R., PO Box 398,
Kleinburg, ONTARIO. L0J 1C0
- Jeffrey, D.L., Department of English, University of Ottawa,
Ottawa, ONTARIO. K1N 6N5
- Johnston, G., 399 Clarke Avenue, IC.,
Montreal, QUEBEC. H3Z 2E7
- Kagedan, I.J., Canadian Jewish Congress, 1590 Dr. Penfield Avenue,
Montreal, QUEBEC. H3G 1C5
- Kampen, J., Payne Theological Seminary, PO Box 474,
Wilberforce, OHIO, USA. 45384
- Kazmierski, C.R., Department of Religious Studies,
University of Ottawa, Ottawa, ONTARIO. K1N 6N5
- Kinsley, W., Etudes Anglaise, Université de Montréal,
CP 6128, Succ.A, Montreal, QUEBEC. H3C 3J7

56 *Membership List*

- Klassen, W., Dean, Inter-faith Peace Academy, PO Box 19556,
Jerusalem, ISRAEL. 91194
- Kloepfer, C.P.J., 7 Talisman Court,
Dundas, ONTARIO. L9H 4A7
- Kloppenborg, J.S., Religious Studies, University of Windsor,
Windsor, ONTARIO. N9B 3P4
- Kohn, R.L.E., 207-1856 Maint Street West,
Hamilton, ONTARIO. L8S 1H9
- Kooistra, R., 435 Albert Street, Apartment 12,
Waterloo, ONTARIO. N2L 5A7
- Kugelmass, H.J., 5714 McAlear Avenue,
Cote St. Luc, QUEBEC. H4W 2G9
- Laberge, L., St. Paul University, 233 Main Street,
Ottawa, ONTARIO. K1S 1C4
- Landy, F., Religious Studies, 4 -65 Humanities Centre,
University of Alberta, Edmonton, ALBERTA. T6G 2E5
- Lavoie, R., Faculté de Theologie, Université de Montréal,
C.P. 6128, Succ. A, Montréal, P.Q. H3C 3J7
- Launay, V., Canadian Fédération for Humanities, 151 Slater Street,
Ottawa, ONTARIO. K1P 5H3
- Leske, A.M., Concordia College, 7182 Ada Boulevard,
Edmonton, ALBERTA. T5B 4E4
- Levinson, B.M., Brandeis University, NEJS--Lown,
Waltham, MARYLAND, USA. 02254
- Levy, B.B., 3511 Peel Street,
Montreal, QUEBEC. H3A 1W7
- Lindenberger, J.M., Vancouver School of Theology, 6000 Iona Drive,
Vancouver, BRITISH COLUMBIA. V6T 1L4
- Longenecker, R.N., Wycliffe College, University of Toronto,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M5S 1H7
- Losier, M.A., Mount St. Bernard,
Antigonish, NOVA SCOTIA. B2G 2N5
- Luedemann, G., Nidolausberger Weg 5B, D-3400 Goettingen,
WEST GERMANY.
- Lutz, R.T., Department of Near Eastern Studies,
University of Toronto,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M5S 1A1
- MacKenzie, R.S., 95 Logy Bay Road,
St. John's, NEWFOUNDLAND. A1A 1J5

Membership List 57

- MacLachlan, D.S., Atlantic School of Theology, 640 Francklyn Street,
Halifax, NOVA SCOTIA. B3H 3B5
- MacLennan, I.B., 7 Springhill,
Dundas, ONTARIO. L9H 4V9
- Martin, B.L., 78 Longford Cresent,
Agincourt, ONTARIO. M1W 1P4
- Mason, S.N., c/o 561 Downland Drive,
Pickering, ONTARIO. L1W 3B1
- Massey, I.A., 542 Euclid Avenue,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M6G 2T2
- Matties, G.H., 1 - 169 Riverton Avenue,
Winnipeg, MANITOBA. R2L 2E5
- McCready, W.O., Religious Studies, University of Calgary,
Calgary, ALBERTA. T2N 1N4
- McEvenue, S.E., Department of Theological Studies,
Concordia University, Montreal, QUEBEC. H4B 1R6
- Meagher, J.C., St. Michael's College, University of Toronto,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M5S 1J4
- Merkur, D., 1801 Avenue Road,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M5M 3Z3
- Meyer, B.F., Department of Religion, McMaster University,
Hamilton, ONTARIO. L8S 4K1
- Miletic, S., Director, Rel. Ed. CCCB,
90 Parent Avenue,
Ottawa, ONTARIO. K1N 7B1
- Miller, J.W., 18 Heins Avenue,
Kitchener, ONTARIO. N2G 1Z8
- Milne, P.J., Department of Religious Studies,
University of Windsor,
Windsor, ONTARIO. N9B 3P4
- Milton, H.I., 208 Collingwood Street,
Kingston, ONTARIO. K7L 3X8
- Morrow, W., 610 Beresford Avenue,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M6S 3C3
- Neumann, K.J., 123 Stillwater Drive,
Saskatoon, SASKATCHEWAN. S7J 3N7
- Newton, M., Sir Wilfred Grenfell College,
Cornerbrook, NEWFOUNDLAND. A2H 6P9
- Nolland, J., Regent College, 2130 Wesbrook Mall,
Vancouver, BRITISH COLUMBIA. V6T 1W6

58 *Membership List*

- Olshen, B.N., English Department, Glendon College,
2275 Bayview Avenue, Toronto, ONTARIO. M4N 3M6
- Olson, T.W., McLaughlin College, York University,
Downsview, ONTARIO. M3J 1P3
- Organ, B.E., St. Michael's College School,
1515 Bathurst Street,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M5P 3H4
- Page, S.H., 1291 Millbourne Road East,
Edmonton, ALBERTA. T6K 0W5
- Parke-Taylor, G.H., Cedar Beach, R. R. #1,
Beaverton, ONTARIO. L0K 1A0
- Parker, C.H., Queen's Theological College,
Kingston, ONTARIO. K7L 3N6
- Parker, Kim, Department of Religious Studies,
Memorial University of Newfoundland,
St. John's, NEWFOUNDLAND. A1C 5S7
- Pettem, M., 14-2849 Edouard-Montpetit Boulevard,
Montreal, QUEBEC. H3T 1J6
- Plaut, W.G., Holy Blossom Temple, 1950 Bathurst Street,
Toronto, ONTARIO. M5P 3K9
- Polzin, R., Department of Religion, Carleton University,
Ottawa, ONTARIO. K1S 5B9
- Power, B., 1503 Pacific Avenue,
Winnipeg, MANITOBA. R3E 1H6
- Prendergast, T., 15 St. Mary Street,
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11525-23 Avenue, Edmonton, ALBERTA. T6J 4T3
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Dorval, QUEBEC. H9P 1N5
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Hamilton, ONTARIO. L8S 4K1
- Williams, R.J., Department of Near Eastern Studies,
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Hamilton, ONTARIO. L8C 4K1
- Woodman, K., North American Baptist Clg.,
11525 - 23rd Avenue,
Edmonton, ALBERTA. T6J 4T3
- Wright, N. T., Faculty of Religious Studies,
3520 University Street,
Montreal, QUEBEC. H3A 2A7
- Yee, G.A., 2081 Village Lane, B-5,
St. Paul, MINNESOTA, USA. 55116
- Yorke, G., 150 Dorval Avenue, # 1009,
Dorval, QUEBEC. H9S 3H1
- Ziffer, W., R.R. #2,
Caledonia, NOVA SCOTIA. B0T 1B0

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For full information write:

The Editor
Newsletter for Ugaritic Studies
Dr. C. M. Foley
St. Thomas More College
1437 College Drive
Saskatoon
Saskatchewan
S7N 0W6

Newsletter for Targumic and Cognate Studies

For full information write:

The Editor
Newsletter for Targumic and Cognate Studies
Dr. E. G. Clark
Department of Near Eastern Studies
University of Toronto
Toronto
Ontario
M5S 1A1