

The Bulletin

2002/03

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

Volume 62
John L. McLaughlin, Editor

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Editor:
John L. McLaughlin
Faculty of Theology
University of St. Michael's College
81 St. Mary St.
Toronto, ON M5S 1J4
johnl.mclaughlin@utoronto.ca

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Membership Information: The annual fees for membership in the CSBS/SCÉB are:

	Regular	Dual
Full	\$72.00	\$40.00
Student, Contractual	\$35.00	\$20.00
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Michel Desjardins
Dept. of Religion and Culture
Wilfred Laurier University
Waterloo, Ont.
N2L 3C5
mdesjard@wlu.ca

A limited number of individual issues of the *Bulletin* may be purchased for a handling charge of \$10.00 each, payable to the CSBS/SCÉB. Requests should be sent to the editor at the address above.

The CSBS/SCÉB website address is <http://www.ccsr.ca/csbs/>

CN ISSN 0068-970-X

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Toronto, ON M5S 1J4

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Faculty of Theology
University of St. Michael's College
81 St. Mary Street
Toronto, ON M5S 1J4

2002 CSBS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

University of Toronto
Toronto, Ontario

The Book of Chronicles: Another Look

Ehud Ben Zvi
University of Alberta

1. Introduction

It is a great honor and great pleasure to be here. Today I would like to invite you to take another, and more balanced look at the Book of Chronicles, to read and reread it, to see beyond its apparent and misleading simplicity, and to consider or reconsider its potential as an area of academic research or interest. I am doing so fully aware of the bad 'PR' that accompanied this book for centuries. Even today, despite the recent efforts and contributions of a relatively small group of scholars, including some members of our society, the book is considered more often than not as of, at best, peripheral importance from historical, literary or theological perspectives. The book is often described as being boring, inferior to other biblical narrative works—never mind to books such as Isaiah or Hosea. It is often characterized as being theologically or ideologically flat, and of lesser value as a historiographical work, not only in comparison with Greek historiography, but also, and mainly, in comparison with the deuteronomistic historiographical works.

Many colleagues among those who do not work on Chronicles, still identify with the words of Baruch Spinoza, more than three centuries ago, at the beginning of the critical study of the Bible, "I have always been astonished that they [the books of Chronicles] have been included in the Bible by men who shut out from the canon the books of Wisdom, Tobit, and the others styled apocryphal (TPT, book II, 10.5)."¹

¹ Spinoza then continues, "I do not aim at disparaging their authority, but as they are universally received I will leave them as they are (TPT, II, 10.6)" and then he moves into discussing Psalms. Many pre-critical readers and translators of scripture, of course, preceded Spinoza in his relatively low evaluation of the book, and many readers of Chronicles after Spinoza held similar evaluations. On the history of ancient interpretation of Chronicles, see I. Kalimi, "History of Interpretation. The Book of Chronicles in Jewish Tradition. From Daniel to Spinoza," *RB* 105 (1998), pp. 5-41; E. Ben Zvi, "The Authority of 1-2 Chronicles in the Late Second Temple Period," *JSP* 3 (1988), pp. 59-88.

Today, I would like to invite you to reconsider the value of Chronicles, and as an ancient historian to point at the depth of the knowledge that it may provide us about ancient Israel. To be sure, I am not talking about the so-called historicity, or better said, the degree of correlation between the accounts in Chronicles and the most likely reconstruction of the history of monarchic Israel/Judah. In fact, I am on record as one who is very skeptical about what one may learn from Chronicles about the historical circumstances in monarchic Judah.² Rather, I would like to focus on the intellectual and social history of the Persian period literati within which and for which the book was composed, in its present form. I would like to focus on the interaction between the text of Chronicles and these community/ies of readers and rereaders, on meanings that these ancient literati detected in or likely developed through their reading and rereading of the book, either consciously or unconsciously. I would like to relate these meanings and ideological constructions to those conveyed by other texts also accepted within these communities of rereaders, as well as to their historical and social background and ask questions about what can be learned about these readers from the historical fact that a book such as Chronicles was written for them, and that they accepted it within the repertoire of books to be read and reread. A full discussion of these issues is obviously beyond the scope of this, or any paper for that matter. This being so, I would focus on four different vignettes or "explorations" that illustrate the approach I am suggesting.

It is doubtful, however, whether Chronicles' reception throughout generations of readers and rereaders would have been the same had the books of Samuel and Kings been lost. Given the authority usually associated with these books, Chronicles was considered more often than not as a secondary work, to be read and interpreted in their light. As a result, they became more than once, a reservoir of "things that were left out" of the other, more important books. See the title of the book in the LXX tradition, "Paralipomena." To some extent, even the critical study of Chronicles was more often than not conducted under the light, or perhaps, under the shade of that of Samuel and Kings. For instance, the latter often served to create the main outline of histories of Israel, to which minor details were added on the basis of Chronicles. Perhaps more important, the book of Chronicles was often read in a manner governed by external texts (e.g., Samuel-Kings) rather than as a literary unit by itself. So scholars often divided the book into a parallel text and the non-parallel text, despite the fact that nowhere the book of Chronicles suggests to its intended readership to approach it from such a perspective, that is, to read it as if it was composed to be read as a column in Abba Bendavid, *Parallels in the Bible* (Jerusalem: Carta, 1972) or the like. See below.

² For a recent volume that discusses the matter of the historicity—in contemporary terms—of the accounts in Chronicles from a variety of perspectives see M. P. Graham, K. G. Hoglund and S. L. McKenzie (eds.), *The Chronicler as Historian* (JSOTSup 238; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

But before I do so, a word about method in the study of the book of Chronicles as a written document meant to be read and reread by an intended readership. Although the text included portions that were quoted from Samuel, Kings and other sources, the ancient readers were not asked to skip these parallel sections. *The (hi)story narrated in Chronicles includes both, and it is this (hi)story that the readers were supposed to learn.*³

2. *Between Human Actions and Divinely Controlled Effects: Implications*

One of the most detrimental positions for an understanding of the full range of the ideology conveyed by the book of Chronicles to its intended readership has been that the almost universally-accepted claim that the book reflects and shapes a worldview that is strongly framed around, and actually governed by a concept of an individually assessed coherence between actions and effects regulated by YHWH, which at times is called the Chronicler's doctrine of retribution,⁴ or "the imperative of reward and punishment."⁵ I have addressed

³ This remark should be read against the background of the tendency to construct the voice of the "Chronicler" mainly or even only by the non-parallel texts. Needless to say, the voice of such a Chronicler is not that of the implied author, or communicator of the book of Chronicles. In fact, such a Chronicler is the implied author or communicator of a book that never existed, one that included only the non-parallel sections.

⁴ Among many others, see J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (Meridian Books; Cleveland and New York: World Publishing, 1961; German original, Berlin: Reimer, 1883), pp. 203-10; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, vol. II (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, ET 1967), pp. 307-8, 342; R. B. Dillard, "Reward and Punishment in Chronicles: The Theology of Immediate Retribution," *WTJ* 46 (1984), pp. 164-72; *idem*, *2 Chronicles* (WBC 15; Waco, TX, 1987), pp. 76-81; J. Goldingay, "The Chronicler as a Theologian," *BTB* 5 (1975), pp. 99-126, esp. 122; D. F. Murray, "Retribution and Revival: Theological Theory, Religious Praxis, and the Future in Chronicles," *JSOT* 88 (2000), pp. 77-99 (esp. pp. 78-80). Some of these scholars, although strongly supporting this position have also stressed that "this doctrine is not worked out purely mechanically," see, H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (NCBC; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1982), pp. 31-33 and W. Rudolph, "Problems with the Books of Chronicles," *VT* 4 (1954), pp. 401-09 (esp. pp. 405-6). For a thorough and nuanced discussion but still strongly tilted towards this concept of coherence between human deeds and YHWH's response to them, see S. Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought* (Frankfurt am Main and New York 1989; Hebrew original, Jerusalem 1977), pp. 150 (esp. 165-98), and cf. S. Japhet, *I and II Chronicles* (OTL; Louisville, KY; Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), pp. 44-45.

⁵ For "the imperative of reward and punishment," see S. Japhet, *Ideology*, p. 163. The term "retribution" has negative connotations and unduly limits the scope of the Chronicler's theological position (see, for instance, 2 Chr 17:1-5; 27:6). For the terminology

these matters in other contexts,⁶ but given what is at stake, a brief summary of the evidence is in order.

To begin with, there is no doubt whatsoever that the (hi)story of Israel as presented in Chronicles includes numerous instances that exemplify again and again the actual implementation of this coherence.⁷ But it is also true that the same (hi)story contains a very substantial number of instances that unequivocally show a lack of coherence between human actions and divine responses. Moreover, it bears particular note that at times Chronicles associates these particular instances of lack of coherence with crucial events or social roles in its construction of Israel's (hi)story.

It is obvious that in this (hi)story not all pious people enjoy blessing, as defined in the book, namely long life, children, prosperity and the like. Zechariah, the son of Yehoiada was actually killed, and Hanani the seer was put in prison, both due to their actions. The latter, however, are clearly characterized in the book as those that pious people, and certainly true

used here, see B. S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), pp. 651-53. See also R. B. Dillard, "Reward and Punishment," *WTJ* 46 (1984), p. 165 footnote 2.

The basic theological components of this principle, including retribution without much delay, appear in Deut. 7.9-10; cf. Ezekiel 18; 33.18-19.

⁶ See E. Ben Zvi, "A Sense of Proportion: An Aspect of the Theology of the Chronicler," *SJOT* 9 (1995), pp. 37-51; *idem*, "The Secession of the Northern Kingdom in Chronicles: Accepted 'Facts' and New Meanings," forthcoming; *idem*, "A Gateway to the Chronicler's Teaching: The Account of the Reign of Ahaz in 2 Chr 28,1-27," *SJOT* 7 (1993) 216-49.

⁷ See 2 Chron. 12.1-6 (esp. 5b); 21.12-17; 24.23-24; 25.14-24; 28.3-5. For a thorough discussion of the principle and examples, see S. Japhet, *Ideology*, pp. 150-98.

For a critique of commonly accepted positions about this principle, see, among others, B. E. Kelly, *Retribution and Eschatology in Chronicles* (JSOTSup 211; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996). Kelly maintains that "the theme of reward and punishment . . . has its meaning not within a general theory of divine action in history, but specifically as part of the covenantal relationship between Yahweh . . . and his people" (106). He states "the Chronicler is not concerned to show 'the systematization of history' according to divine justice [contrast with Japhet, *Ideology*, p. 156-76], nor with 'rationalizing' the actions of the deity" (107), nor addresses the issue of theodicy nor "the origin of evil and its final requiting" (107). According to him, "the writer uses the theme of blessing and punishment to demonstrate a much more fundamental concern than retribution, namely, *Yahweh's mercy and restorative will towards his sinful people*" (108; italics in the original). Kelly maintains that a central message of the book is that the sins and the guilt of previous generations "need not be visited upon" the Chronicler's community and that in "this respect, the emphasis upon the 'individual' character of retribution emerges as fundamentally positive" (109-10).

prophets, were required to take. Other people, not necessarily prophets, are described as experiencing oppression due to a bad king's anger when confronted with pious speech.⁸ Bad kings may have to go through a foreign invasion, but the same holds true for good kings.⁹ Whether the invasion is to be understood as a "divine test" when pious kings come under foreign attack, as often claimed,¹⁰ but as "divine punishment" when sinful kings are confronted with the same situation, as at times the text explicitly claims (2 Chron. 12.2), the fact remains that the same divinely-caused but worldly results follow polar opposite human behaviors. Thus, the concept of a necessary coherence between the foreign invasions and sinful behavior is strongly and unequivocally subverted by the text, and not once, but four times in Chronicles (2 Chron. 14.8-14; 16.1-7; 20.1-30; 32.1-21).

The concept that an individual may receive even incommensurable blessings without ever doing anything to deserve them is also advanced in Chronicles. "See, a son shall be born to you; he shall be a man of peace. I will give him peace from all his enemies on every side; for his name shall be *Shlomoh* and I will give *shalom* and quiet to Israel in his days. He shall build a house for my name. He shall be a son to me, and I will be a father to him" (1 Chron. 22.9-10; cf. 1 Chron. 28.5-7; 29.1). A situation of peace and quiet is in itself a blessing within the world of Chronicles, and the same holds true for building activities in general. Since the building project referred to here is that of the temple, Solomon's blessing is the highest possible in this category. The same can be said about the father-son relation between YHWH and Solomon that is described here. But what action could have Solomon done before he was even born to receive such a divine "reward"? Certainly, this is not a case in which the pious actions of an individual lead to corresponding effects in the divine economy. This instance involves both a divine, personal gift and a reward for the deeds of a father, which leads us to the question of ancestral merit. But before that let me mention that Chronicles does not explain also the divine choice of Solomon's father, David, in terms of blessings that befell him because of his deeds prior to the blessing.¹¹

⁸ See 2 Chron. 16.10; 24.20-22; cf. 2 Chron. 18.1-27; 25.14-16.

⁹ Asa (twice), Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah; see 2 Chron. 14.8-14; 16.1-7; 20.1-30; 32.1-21.

¹⁰ See, for instance, Japhet, *Ideology*, pp. 191-98.

¹¹ See 1 Chron. 10.14; 11.1-3; 28.4-6; 2 Chron. 6.5-6. There are references to the word of YHWH by the hand of Samuel (1 Chron. 11.3) and to divine choice. The text also associates the choice of David (and of Judah) with that of Jerusalem (1 Chron. 28.4-6; 2 Chron. 6.5-6), but nowhere the choice of David is explained in terms of a reward for David's actions prior to YHWH's selection of David as king. To be sure, "all Israel" (כל־ישראל) mentions David's role as army leader in Saul's days and his being their "bone and flesh" as

Ancestral merit (or demerit) contradicts a doctrine of an individually assessed coherence between actions and effects regulated by God. Indeed, Chronicles clearly contains numerous texts that seem to negate any notion of ancestral merit.¹² But first, and to mention the obvious, the doctrine of ancestral merit is explicitly present in 2 Chron. 21.7.¹³ Second, many accounts in Chronicles obviously imply a hereditary concept, and the same holds true for the general worldview conveyed by the book. To serve as a king over YHWH's kingdom, or as priest in the only temple for the only God in the entire world, or to be Israel for that matter were blessings, or at least potential blessings within the ideology of Chronicles that were not available to others. These potential blessings were inherited. Third, punishment of children for the sins of their fathers is also attested in, and communicated to, the readership of Chronicles. For instance, pious and theologically reliable Hezekiah is described as saying, "For our fathers have been unfaithful and have done what was evil in the sight of the LORD our God . . . Therefore the wrath of the LORD came upon Judah

they come to crown David as king, but these characterizations certainly do not explain YHWH's choice of David. The reference to their "bone and flesh" applies to any Israelite. Further, the readers of the book are neither asked nor were likely to assume that being a high military officer at the service of a king is the kind of action that corresponds to the highest possible divine blessing. In fact, such a conclusion is almost unimaginable within that discourse. Moreover, one may mention that the text explicitly reminds the readers that David served Saul, who was explicitly and emphatically evaluated as a sinful king (1 Chron. 10.13-14) in the textual immediate vicinity of the reference to David as military leader of the people during the days of Saul.

¹² The strength of these instances have led Japhet to overstate the case when she wrote, "any ideology of . . . ancestral merit (זכות אבות) has no place in the book (of Chronicles)," see S. Japhet, *Ideology*, p. 162 and cf. J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 209.

¹³ This attestation has often been explained away as not belonging to the "Chronicler," since it appears in a parallel text, or due to the "Chronicler"'s (that is, the actual author of the book of Chronicles) sloppiness at the time of composing the book, that is, he simply failed to recognize that the text he copied implied ancestral merit. Similar claims have been made regarding other texts raising the same kind of issues. This approach is rejected here. First, as Kalimi has clearly shown, Chronicles is not a sloppy book, but one that carefully employs a number of sophisticated literary devices. Second, and more importantly, if for the sake of the case, one were to argue that this holds true for the actual author of the book (that is, that he was frequently absent-minded, or inconsistent for no reason), still this observation would be irrelevant for the study of the book of Chronicles as an (hi)storiographical work, as opposed to the study of that which was in the mind of the actual author of the book. For the former, the ideology of the implied author of the book, as a whole, is of relevance. The implied author of the book is constructed by the readership as they interact with book as an integral whole, namely a work within which texts such as 2 Chron 21.7 are as integral to the (hi)story as any other text in Chronicles.

and Jerusalem, and he has made them an object of horror, of astonishment, and of hissing, as you see with your own eyes. Our fathers have fallen by the sword and our sons and our daughters and our wives are in captivity for this" (2 Chron. 29.6-9). The text clearly states, "our sons, our daughters and our wives" suffer from the results of the sins of "our fathers." If one were to argue "children and wives" are not to be considered individuals who stand on their own for these matters in this discourse (cf. the book of Job)¹⁴ and therefore, this example does not really count, then still Chronicles informs the readers that the land has to be desolate for seventy years, till the coming of the kingdom of Persia. Surely, there were many males who were born, became adults and were eventually even fatherless during these seventy years. They could not have polluted the land in any way and still were unable to live in it. They were clearly forced to live in exile from their land for the sins of their ancestors (2 Chron. 36.20-21; cf. 1 Chron. 9.1). Needless to say, all these cases are absolutely inconsistent with a categorical principle of individually assessed coherence between human deeds and divine responses. Additional examples come easily to mind. For instance, the readership of Chronicles is told of seventy thousand men who died due to David's census, without the text even suggesting that they died because of their own sins (see 1 Chron. 21.14). One may note also that the readership can infer that kings strongly influenced the behavior of the people, for they tend to depart from their wrong ways as soon as a sinful king dies, to the point that they even deny the just deceased king his burial honors.¹⁵

Further, a doctrine of coherence implies also some form of scale that relates two manifestations, human actions and divine retributions. But the readership of Chronicles is told that such a scale is not retrievable from Israel's (hi)story. The readers of Chronicles are informed that, for instance, Ahaz, the worst possible king of Judah, although punished with defeat in war, is not

¹⁴ The children of Job died as part of a divinely ordained test of their father. The text does not mention anywhere that they died because of their sins, or even partially because of their sins. Of course, the matter led to uneasiness in later readings of the text and to attempts to find fault in the children. For a survey of the matter in Jewish traditional sources, see H. Mack, "Were the Children of Job Sinners or Innocent Victims? The Issue of Their Death in Ancient Sources and in Medieval Jewish Exegesis," *Shnaton* XII (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2000), pp. 221-39.

¹⁵ See the account of the reign of Ahaz. The text communicates that the king and the elite and likely the population in Judah have all forsaken YHWH consistently, but as soon as the king dies, they realize that he was a sinner. See 2 Chron. 28.27 (and cf. 2 Chron. 21.19-20). See E. Ben Zvi, "Sense of Proportion." Although people are responsible for their actions in the account of Ahaz, the (hi)storiographical reconstructions raises questions about the extent of their ability to choose freely their way of action.

killed; but members of his elite and many of his people are. Did Ahaz not forsake YHWH as much as those twenty-thousand men who were killed in one day because "they had forsaken YHWH, the god of the fathers"?¹⁶

It seems to me that, as in relation to many other matters, the book of Chronicles as a whole advances here a balanced viewpoint. Theological or ideological claims advanced in some accounts are informed and balanced by contrasting claims advanced elsewhere in the book.¹⁷ The result is a deeply connected web of meanings that reflects and shapes a far more sophisticated discourse than any set of accounts separately.¹⁸

If the reading of Chronicles is meant, among others, to encourage an understanding of the present, and of the divine economy by understanding the past of the readership, then it cannot be overstressed that Chronicles as a whole conveys a sense that not only human actions cannot be predicted, but also YHWH's response to them cannot be predicted, and at times remains unexplainable.¹⁹ Doing good may lead to blessing, but also to death (cf. Job); oppression and death may come to the innocent, and although people are supposed to make their own choices and be responsible for them, they may also suffer because of the sins of their fathers, and conversely, their father's position may lead to privilege and blessing. In addition, YHWH may cause even crucial events simply because YHWH so decided, such as the secession of the Northern Kingdom²⁰ and David's choice.

The point I want to emphasize here is not so much the concept of YHWH's freedom to act. There is nothing surprising about it. This freedom was usual in ideological constructions of the hegemonic side in asymmetric relations such as deity-human, great king-vassal king, king-subject, master-servant (or slave). Instead, I would like to focus on the self-image of the authorship and readership of Chronicles, on their strong self-awareness of the limitations of their own knowledge. These limitations concern not only the literati's ability to understand their past or YHWH, but also involve an inability

¹⁶ See 2 Chron. 28.6. To be sure, if every sinner would be immediately executed, then there will be no time for "repentance," another important concept in Chronicles' ideology or theology. But again, the question may be asked why the chance of repentance was given to Ahaz, but not to the other many thousands (cf. Manasseh's case; 2 Chron. 33.1-13).

¹⁷ See E. Ben Zvi, "Sense of Proportion."

¹⁸ Significantly, the same "device" is ubiquitous in prophetic literature. I discussed these matters in other contexts. See, for instance, *Signs of Jonah: Reading and Rereading in Ancient Yehud* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press/Continuum, 2002).

¹⁹ See E. Ben Zvi, "Secession."

²⁰ See 2 Chron. 11.4. For a discussion of the secession of the North in Chronicles, see E. Ben Zvi, "Secession."

to predict the effects of human actions on the basis of the past, and this is particularly interesting in ancient historiographical work.

Significantly, the more the literati read and carefully reread the (hi)story presented by Chronicles, the more aware they become that they may not be able to predict or even understand particular events. The more they read and reread the book, the more aware they become that YHWH's described actions seem to be contingent rather than a result of any categorical imperatives that they can abstract from (hi)story, from any (hi)story.

I would like to conclude this first exploration with two observations:

(1) The book shapes and reflects the self-image of the literati and the limitations of the knowledge they may achieve through their reading and rereading of authoritative literature about Israel's past, but by doing so, at the same time, the importance of careful reading and rereading of these same texts is reinforced, for after all, they learn as much because they carefully study these texts.

(2) Reading and rereading Chronicles brought salience to unbridgeable limitations in their knowledge and to their lack of ability to predict particular events in the future. But at the same time, it brought to their attention numerous, blunt accounts that (a) carried a clear appeal to behave in a manner consistent with that which the community considered divinely mandated and accordingly, proper and appropriate; and (b) exemplified an individually assessed sense of correspondence between human actions and divinely ordained effects. Thus, on the one hand, Chronicles is a document pointing at, reflecting on, and contributing to the sophisticated self-understanding of Yehudite literati for whom it was written as well as of their limitations,²¹ but on the other, it was a great source of edifying texts that could be used to educate (or ideologically socialize) the community, to teach its members how to behave on the grounds of the events of their past. Significantly, many of the accounts in Chronicles, when taken separately, seem to be written to maximize persuasion, to ingrain a "godly" behavior.

The presence of this type of account in the book is not surprising given the likely social roles of literati in ancient Israel as "educators" and brokers of authoritative teachings.²² It also reflects an important element in their own

²¹ The same can be said of other biblical text. The obvious example is the book of Jonah.

²² Cf. 2 Chron. 17.9; although Chronicles is not the "torah," the book still claims to convey knowledge about YHWH, YHWH's ways, and the proper manner in which Israel should behave. Also cf. 2 Chron 20.20, keeping in mind the viewpoint advanced in Chronicles that prophets are those who explain to the people how to behave, that is, they are teachers. See Y. Amit, "תפקיד הנבואה והנביאים במשנתו של ספר דברי הימים" [English title: The Role of Prophecy and the Prophets in the Teaching of Chronicles], *Beth Mikra* 28

intellectual, ideological discourse/s, for within them, even if the future or (hi)story is unpredictable, even if YHWH's actions are not fully explainable and will never be, the need to seek YHWH and follow YHWH's commandments remained. To some extent, one may compare this approach with that in Qoh 12.12-14, and particularly with "the end of the matter; all has been heard. Fear God, and keep his commandments; for that is the whole duty of everyone" (Qoh 12.13; NRSV).²³ This text, although it belongs to a very different genre, whether knowingly or unknowingly, reflects a similar theological attitude. Moreover, it was written for a community of readers that was not too different from that of the primary readership of Chronicles. Both were written for what could only be a relatively few bearers of high literacy in ancient Jerusalem, in not too dissimilar societies.²⁴

3. *Between Similarity and Dissimilarity in the Presentation of a New Historiographical Work: Implications.*

One of the most salient features of Chronicles from the perspective of the intended readership is that it constructs their (hi)story of their own monarchic past once again. There is nothing strange in developing new (hi)stories of the past, even if they must by necessity differ at points from those already existing in the world of knowledge and literature of a readership. In fact, such a development is to be expected, whether it takes the form of a new "(hi)story," or of interpretations and rewritings of "old (hi)stories." The book of Jubilees, for instance, provides a version of the past that differs from that in Genesis and Josephus retold the biblical (hi)stories. Within the boundaries set by what may be called the facts about that past that are agreed upon within a particular society or community, people can live and have lived with more than one (hi)story of their own past.²⁵

(1982/3), pp. 113-33; W. M. Schniedewind, "The Chronicler as an Interpreter of Scripture," M. P. Graham and S. L. McKenzie (eds.), *The Chronicler as Author. Studies in Text and Texture* (JSOTSup 263; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 158-80.

²³ Qoh 12.12 brings to the forefront the weariness and the lack of certitude that follows much knowledge, and Qoh 12.14 conveys the hope of a group that considers itself to be suffering from the actions of sinners, that their deeds will be taken into account by the deity.

²⁴ Even if Qohelet—as it stands—was written in the Ptolemaic period and Chronicles—as it stands—in the late Persian period, there is no reason to assume that there was an unbridgeable gap between the few literati of these periods.

²⁵ I discussed the concept of "facts agreed upon" as relevant to ancient Israelite historiography in a series of articles, see E. Ben Zvi, "Malleability and its Limits: Sennacherib's Campaign Against Judah as a Case Study," L. L. Grabbe (ed.), *'Bird in a Cage': The Invasion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE*, (JSOTSup 363; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, forthcoming); *idem*, "Shifting the Gaze: Historiographic Constraints in

Yet in each case, one of the basic questions for research can be framed in terms of new (hi)stories for new times, that is, new (hi)stories for new readerships. Josephus rewrote biblical narratives for a post 70 CE, Greek-speaking readership that probably included Greek speaking Jews,²⁶ and he did so with Roman patronship. Jubilees (or the Temple Scroll, for that matter) addressed a so-called sectarian readership that was supposed to attach much authority to the claims advanced by these books.

Turning to the literature of the Jerusalemite literati of the Persian period, even without Chronicles, prophetic books and the dt. (hi)storiographical books, construed images of the past, which at times were in tension.²⁷ To be sure, these literati were certainly able to discern obvious genre differences and the corresponding constraints between prophetic books and (hi)storiographical works, such as Kings. But Samuel, Kings and Chronicles belong to the same literary and discursive genre and all were included in the ideologically authoritative repertoire of these communities of readers.

Further, from their perspective, the book of Chronicles unequivocally presented itself as a kind of imitation of Samuel-Kings.²⁸ It was certainly

Chronicles and Their Implications," M. Patrick Graham and J. Andrew Dearman (eds.), *The Land that I Will Show You: Essays on the History and Archaeology of the Ancient Near East in Honor of J. Maxwell Miller* (JSOTSup 343; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 2001), pp. 38-60; *idem*, "The Secession of the Northern Kingdom in Chronicles: Accepted 'Facts' and New Meanings."

²⁶ See Ant. 1.5, 9; 12; 16.174; 20.262; and the commentary by L. H. Feldman in S. Mason (ed.), *Flavius Josephus. Translation and Commentary, vol. 3, Judean Antiquities 1-4* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2000), pp. 3, 378 and bibliography.

²⁷ See, for instance, the construction of the reign of Josiah in Zephaniah and in Kings.

²⁸ On imitation in the Hebrew Bible in general and in Chronicles in particular, see J. Van Seters, "Creative Imitation in the Hebrew Bible," *SR* 29 (2000), pp. 395-409. (For a recent work that responds to, and interacts with Van Seter's position, see C. Mitchell, "Transformations in Meaning: Solomon's Accession in Chronicles," *JHS* 4 [2002] <http://purl.org/jhs>).

It is worth mentioning that recently A. G. Auld has vigorously claimed that Chronicles does not depend on Samuel-Kings, but these works as well as Chronicles depend on a shared, third source. See A. G. Auld, *Kings Without Privilege. David and Moses in the Story of the Bible's Kings* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994); *idem*, "What Was the Main Source of the Books of Chronicles?" in M. P. Graham and S. L. McKenzie (eds.), *The Chronicler as Author. Studies in Text and Texture* (JSOTSup 263; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 91-99; *idem*, "What If the Chronicler Did Use the Deuteronomistic History?" in J. C. Exum, *Virtual History and the Bible* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2000), pp. 137-50. His position has not received much support and for a critical response see, for instance, S. L. McKenzie, "The Chronicler as Redactor," in M. P. Graham and S. L.

obvious to any reader of these books in that group that Chronicles borrowed much of its text from the former. Although the text never explicitly acknowledges so, the ubiquitous repetition of texts carried a strong, and unmistakable message.

The imitation mentioned above points at a stylistic standard that was considered appropriate for the relevant rhetorical purpose within the social group at which the book is aimed. Thus, the book of Chronicles implies a readership not only aware of Samuel and particularly Kings, but one for whom acceptable (hi)stories of the monarchic past are to be styled in the pattern of these books. Of course, style always carries some substantive meaning and imitation implies not only acknowledgment of socio-cultural norms, but also its reinforcement.

But even here Chronicles carried its balanced approach, in which obvious, explicit claims made somewhere in the book are set in perspective by other claims made elsewhere in the book. On the one hand, the book styled itself to the mentioned readers as closely related to Kings and Samuel as possible through an unparalleled amount of direct and explicit textual borrowing so as to advance its own claim for legitimacy among them. But on the other hand, the book clearly carried a very different voice than the one in Samuel and Kings. Just as readers in the mentioned communities would have recognized the borrowing, they would have easily recognized the consistent linguistic flavor that set the book apart from the sources from which it borrows. Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, all share the so-called Late Biblical Hebrew diction;²⁹ Kings and Samuel do not.

It bears particular notice that even when the text in Chronicles is copied almost word for word from Kings, it often includes numerous minor linguistic, as well as stylistic and literary changes that serve to reaffirm the characterization of the voice of its narrator (and of the implied author) as different from that present in classical Hebrew texts, even if many of the latter, at least in their present form, were also composed in the Persian period.³⁰ The

McKenzie (eds.), *The Chronicler as Author. Studies in Text and Texture* (JSOTSup 263; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 70-90. This is not the place to evaluate Auld's position, but even if he were correct in this regard—which in my opinion is unlikely—the basic argument advanced here will remain valid, since still we would be talking of a *new* (hi)story/ies.

²⁹ In fact, within a community of readers in which the books of Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles were accepted as authoritative, this triad was likely to suggest a second collection of historical works, comparable to some degree to that of the deuteronomistic or primary history, but much later. I am convinced, however, that the book of Chronicles was not composed by the same person or group responsible for Ezra-Nehemiah.

³⁰ See, for instance, S. Japhet, "חילופי שרשים בפועל בטקסטים המקבילים בספר דברי הימים [English title: Interchange of Verbal Roots in Parallel Texts in Chronicles]," *Lesh* 31

result is that if the rhetorical voice of Kings carries a deuteronomistic, or Mosaic-like flavor, even if it does not follow the ideology of Deuteronomy too close,³¹ that of Chronicles presents itself as a much later, and as an un-classical voice; as a historiographical voice closer to the times, accepted literary practices and circumstances of the actual community of readers,³² but also as a voice that is well-versed in Samuel-Kings, as well as other authoritative books (e.g., Genesis, Deuteronomy, Leviticus, Jeremiah); as the voice of one able to study them one in the light of the other and draw conclusions from this study. Such a characterization allows the text to shape and reflect a construction of the past that differs from that of Kings and Samuel, without taking directly on the traditional authority of these books, but rather the opposite, subtly co-opting it, working in parallel to it, and at the same time undermining the sole authority of their construction of the past, within the mentioned readership.³³

The balance between Chronicles' unequivocal imitation of, and differentiation from, between the acceptance of, and the undermining of the authority of the collection of books comprising the deuteronomistic (hi)story touches another point. Although Chronicles clearly resembled and evoked the memory of that (hi)story in its readers, it included an introduction and a conclusion very unlike those of the dtr. (hi)story collection. Introductions and conclusions are among the most important interpretative keys provided to a readership and as such deserve particular notice.

Chronicles is structured as a book, not as a collection of books. It consists of a (hi)story of monarchic "Israel" (or Judah) from David to the destruction of the Temple to which a lengthy introduction (chapters 1-9) and relatively short, but most substantive conclusion (2 Chron. 36. 20-23) are added.³⁴

(1967), pp. 65-179, 161-279. For a study of stylistic and literary changes see esp. I. Kalimi, ספר דברי הימים כתיבה היסטורית ואמצעים ספרותיים [English title: *The Book of Chronicles. Historical Writing and Literary Devices*] (The Biblical Encyclopaedia Library 18; Mosad Bialik: Jerusalem, 2000), *passim*.

³¹ See G. N. Knoppers, "Rethinking the Relationship between Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History: The Case of Kings," *CBQ* 63 (2001), pp. 393-415.

³² Chronicles suggested to the intended readership that its (implied) author was an "accomplished historiographer writing in accord to the accepted practices of his time." Cf. K. G. Hoglund, "The Chronicler as a Historian: A Comparativist Perspective," M. P. Graham, K. G. Hoglund and S. L. McKenzie (eds.), *The Chronicler as Historian* (JSOTSup 238; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), pp. 19-29; quotation from p. 29.

³³ Significantly, in many regards Chronicles, although it carries a non-Mosaic voice, stands closer to the concerns of Deuteronomy than Kings, despite the latter's pervading deuteronomistic language. See Knoppers, "Rethinking."

³⁴ The claim that the conclusion is "a very late editorial gloss" (e.g., S. J. de Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles* [FOTL XI; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1989], pp. 13-14, 424) is

The style of the preface in Chronicles is unique in biblical literature.³⁵ To be sure, genealogies do exist in other books, and those in Chronicles likely evoked the memory of those in Genesis, and could have suggested to the readers that Chronicles is actually comparable to the primary (hi)story (i.e., Genesis to 2 Kings) rather than to the dtr. (hi)story. But the extent of these genealogies and the manner in which they alone carry the construction of a (hi)story of the world from Adam is unparalleled elsewhere in the repertoire of books of the intended and primary readership. Similarly, the opening of Chronicles may have been evocative of that of Exodus, but the differences are obvious. In sum, since no biblical book begins with anything like "Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalel, Jared . . .", the readers are informed from the outset not only that the book is relevant to the study of humanity (i.e., the "children of Adam"), but also that it is unique. Just as one aspect of the introduction likely suggested to them that Chronicles may be comparable to the primary (hi)story, or the history from Exodus on, another aspect balances such suggestions and clearly sets the book apart from these (hi)stories, and from Genesis and Exodus in particular, and cf. Chron 1.1 with Gen. 1.1 and Exod. 1.1.³⁶

Of course, the introduction is not only involved in the negotiation of the uniqueness of the book and its possible relation to other works in the repertoire of the community, but also asked the readers to understand the (hi)story advanced in the main body of the book (1 Chron. 10–2 Chron. 36) as anchored in a (hi)story of the world, and of the social organization and composition of Israel. The obvious ideological meanings reflected in, and conveyed by a "universal" history that deals for the vast part with the (hi)story of Davidic Judah deserves a separate study that goes beyond the limits of this paper. As for the construction of society advanced in this introduction, we will address some aspects of it, later this evening.

What about the conclusion of Chronicles? It structured the book and shaped its message in a manner conspicuously unlike that of Kings, or the

problematic and in any case irrelevant to the discussion here, since it deals with the ancient readings of the book of Chronicles as we know it, not of any hypothetical forerunner of the book. On the importance of the ending of the book and about its role as an interpretative key for the understanding of its message, see J. E. Dyck, *The Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler* (Leiden, E. J. Brill; 1998).

³⁵ The importance of genealogies in ancient Greek historiography is well known. Yet, contrary to Greek historiography, but consistent with typical Hebrew Bible style, the author of Chronicles remains anonymous. I wrote elsewhere on the phenomenon of self-effacing authors in Yehud, see "What is New in Yehud? Some Considerations," forthcoming.

³⁶ Among many differences of style and substance, one may note that Chronicles begins with the world of humans, with "Adam" not with the creation of the physical world. As for Exodus 1.1, it opens with "these are the names of the sons of Israel..."

entire dtr. (hi)story. Following the introduction (1 Chronicles 1-9), the main body of Chronicles begins with a short preface to Davidic Judah, namely a report of the fall of Saul's house because of its betrayal of YHWH. The main body of the book, and the book as whole, concludes with Cyrus, a foreign, non-Davidic king who orders the rebuilding of the temple in his first year (cf. Hezekiah's re-opening of the Temple in 2 Chron. 29.3). Thus the text moves from negatively portrayed pre-Davidic to positively portrayed post-Davidic times. The Saulide failed experiment led to the ascendance of David and eventually to the climax of book, in David's provisions for the building of the temple (1 Chronicles, chs. 22-29);³⁷ monarchic Judah led to the eventual destruction of the temple, which, in turn, led to Cyrus. As the readers read the book, they move from the process that culminated in the building of the temple, to that leading to its rebuilding.

Another instance of the balanced approach of Chronicles becomes evident. On the one hand, the conclusion moves the (hi)story of Israel from the desolation caused by Judah's (Israel's) rejection of YHWH at the time of Davidic Zedekiah—which is structurally prefigured in Saul's period—to a restoration under the rule of a foreign king who is never construed, nor can be construed as the king of Judah.³⁸ But the message about blurring boundaries that the readers could have abstracted from this observation—and similar observations—is balanced with an ideological construction of the required time that separate desolation from reconstruction in *explicitly, local ideological terms*, that is, around shabbatot, that is ten shabbatot of desolation (see 2 Chron. 36.21-22). In addition, readers are asked to associate this construction of that time to both (a) the text in Lev 26.34-35, 43 (cf. 2 Chron. 26.21), as the language of the text clearly suggests, and (b) as the text explicitly states, to the words of Jeremiah, as construed in the book of Jeremiah (see 2 Chron. 36.21-22; cf. Jer 25.11-12; 29.10). Thus Chronicles concludes with an organization of the knowledge of the community of readers that develops a sense of harmony and coherence between two texts that were considered authoritative by the intended readership/s. Such an organization of the world of knowledge of the intended readership is supported by many other instances of harmonization

³⁷ Cf. D. J. Estes, "Metaphorical Sojourning in 1 Chronicles 29:15," *CBQ* 53 (1991), pp. 45-49.

Several scholars have addressed the role of the Saulide pericope in Chronicles; for a survey of research and another proposal see J. M. Trotter, "Reading, Readers and Reading Readers Reading the Account of Saul's Death in 1 Chronicles 10," M. P. Graham and S. L. McKenzie (eds.), *The Chronicler as Author. Studies in Text and Texture* (JSOTSup 263; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 294-310, esp. pp. 299-310.

³⁸ Cf. Deut 17.15. Chronicles's description of the past stands closer to the deuteronomic office of the king than the book of Kings. See G. N. Knoppers, "Rethinking."

elsewhere in the book.³⁹ Just as the very existence of the book of Chronicles is positive proof of a discourse in which more than one authoritative (hi)story about the past co-existed, even if there were tensions among them, the very same Chronicles points at and reflects an ideological process aimed at achieving some degree of convergence among preexisting, authoritative texts.⁴⁰ Again, the claims that the readers of Chronicles learn about from some aspects of the book are informed and balanced by other claims they also find in Chronicles.

The same process is at work in a related area. The ubiquitous presence of LBH language and of direct borrowings from other texts emphatically communicated to the readers that the book is derivative from and later than these texts. But at the same time, due to the mentioned process of harmonization and interpretation, Chronicles presents itself as the carrier of the proper meaning of the other books. The literati must read Chronicles to understand what the authoritative books of the community actually mean, that is, the book communicates to its readers that it is as authoritative or even more authoritative than the other books, albeit in its own way.⁴¹

4. Reshaping of Memory and the Readership

New (hi)stories develop with new times. The new (hi)stories of intended and primary readerships most often do not attempt to obliterate, but to reshape their basic image of their own past, by shifting emphases, evaluations of characters, and/or by creating new points towards which the historical narrative moves. (Hi)stories also serve to reshape social memory, and such memory is more important than simple (hi)story in the life of the community. By social memory I refer here to ideological or discursive events that are considered paradigmatic by a particular social group, and as such provide it with a frame to understand

³⁹ The "classical" example is 2 Chron. 35.13, and cf. Exod. 12.8-9; Deut. 16.7. On these matters, see, for instance, I. L. Seeligman, "ניצני מדרש בספר דברי הימים" [English title: The Beginnings of *Midrash* in the Books of Chronicles] *Tarbiz* 49 (1979/80), pp. 14-32; M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), *passim*; W. M. Schniedewind, "The Chronicler as an Interpreter of Scripture," esp. pp. 169-71.

⁴⁰ See the discussion of 2 Chron. 36.21-22 above; 2 Chron. 35.13; and note above.

⁴¹ It is worth stressing that each time Chronicles brings coherence, or blends together existing authoritative texts that stood in some tension, the book is providing its readership with a new text that actually follows none of the preceding texts. See, for instance, G. N. Knoppers, "Hierodules, Priests, or Janitors? The Levites in Chronicles and the History of the Israelite Priesthood," *JBL* 118 (1999), pp. 49-72; cf. I. L. Seeligman, "ניצני מדרש."

other events.⁴² Social memory is quite omnipresent in the discourse of a group, and relates to events whose lasting consequences are conceived as defining for the character of the society that bears such a memory.

There can be no doubt that the most important social memory in the discourse of post-monarchic Yehud was that associated with the cycle of exile, liberation from Egypt, the reception of divine instruction in the wilderness and coming back to the land. The ideological understanding of the Babylonian exile, the myth of the "empty land," the concept of "the return," the association of (ideologically) exiled Israel with the community in Yehud,⁴³ the construction of the wilderness as a proper location for a necessary and positive interaction between YHWH and Israel are all among the matters patterned according to this social memory.

Against this background it bears especial note that the ideological centrality of Jerusalem and of the Temple, which was one of most salient and ubiquitous themes within the discourse of Persian Yehud,⁴⁴ had no clear anchor in an Exodus, Horeb/Sinai, Conquest/Return memory. After all, the Pentateuch pointed at the Tabernacle, which because of its lack of attachment to a particular geographical location, could not serve by itself as a foundational story for the choice of Jerusalem and for the claimed status of its temple as the only legitimate one in YHWH's economy. The second most important memory is that of the patriarchal stories. Again, it could not have served this purpose.

It is against this background that some aspects of Chronicles become clear. Chronicles associates the tabernacle with the Yehudite and ideologically Davidic temple.⁴⁵ It also associates the location of the temple with the patriarchal stories by explicitly identifying the place of the temple with Mt. Moriah.⁴⁶

⁴² Much has been written on differences between "history" and "memory," though there has been also some confusion between the two terms. For a recent study see G. M. Spiegel, "Memory and History: Liturgical Time and Historical Time," *History and Theory* 41 (2002), pp. 149-62; and see the bibliography mentioned there.

⁴³ My contribution to these matters is in E. Ben Zvi, "Inclusion in and Exclusion from Israel as Conveyed by the Use of the Term 'Israel' in Postmonarchic Biblical Texts," S. W. Holloway and L. K. Handy (eds.), *The Pitcher is Broken. Memorial Essays for Gosta W. Ahlström* (JSOTSup 190; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1995), pp. 95-149; cf. E. Ben Zvi, "What is New in Yehud?"

⁴⁴ See note above.

⁴⁵ In addition to rituals, see, for instance, the reference to the veil. See J. Van Seters, "The Chronicler's Account of Solomon's Temple Building: A Continuity Theme," M. P. Graham, K. G. Hoglund and S. L. McKenzie (eds.), *The Chronicler as Historian* (JSOTSup 238; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), pp. 283-300, esp. 293-93.

⁴⁶ The patriarchal stories were potentially problematic since they do not single

But Chronicles does more and in a more subtle way. Chronicles defamiliarizes the main (hi)storiographical narrative. Chronicles does not include accounts of the central ideological events associated with the main social memory, nor relates the patriarchal stories. Further, it includes no account of the conquest or the "Judges." Instead it begins the main narrative with the death of Saul and concludes it with Cyrus. I would like to stress, Chronicles does *not* ask its readership in any possible way or manner to construe the history of Israel without, for instance, Moses, Exodus or Horeb, or without Joshua's conquest. I discussed these matters at some length elsewhere.⁴⁷ For the purpose of this paper it would suffice to state that Moses and other basic elements of this main social memory are mentioned numerous times in Chronicles.⁴⁸

But Chronicles defamiliarizes the main (hi)storiographical narrative. Defamiliarization calls the attention of the readers and brings to the forefront that which is selected as the core of this new narration of the known past. As mentioned above, the main body of Chronicles deals with the (hi)story of Israel from the building of the temple to the rebuilding of the temple. Moreover, the universal setting of the introduction serves to provide even more prominence to Israel and above all to the Jerusalemite temple, and its associate ideological constructs, such as the house of Judah, and above all David (cf. 1 Chron. 28.4-6; 2 Chron 6.5-6). Thus, Chronicles' selection is consistent with, and conducive to the enlargement of the main social memory so as to include the establishment of the Temple and the related selection of Jerusalem. Chronicles' message on this matter is clearly supported by its association of David with Moses as cult founders,⁴⁹ and by its association of both of them to the

Jerusalem out of other cultic places in Canaan; in fact, it might have suggested that other places were more important. Chronicles solves the problem by associating the Temple and Mt. Moriah. See 2 Chron. 3.1 and cf. Gen. 22.2.

⁴⁷ See Ehud Ben Zvi, "Shifting the Gaze: Historiographic Constraints in Chronicles and Their Implications," M. Patrick Graham and J. Andrew Dearman (eds.), *The Land that I Will Show You: Essays on the History and Archaeology of the Ancient Near East in Honor of J. Maxwell Miller* (JSOTSup 343; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) 38-60, esp. § 2.5. See also, *idem*, "Malleability and its Limits."

⁴⁸ For Moses see 1 Chron. 6.34; 15.15; 21.29; 22.13; 23.15; 26.24; 2 Chron. 1.3; 5.10; 8.13; 23.18; 24.6, 9; 25.4; 30.16; 33.8; 34.14; 35.6, 12. He is explicitly associated with the Exodus and the Horeb covenant (2 Chron. 5.10), Israel's stay in the wilderness (במדבר; 1 Chron. 21.29; 2 Chron. 24.9), the "Tent of Meeting" (אהל מועד; 2 Chron. 1.3), the tabernacle (1 Chron. 21.29), Aaron and implicitly with Israel's worship in the wilderness (1 Chron. 6.34), the cultic regulations for the three main festivals (2 Chron. 8.13) and with Torah or the Book of Torah or the word of YHWH in his hand (2 Chron. 23.18; 25.4; 30.16; 33.8; 34.14; 35.6, 12).

⁴⁹ See S. J. de Vries, "Moses and David as Cult Founders in Chronicles," *JBL* 107

establishment of the Jerusalemite temple and its rituals (cf. 2 Chron. 23.18). But this is not a one time event, as Persian period Yehudites know all too well. The temple had to be rebuilt and thus Chronicles concludes with the note leading to its rebuilding.⁵⁰ In other words, just as the Exodus from Egypt informed the construction of the "return," and Joshua the story about the establishment of Persian Yehud, Chronicles communicates to the readership in various ways that David's foundational activities were indeed foundational, that is, they create a pattern against which the establishment, organization and ritual of the second Temple, that is, the temple of the intended and primary readership is to be understood and evaluated.⁵¹

Of course, as Chronicles does so, it legitimizes the second temple, that is, a temple that was established by, and was ultimately under the control of a Persian king, and which, at times and for some, was controversial. Chronicles reassured its intended readers that it was YHWH who caused the Persian king's actions, that the time of the rebuilding was correct and consistent with the predictive claims of the authoritative works held by the community and above all, that the temple is basically a Davidic temple, because it follows the plans and regulations set by David. In other words, the readers are told that the actual royal founder of the temple, and of its worship, is not Cyrus, nor any Persian governor—kings build temples not governors—but David.⁵² If the community is ideologically organized around the divine instruction (or torah) and around the temple, Moses and David are to be the central figures of Israel's memory. In this sense, Chronicles complements the memory creating function of the Pentateuch and does so on the basis of the books of Samuel and Kings,⁵³ while at the same time keeping a balance between legitimizing similitude and ideological innovation.

Further, the lionization of David and the characterization of his status

(1988), pp. 619-39. See, for instance, 2 Chron. 8.14. Cf. J. W. Kleining, "The Divine Institution of the Lord's Song in Chronicles," *JSOT* 55 (1992), pp. 75-83; cf. Schniedewind, "The Chronicler as an Interpreter of Scripture," pp. 177-78.

⁵⁰ The actual rebuilding is not described. Cyrus' role is constructed as similar to that of David, who ordered and provided for the Temple, but did not actually build it. Significantly, David's actions are presented as the climactic point in the narrative about the building of the temple. Of course, Cyrus is not David in many other regards, and the temple is certainly "Davidic." See below.

⁵¹ Both Kings and Chronicles relate the social memories mentioned above with the divine choice of Jerusalem (and David); see 2 Chron. 6.5-7 and 1 Kgs 8.16-18.

⁵² See my "What is New in Yehud?"

⁵³ The building of the temple and the choice of Jerusalem figure prominently in Samuel-Kings, though proportionally even more prominently in Chronicles, who emphatically characterizes David as a cult founder. See de Vries, "Moses and David."

as partially comparable to that of Moses⁵⁴ raise an important issue. Just as Moses' unique role as the intermediary for YHWH in the area of "torah/divine teaching-giving"⁵⁵ and the ideological construction of that divine teaching as one that will not be replaced by another within the life of the community demand the ideological claim that no new Moses will conceivably rise up, the central claim that David set the blueprint for the first temple and for any legitimate temple for all times, make the expectation of a new David impossible within that discourse.⁵⁶ If the *eternal* contributions of Moses and David require the community's lack of expectation for a new Moses and a new David, still the implementation of the "inheritance" of these characters demanded the presence of people in authority to set it in practice, within the actual world. Although one may think of characters such as Ezra, High Priests, Judahite governors appointed by the Persian center, and even a Persian king, as fulfilling in their own ways that role, it is worth stressing that the readers and rereaders of Chronicles were also included among those responsible for the maintenance of the proper temple, along with its rites, institutions and the like. It is they who were told through their readings and rereadings of Chronicles what a Davidic temple is supposed to be, and how it was supposed to be run, along with terrifying lessons from (hi)story about what happens when the proper temple and its rites are rejected.⁵⁷

A note: The preceding explanation for the defamiliarizing scope of narrated events in Chronicles leaves open the question of why Chronicles began with "Adam, Seth . . ." and why did it go beyond David's conceptual establishment of the Temple, or perhaps Solomon's building of the actual

⁵⁴ See de Vries, "Moses and David."

⁵⁵ Josephus and others refer to Moses as "lawgiver" to implicitly compare him to other "lawgivers," but in the HB, YHWH not Moses is the one who gives the "law/torah."

⁵⁶ The same does not hold necessary true for the hope of a Davidic king—to be sharply differentiated from that of a "new David." Moreover, it is likely that if such a "Davidic king" was hoped, then he was conceptualized in terms closer to that of an Ezekielian *אֲדָוָה* or an archon subject to a friendly (and divinely guided) Persian hegemony than an independent, strong monarch. I expressed my position on these matters elsewhere, see "A Gateway to the Chronicler's Teaching: The Account of the Reign of Ahaz in 2 Chr 28,1-27," *SJOT* 7 (1993) 216-49, esp. 247-48. Needless to state, this approach stands in contrast with the "royalist" or "monarchist" approach to Chronicles. See, for instance, D. N. Freedman, "The Chronicler's Purpose," *CBQ* 23 (1961), pp. 436-4 and W. M. Schniedewind, "The Chronicler as an Interpreter of Scripture," esp. pp. 158-59. But one has to keep in mind that the work of the Chronicler about which Freedman and other "royalists" comment is substantially different from the book of Chronicles, as we know it. The latter is the text being studied in this paper.

⁵⁷ And, of course, on how people are supposed to behave in accordance to the divine instruction in general.

Temple? The answer to the first question is that the choice of Temple and Jerusalem is thus set in a world (hi)story that narrows quickly to Israel, and to the main human character involved in the choice, just as the Exodus and Sinai events are set in the Pentateuch within a cosmic history, which narrows quickly to Israel, to divine choice and to Moses. The answer to the second question is that the book is about proper Davidic temple building, which from the perspective of a second temple community is about proper temple rebuilding. The difference in the endings of the borrowed text (Kings in this case) and Chronicles could not be large and directly relates to this point. As mentioned above, the main (hi)story of Chronicles moves from David's Temple to a Davidic Temple was to be rebuilt, according to the word of YHWH through Jeremiah and by a divine intervention mediated by Cyrus (2 Chron. 36.21-23). Such a (hi)story demands an account of the temple being destroyed too, which in turn serves to socialize the community of readers through their rereading of the text in the ways that they should follow to avoid such a disaster happening again, while at the same time providing hope that even if they fail, and the temple is destroyed, after a time, YHWH will return it again.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ There are numerous other observations that follow under the rubric of "reshaping the memory of the intended readership," and even more about that of "reshaping an accepted (hi)story." For the present purposes it would suffice to point briefly to two examples I have discussed at length elsewhere. An emphasis on "memory" and on "paradigms" explains, for instance, a description of the House of Omri in Chronicles in which Omri is mentioned neither as king nor as founder of the dynasty, but which creates a story of a paradigmatic "House of Ahab" that served as a quasi mythical symbol of the potentially fatal lure evildoers may hold for the readers of the book, even if they are the pious, and of the potential dangers of associating with them (see E. Ben Zvi, "The House of Omri/Ahab in Chronicles," paper distributed at the 2001 meeting of the European Seminar on Methodology in Israel's History). Re-writing (hi)story to be read, and reread again and again raises the issue of the degree of malleability in the readership's discourse/s, and serves to identify sets of core facts about the past that were agreed upon by the community of literati and were beyond any malleability. These facts, include a number of different issues, from Adam as the first human, to Moses' role, to Solomon building the temple, to the lists of kings of Judah, to the length of the reign of each of these kings, to the existence of the northern and basic overview of the (hi)story of the northern kingdom (see my "Shifting the Gaze"). As such, these sets of agreed upon facts provide an excellent resource for understanding the world of knowledge of the communities of literati among whom and for whom the book of Chronicles was written. All these issues require a separate discussion, to which I have contributed in other contexts. See previous notes.

5. A Few Observations on the Social Aspects of Construction of the Past of the Readers.

I would like to conclude my invitation to take a new, and more balanced look at this book with a brief consideration of some features of the particular constructions of the past in Chronicles that have not always received the attention they deserve.

The readers of Chronicles are informed and asked to take into account in their construction of their own (hi)story that the ancestry of Judah, with whom most Yehudites probably identified, included people of explicitly foreign ethnic backgrounds. As Gary Knoppers has demonstrated, cases of intermarriage involve a Canaanite, Ishmaelite, Aramean, Egyptian (twice), and a Moabite. Further, the text includes among the Judahites "a number of individual and clans . . . who appear non-Israelite or only loosely related to the Israelites in other biblical sources."⁵⁹ I would like to stress that the readers of Chronicles are informed that a Judahite father married his daughter to a man who was both an Egyptian and a slave, and the result was generations of Judahites (1 Chron. 2.34-35). They are informed of other instances in which the mother's lineage, rather than the father's, defined the identity of the child, even if the father was not a slave (1 Chron. 1.50; 2.16-17). These genealogies also told the readers of a few but important men identified as sons of their mother, rather than of their father (1 Chron 2.16-17; the name of Zeruah's husband is not mentioned at all). They are told also of a woman who built three cities (1 Chron. 7.24), the only case in the HB, even if she had a brother, who incidentally does nothing.⁶⁰

To be sure these issues deserve a full and separate study,⁶¹ but for the purpose of this paper, it suffices to state the unavoidable conclusion that the reading and rereading of these genealogies reminded these literati, again and again, that common social (including gender and ethnic) boundaries have, at times, been transgressed in the past, and that the results of those transgressions might have been quite positive.

⁵⁹ See G. N. Knoppers, "Intermarriage, Social Complexity and Ethnic Diversity in the Genealogy of Judah," *JBL* 120 (2001), pp. 15-30.

⁶⁰ In addition, in reference to women, one may notice the relatively frequent reference to them as sisters, and not only as mothers and wives.

⁶¹ Dr. Antje Labahan and myself plan to address the characterization of women in the genealogies of Chronicles in a separate article.

Minutes of the 2002 CSBS Annual General Meeting

University of Toronto
Toronto, ON
May 27, 16h00-17h00

Present: Dietmar Neufeld, Michel Desjardins, Fred Wisse, Glen Taylor, David Jobling, David Hawkin, Wayne McCready, Steve Wilson, Peter Richardson, Dan Fraikin, Terry Donaldson, Mesfin Atlaye, Alex Damm, Sylvia Keesmaat, J. Richard Middleton, Tylor Williams, Gary Knoppers, Philip Harland, Alicia Batten, Colleen Shantz, Murray Watson, Robert Derrenbacker, John Kloppenborg, Zeba Crook, Rene Baergen, Susan Harrison, Ritva Williams, Tony Chartrand-Burke, Bradley McLean, Ingrid M. Haase, Isabel Massey, Priscilla Turner, Erin Runions, Fiona Black, Tony Aranji, Mary Ann Beavis, Adele Reinhartz, Mary R. D'Angelo, Steven Muir, Erich Engler, Mona LaFosse, David Miller, V. Philips Long, Iain Provan, Ken Penner, John Van Seters, Robert C. Culley, John Horman, Edith M. Humphrey, Tony Cummins, Arthur Walker Jones, Richard Ascough, John L. McLaughlin, Susan Haber, Eileen Schuller, Stephen Westerholm, Ian Scott, William K. Gilders, Robert Hiebert, Bill Morrow, Elizabeth Danna, John Bertone, Sven Soderlund, Matthew Mitchell, Harold Remus, Lincoln Blumell, Rebecca Idestrom, Lissa Wray Beal, Joyce Rilett Wood, Bill Richards, Kathleen Robbins, Sarah Dille, Ehud Ben Zvi

1. Approval of the Agenda

The agenda was approved as circulated.

2. Approval of the Minutes

The minutes of the last Annual General Meeting (May 25, 2001) were approved as circulated (Donaldson/Shantz).

3. President's Report

Ehud Ben Zvi began with a minute of silence honouring the life of David Tushingam. He then thanked those present for having come, and went on to note that the society remains in good health.

Pierre-François Le Fol, SSHRCC Standard Research Grants Program Officer, addressed the group. He made three points. (1) He and his office are working

hard to get more research money from the federal government for scholars in the Humanities and Social Sciences. (2) Last year there was a 37.4% acceptance rate in our area (new scholars success rate = 19.5%), but the money available for all the projects (2.8 million) was not enough to fund all the projects that were accepted (46 projects funded, 53 recommended but not funded). (3) What we can do is lobby the government for more money, and consider mentoring junior scholars (e.g., circulate to junior scholars SSHRCC files of CSBS members who were successful in the competition).

4. Executive Secretary's Report

Michel Desjardins announced the dates of the CSBS meeting at next year's Congress, set to take place at Dalhousie University and the University of King's College in Halifax: Thursday, May 29 through Saturday, May 31 (2003 Congress dates are May 28 to June 5). Future congresses, *insha'lla*, are planned for the University of Manitoba (2004), the University of Western Ontario (2005), York University (2006) and the University of Saskatchewan (2007).

Other points:

- (a) The 70th anniversary of the first meeting was commemorated this year by a reception hosted by Paul Gooch, President of Victoria University in the University of Toronto, complemented by a visit (directed by Sol Nigosian) to the Senior Common Room of Victoria's Burwash Hall, the site of the first CSBS meeting on May 2 and 3, 1933. The society offers special thanks to Paul and Victoria University for this generosity. The 75th anniversary of the first meeting is scheduled for the meeting in 2007; the Executive encourages members to suggest to them ways to celebrate this upcoming event.
- (b) Congratulations go to Ken Penner, from McMaster University, and Matthew Mitchell, from Temple University, for having captured this year's student essay prizes. Long may they write and continue to be honoured!
- (c) The innovative "Feminisms, Culture and the Bible" seminar will metamorphose next year into an ongoing "Reading Bible, Gender and Theory" seminar, still chaired by Fiona Black (fblack@mta.ca) and Erin Runions (er529@columbia.edu). Suggestions for panels and topics are encouraged and should be sent to them.
- (d) Bill Morrow announced the creation of a new three-year, multi-society seminar to begin in 2003, on the study of religion and violence. The

goal is to encourage discussion, research and publication on violence and religion by Canadian scholars. (Bill has, um, spearheaded this project and will be the CSBS representative on the steering committee.) The CSSR and the CTS will name their representatives, and CSBS members will be kept informed. Bill welcomes all inquiries, as well as paper and panel proposals for the 2003 meeting (morroww@post.queensu.ca).

- (e) Richard Ascough (rsa@post.queensu.ca) reminded members of the grant and professional development opportunities offered by the Wabash Center for Teaching and Learning in Theology and Religion (<http://www.wabashcenter.wabash.edu/index.html>).
- (f) Our special guest this year is Dr. Johannes Vorster, who comes to us from UNISA (South Africa). He will participate in a joint session on Women, War and the Interpretation of Scripture (organized by Fiona Black and Erin Runions), and give a plenary address.
- (g) The CSBS's links with the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion continue to be strong and fruitful. Key members of the CCSR continue to be CSBS members, including: Willi Braun, who served as the Managing Editor of *Studies in Religion* for six years (1995-2001 volumes) and steps down at this meeting; Bill Arnal, recently appointed as the new English-language editor of *SR*; Margaret MacDonald, the CCSR president; Theo de Bruyn, the CCSR's Book Publications Officer; and Nicola Denzey, the CCSR's webmaster.

Peter Richardson noted recent publications in the CCSR-sponsored book publications series, *Études/Studies in Judaism and Christianity*: John Marshall's *Parables of War: Reading John's Jewish Apocalypse* (ESCJ 10), Jack Lightstone's *Mishnah and the Social Formation of the Early Rabbinic Guild* (ESCJ 11), and (forthcoming) Harry Maier's *The Social Setting of the Ministry as Reflected in the Writings of Hermas, Clement and Ignatius* (ESCJ 12; reprint from the now-defunct WLUP series "Dissertations SR," 1991). Peter added that we can expect several more volumes over the next two years.

Some key CCSR-related points:

- *Studies in Religion* continues to encourage high-quality article submissions from CSBS members; before submitting, do revise your papers with a view to engaging a wider

academic audience (please contact *SR*'s new English-language editor, Bill Arnal; warnal@hotmail.com).

■ Note the appearance of a new category in *SR*, "Oeuvre en vue," which allows for book discussions and multiple reviews of a single book. The new English-language Book Review Editor is Herb Berg (bergh@uncwil.edu).

■ Recent issues of *SR* (vols. 28-30, 1-2) are now fully digitalized, searchable, and available on-line for a trial period. You will find a link on the CCSR website (www.ccsr.ca). WLUP and the CCSR expect that the journal will soon be available to subscribers in both electronic and paper forms.

■ Peter Richardson encourages you to consult with him about publishing your manuscript in the series ESCJ (prchrdsn@chass.utoronto.ca).

■ Nicola Denzey encourages CSBS members to consult and contribute to the CCSR website (www.ccsr.ca). Please note in particular the "job openings" page (send your contributions for posting), and do not hesitate to send her departmental news and other short pieces that are likely to be of interest to your colleagues (ndenzey@bowdoin.edu).

- (h) The CSBS's links with the Humanities and Social Sciences Federation of Canada also continue to be strong. The Federation represents more than 24,000 researchers in 68 learned societies (including ours) and 69 universities and colleges across Canada (<http://www.hssfc.ca/>). What we see ("get") most visibly for our participation in this group is the opportunity to meet with other societies at the HSSFC-sponsored Congress. What is not so evident is a range of other valuable elements. You will find a full range of information on their website (<http://www.hssfc.ca/>); these include: (a) the Aid to Scholarly Publications Program managed by HSSFC (and funded by SSHRCC), which is responsible for subsidizing about 140 books per year, including most in our ESCJ series; (b) the lobbying done by HSSFC on our behalf with the Federal politicians (e.g., Breakfasts on the Hill, ongoing support for learned journals), and with SSHRCC (for new money for research, and to keep Congress travel grants); and (c) funding for special speakers, such as Johannes Vorster this year, whom we were able to bring in from South Africa.

Of note: The HSSFC has undergone a name change. It will now be known as the CFHSS: Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences.

5. Student Member-at-Large's Report

Colleen Shantz touched on five points:

- (a) Her position on the Executive has undergone a name change, from "Student Member-at-Large" to "Student Liaison Officer." Her responsibilities remain the same, i.e., sensing and representing the pulse of the students in the society, and contributing actively to the ongoing work of the Executive.
- (b) She encourages student members to keep in touch, update their email addresses with her, and suggest how the society might be able to serve them even more effectively than it already does (milshntz@istar.ca).
- (c) The orientation (to the society) lunch held the previous day for students and new members was a success; she expects to repeat the process next year and welcomes suggestions.
- (d) She thanks those who contributed their time and energy to participating in this year's Special Session for Students, on Job Candidacy: Richard Ascough, Alicia Batten, Wayne McCready and Adele Reinhartz.
- (e) Student membership continues to be strong (76/281 members).

6. Vice-President's Report and Nominations

On behalf of the rest of the Executive, Fred Wisse submitted the following slate for Executive positions: Gary Knoppers (Penn State University) as Vice-President (2002-2003), John McLaughlin (continuing) as Communications Officer (2002-2005), and Colleen Shantz (continuing) as (the renamed) Student Liaison Officer (2002-2003). With no other nominations coming from the floor, and following a motion that nominations close (Van Seters/Horman), the three were elected by acclamation, then thanked for their willingness to serve + continue to serve the society.

7. Programme Coordinator's Report

Glen Taylor offered several *remerciements*:

- (a) To those who contributed the number and quality of the paper proposals this year (do keep them coming next year!);

- (b) To Paul Gooch and Victoria University for hosting the special 70th anniversary reception;
- (c) To Principal George Sumner and the staff of Wycliffe College for their help;
- (d) To Richard Ascough, Fiona Black and Erin Runions for their expert handling of the on-going seminars;
- (e) To Lucian Turcescu for putting together this year's Combined Congress Program and sending it to CSBS members.

Ehud thanked Glen for his hard work in successfully putting together his first program.

8. Communications Officer's Report

John McLaughlin reported on the following issues:

- (a) He encouraged members to consult the society and Corporation websites (www.ccsr.ca/csbs; www.ccsr.ca), noting that he welcomed feedback on the society website that he manages. Thanks to the translation efforts of **Paul Dion** the CSBS website is now fully bilingual.
- (b) He currently has the email addresses of about 92% of the current CSBS membership and encourages members to keep him updated on address changes.
- (c) He also urged members to continue to send him news to distribute to others via the society email list, and to ensure that he receive changes in people's email addresses.
- (d) He noted the publication and distribution of this year's CSBS *Bulletin*, welcoming, as always, suggestions for changes in next year's edition.
- (e) He encouraged members to recommend outstanding books in Christian origins for consideration for the upcoming Beare Award, and outstanding books in Hebrew Bible/Old Testament and Ancient Near East, with formal notification of the awards to go out in the Fall in the First Mailing. Self-nominations are accepted, as are ongoing financial donations earmarked for these prizes.

9. Treasurer and Membership Secretary's Report

Dietmar Neufeld, acting as Membership Secretary and as Treasurer, touched on the following nine points:

- (a) The membership base has remained stable over the last four years, rising slightly from 277 (1999) to 281 (2002)—during a time when most other societies have experienced mild to severe declines in membership. CSBS is now by far the largest Canadian academic society for the study of religion.
- (b) Renewal rates are up from last year. Please continue to renew promptly when the reminder comes in the Fall.
- (c) Student essay prizes have risen this year from \$150 to \$250, marking the significance the society places on student participation and the society's financial health.
- (d) It was a banner year for new members, 33 in all. Diet read the names, asking those present to stand, then welcoming the group to the society: Stanley Porter, James Rives, Matthew Mitchell, Karee Kamis, Barry Levy, David Miller, Dennis Stoutenburg, Lily Vuong, Stephen Andrews, William Gilders, Sherry Pember, John Kessler, Mary Elizabeth Sutherland, Anthony Ricciuti, Elizabeth Danna, Marc Debanne, Gerhard Visscher, Jean-Sébastien Viard, Lincoln Blumell, Erich Engler, Azayr Saloojee, V. Philips Long, Mesfin Atlaye, Jay Cowsill, Clinton Branscombe, Murray Watson, Sarah Dille, Chemaine Yin-Mei Chan, Tim Elston, Grace Ko, Cameron Boyd-Taylor, John Harvey and Susan Kennel Harrison.
- (e) The society remains thankful to SSHRCC for renewing the travel grant to help subsidize those who attend the Congress (\$4755 this year, some of which was banked to increase support for what is likely to be costlier travel next year to Halifax).
- (f) The society also thanks members who donated money to help support a variety of projects. Donations were up last year, from \$2329 in 2000-2001 to \$2738 in 2001-2002. A reminder: the CSBS is registered as a charitable organization, so donations can have tax benefits.
- (g) This year's auditor's report indicated that finances continue to be in good order. A copy is available from the Treasurer for those interested in exploring the details.

- (h) Projected Expenses for 2002-2003 are likely to balance with Projected Revenue. The second of two rate increases for full members (\$67 to \$72) comes into effect this coming year (student members have been exempted from these increases, with their rates remaining at \$35), and will help keep the books in order. Records now show an anticipated deficit of \$785 (out of total expenses of \$16,485) but this should be made up with the introduction of some cost-saving measures (e.g., sending the First Mailing electronically).
- (i) Wayne McCready, as usual, reviewed the history of the Endowment Committee's work (chaired by himself, and also including Peter Richardson, Harold Remus and William Klassen): investing \$56,425 with Merrill Lynch Canada in 1998, to ensure long-term financial health. The Society has a 30 year investment strategy that is reviewed annually by the Society's Executive on the recommendation of the Endowment Committee. Features of the investment plan include: (a) a commitment to long-term investment strategies for endowed funds; (b) a conservative approach to investment for an income and growth portfolio; (c) and a judicious use of interest from the investments. The portfolio market evaluation in May 2000 was \$65,601; this May it reached \$71,567, despite the rocky road of investments since September 11 and the number of scandals that have rocked the financial community. In addition to growth in the principal invested, these funds have provided the Society on average \$4,000 per annum in extra income. This year we transferred our investments from Merrill Lynch Canada to Jennings Capital Inc., to follow our able investment advisor, Frank Walker.

The Treasurer thanked the Endowment Committee for their work, then moved (Neufeld/Wisse) that his report be received and approved.

On behalf of Society members at large, Ehud Ben Zvi thanked the Treasurer for his ongoing work and diligence.

10. Other Business

Ehud Ben Zvi thanked everyone for their participation, the members of the Executive for their work, and the society at large for their support.

11. Adjournment

Peter Richardson moved (seconded by John Van Seters) that the meeting be adjourned.

[Minutes prepared by Michel Desjardins, July 14, 2002]

Financial Statements

Fiscal year 1 Sept. 2001—31 Aug. 2002

The following amounts have been audited. The full audited report is available to any member of the CSBS/SCÉB upon request to the treasurer.

General Fund

	2002	2001
Opening Balance:	357	3,831
Revenue:		
Membership Dues	13,811	10,877
SSHRC Travel Grant	4,755	4,755
CSBS Dinner	2,494	2,366
Subscriptions	40	71
TOTAL	21,100	18,069
Expenses:		
Accounting and Auditing	1,445	956
Bank Charges	161	159
Computer Software		308
CSBS Dinner	2,393	2,590
Dues and Memberships	2,162	2,730
Executive	2,424	5,044
HSSFC AGM	546	287
Member Travel	4,299	4,698
Office, Printing and Postage	1,919	2,110
Secretarial		50
Subscriptions (SR)	5,921	5,686
Teleconference	253	293
TOTAL	21,523	24,911
Revenue Over Expenses	(423)	(6,842)
Interfund Transfers	1,152	3,368
Closing Balance	1,086	357

Restricted Funds:

	Capital	Income on hand
General Endowment:		
Opening Balance 1 Sept. 2001	8,258	0
Donations	655	
Investment Income:		452
Expenditures		
Interfund Transfers		(452)
Closing Balance 31 Aug. 2002	8,913	0
Beare Award:		
Opening Balance 1 Sept. 2001	12,072	36
Donations		
Investment Income		635
Expenditures		(500)
Interfund transfers		(100)
Closing Balance 31 Aug. 2002	12,072	71
Craigie Fund:		
Opening Balance 1 Sept. 2001	15,047	0
Donations	700	
Investment Income		810
Expenditures		
Interfund transfers		(800)
Closing Balance 31 Aug. 2002	15,747	10
Founders Prize:		
Opening Balance 1 Sept. 2001	6,418	26
Donations	200	
Investment Income		343
Expenditures		(250)
Interfund transfers		(100)
Closing Balance 31 Aug. 2002	6,618	19
Jeremias Prize:		
Opening Balance 1 Sept. 2001	6,731	1
Donations	100	
Investment Income		357
Expenditures		(250)
Interfund transfers		(100)
Closing Balance 31 Aug. 2002	6,831	8

	Capital	Income on hand
Publication Fund:		
Opening Balance 1 Sept. 2001	556	35
Donations	200	
Investment Income		35
Expenditures		
Interfund transfers		
Closing Balance 31 Aug. 2002	756	70
Scott Award:		
Opening Balance 1 Sept. 2001	1,523	0
Donations	883	
Investment Income		103
Expenditures		(500)
Interfund transfers		400
Closing Balance 31 Aug. 2002	2,406	3
Student Research:		
Opening Balance 1 Sept. 2001	1,283	0
Donations	0	
Investment Income		68
Expenditures		
Interfund transfers		
Closing Balance 31 Aug. 2002	1,283	68
Wagner Award:		
Opening Balance 1 Sept. 2001	10,293	38
Donations	0	
Investment Income		542
Expenditures		(500)
Interfund transfers		
Closing Balance 31 Aug. 2002	10,293	80
TOTALS		
Opening Balances 1 Sept. 2001	62,181	136
Donations	2,738	
Investment Income		3,345
Expenditures		(2,000)
Interfund transfers		(1,152)
Closing Balances 31 Aug. 2002	64,919	329

Membership News

Recent Books:

- Cousland, Robert. *The Crowds in the Gospel of Matthew*. NTSup 102. Leiden/New York: E. J. Brill, 2002.
- Cummins, S. A. (Tony). *Paul and the Crucified Christ in Antioch: Maccabean Martyrdom and Galatians 1 and 2*. SNTSMS 114. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Di Tommaso, Lorenzo. *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research, 1850-1999*. JSPSup 39. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.
- Duhaime, Jean, with Anthony J. Blasi and Paul-André Turcotte, eds. *Handbook of Early Christianity: Social Science Approaches*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2002.
- Gilmour, Michael. *The Significance of Parallels Between 2 Peter and Other Early Christian Literature*. Academia Biblica 10. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature/Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002.
- Hiebert, Robert J. V., Claude E. Cox and Peter J. Gentry, eds. *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*. JSOTSup 332. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.
- Hobbs, T. Raymond. *L'arte della Guerra nella Bibbia*. Rome: Piemme, 1997 (Italian translation of *A Time for War: A Study of Warfare in the Old Testament* [OTS 3. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1989]).
- Humphrey, Edith M., with the Primate's Theological Commissioners, ACC. *Longing for God: Anglicans Talk about Revelation, Nature, Culture and Authority*. Toronto: ABC Publishing, 2001.
- _____, with the Primate's Theological Commissioners, ACC. *Turning to God: Anglicans Talk about Sin, Grace and the Christian Life*. Toronto: ABC Publishing, 2002.
- Kessler, John. *The Book of Haggai: Prophecy and Society in Early Persian Yehud*. VTSup 91. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002.
- LeMarquand, Grant, ed. *Anglican and Episcopal History* 71/2 (2002): "Essays on the Anglican Church in the Sudan."
- Levy, Barry. *Fixing God's Torah: The Accuracy of the Bible Text in Rabbinic Law*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Long, V. P., G. J. Wenham and D. W. Baker, eds., *Windows into Old Testament History: Evidence, Argument and the Crisis of "Biblical Israel"*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002.
- Maier, Harry O. *Apocalypse Recalled: The Book of Revelation after Christendom*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002.
- _____. *The Social Setting of the Ministry as Reflected in the Writings of Hermas, Clement and Ignatius*. Reprinted as ESCJ 12. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2002.
- Pummer, Reinhard. *Early Christian Authors on Samaritans and Samaritanism: Texts, Translations and Commentary*. Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 92. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002.
- Reimer, Andy M. *Miracle and Magic: A Study in the Acts of the Apostles and the Life of Apollonius of Tyana*. JSNTSup 235. London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002.
- Reinhartz, Adele, with Paula Fredriksen, eds. *Jesus, Judaism and Anti-Judaism: Reading the New Testament After the Holocaust*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002.
- Richards, William. *Difference and Distance in Post-Pauline Christianity: An Epistolary Analysis of the Pastorals*. Studies in Biblical Literature 44. New York/Bern/Berlin/Bruxelles/Frankfurt/Oxford/Wien: Peter Lang, 2002.
- Richardson, Peter. *City and Sanctuary: Religion and Architecture in the Roman Near East*. London: SCM, 2002.
- Rilett Wood, Joyce. *Amos in Song and Book Culture*. JSOTSup 337. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002.
- Runions, Erin. *Changing Subjects: Gender, Nation and Future in Micah*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002.
- Scobie, Charles H. H. *The Ways of Our God: An Approach to Biblical Theology*. Grand Rapids/Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003.
- Spilsbury, Paul. *The Throne, the Lamb and the Dragon. A Reader's Guide to the Book of Revelation*. Downer's Grove: Intervarsity Press, 2002.
- Van Seters, John. *A Law Book for the Diaspora: Revision in the Study of the Covenant Code*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Recent Articles, Chapters, Conference Proceedings:

- Ascough, Richard S. "Greco-Roman Philosophic, Religious and Voluntary Associations." In *Community Formation in the Early Church and the Church Today*. Ed. Richard N. Longenecker, 3-24. Peabody: Hendrickson, 2002.
- _____. "Chaos Theory and Paul's Organizational Leadership Style." *Journal of Religious Leadership* 1/2 (2002): 21-43.
- _____. "Designing for Online Distance Education: Putting Pedagogy Before Technology." *Teaching Theology and Religion* 5/1 (2002): 17-29.
- Beck, Roger. "History into Fiction: The Metamorphoses of the Mithras Myths." *Ancient Narrative* 1 (2001/2002): 283-300.
- Bertone, John A. "A. B. Simpson and the Experience of Glossolalia: 'To Seek or Not to Seek, To Forbid or Not to Forbid?'" <http://online.cbcccts.ca/>

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- _____. "Building a synodos . . . and a place of their own." In *Models of Ministry: Community Formation in the New Testament, the Antenicene Fathers and the Church Today*. Ed. Richard N. Longencker, 36-56. Peabody: Hendrickson, 2002.
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Appointments, Promotions, Awards, Honors:

- Ascough, Richard S. Tenure and promotion to Associate Professor, Queen's Theological College.
- _____. Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Standard Research Grant.
- _____. Queen's University Chancellor's Research Award.
- _____. Canadian Society of Biblical Studies Norman E. Wagner Award.
- _____. Queen's University Alumni Award for Excellence in Teaching.
- Braun, Willi. Appointed to the Aid to Scholarly Publications Committee of the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences.
- Chambers, Stephen. Assistant Professor of Exegetical Theology, Concordia Lutheran Seminary (August 15, 2002).
- Chartrand-Burke, Tony. 12-month contract position (terminating July 2003) in Mediterranean Religions, Wilfrid Laurier University.
- Cousland, Robert. Associate Professor, University of British Columbia (July 2002).
- Cummins, S. A. (Tony). Associate Professor of Religious Studies, Trinity Western University (July 2003).
- Ehrlich, Carl S. Coordinator of the Religious Studies Programme at York University (three-year term beginning in 2002).
- Fox, Kenneth A. Assistant Professor of New Testament, Alliance Biblical Seminary.
- Humphrey, Edith M. Associate Professor of New Testament Studies, Pittsburgh Theological Seminary (August 2002).
- Hurd, John C. D. D. degree from Trinity College (May 14, 2002).
- Idestrom, Rebecca G. S. Granted tenure and promoted to Associate Professor of Biblical Studies, Tyndale Seminary (July 1st, 2003).
- Kloppenborg, John S. Full Professor, Department/Centre for the Study of Religion, University of Toronto.
- Knoppers, Gerald Neil. Professor of Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies, Religious Studies and Jewish Studies, Penn State University.
- LeMarquand, Grant. Promoted to Associate Professor of Biblical Studies and Mission, Trinity Episcopal School for Ministry.
- MacDonald, Margaret Y. Member of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas (2002).
- Maier, Harry O. Father Eddo Gatto Chair in Christianity and Culture, St Francis Xavier University (Sept.-Dec. 2003).
- _____. Alexander von Humboldt Fellow, University of Heidelberg (January-July 2004).
- Mattila, Sharon Lea. The Lady Davis Doctoral Fellowship.
- _____. Visiting Research Fellow of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

- _____. Associate Research Fellow of the W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, Jerusalem.
- McLaughlin, John L. Old Testament Book Review Editor, *Toronto Journal of Theology*.
- _____. The Luce Consultation on Theological Scholarship.
- Middleton, J. Richard. Associate Professor of Biblical Studies, Roberts Welseyean College (January 2001).
- Mitchell, Christine. Professor of Hebrew Scriptures, St. Andrew's College.
- Muir, Steven. Assistant Professor of Religion, Concordia University College of Alberta.
- Racine, Jean-François. Assistant Professor of New Testament, Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley.
- Reinhartz, Adele. Dean, Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, Wilfrid Laurier University.
- _____. Professor (Tenured), Department of Religion and Culture, Wilfrid Laurier University.
- _____. Finalist, National Jewish Book Awards, for *Befriending the Beloved Disciple: A Jewish Reading of the Gospel of John*. New York: Continuum, 2001.
- Runions, Erin. Term Assistant Professor, Barnard College.
- Schuller, Eileen. Delivered the John Albert Hall Lectures, Centre for Studies in Religion and Society, University of Victoria, October 2002.
- Shantz, Colleen. Assistant Professor of New Testament, Faculty of Theology, University of St. Michael's College (August, 2003).
- Trites, Allison A. Retired as the Payzant Distinguished Professor of Biblical Studies after 37 years of teaching the New Testament at Acadia Divinity College and Acadia University (1965-2002).
- _____. Sessional Lecturer in New Testament, Atlantic School of Theology (Fall Term, 2002).
- _____. Board of Governors, Atlantic Baptist University (2002-2005).
- _____. Chair of the Grants Committee, Churches' Council on Theological Education: An Ecumenical Foundation, Toronto (1998-2002); appointed to the Executive, CCTE, November 2002.
- Van Seters, John. Foreign Research Fellow, National Research Foundation, South Africa, August-September, 2002.
- _____. Van Selms Memorial Lecture: "The Covenant Code and the Babylonian Legal Tradition: What's the Connection?" University of Stellenbosch (September, 2002).
- Wevers, John. Honouree at a reception of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Toronto (Nov. 25, 2002).

Dissertations Completed:

- Johnson, Lee A. "The Epistolary Apostle: Paul's Response to the Challenge of the Corinthian Community." Ph.D., University of St. Michael's College, 2002.
- LeMarquand, Grant. "An Issue of Relevance: A Comparative Study of the Story of the Bleeding Woman (Mk 5:25-34; Mt 9:20-22; Lk 8:43-48) in North Atlantic and African Contexts." Th.D., Wycliffe College / Toronto School of Theology / University of Toronto, 2002.

Research in Progress:

- Ascough, Richard S. Recruitment, Conversion and Adherence Among Voluntary Associations in Antiquity.
- Bertone, John A. Ph.D. Dissertation at the University of St. Michael's College: "The Law of the Spirit": Experience of the Spirit and Displacement of the Law in Romans 8:1-16.
- Calvert-Koyzis, Nancy. *Paul, Power and Monotheism*.
- _____. Abraham, Monotheism and Paul's Letter to the Romans.
- _____. Abraham in Early Jewish Tradition.
- _____. Textbook introducing a variety of types of early Jewish literature.
- Chartrand-Burke, Tony. Jesus and the Teacher: A Christian Response to the Formation of the Rabbinate?
- Culley, Robert C. Monograph: The complaint psalms as traditional language.
- Cummins, S. A. (Tony). Jesus in the NT Gospels and leading figures in OT Apocryphal narratives.
- _____. Theological hermeneutics.
- _____. Gospel of John.
- Damm, Alexander. Ancient Rhetoric and the Synoptic Problem.
- Duhaime, Jean. The War texts from Qumran.
- Hobbs, T. Raymond. Aspects of war and peace in the Ancient Near East.
- Humphrey, Edith M. Studies of revival, resurrection, assumption and ascension motifs in the NT.
- _____. A popular study of spirituality, provisionally entitled: Intimacy and Ecstasy.
- Idestrom, Rebecca G. S. Women as Biblical Interpreters.
- Jeal, Roy R. Socio-Rhetorical interpretation of lectionary texts.
- _____. Socio-Rhetorical interpretation of Colossians and Philemon.
- _____. Rhetoric and moral discourse in NT texts.
- Kloppenborg, John S. James.
- _____. Associations in Antiquity.

- _____. Viticulture and the Parable of the Tenants.
- LeMarquand, Grant. Article on "Refugee Exegesis: Reading the Bible in Sudan in a Time of War."
- _____. Editing the letters of Marc Nikkel, missionary in Sudan, 1980-2000.
- Maier, Harry O. "De/colonizing Jesus: New Testament Christologies Against the Backdrop of the Roman Empire."
- _____. Silence, Rhetoric and Episcopal Power in Ignatius of Antioch.
- Mattila, Sharon Lea. Dissertation: "The Socioeconomic Context of the Historical Jesus: An Interdisciplinary Analysis."
- McLaughlin, John L. *The Parables of Jesus* (under contract for Novalis Press).
- _____. Ancient Israelite Religion.
- Middleton, J. Richard. Commentary on 1 & 2 Samuel for the Abingdon Old Testament Commentary.
- Mitchell, Christine. A Bakhtinian understanding of biblical genres.
- Muir, Steven. Domestic religion and religious rivalries in the Greco-Roman world.
- Richardson, Peter. *Building Jewish* (collection of essays/publications).
- Sandys-Wunsch, John. History of Biblical Interpretation from 1500.
- Schuller, Eileen. Hymns, Prayers and Liturgies in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Vol. 4 in the Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls Series, Routledge Press.
- Trites, Allison A. Commentary on Luke's Gospel for the New Living Translation.
- _____. Study Notes on the Book of Acts for the New Living Translation.
- Van Seters, John. Monograph: *Editing the Bible*.

Life Members**Stanley B. Frost**

History of McGill Project
McGill University
3459 McTavish St.
Montréal QC
H3A 1Y1

(W) 514-398-7460
(H) 514-489-3763
(F) 514-398-7193

Norman Wagner

1320-720 13th Ave. SW
Calgary AB
T2R 1M5

(W) 403-543-1171
(H) 403-246-7336
(F) 403-543-1175
newall@aol.com

John W. Wevers

Near and Middle East Civilizations
University of Toronto
Toronto ON
M5S 1A1
(W) 416-946-3243
(H) 416-489-9130
(F) 416-978-8806

j.wevers@utoronto.ca

Members**A****William E. Alexander**

362 W. 16th Ave.
Vancouver BC
V5Y 1Y9
(H) 604-874-7407
wea@aya.yale.edu

William H. U. Anderson

4427 - 152 Avenue
Edmonton AB
T5Y 3C3
(H) 780-930-1797
andersJBBA@aol.com

Stephen Andrews

Thorneloe University
Ramsey Lake Rd.
Sudbury ON
P3E 2C6
(W) 705-673-1730
(H) 705-673-5885
(F) 705-673-4979
sandrews@nickel.laurentian.ca

William E. Arnal

Department of Religion
University of Regina
3737 Wascana Parkway
Regina SK
S4S 0A2
(W) 306-585-5680
(H) 306-790-9164
(F) 306-585-4815
warnal@hotmail.com

Richard S. Ascough

Queen's Theological College
Kingston ON
K7L 3N6
(W) 613-533-6000
(H) 613-384-4608
(F) 613-533-6879
rsa@post.queensu.ca

Mesfin Atlaye

Wycliffe College
1106-1A Richview Rd.
Etobicoke ON

M9A 4M5

(H) 416-614-1493
(F) 416-614-1493
mesfin@idirect.com

B**Jo-Ann Badley**

Newman Theological College
15611 St. Albert Trail
Edmonton AB
T6V 1H3
(W) 780-447-2993
(H) 780-444-2531
(F) 780-447-2685
jo-ann.badley@newman.edu

Murray Baker

82 Stevens Cres.
Georgetown ON
L7G 1B6
(H) 905-877-7942
murrayanddenise@compuserve.de

Alicia Batten

Department of Religion
Pacific Lutheran College
Tacoma WA 98447
(W) 253-535-7784
(H) 253-539-8715
(F) 253-535-8320
battena@plu.edu

Mary Ann Beavis

Religious Studies
St. Thomas More College
1437 College Drive
Saskatoon SK
S7N 0W6
(W) 306-966-8948
(H) 306-935-5931
(F) 306-966-8904
beavis@duke.usask.ca

Roger Beck

Erindale College
University of Toronto
3359 Mississauga Rd. N.
Mississauga ON
L5L 1C6
(W) 905-569-4686
(H) 905-876-0304
(F) 905-828-5202
rbeck@credit.erin.utoronto.ca

Elizabeth Behrens

Ferris Hodgett Library
Sir Wilfred Grenfell College
University Dr.
Corner Brook NFLD
A2H 6P9
(W) 709-637-6236
(H) 709-634-2227
(F) 709-637-6273
ebehrens@swgc.mun.ca

Ronald Bell

31 Peter Street
Barrie ON
L4N 5R2
(H) 705-720-6595
donna.bell@sympatico.ca

Ehud Ben Zvi

Dept. of Comparative Literature
Religion and Film/Media Studies
University of Alberta
347 Old Arts Bldg.
Edmonton AB
T6G 2E6
(W) 780-492-7183
(H) 780-437-1338
(F) 780-492-2715
ehud.ben.zvi@ualberta.ca

Amanda Benckhuysen

76 Chelmsford Ave.

Toronto ON
M2R 2W4
(H) 416-512-996
ajw.benckhuysen@utoronto.ca

David A. Bergen
7107 Huntercrest Rd. NW
Calgary AB
T2K 4J9
(H) 403-275-5369
burgndy@telus.net

John A. Bertone
5379 Valley Way
Niagara Falls ON
L2E 1X5
(H) 905-374-7886
jabertone@aol.com

Fiona C. Black
Dept. of Religious Studies
Mt. Allison University
63D York Street
Sackville NB
E4L 1G9
(W) 506-364-2555
(F) 506-364-2645
fblack@mta.ca

Lincoln Blumell
University of Calgary
#412 2512 1 Ave. N.W.
Calgary AB
T2N 0C2
(H) 403-210-3429
lhblumel@ucalgary.ca

Keith Bodner
Tyndale College
25 Ballyconner Court
Toronto ON
M2M 4B3
(W) 416-226-6620

kbodner@tyndale.ca

Cameron Boyd-Taylor
University of Toronto
4 Bancroft Ave, 2nd Floor
Toronto ON
M5S 1C1
(W) 416-978-3306
(H) 416-261-8001
cameron.boyd.taylor@utoronto.ca

Sandra Boyko
Queen's Theological College
710 River Rd.
Corbyville ON
K0K 1V0
(H) 613-968-7175
boyko@reach.net

Dean Brady
McGill University
4584 Kensington Ave.
Montreal PQ
H4B 2W5
(H) 514-487-8758
deanbrady@aol.com

John Braganca
2 Chaldean St.
Scarborough ON
M1M 2B7
(H) 416-332-1433
j.braganca@utoronto.ca

Clinton Branscombe
Bethany Bible College
26 Western St.
Sussex NB
(W) 506-432-4466
(H) 506-433-1273
(F) 506-432-4425
branscombec@bethany-ca.edu

Jo-Ann Brant
Dept. of Bible, Religion and Phil.
Goshen College
Goshen IN 46526
(W) 574-535-7458
(H) 574-534-5357
(F) 574-535-7293
joannab@goshen.edu

Willi Braun
Dept. of Comparative Literature
Religion and Film/Media Studies
University of Alberta
347 Old Arts Bldg.
Edmonton AB
T6G 2E6
(W) 780-492-2879
(H) 780-435-8665
(F) 780-482-2715
willi.braun@ualberta.ca

Schuyler Brown
Faculty of Theology
University of Michael's College
81 St. Mary St.
Toronto ON
M5S 1J4
(W) 416-766-1887
(H) 416-241-5002
(F) 416-926-7294
schuyler.brown@utoronto.ca

C
Nancy Calvert-Koyzis
Redeemer University College
c/o 499 Stone Church W.
Hamilton, ON
(W) 905-575-5745
(H) 905-575-5745
(F) 905-575-5745
ncalkoy@aol.com

Gerald Caron
Atlantic School of Theology
640 Francklyn St.
Halifax NS
B3H 3B5
(W) 902-425-5494
(H) 902-425-3798
(F) 902-492-4048
gcaron@astheology.ns.ca

Donald A. Carson
Trinity Evangelical Divinity School
2065 Half Day Rd.
Deerfield IL 60015
(W) 847-317-8081
(H) 847-549-7168
(F) 847-317-8141

Philippa A. Carter
3545 Eglinton Ave. W
Toronto ON
M6M 1V7
carterph@mcmaster.ca

Ellen Case
72 Babcombe Dr.
Thornhill ON
L3T 1N1
(H) 905-889-6674
ecase@chass.utoronto.ca

Stephen Chambers
Concordia Lutheran Seminary
4715-12 Ave. NW
Edmonton AB
T6L 5X4
(W) 780-474-1468
(H) 780-485-1711
studentlife@concordiasem.ab.ca

Chemaine Yin-Mei Chan
Wycliffe College
67 Avoca Dr.

Markham ON
L3R 8Y2
(H) 905-947-9356
(F) 905-479-3575
chemaine@rogers.com

Anthony Chartrand-Burke
Religion and Culture
Wilfrid Laurier University
(H) 519-576-6802
tchartrand@wlu.ca

Frank Clancy
23 Crestwood Dr.
Cambridge ON
N1S 3N8
(H) 519-621-4878
ardee45@hotmail.com

David Cloutier
Eberhard-Karls-Universität
Ludwig-Krapf-Str. 5/12
Tubingen Germany 72072
(H) 707-170-0521
david.cloutier@student.unituebingen.de

Alan Cooper
Jewish Theological Seminary
3080 Broadway
New York NY 10027-4649
(W) 212-678-8928
(H) 973-762-2612
(F) 212-678-8961
amcooper@optonline.net

Wendy J. Cotter
Dept. of Theology
Loyola University of Chicago
6525 North Sheridan Rd.
Chicago IL 60626
(W) 773-508-8456
(H) 773-262-6619
(F) 773-508-2292

wcotter@wpo.it.luc.edu

Robert Cousland
Dept. of Classical, Near Eastern and
Religious Studies
University of British Columbia
1866 Main Mall
Vancouver BC
V6T 1Z1
(W) 604-822-4062
(F) 604-822-9431
cousland@interchange.ubc.ca

Guy Couturier
Faculté de Théologie
Université de Montréal
CP 6128 Succ Centre-Ville
Montréal QC
H3C 3J7
(W) 514-343-7026
(H) 514-735-4812
(F) 514-343-5738

Jay Cowsill
University of Saskatchewan
701 6th Ave. North
Saskatoon SK
S7K 2S8
(W) 306-652-2407
jmc590@mail.usask.ca

Claude Cox
345 Grove St. East
Barrie ON
L4M 2R6
(W) 705-722-7155
(H) 705-737-2272
(F) 705-726-1076
c.cox@sympatico.ca

Barbara Craig
Trinity College
1523-30 Charles St. W.

Toronto ON
M4Y 1R5
(W) 416-978-2156
(H) 519-438-7705
craigunitb@hotmail.com

Zeba Crook
Suite 1111, 30 Charles St. W
Toronto ON
M4Y 1R5
(H) 416-964-8629
zeba.crook@utoronto.ca

Robert C. Culley
Faculty of Religious Studies
McGill University
3520 University St.
Montreal PQ
H3A 2A7
(W) 514-398-8338
(H) 514-695-9736
(F) 514-398-6665
robert.culley@mcgill.ca

Anthony Cummins
Trinity Western University
7600 Glover Road
V2Y 1Y1
(W) 306-545-1515
(H) 306-586-4215
(F) 306-545-1210
tcummins@cbccs.ca

Beverly White Cushman
College of Emmanuel and St. Chad
1337 College Drive
Saskatoon SK
S7N 0W6
(W) 306-975-1553
(H) 306-343-5754
(F) 306-934-2683
cushmanb@sask.usask.ca

D

Alexander Damm
Unit 234, 3349 Mississauga Road,
Mississauga ON
L5L 1J7
(H) 905-828-0040
adammm@chass.utoronto.ca

Mary R. D'Angelo
Dept. of Theology
University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame IN 46556
(W) 219-631-7040
(H) 219-237-9032
(F) 219-631-6842
dangelo.2@nd.edu

Elizabeth Danna
361 Valanna Crescent
Burlington ON
L7L 2K7
(H) 905-634-8467
ejdanna@arvotek.net

Elizabeth M. Davis, RSM
St. Clare's Mercy Convent
180 LeMarchant Rd
St. John's, NFLD
A1C 5B8
(H) 709-777-5626
edavis16@hotmail.com

Phillip G. Davis
Religious Studies
University of Prince Edward Island
Charlottetown PEI
C1A 4P3
(W) 902-566-0506
(H) 902-894-9243
(F) 902-566-0359
davis@upeu.ca

Theodore de Bruyn
167 Belmont Ave.
Ottawa ON
K1S 0V6
(W) 613-730-7841
(F) 613-730-0782
tdebruyn@cyberus.ca

Christiana de Groot
Dept. of Religion and Theology
Calvin College
3201 Burton SE
Grand Rapids MI 49546
(W) 616-957-7042
(H) 616-248-2981
cdegroot@calvin.edu

Walter W. G. Deller
College of Emmanuel and St. Chad
1337 College Drive
Saskatoon SK
S7N 0W6
(W) 306-975-3753
(F) 306-934-2683
walter.deller@usask.ca

Nicola Denzey
Department of Religion
Bowdoin College
7300 College Station
Brunswick ME 04011
(W) 207-725-3465
(H) 508-755-9954
ndenzey@bowdoin.edu

Robert A. Derrenbacker, Jr.
Tyndale Seminary
25 Ballyconner Ct.
Toronto ON
M2M 4B3
(W) 416-226-6620
(H) 416-482-1228
(F) 416-226-3922

rderrenbacker@tyndale.ca

Michel Desjardins
Dept. of Religion and Culture
Wilfrid Laurier University
Waterloo ON
N2L 3C5
(W) 519-884-0710
(H) 519-886-0386
(F) 519-884-9387
mdesjard@wlu.ca

Lorenzo Di Tommaso
Religious Studies Dept.
McMaster University
1280 Main St. W.
Hamilton ON
L8S 4K1
(W) 905-627-5784
ditomml@mcmaster.ca

Sarah Dille
Waterloo Luthern Seminary
75 University Ave. W.
Waterloo ON
N2M 3B7
(W) 519-884-1970, x3908
(H) 519-579-9591
(F) 519-725-2434
sdille@wlu.ca

Marie-France Dion
Faculté de Théologie
Université de Montréal
2500 Cavendish
Montréal PQ
H4B 2Z6
(H) 514-484-8900
marie-france.dion@sympatico.ca

Paul E. Dion
312 Old Post Rd.
Waterloo ON

N2L 5C2
(H) 519-725-3581
pauldion@golden.net

Terrence L. Donaldson
Wycliffe College
5 Hoskin Ave
Toronto ON
M5S 1H7
(W) 416-946-3537
(H) 416-691-5786
(F) 416-946-3545
terry.donaldson@utoronto.ca

Michael W. Duggan
Religious Studies
St. Mary's College
14500 Bannister Rd. SE
Calgary AB
T2X 1Z4
(W) 403-254-3720
(F) 403-531-9136
michael.duggan@stm.ca

Jean Duhaime
Faculté de Théologie
Université de Montréal
CP 6128 Succ Centre-Ville
Montréal PQ
H3C 3J7
(W) 514-343-7261
(H) 514-747-1375
(F) 514-343-5738
jean.duhaime@umontreal.ca

Nelsona C. Dundas
Beachville Pastoral Charge
PO Box 228
Beachville ON
N0J 1A0
(W) 519-423-6684
(H) 519-423-6684
nelsona.dundas@sympatico.ca

Matthew W. Dunn
Box 27, 59 St. George St.
Toronto ON
M5S 2E6
(W) 416-598-1097
(H) 973-729-7690
matthew.dunn@utoronto.ca

Patricia Dutcher-Walls
Knox College
59 St. George St.
Toronto ON
M5S 2E6
(W) 416-978-2789
(H) 416-978-2789
(F) 416-971-2133
p.dutcher.walls@utoronto.ca

E
Brad Eastman
7887 Cartier St.
Vancouver BC
V6P 4T3
(W) 780-431-5211
bje@telus.net

Lowell E. Eckert
12741-231 Street
Edmonton AB
T5S 2C2
(W) 780-479-9344
(H) 780-451-9262
(F) 780-474-1933
leckert@concordia.ab.ca

Carl S. Ehrlich
Division of Humanities
York University
Toronto ON
M3J 1P3
(W) 416-736-2100
(H) 416-661-9287

(F) 416-736-5460
ehrllich@yorku.ca

Tim Elston
Wycliffe College
5 Hoskin Ave.
Toronto ON
M5S 1H7
(H) 416-591-7521
timelston@netzero.net

Erich Engler
McMaster University
303-405 Holiday Inn Dr.
Cambridge ON
N3L 3M1
(H) 519-220-1205
engler@sentex.net

Daniel Epp-Tiessen
Canadian Mennonite University
500 Shaftesbury Blvd.
Winnipeg MB
R3P 2N2
(W) 204-487-3300
(H) 204-779-2353
(F) 204-831-5675
depptiessen@cmu.ca

Lyle M. Eslinger
Dept. of Religious Studies
University of Calgary
Calgary AB
T2N 1N4
(W) 403-220-3281
(H) 403-932-3025
(F) 403-284-0848
eslinger@ucalgary.ca

F

Stephen Fai
School of Architecture

Carleton University
1125 Colonel By Dr.
Ottawa ON
K1S 5B6
(W) 613-520-2600
(H) 613-747-4481
(F) 613-520-2849
sfai@ccs.carleton.ca

Daniel Falk
Dept. of Religious Studies
College of Arts and Sciences
1294 University of Oregon
Eugene OR 97403-1294
(W) 541-346-4980
(H) 541-344-1797
(F) 541-346-4118
dfalk@oregon.uoregon.edu

Gordon D. Fee
Regent College
5800 University Blvd.
Vancouver BC
V6T 2E4
(W) 604-221-3333
(H) 604-732-9047
(F) 604-224-3097
gfee@primus.ca

Jean-Philippe Fontanille
764 Davaar Ave.
Outremont PQ
H2V 2B2
(W) 514-273-7804
jp.fontanille@sympatico.ca

Robert Forrest
Academic and Research
Nipissing University
100 College Dr., Box 5002
North Bay ON
P1B 8L7
(W) 705-474-3461

(F) 705-495-3677
robertf@nipissingu.ca

Marianne Fournier
323 Ave. Danis
Cornwall ON
K6H 5E8
(H) 613-937-0846
andrel@cnwl.igs.net

Douglas J. Fox
308 McGregor Ave
Sault Ste. Marie ON
P6A 3X2
(H) 705-941-9261

Kenneth Fox
Canadian Theological Seminary
630, 833 - 4th Avenue S.W.
Calgary, AB
T2P 3T5
(W) 403-410-2000
ken.fox@utoronto.ca

Daniel Fraikin
284 Frontenac St.
Kingston ON
K7L 3S8
(H) 613-544-942
fraikind@post.queensu.ca

Nancy Frankel
University of Toronto
48 Wentworth Ave.
Toronto ON
(H) 416-250-5170
nancyfrankel@rogers.com

David Friesen-Waldner
401-1566 Trossacks Ave.
London ON
N5X 2P5
(W) 519-232-4425

(H) 519-645-8107
(F) 519-293-3941
dcfwaldner@hotmail.com

Stanley B. Frost
History of McGill Project
McGill University
3459 McTavish St.
Montréal QC
H3A 1Y1
(W) 514-398-7460
(H) 514-489-3763
(F) 514-398-7193

G

Lloyd Gaston
Vancouver School of Theology
6000 Iona Dr.
Vancouver BC
V6T 1L4
(W) 604-228-9031
(H) 604-925-3366
(F) 604-228-0189
lgaston@interchange.ubc.ca

Adrienne Gibb
McGill University
661 Gilmour St.
Ottawa ON
(H) 613-565-1247

Alain Gignac
Faculté de Théologie
Université de Montréal
CP 6128 Succ. Centre-Ville
Montréal PQ
H3C 3J7
(W) 514-343-7426
(H) 514-272-4209
(F) 514-343-5738
alain.gignac@umontreal.ca

William K. Gilders
 Department of Religion
 Emory University
 Callaway S214
 Atlanta GA 30322
 (W) 404-727-1826
 (H) 404-633-4963
 (F) 404-727-7597
 wgilder@emory.edu

Michael Gilmour
 Providence College
 Otterburne MB
 R0A 1G0
 (W) 204-433-7488
 (H) 204-269-0366
 (F) 204-433-7158
 michael.gilmour@prov.ca

Paul W. Gooch
 President, Victoria University
 University of Toronto
 73 Queen's Park Cres.
 Toronto ON
 M5S 1K7
 (W) 416-585-4511
 (H) 416-964-0177
 (F) 416-813-4072
 paul.gooch@utoronto.ca

Daniel F. Graves
 McMaster University
 82 Centre St. East
 Richmond Hill ON
 L4C 1A4
 (W) 416-924-9199
 (H) 905-770-7258
 (F) 416-924-2760
 dgraves@national.anglican.ca

F. Volker Greifenhagen
 Luther College
 University of Regina

Regina SK
 S4S 0A2
 (W) 306-585-4859
 (H) 306-586-7509
 (F) 306-585-5297
 franzvolker.greifenhagen@uregina.ca

Peter Lowden Griffiths
 67 Gloucester Pl.
 London UK
 W1U 8JL
 (W) 207-224-1549
 griff_11@hotmail.com

Elaine Guillemin
 Philosophy
 Ryerson Polytechnical Institute
 19 Wineva Ave.
 Toronto ON
 M4E 2T1
 (H) 416-698-6122
 elaine.guillemin@utoronto.ca

H
Ingrid M. Haase
 Library Network Morisset Library
 University of Ottawa
 PO Box 450, Stn. A
 Ottawa ON
 K1N 6N5
 (W) 613-562-5800
 (H) 613-731-0267
 (F) 613-562-5133
 imhaase@uottawa.ca

Susan Haber
 Religious Studies
 McMaster University
 91 Esther Cres.
 Thornhill ON
 L4J 3J8
 (H) 905-764-5419

(F) 905-764-8892
 susan-haber@rogers.com

Etienne Haché
 16, rue Rochepinard 37550
 Saint Avertin, France
 (H) 0.11.33.2.47.28.88.04
 hache_etienne@hotmail.com

Baruch Halpern
 Penn State University
 103 Weaver Bldg.
 University Park PA 16802
 (W) 814-863-0175
 bxh13@psu.edu

Gordon Hamilton
 Faculty of Theology
 Huron College
 London ON
 N6G 1H3
 (W) 519-438-7224
 (H) 519-438-2307
 gjhamilton01@hotmail.com

Karen A. Hamilton
 St. James - Bond United Church
 1066 Avenue Rd.
 Toronto ON
 M5N 2C6
 (W) 416-485-0723
 (H) 416-481-2128
 (F) 416-485-0724
 2kings22@pathcom.com

Keir E. Hammer
 40 Pinecrest Dr.
 Kitchener ON
 N2A 2G6
 (H) 519-748-2769
 (F) 519-748-2769
 khammer@chass.utoronto.ca

Phillip Harland
 Department of Religion
 Concordia University
 1455 de Maisonneuve Blvd West
 Montreal PQ
 H3G 1M8
 (W) 514-848-2065
 (H) 519-571-0738
 pharland@alcor.concordia.ca

Susan Kennel Harrison
 Emmanuel College
 41 Galley Ave.
 Toronto ON
 M6R 1G9
 (H) 416-531-7768
 susan.harrison@utoronto.ca

John Harvey
 7905 85th St.
 Edmonton AB
 T6C 3B5
 (H) 780-434-7274

David J. Hawkin
 Dept. of Religious Studies
 Memorial University
 St. John's NFLD
 A1C 5S7
 (W) 709-737-8166
 (H) 709-753-2648
 (F) 709-737-8059
 dhawkin@mun.ca

Tim Hegedus
 Waterloo Seminary
 Wilfrid Laurier University
 Waterloo ON
 N2L 3C5
 (W) 519-884-0710
 (H) 519-746-4070
 thegedus@wlu.ca

Ian H. Henderson
Faculty of Religious Studies
McGill University
Montreal PQ
H3A 2A7
(W) 514-398-1316
(H) 514-487-5696
(F) 514-398-6665
ian.henderson@staff.mcgill.ca

John B. Hibbitts
1625 Preston St.
Halifax NS
B3H 3V2
(W) 902-422-1272
(H) 902-423-1434

Robert Hiebert
Trinity Western Seminary
7600 Glover Road
Langley BC
V2Y 1Y1
(W) 604-888-7511
(H) 604-852-9535
(F) 604-513-2045
robh@twu.ca

T. Raymond Hobbs
35 Dromore Cres.
Hamilton ON
L8S 4A8
(W) 905-572-1104
(H) 905-528-7874
ray.hobbs@sympatico.ca

John F. Horman
132 Erb St. W
Waterloo ON
N2L 1T8
(W) 519-570-8200
(H) 519-886-4833
jfhorman@sentex.net

Malcolm Horsnell
McMaster Divinity College
McMaster University
1280 Main St. West
Hamilton ON
L8S 4K1
(W) 905-525-9140
(H) 905-526-9101
(F) 905-577-4782
horsnell@mcmail.cis.mcmaster.ca

Edith Humphrey
Pittsburgh Theological Seminary
616 North Highland Ave.
Pittsburgh PA 15201
humphrey@pts.edu

John C. Hurd
705-18 Wanless Ave.
Toronto ON
M4N 3R9
(H) 416-487-2424
(F) 416-487-3739
john.hurd@squam.org

I
Rebecca G. S. Idestrom
Tyndale Seminary
25 Ballyconnor Ct.
Toronto ON
M2M 4B3
(W) 416-226-6620
(H) 416-335-9268
(F) 416-226-9464
ridestrom@tyndale.ca

Brian P. Irwin
Alliance Theological Seminary-NYC
93 Worth St. 10th Floor
New York NY 10013-3904
(W) 212-625-0500
(H) 908-522-9577

(F) 908-522-4507
irwinb@ncmc.nyack.edu

J
Edward J. R. Jackman
P.O. Box 398
Kleinburg ON
L0J 1C0
(H) 905-859-0836

Roy R. Jeal
William & Catherine Booth College
447 Webb Place
Winnipeg MB
R3B 2P2
(W) 204-924-4874
(H) 204-231-0153
(F) 204-942-3856
Roy_Jeal@can.salvationarmy.org

L. Ann Jervis
Wycliffe College
5 Hoskin Ave.
Toronto ON
M5S 1H7
(W) 416-946-3539
a.jervis@utoronto.ca

David Jobling
St. Andrews College
1121 College Dr.
Saskatoon SK
S7N 0W3
(W) 306-966-8978
(H) 306-242-7233
(F) 306-966-8981
jobling@sask.usask.ca

Lee Johnson
Methodist Theological School
3081 Columbus Pike
Delaware OH 43015

(W) 740-362-3342
(H) 740-362-7212
ljohnson@mtso.edu

K
Karee Kamis
University of Calgary
87 Malibu Rd., S.W.
Calgary AB
T2V 1X4
karee@ab.imag.net

Sylvia C. Keesmaat
Institute for Christian Studies
229 College St.
Toronto ON
M5T 1R4
(W) 416-979-2331
(H) 416-652-8166
(F) 416-979-2332
skeesmaat@icscanada.edu

John Kessler
Tyndale Seminary
25 Ballyconnor Ct.
Toronto ON
M2M 4B3
(W) 416-226-6620
(H) 905-844-0442
(F) 416-226-9464
jkessler@tyndale.ca

William Kinsley
Études anglaises
Université de Montréal
C.P. 6128 Succ. Centre-Ville
Montréal PQ
H3C 3J7
(W) 514-343-5615
(H) 514-738-7117
(F) 514-343-6443

Alan Kirk
Dept. of Philosophy and Religion
James Madison University
MSC 7504
Harrisonburg VA 22807
(W) 540-568-3364
kirkak@jmu.edu

Patricia Kirkpatrick
Faculty of Religious Studies
McGill University
Montreal PQ
H3A 2A7
(W) 514-398-4121
(H) 514-398-7449
(F) 514-398-6665
pkirkp@po-box.mcgill.ca

Randy Klassen
Bethany Bible College
130 Candle Cres.
Sakatoon SK
S7K 5A2
(W) 306-694-72175
(H) 306-382-9726
rklassen@bethany.sk.ca

William Klassen
#12-545 Laurelwood Dr.
Waterloo ON
N2V 2R4
(H) 519-880-8945
(F) 519-880-8946
wklassen@retirees.uwaterloo.ca

John S. Kloppenborg
Trinity College
6 Hoskin Ave.
Toronto ON
M5S 1H8
(W) 416-978-6493
(F) 416-604-2597
john.kloppenborg@utoronto.ca

James Knight
83 Colonial Ave.
Scarborough ON
M1M 2C4
(H) 416-250-7584
jim.knight@utoronto.ca

Gary Knoppers
Classics & Ancient Med. Studies
Penn State University
101 Weaver Bldg.
University Park PA 16802-5500
(W) 814-863-5644
(H) 814-237-4540
(F) 814-863-7840
gkx7@psu.edu

Melody Knowles
McCormick Theological Seminary
5555 S. Woodlawn Ave.
Chicago IL 60637
(W) 773-947-6340
(H) 773-288-6416
(F) 773-288-2612
mknowles@mccormick.edu

Michael Knowles
McMaster Divinity College
1280 Main St. W.
Hamilton ON
L8S 4K1
(W) 905-525-9140
(F) 905-577-4782
knowlesm@mcmaster.ca

Grace Ko
Wycliffe College
3 Summit Trail Dr.
Richmond Hill ON
L4E 3S7
(H) 905-737-7722
g.ko@utoronto.ca

Michael Kolarcik
Regis College
15 St. Mary St.
Toronto ON
M4Y 2R5
(W) 416-922-5474
(H) 416-963-4948
(F) 416-922-2898
m.kolarcik@utoronto.ca

L
Leo Laberge
Faculty of Theology
St. Paul University
175 Main St.
Ottawa ON
K1S 1C3
(W) 613-236-1393
(H) 613-237-0580
(F) 613-232-4064

Mona LaFosse
Centre for the Study of Religion
University of Toronto
Unit 63 - 14 Williamsburg Rd.
Kitchener ON
N2E 1W1
(H) 519-748-4423
lafosse@golden.net

Francis Landy
Dept. of Comparative Literature,
Religion and Film/Media Studies
University of Alberta
347 Old Arts Bldg.
Edmonton AB
T6G 2E6
(W) 780-492-7183
(H) 780-439-2803
(F) 780-492-2715
francis.landy@ualberta.ca

Bernon Lee
65 Harvest Glen Court NE
Calgary AB
T3K 4B9
(H) 403-226-1640
clee532795@aol.com

Briana Lee
Knox College
#423-400 Walmer Rd.
Toronto ON
M5P 2X7
(H) 416-964-6602
bylee323@hanmail.net

Grant LeMarquand
Trinity Episcopal School for Ministry
311 Eleventh St.
Ambridge PA 15003
(W) 724-266-3838
(H) 724-266-3221
(F) 724-266-4617
grantleamarquand@tesm.edu

Adrian M. Leske
Dept of Religious Studies
Concordia Univ. College of Alberta
7128 Ada Blvd.
Edmonton AB
T5B 4E4
(W) 403-479-9356
(H) 403-452-9949
(F) 403-474-1933
aleske@concordia.ab.ca

Barry Levy
Faculty of Religious Studies
McGill University
3520 University St.
Montreal PQ
H3A 2A7
(W) 514-398-2033
(H) 514-489-3648

(F) 514-398-6665
barry.levy@mcgill.ca

Jack Lightstone
Dept. of Religion
Concordia University
1455 de Maisonneuve West
BC 223
Montréal PQ
H3G 1M8
(W) 514-848-4891
(H) 514-935-7155
(F) 514-848-8766
lightst@vax2.concordia.ca

James R. Linville
University of Lethbridge
116 Jerry Potts Blvd W.
Lethbridge AB
T1K 5K4
(W) 403-329-3725
(H) 403-381-4440
james.linville@uleth.ca

V. Philips Long
Regent College
5800 University Blvd.
Vancouver BC
V6T 2E4
(W) 604-221-3337
(H) 604-924-4621
plong@regent-college.edu

Rodolfo F. Luna
081 Chemin des Buttes
Havre-Aux-Maisons QC
G0B 1K0
(H) 418-969-9397
felices.perrier@sympatico.ca

R. Theodore Lutz
Near and Middle East Civilizations
University of Toronto

4 Bancroft Ave.
Toronto ON
M5S 1C1
(W) 416-978-3858
(H) 905-822-1045
(F) 416-978-3305
rtheo.lutz@utoronto.ca

M

Margaret Y. MacDonald
Dept. of Religious Studies
St. Francis Xavier University
P.O. Box 5000
Antigonish NS
B3G 2W5
(W) 902-867-5407
(H) 902-863-5687
mymacdon@stfx.ca

Robert K. MacKenzie
2302 Lawn Ave.
Ottawa ON
K2B 7B4
(H) 613-726-3310
robert.mackenzie@rogers.com

David S. MacLachlan
Atlantic School of Theology
640 Francklyn St.
Halifax NS
B3H 3B5
(W) 902-496-7941
(H) 902-832-9708
(F) 902-492-4048
dmaclachlan@astheology.ns.ca

Harry O. Maier
Vancouver School of Theology
6000 Iona Dr.
Vancouver BC
V6T 1L4
(W) 605-822-9461

(H) 604-572-0904
(F) 604-822-1212
hmaier@vst.edu

John Marshall
Dept. of the Study of Religion
University College
University of Toronto
Toronto ON
M5S 3H7
(W) 416-978-8122
(F) 416-978-2027
john.marshall@utoronto.ca

Isabel Ann Massey
#911-5 Wakunda Place
Toronto ON
M4A 1A2
(H) 416-759-3572

Yvan Mathieu
Theology
Université Saint-Paul
223 rue Main
Ottawa ON
K1S 1C4
(W) 613-236-1393
(H) 613-747-0604
(F) 613-746-6645
ymathieu@synapse.net

Gordon H. Matties
Canadian Mennonite University
500 Shaftesbury Blvd.
Winnipeg MB
R3P 2N2
(W) 204-487-3300
(H) 204-668-2527
(F) 204-487-3858
gmatties@cmu.ca

Sharon Lea Mattila
18 Hudson Club Rd.

Rigaud PQ
J0P 1P0
slmattila@juno.com

Wayne O. McCready
Dept. of Religious Studies
University of Calgary
2500 University Dr. N.W.
Calgary AB
T2N 1N4
(W) 403-220-3287
(H) 403-281-7461
(F) 403-210-0801
mccready@ucalgary.ca

Karl McDaniel
McGill University
4406 Rue de Bordeaux
Montreal PQ
H2H 1Z7
(H) 514-521-8096
thefamily_nj@yahoo.ca

John L. McLaughlin
Faculty of Theology
University of St. Michael's College
81 St. Mary St.
Toronto ON
M5S 1J4
(W) 416-926-7267
(H) 416-480-2803
(F) 416-926-7294
johnl.mclaughlin@utoronto.ca

Bradley H. McLean
Knox College
59 George St.
Toronto ON
M5S 2E6
(W) 416-978-2788
(H) 519-472-9493
(F) 416-971-2133
bradley.mclean@utoronto.ca

Dan Merkur

11 Meadowbrook Rd., Apt. # 3
Toronto ON
M6B 2S3
(W) 416-831-6293
(H) 416-785-0999
(F) 416-789-9515
dan.merkur@utoronto.ca

Tony S. L. Michael

Centre for the Study of Religion
University of Toronto
123 St. George St.
Toronto ON
M5S 1A1
(H) 416-461-0132
tmichael@chass.utoronto.ca

J. Richard Middleton

Religion and Humanities
Roberts Wesleyan College
2301 Westside Drive
Rochester, NY 14624-1997
(W) 585-594-6971
(H) 585-544-2813
(F) 716-271-8013
middleton_richard@roberts.edu

Daniel R. Miller

105 Oxford Crescent, Apt 301
Lennoxville QC
J1M 2G3
(W) 819-822-9600
(H) 819-820-7064
(F) 819-820-7064
daniel.miller@sympatico.ca

David Miller

McMaster University
9 - 400 Whitney Ave
Hamilton ON
L8S 2NG
(H) 905-527-8431

milledm@mcmaster.ca

John W. Miller

501 - 150 Queen St. S.
Kitchener ON
N2G 4T7
(H) 519-578-4276
johnwmiller@sympatico.ca

Christine Mitchell

St. Andrews College
1121 College Dr.
Saskatoon SK
S7N 0W3
(W) 306-966-3985
(H) 306-477-5048
(F) 306-966-8981
ckm365@duke.usask.ca

Mary Louise Mitchell

Faculty of Religious Studies
McGill University
Montreal PQ
H3A 2A7
(H) 450-671-5898
mmitchl@po-box.mcgill.ca

Matthew Mitchell

Department of Religion
Temple University
Philadelphia PA 19122
(H) 215-438-1719
(F) 215-204-2535
mmitch01@astro.temple.edu

Margaret Anne Moore

Dept. of Religious Studies
University of Calgary
2500 University Dr. NW
Calgary AB
TN2 1N4
(W) 403-220-3288
(H) 403-932-3059

(F) 403-210-0801
amoore@ucalgary.ca

William Morrow

Queen's Theological College
Kingston ON
K7L 3N6
(W) 613-533-6000
(H) 613-542-9850
(F) 613-533-6879
morroww@post.queensu.ca

Elizabeth Morton

University of British Columbia
3520 Cordiale Dr.
Vancouver BC
V5S 4H3
(H) 604-431-6499
bethlin@telus.net

Steven C. Muir

Concordia Univ. College of Alberta
7128 Ada Boulevard
Edmonton AB
T5B 4E4
(W) 780-479-9367
smuir@concordia.ab.ca

Michele Murray

Dept. of Religion
Bishop's University
Lennoxville PQ
J1M 1Z7
(W) 819-822-9600
mmurray@ubishops.ca

N**Jennifer Nettleton**

30 Kenmore Rd.
Hamilton ON
L8S 3T7
(H) 905-529-6243

nettleje@mcmaster.ca

Dietmar Neufeld

Dept. of Classical, Near Eastern
and Religious Studies
University of British Columbia
1866 Main Mall BUCH C270
Vancouver BC
V6T 1Z1
(W) 604-822-2515
(H) 604-599-6626
(F) 604-822-9431
dneufeld@interchange.ubc.ca

Dan Nighswander

Mennonite Church of Canada
600 Shaftesbury Blvd.
Winnipeg MB
R3P 0M4
(W) 204-888-6781
(H) 204-779-6559
(F) 204-832-5675
dnighswander@mennonitechurch.ca

John Nolland

Trinity College
Stoke Hill
Bristol UK
BS9 1JP
(W) 117-968-2803
(H) 117-968-4053
(F) 117-968-7470
john.nolland@trinity-bris.ac.uk

O**Gerbern S. Oegema**

Faculty of Religious Studies
McGill University
3520 University St.
Montreal PQ
H3A 2A7
(W) 514-398-4726

(F) 514-398-6665
gerbern.oegema@mcgill.ca

Gordon Oeste
Wycliffe College
97 Delaware Ave.
Toronto ON
M6H 2S9
(H) 416-516-3213
gord.oeste@utoronto.ca

Barry N. Olshen
Dept. of English
Glendon College, York University
Toronto ON
M4N 3M6
(W) 416-487-6713
(H) 416-929-9888
(F) 416-487-6728
bolshen@glendon.yorku.ca

Theodore W. Olson
244 Harrygan Cres.
Richmond Hill ON
L4C 4J1
(W) 416-736-5156
(H) 905-770-1509
ycissols@yorku.ca

Hisako Omori
Dept. of Religious Studies
McMaster University
Hamilton ON
L8S 4K1
(H) 905-540-8331
hisako.omori@utoronto.ca

Barbara E. Organ
Religious Studies Dept.
University of Sudbury
Sudbury ON
P3E 2C6
(W) 705-673-5661

(F) 705-673-4912
borgana@nickel.laurentian.ca

P
Sydney H. Page
Taylor Seminary
11525-23 Ave.
Edmonton AB
T6J 4T3
(W) 403-431-5248
(H) 403-438-6571
(F) 403-436-9416
Syd.Page@taylor-edu.ca

Kim I. Parker
Dept. of Religious Studies
Memorial University
St. John's NFLD
A1C 5S7
(W) 709-737-8594
(H) 902-892-3426
(F) 709-737-4059
kparker@mun.ca

Neil R. Parker
666 Terrace Dr., Apt 707
Oshawa ON
L1G 2Z2
(W) 905-436-2000
(H) 905-725-7230
enparker@neptune.on.ca

G. Parke-Taylor
94 Cedar Beach Rd., R.R. #1
Beaverton ON
L0K 1A0
(H) 705-426-9330
gpt@accel.net

Dilys N. Patterson
5363 Coolbrook Ave
Montreal PQ

H3X 2L3
(W) 613-562-5714
(H) 613-565-3162
(F) 613-565-3003
dpatters@alcor.concordia.ca

Kevin C. Peacock
Canadian Southern Baptist Seminary
200 Seminary View
Cochrane AB
T4C 2G1
(W) 403-932-6622
(H) 403-932-7528
(F) 403-932-7049
kpeacock@csbs.ca

Sherry Pember
Wilfrid Laurier University
18 Innes Place
Woodstock ON
N4S 8N1
(H) 519-421-1592
pembersa@rogers.com

Ken Penner
Religious Studies
McMaster University
32 Beaucourt Road
Hamilton ON
L8S 2P9
(W) 905-923-8604
(H) 905-523-5869
pennerkm@mcmaster.ca

Todd C. Penner
Religion and Philosophy
Austin College
Box 61605 900 W. Grand Ave.
Sherman TX 75090
(W) 903-813-2367
(H) 903-868-1531
(F) 903-813-2368
tpenner@austincollege.edu

Michael Pettem
454 Hudson
Montréal-Ouest QC
H4X 1W8
(H) 514-488-7971
pettem@sympatico.ca

Jennifer Pfenniger
Emmanuel College
8 Joanne Ct.
Ancaster ON
L9G 1B1
(W) 905-304-1455
(H) 905-304-1455
jennifer.pfenniger@utoronto.ca

Gary Phillips
Dept. of Religion
University of the South
735 University Ave.
Sewanee TN 37383-1000
(W) 931-598-1533
(H) 931-598-9985
(F) 931-598-1145
gphillip@sewanee.edu

Pierluigi Piovanelli
University of Ottawa
Dept. of Classics and Rel. Studies
70 Laurier Ave E.
Ottawa, ON
K1N 6N5
(O) 613-562-5800
(H) 613-741-1978
piovanel@uottawa.ca

Joseph Plevnik
Regis College
15 St. Mary St.
Toronto ON
M4Y 2R5
(W) 416-922-5474
(H) 416-921-8372

(F) 416-922-2898
joseph.plevnik@utoronto.ca

Stanley E. Porter
McMaster Divinity College
1280 Main Street West
Hamilton ON
L8S 4K1
(W) 905-525-9140
(F) 905-525-9143
princpl@mcmaster.ca

Curtis Poyer (CSSP)
Holy Ghost Fathers
121 Victoria Park Ave.
Toronto ON
M4E 3S2
(H) 416-267-9977
PadreCurtisPoyerCSSp@hotmail.com

Terrence Prendergast, SJ
Catholic Pastoral Care
P.O. Box 1527-Stn Central
Halifax NS
B3J 2Y3
(W) 902-429-9800
(H) 902-429-9388
(F) 902-423-5201
terrence@catholicahalifax.org

Robert Price
89 Lloyd St.
Stouffville ON
L4A 4J5
(W) 416-491-5050
(H) 905-640-4124
rrprice@sympatico.ca

Iain Provan
Regent College
5800 University Blvd.
Vancouver BC
V7H 1T3

(W) 604-224-3245
(H) 604-929-1589
(F) 604-224-3097
iprovan@interchange.ubc.ca

Benno Przybylski
Carey Theological College
5920 Iona Dr.
Vancouver BC
V6T 1J6
(W) 604-224-4308
(H) 604-740-0258
(F) 604-740-0259
bennoprzy@uniserve.com

Reinhard Pummer
Dept. of Classics and Rel. Studies
University of Ottawa
Ottawa ON
K1N 6N5
(W) 613-562-5800
(H) 613-565-6198
(F) 613-562-5991
rpummer@uottawa.ca

Q
R. A. Quammie
United Church of Canada
660 Templemead Dr.
Hamilton ON
L8W 2V8
(W) 905-389-5797

R
Jean-François Racine
Jesuit School of Theology
1735 LeRoy Ave.
Berkeley CA 94709
(W) 510-549-5030
(H) 510-271-0515
(F) 510-841-8536

jraccine@jstb.edu

Andy Reimer
Canadian Bible College
4400 Fourth Ave.
Regina SK
S4T 0H8
(W) 306-545-1515
(H) 306-522-9802
(F) 306-545-0210
areimer@cbccts.sk.ca

Adele Reinhartz
Faculty of Graduate Studies
Wilfrid Laurier University
Waterloo ON
N2L 3C5
(W) 519-884-1970
areinhar@wlu.ca

Harold E. Remus
Dept. of Religion and Culture
Wilfrid Laurier University
Waterloo ON
N2L 3C5
(H) 519-884-1008
(F) 519-884-9387
hremus@wlu.ca

Anthony Ricciuti
Mumford Presbyterian Church
254 Hillside Ave.
Rochester NY 14610
(W) 585-473-9081
(H) 585-473-9081
ajricciuti@hotmail.com

Kent Harold Richards
Society of Biblical Literature
825 Houston Mill Rd. Suite 350
Atlanta GA 30329
(W) 404-727-3038
(F) 404-727-3101

kent.richards@sbl-site.org

William A. Richards
College of Emmanuel & St. Chad
1337 College Dr.
Saskatoon SK
S7N 0W6
(W) 306-975-1556
(H) 306-668-9192
(F) 306-934-2683
wrichards@sk.sympatico.ca

Peter Richardson
University College
University of Toronto
Toronto ON
M5S 3H7
(W) 416-978-7157
(H) 416-961-3746
(F) 416-971-2027
prchrdsn@chass.utoronto.ca

Joyce L. Rilett Wood
14 Saranac Blvd. #19
Toronto ON
M6A 2G3
(W) 416-782-0383
(F) 416-782-0808
joyce.rilettwood@utoronto.ca

Ken Ristau
University of Alberta
#312 - 4404 122 St
Edmonton AB
T6J 4A9
(H) 780-436-9411
ken.ristau@anduril.ca

James B. Rives
Division of Humanities
York University
4700 Keele St.
Toronto ON

M3J 1P3
 (W) 416-736-2100
 (H) 416-777-9937
 (F) 416-736-5460
 jrides@yorku.ca

Kathleen I. Robbins
 Colgate Rochester Divinity School
 1100 South Goodman St.
 Rochester NY 14620
 (H) 585-242-9767
 kirobbins14620@yahoo.com

Gerard Rochais
 Dept. Science Religieuses
 UQAM
 #7-7165 Avenue Clark
 Montréal PQ
 H2S 3G5
 (W) 514-987-3000
 (H) 514-271-3563
 grochais@videotron.ca

Catherine Rose
 Women's Studies
 York University
 9 Silversmith Ct.
 Guelph ON
 N1G 5C1
 (H) 519-823-9362
 rosewill@golden.net

Francois Rousseau
 3156 rue Lacombe
 Montréal QC
 H3T 1L7
 (H) 524-733-8413
 rousseau.francois@videotron.ca

Erin Runions
 22-47 35th Street
 New York NY 11105
 (W) 212-854-3001

(H) 718-726-2949
 (F) 212-854-8294
 er529@columbia.edu

S

Ozayr Saloojee
 7 Jackman Terrace
 Kanata ON
 K2L 4E2
 (H) 613-599-6817
 osaloojee@hotmail.com

John Sandys-Wunsch
 825 Alget Rd., RR #1
 Mill Bay BC
 V0R 2P0
 (W) 250-743-1106
 (F) 250-743-1106
 jwunsch@islandnet.com

David Schroeder
 Canadian Mennonite University
 600 Shaftsbury Blvd.
 Winnipeg MB
 R3R 1B8
 (H) 204-832-0253
 (F) 204-831-5675
 dmschroeder@shaw.ca

Eileen Schuller
 Dept. of Religious Studies
 McMaster University
 Hamilton ON
 L8S 4K1
 (W) 905-525-9140
 (H) 905-525-1485
 (F) 905-525-8161
 schuller@mcmaster.ca

Charles H. H. Scobie
 227 Main St.
 Sackville NB

E4L 3A7
 (H) 506-536-0247
 cscobie@nbnet.nb.ca

Ian W. Scott
 Religious Studies
 McMaster University
 25 Beaucourt Rd.
 Hamilton ON
 L8S 2P9
 (H) 905-523-8623
 scottiw@mcmaster.ca

Mark Scott
 Yale University Divinity School
 64 Grace St., Apt 2B
 New Haven CT 06511
 (H) 203-624-6999
 (F) 705-322-0273
 mark.scott@yale.edu

Timothy Scott
 St. Joseph's College
 University of Alberta
 Edmonton AB
 T6G 2J5
 (W) 403-492-7681
 (F) 403-492-8145
 timothy.scott@ualberta.ca

Alan F. Segal
 Barnard College
 219C Millbank Hall
 3009 Broadway
 New York NY 10027-6598
 (W) 212-854-5419
 (H) 212-445-3060
 (F) 212-854-7491
 asegal@barnard.edu

Eliezer L. Segal
 Religious Studies
 University of Calgary

2500 University Dr. NW, SS 1301
 Calgary AB
 T2N 1N4
 (W) 403-220-5886
 (H) 403-238-3995
 (F) 403-210-0801
 elsegal@ucalgary.ca

Colleen A. Shantz
 Faculty of Theology
 University of St. Michael's College
 81 St. Mary St.
 Toronto ON
 M5S 1J4
 (H) 416-691-3774
 milshantz@istar.ca

Gerald Sheppard
 Emmanuel College
 75 Queen's Park Cres. E.
 Toronto ON
 M5S 1K7
 (W) 416-585-4533
 (H) 416-439-5977
 (F) 416-585-4516
 g.sheppard@utoronto.ca

Susan Slater
 Atlantic School of Theology
 640 Francklyn St.
 Halifax NS
 B3H 3B5
 (W) 902-425-7051
 (H) 902-477-5289
 (F) 902-492-4048
 sslater@astheology.ns.ca

Daniel A. Smith
 21 Peck St.
 Barrie ON
 L2N 7H4
 (H) 705-730-1402
 daniel.smith@utoronto.ca

W. Wayne Soble
619 Old Madoc Rd., RR #1
Foxboro ON
K0K 2B0
(H) 613-477-3352
soblew@bellnet.ca

Sven K. Soderlund
Regent College
5800 University Blvd.
Vancouver BC
V6T 2E4
(W) 604-221-3331
(H) 604-436-9498
(F) 604-224-3097
sks@telus.net

Paul Spilsbury
Canadian Bible College
4400 4th Ave
Regina SK
S4T 0H8
(W) 306-545-1515
(H) 306-546-5482
(F) 306-545-0210
paul.spilsbury@cbccts.ca

Dennis Stoutenburg
Wilfrid Laurier University
108 Camerson St. N.
Kitchener ON
N2H 3A5
(H) 519-569-7022
dstouten@wlu.ca

Kimberly Stratton
300 Patterson Hall
Carleton University
1125 Colonel By Drive
Ottawa ON
K1S 5B6
(W) 613-520-2600
(H) 613-236-2503

(F) 613-520-3988
kim_stratton@carleton.ca

Mary Elizabeth Sutherland
Humber College #802109694
985 Crozier Ct.
Mississauga ON
L5H 2T2
(H) 905-278-3900
mary_e_sutherland@hotmail.com

T

J. Glen Taylor
Wycliffe College
5 Hoskin Ave.
Toronto ON
M5S 1H7
(W) 416-946-3541
(H) 416-944-2546
(F) 416-946-3545
glen.taylor@utoronto.ca

Marion Taylor
Wycliffe College
5 Hoskin Ave
Toronto ON
M5S 1H7
(W) 416-946-3542
(H) 416-944-2546
(F) 416-946-3545
m.taylor@utoronto.ca

Patricia J. Taylor
14000 Carpentier St., Apt. 213
San Leandro CA 94577
(H) 510-346-2494
pjt@superaje.com

Dina Teitelbaum
195 Marlborough Ave.
Ottawa ON
K1N 8G3

(H) 613-565-6195
dteit095@uottawa.ca

Lawrence E. Toombs
#35-121 University Ave. E.
Waterloo ON
N2J 4J1
(H) 519-886-0044
lawrence.toombs@sympatico.ca

Allison Trites
Dept. of Biblical Studies
Acadia Divinity College
P.O. Box 904
Wolfville NS
B0P 1X0
(W) 902-542-2285
(H) 902-542-9172
(F) 902-542-9172
allison.trites@acadiau.ca

Priscilla D. M. Turner
1307 Devonshire Cres.
Vancouver BC
V6H 2G3
(H) 604-732-3486
prisca@nwnet.org

V

Leif E. Vaage
Emmanuel College
75 Queen's Park Cres. E.
Toronto ON
M5S 1K7
(W) 416-585-4532
(H) 416-533-6399
(F) 416-585-4516
leif.vaage@utoronto.ca

Cornelius Van Dam
Theological College of the Canadian
Reformed Churches

110 West 27th Street
Hamilton ON
L9C 5A1
(W) 905-575-3688
(H) 905-634-0593
(F) 905-750-7994
cvandam@canrc.org

Johannes Van Nie
293 Charlton Ave. West
Hamilton ON
L8P 2E4
(H) 416-529-6621
vannieja@mcmaster.ca

John Van Seters
Religion and Culture
Wilfrid Laurier University
600 Forest Place
Waterloo ON
N2T 2S8
(H) 519-888-9380
john.vanseters@sympatico.ca

Vincent H. van Zutphen
St. Peter's Seminary
1040 Waterloo St. N.
London ON
N6A 3Y1
(W) 519-432-5726
(H) 519-434-5873
(F) 519-432-0964
vzutphen@julian.uwo.ca

David Vanderhooft
Department of Theology
Boston College
140 Commonwealth Ave.
Chestnut Hill MA 02467
(W) 617-552-4240
(F) 671-552-0794
vanderho@bc.edu

Jean-Sebastien Viard
 Université de Montréal
 1844 Tupper
 Montréal PQ
 H3H 1N4
 (W) 514-522-2306
 (H) 514-932-4737
 le_jons@hotmail.com

Gerhard H. Visscher
 Religious Studies
 McMaster University
 16 Brant Rd., RR#2
 Caledonia ON
 N3W 2G9
 (W) 905-575-3688
 (H) 905-765-2578
 (F) 905-575-0799
 ghvisscher@canrc.org

Lily Vuong
 Dept. of Religion and Culture
 Wilfrid Laurier University
 Waterloo ON
 N2L 3C5
 (H) 519-743-4269
 vuon0825@mach1.wlu.ca

W

Norman Wagner
 1320-720 13th Ave. SW
 Calgary AB
 T2R 1M5
 (W) 403-543-1171
 (H) 403-246-7336
 (F) 403-543-1175
 newall@aol.com

Arthur Walker-Jones
 Faculty of Theology
 University of Winnipeg
 515 Portage Ave.

Winnipeg, MB
 R3B 2E9
 (W) 204-786-9473
 (F) 204-772-2584
 a.walker-jones@uwinnipeg.ca

Cecilia Wassen
 217 Sundown Way
 Calgary AB
 T2X 2M2
 (H) 403-201-0343
 cwassen@telus.net

Murray Watson
 St. Peter's Seminary
 1040 Waterloo St. N.
 London ON
 N6A 3Y1
 (W) 519-432-5726
 (F) 519-432-0964
 mwatson@rcec.london.on.ca

Robert L. Webb
 2028 Waterbridge Dr.
 Burlington ON
 L7M 4G6
 (W) 905-332-8318
 (H) 905-889-7527
 (F) 905-771-8422
 webb.bob@sympatico.ca

Jane Webster
 Dept. of Religion and Philosophy
 Barton College
 PO Box 5000
 Wilson NC 27893
 (W) 252-399-6440
 (H) 252-234-1844
 jwebster@barton.edu

Stephen Westerholm
 Dept. of Religious Studies
 McMaster University

Hamilton ON
 L8S 4K1
 (W) 905-525-9140
 (H) 905-637-1520
 westerho@mcmill.cis.mcmaster.ca

John W. Wevers
 Near and Middle East Civilizations
 University of Toronto
 Toronto ON
 M5S 1A1
 (W) 416-946-3243
 (H) 416-489-9130
 (F) 416-978-8806
 j.wevers@utoronto.ca

Wade A. White
 1122 Victoria Park Ave.
 Toronto ON
 M4B 2K3
 (H) 416-757-0161
 wade.white@utoronto.ca

Karen Williams
 Toronto School of Theology
 9 Silver Smith Ct.
 Guelph ON
 N1G 5C1
 (H) 519-823-9362
 rosewill@golden.net

Ritva H. Williams
 Dept. of Religion
 Augustana College
 639-38th St.
 Rock Island IL 61201
 (W) 309-794-7396
 (H) 563-445-1216
 rewilliams@augustana.edu

Tyler Williams
 Taylor University
 11525-23 Ave.

Edmonton AB
 T6J 4T3
 (W) 403-431-5217
 (H) 780-438-8031
 (F) 403-436-9416
 tyler.williams@taylor-edu.ca

Andrew Wilson
 Mt. Allison University
 63D York St.
 Sackville NB
 E4L 1G9
 (H) 780-436-8882
 (F) 780-492-2715

Stephen G. Wilson
 Dept. of Religion
 Carleton University
 Ottawa ON
 K1S 5B6
 (W) 613-520-2100
 (H) 613-730-4818
 (F) 613-730-3450
 swilson@ccs.carleton.ca

Frederik Wisse
 Faculty of Religious Studies
 McGill University
 3520 University St.
 Montreal PQ
 H3A 2A7
 (W) 514-398-2908
 (H) 514-695-8398
 (F) 514-398-6665
 frederik.wisse@mcgill.ca

R. Glen Wooden
 Acadia Divinity College
 Acadia University
 Wolfville NS
 B4P 2R6
 (W) 902-585-2227
 (H) 902-679-0703

(F) 902-585-2233
glenn.wooden@acadiau.ca

Lissa Wray Beal
Wycliffe College/TST
6 Duplex Cres.
Toronto ON
M5P 1J2
(W) 416-488-5529
(H) 416-488-5529
l.wray@utoronto.ca

B. Diane Wudel
Wake Forest University
Box 7719, Reynolds Station
Winston-Salem NC 27109-7719
(W) 336-758-4116
(H) 336-760-0805
wudelbd@wfu.edu

Y

Thomas Yoder Neufeld
Conrad Grebel University
University of Waterloo
Waterloo ON
N2L 3G6
(W) 519-885-0220
(H) 519-745-0979
(F) 519-885-0014
tyoderne@uwaterloo.ca

Gosnell Yorke
United Bible Societies
PO Box 3768, Kempton Park 1620
Johannesburg, South Africa
(W) 711-394-3216
(H) 711-783-5585
(F) 711-975-3655
yorke@ubs-sarsc.org.za

Il-Sung Andrew Yun
Johns Hopkins University

3332 N. Chatham Rd. Apt #L
Ellicott City MD 21042
(H) 410-750-9536
(F) 410-516-5218
ilsungyun@hotmail.com

Z

Gordon M. Zerbe
Canadian Mennonite University
500 Shaftesbury St.
Winnipeg MB
R3P 2N2
(W) 204-487-3300
(H) 204-453-6578
(F) 204-487-3858
gzerbe@cmu.ca

Christopher Zoccali
21 Rochelle Dr.
Churchville NY 14428
(H) 716-889-2738
zocalli4@juno.com